

UNIT VIII

CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN ERA

CHAPTER 19 Political Concerns in a Troubled Period

The 200th anniversary of U.S. independence in 1976 led to serious discussions about the national purpose. As one historian put it, "Americans seemed to be discovering limits for the first time—the limits of their own national virtue and the limits of their world power."

Observers noted that the balance of power in the United Nations was shifting. In earlier years, the majority of UN members had belonged to either the Western bloc or the Communist bloc. The *Western bloc* (sometimes called the Free World or the First World) consisted of the United States and most of the countries of the Western Hemisphere and Western Europe. The *Communist bloc* (sometimes called the Second World) was made up of the Soviet Union and its satellites. By the 1970s, a third group, made up mostly of newer members from Asia and Africa, tried to pursue a course independent of either of the superpowers. The *Third World*, as these nonaligned states were called, dominated the General Assembly, which began to have more power than the Security Council.

THE NIXON YEARS

As the United States entered the 1970s, Richard Nixon was president. He came to the presidency after serving as a representative

and senator in Congress and then as vice president under Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Nixon was especially interested in foreign affairs. In this field, he worked closely with his national security adviser (later secretary of state), Henry Kissinger. Among other things, Kissinger negotiated the Vietnam cease-fire in 1973. Nixon and Kissinger wanted to downplay Cold War divisions and tensions. They concentrated their efforts on the two most powerful Communist nations, the Soviet Union and China.

1. Détente With the Soviet Union. During Nixon's administration, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union entered a phase referred to as *détente*. (This French word means "easing of tension.") One sign of *détente* was an attempt to reduce armaments. Since the 1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union had been developing ever more powerful nuclear weapons. Some, known as *intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)* were offensive weapons, capable of reaching targets thousands of miles away. Others, intended for defense, were *antiballistic missiles (ABMs)*. Each superpower was capable of completely destroying the other. When people were not worrying about a possible nuclear war, they worried about the enormous cost of the arms race.

In 1969, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to begin Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). In 1972, President Nixon became the first U.S. president since World War II to visit the Soviet Union. He and Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev officially signed the SALT I agreement, which froze the number of long-range missiles each could have. The two leaders also planned joint space efforts, further arms reductions, and cultural and scientific exchanges. Nixon agreed to end a U.S. trade ban with the Soviet Union that had been in place since 1949. The Soviet Union, faced with serious food shortages, soon ordered \$750 million worth of American grains.

2. Recognizing China. Ever since 1949, the United States had regarded the Nationalist regime on Taiwan, instead of the People's Republic, as the legitimate government of China. As time went by, this policy seemed to make less sense. The People's Republic ranked first in world population and third in size.

In 1971, the president announced to a startled world that he would visit China the following year. Nixon's trip began a long process of normalizing relations between the United States and the People's Republic. Trade and travel restrictions were eased, and a brisk exchange of people and goods developed. In 1971, the UN accepted the People's Republic as a member and expelled the Nation-



President Nixon (second from left) in China, 1972.

alists. In 1979, during President Jimmy Carter's administration, the United States cut its formal ties with Nationalist China and established full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic.

3. Domestic Strategies. Nixon's domestic policy was conservative. He believed that the pace of reform in the 1960s had been too fast. Government, he said, was interfering too much in people's lives. He appealed to what he called "Middle America" or the "silent majority."

a. The Supreme Court. Nixon felt that some Supreme Court justices had become "super-legislators with a free hand to impose their social and political viewpoints upon the American people." Before leaving office, he appointed four Supreme Court justices, including Chief Justice Warren Burger. But the Burger Court's decisions did not always please Nixon. One of its most controversial was *Roe v. Wade* (1973). It stated that a woman had a constitutional right to an abortion during her first three months of pregnancy.

b. Economic problems. By the time of Nixon's administration, the U.S. economy was not as stable as it had been in the 1950s and early 1960s. Inflation was at a record high, mainly because Johnson had spent a great deal on war and social reforms without increasing taxes. Economic growth was slow, and unemployment was rising. This combination of economic stagnation and inflation is known as *stagflation*.

Then, too, in 1973 the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)—a group of major oil-producing nations—suddenly decided to limit their exports of oil. They also raised the price of oil higher than it had ever been. Higher oil prices led to higher costs for many basic necessities, including gasoline, heating oil, electricity, plastics, and synthetic fibers.

c. Attempted solutions. Beginning in August 1971, Nixon tried a system of wage and price controls to halt inflation. As a result, the inflation rate did fall, only to rise when controls were lifted in April 1974. By the late 1970s, Americans experienced *double-digit inflation* (the cost of living rose 10 percent or more a year).

Nixon also tried to lower federal spending by cutting social welfare programs. He abolished the Office of Economic Opportunity and reduced funds for job training, urban renewal, and education assistance. Nixon introduced what he called the New Federalism. States and localities were to assume greater responsibility for social services. To help them do so, Nixon proposed a system of *revenue sharing*. Under this program, the federal government returned to the states, counties, and cities some of the taxes it had collected. This money could be used for ordinary operating expenses, as well as for needed improvements. Many localities found, however, that these federal funds did not cover all the services they were now expected to provide.

4. The Watergate Crisis. Nixon's presidency is remembered less for its accomplishments than for a domestic scandal that abruptly ended his administration.

a. The beginnings. During Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign, five men were arrested for breaking into the Watergate building in Washington, D.C., where the Democratic National Committee headquarters were located. James McCord, the security coordinator of the Republican Committee for the Re-election of the President (CREEP), led the intruders. They had cameras and electronic "bugging" devices.

In January 1973, the five Watergate intruders and two higher-ups accused of directing the break-in were convicted of conspiracy, burglary, and wiretapping. But two months later, the trial judge, John Sirica, disclosed a letter from McCord. It charged that McCord and the other defendants had been pressured to plead guilty and remain silent. It also stated that "others" were involved in the spying and that government witnesses had committed perjury during the trial.

b. Unfolding scandal. A special Senate committee chaired by Sam Erving of North Carolina and a Justice Department investigation led by Archibald Cox began to reexamine the case. It came to light that White House staff members and CREEP officials had planned the Watergate break-in. To sabotage activities of Democratic candidates, money raised by CREEP had been illegally used for the break-in. The money was also used to buy the silence of the Watergate defendants during their trial. The administration also seemed to have been involved in other illegal operations to collect damaging evidence about its opponents. The president fired a number of high-ranking administration officials. Many of them were later brought to trial, found guilty, and sent to jail.

c. The White House Tapes. During the Senate committee hearings in the summer of 1973, one witness revealed that Nixon had secretly tape-recorded many conversations at the White House and elsewhere. The Senate committee and Special Prosecutor Cox asked to hear certain tapes. Nixon refused on the grounds that surrendering them would injure national security, the doctrine of separation of powers, and the integrity of the presidency.

In October 1973, a court ordered Nixon to turn over to Cox some key tapes. The president offered him written summaries instead. When Cox rejected the offer, Nixon ordered that he be fired. The attorney general resigned rather than dismiss Cox. The deputy attorney general did likewise. This "Saturday Night Massacre" prompted calls for Nixon's impeachment. He then agreed to surrender the disputed tapes.

d. Agnew's resignation. As the Watergate Affair was unfolding, the Justice Department was also investigating Vice President Spiro Agnew for extortion and tax fraud and for accepting bribes while governor of Maryland and vice president. Agnew resigned in October 1973. He pleaded "no contest" to a charge of federal income tax evasion. Then he was given three years probation and fined \$10,000. Nixon nominated Representative Gerald R. Ford of Michigan to succeed Agnew.

e. Nixon's resignation. Nixon responded to demands for additional tapes by supplying only *transcripts* (written versions), with many deletions. But in July 1974, the Supreme Court ordered him to surrender the requested tapes. These revealed that Nixon had been involved in the Watergate events almost from the beginning.

After six months of investigation, the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives recommended that the House vote to impeach the president. The grounds for this action were that Nixon had

(1) misused the powers of his office, (2) violated the constitutional rights of citizens, and (3) refused to cooperate with the committee. Impeachment by the House and conviction by the Senate seemed likely. Therefore, Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974. He was the first president in the nation's history to resign from office.

FORD'S PRESIDENCY

Gerald Ford became president immediately after Nixon resigned. Ford named Nelson A. Rockefeller, former governor of New York, as his vice president. He continued Nixon's basic foreign and domestic policies. Most important, Ford presided over the final U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

In September, Ford granted Nixon "a full, free, and absolute pardon" for all federal crimes that he "committed or may have committed or taken part in" while in office. Ford explained that he wished to avoid the "prolonged and divisive debate" that might have resulted from the indictment and trial of a former president. He also wanted to spare Nixon further punishment. Some Americans hailed the pardon as an act of mercy. Others felt that pardoning the chief offender in the Watergate Affair and punishing his underlings violated the constitutional principle of equal justice for all.

The Ford administration had a major accomplishment in foreign affairs. In 1975, after three years of talks, representatives of the United States, Canada, and 33 European nations (including the Soviet Union) met in Helsinki, Finland. In the Helsinki Agreement, they promised (1) greater East-West economic cooperation, (2) respect for human rights, (3) the freer movement of people and ideas from one country to another, and (4) acceptance of the changes that had taken place in European boundaries since World War II. Despite the Helsinki Agreement, the Soviet Union continued to suppress free speech by exiling or imprisoning Soviet dissidents who publicly criticized the government. It also denied exit visas to many Soviet Jews who wanted to emigrate to Israel. And it harassed foreign correspondents whose reports displeased Soviet authorities.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: détente, SALT, *Roe v. Wade*, OPEC, revenue sharing, White House Tapes.

CRITICAL THINKING: What was the Saturday Night Massacre and why was it significant in the Watergate Affair?

CARTER IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Gerald Ford ran for election as president in his own right in 1976. The Democrats nominated James Earl (Jimmy) Carter, a former governor of Georgia. Carter was little known outside his state. But his promise to make government "as good and decent as are the American people" struck a responsive chord. He won by a slim margin, receiving 297 electoral votes to his opponent's 240. His running mate, Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota, became vice president.

1. An Outsider in Washington. During his campaign, Carter had stressed that he was an outsider in Washington—unspoiled by "politics as usual." Once elected, however, he realized that to accomplish anything he would have to deal with the existing institutions of government. His sincerity was genuine, but he could not win Congress's support for his proposals to reform the welfare system and the tax structure.

Early in his administration, Carter proposed a national energy bill designed to conserve domestic oil supplies and reduce dependence on imports. But opposition in Congress to various parts of the bill prevented its passage. Congress did, however, approve the creation of the Department of Energy in 1977.

The cost of foreign oil continued to rise, and a political upheaval in Iran cut off imports from that country. In 1979, Carter consulted about the problem with experts in many fields. He proposed an ambitious energy program that would take ten years and cost \$142 billion. Included were proposals to develop synthetic fuels and solar energy. The public reacted unfavorably to Carter's gloomy outlook, and Congress passed only a scaled-down version of his proposals.

Carter's most serious domestic problem was the economy. By the end of his term, inflation had reached almost 12 percent a year. To bring it down, the Federal Reserve Bank raised interest rates to high levels. These were especially damaging to the construction and automobile industries because loans to home buyers and auto buyers were more expensive.

2. Foreign Affairs. Respect for individual *human rights* became a key element in the Carter administration's foreign policy. The United States warned South Africa that it could lose U.S. support if it continued to deny equal rights to its black majority. The administration reduced foreign aid to Argentina, Uruguay, and Ethiopia because of human rights violations there. It barred exports of advanced computers and specialized oil equipment to the Soviet Union

because that country suppressed free speech and restricted its citizens' right to emigrate. When the Soviets suddenly invaded Afghanistan in 1979, Carter cut off sales of grain and high-tech equipment to the USSR.

a. The Panama Canal treaties (1977). For decades, the people of Panama had resented U.S. control over the Panama Canal. In 1964, violent anti-American riots led to negotiations on a new treaty that would satisfy Panama's demands and safeguard U.S. interests. An agreement was reached 13 years later. Two Panama Canal treaties provided for the transfer of control of the waterway by the end of 1999. The United States would retain the right to use about a third of the former Canal Zone for military bases, canal operations, and employee housing.

b. Two Israeli-Arab wars. Tense relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors were a continuing concern throughout the world. After the Suez crisis of 1956, there was an uneasy peace until 1967, when Israel was threatened by a joint Arab invasion. In the so-called "Six-Day War," Israel defeated Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. As a result, the Israelis gained complete control over Jerusalem, which had formerly been split between Israel and Jordan. They also took the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the Golan Heights from Syria, and land along the West Bank of the Jordan River from Jor-



From the left, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, President Jimmy Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin shake hands during a White House announcement, September 18, 1978, of the accord reached at the Camp David summit.

dan. War broke out again in 1973, when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on the Israelis in the Sinai and on the Golan Heights. The Soviet Union gave aid to the Arab side, while United States helped the Israelis. A UN emergency force supervised a ceasefire and thus prevented a major confrontation between the two superpowers.

c. The Camp David Accord (1978). In 1977, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt agreed to discuss a peace settlement with Israel—the first to be negotiated by an Arab state. But the talks between Sadat and Menachem Begin, Israel's prime minister, faltered in 1978. This failure prompted President Carter to meet privately with the two leaders at Camp David in Maryland. There they agreed on a tentative accord. The 30-year state of war between Egypt and Israel ended in March 1979, when Sadat and Begin signed a formal peace treaty in Washington, D.C.

d. The Hostage Crisis. After Iran in 1979 deposed its ruler, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, Islamic fundamentalists took over the country. The Shah had been a longtime ally of the United States. In October 1979, he entered the United States for medical treatment. In protest, Iranian militants stormed the U.S. Embassy in the capital city of Tehran. They took more than 60 hostages and vowed to keep them until the Shah was returned to Iran to stand trial.

When months of diplomacy failed to obtain the release of the hostages, Carter approved a helicopter rescue mission. It failed, too. Even after the Shah's death in July 1980, the captivity continued. Only after the election of a new U.S. president did Iran return the hostages to the United States, in January 1981.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Helsinki Agreement, Panama Canal treaties, Camp David Accord, Iranian Hostage Crisis.

CRITICAL THINKING: How important was President Carter's role in normalizing relations between Egypt and Israel?

REAGAN: A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

The Republican candidate for the presidential campaign of 1980 was Ronald Reagan, a former movie actor and governor of California. He appealed to conservative interests. Carter, on the other hand, had been damaged by the long hostage crisis, the lagging economy, and

continuing high inflation. He fared poorly. Reagan won an overwhelming victory in the electoral vote—489 to 49. Four years later, running against Democratic candidate Walter Mondale, Reagan won reelection by an even greater landslide—525 to 13.

Reagan's victories marked the end of the New Deal coalition that had held together for nearly 50 years. Many who voted for Reagan had formerly thought of themselves as traditional Democrats—union members, the lower middle class, and members of certain ethnic groups. As a bloc, only African-American voters remained firmly in the Democratic camp. Since the New Deal, the federal government had assumed more and more responsibility for the well-being of citizens. Reagan's policies aimed to reverse these trends, which he and his supporters felt had harmed the nation. Above all, he wanted to cure the nation's economic ills and strengthen its position in world affairs.

1. Dealing With the Nation's Economy. Reagan proposed a policy known as *supply-side economics*. It was based on the idea that the government should provide financial incentives and benefits to producers and investors—the suppliers of goods and services. If this were done, corporations and wealthy individuals would have more funds to invest. The economy would then expand, new jobs would open up, and prosperity would “trickle down” to the population at large.



a. The plan in action. To advance Reagan's economic program, Congress passed tax cuts in the early 1980s and again in 1986. Since the tax cuts reduced federal income, it became necessary to reduce government expenses. This reduction was accomplished by keeping some social programs from expanding and cutting back on others, such as welfare. Another aspect of Reagan's economic policy was *deregulation*. Started first during the Carter administration, deregulation meant eliminating or not enforcing government regulations by bodies such as the Environmental Protection Agency and the Food and Drug Administration. Federal financial aid to states and cities was also cut back.

b. Mixed results. The rate of inflation fell during the Reagan administration from 16 percent in 1980 to 4 percent in 1988. Unemployment generally remained low, too. When Reagan took office, the rate was 7.1 percent; when he left, it was down to 5.5.

But Reagan's economic policies had unfortunate effects as well. Deregulation led to a relaxation of antitrust prosecutions, which brought a rash of business mergers. Many companies were swallowed up or wiped out. Savings and loan institutions (S&Ls), allowed to broaden their investments, made many unwise loans. Numerous S&Ls failed. Since S&Ls were insured by the government, paying off insured S&L depositors cost taxpayers billions of dollars.

Another problem was huge budget deficits. When Reagan took office, he promised a balanced budget by 1984. But slashes in government spending did not make up for the money lost by cutting taxes. In addition, defense spending grew tremendously. The result was a growing gap between government income and expenses. During his administration, the national debt rose from \$908 billion to \$2.6 trillion.

2. Foreign Problems. Reagan and his supporters believed that Carter's foreign policy had endangered the nation. One remedy they proposed was the Strategic Defense Initiative (nicknamed "Star Wars"), a shield of laser weapons and space stations to intercept enemy missiles. Because of its huge projected costs and uncertain reliability, SDI had many critics, but work on it continued.

a. Central America and the Caribbean. Reagan tried to reassert U.S. authority in three countries of Latin America: (1) Revolt against the military regime of El Salvador began in 1980. The United States supported the Salvadoran government with money, military advisers, and intelligence. (2) In Nicaragua, Marxist rebels (called *Sandinistas*) overthrew the country's dictator in 1979. The

United States aided counterrevolutionary forces (the *contras*) after they attacked the government. (3) In 1983, the United States claimed that the island of Grenada was falling under Cuban Communist control. U.S. forces invaded Grenada and installed a new government more favorable to U.S. interests.

b. The Middle East. The United States was also involved in the Middle East. In the 1970s, a civil war in Lebanon broke out between Muslims and Christians. In 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon because Palestinian guerrillas based on Lebanese soil had been attacking Israel. U.S. marines participated in a multinational effort to restore peace. But after 241 U.S. Marines were killed as a suicide terrorist drove an explosive-laden truck into their barracks, Reagan ordered U.S. forces withdrawn from Lebanon.

A complex series of events linking Lebanon, Iran, and Nicaragua came to light in 1986. Some American hostages were still being held in Lebanon. Moreover, it was widely believed that Iran supported the terrorists who held them. In an effort to obtain their release, U.S. representatives secretly sold weapons to Iran for its ongoing war with Iraq. Profits from the sales were then used to buy arms for the Nicaraguan *contras*. All of these activities were illegal because U.S. laws prohibited both arms sales to Iran and military aid to the *contras*.

U.S. government investigations of the Iran-Contra Affair implicated members of Reagan's National Security Council, some of whom were convicted of acting illegally. Reagan denied knowledge of the arms deal, and no evidence pointed to his involvement.

c. Relations with the Soviet Union. When he first became president, Reagan called the Soviet Union an "evil empire." Reagan changed his approach toward the USSR after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985. Although a committed Communist, Gorbachev wanted sweeping changes in the Soviet Union. He advocated *glasnost* (openness), which meant, among other things, relaxing censorship, allowing dissidents and others to emigrate, and candidly discussing the economic and social problems of the nation. Gorbachev also introduced *perestroika* (restructuring)—reforms to lessen central control of the economy. He hoped that elements of capitalism would improve the Soviet economy and the lives of ordinary Soviet people.

Gorbachev and Reagan met several times and established a friendly working relationship. They signed a treaty (INF) in 1987 that limited intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: supply-side economics, deregulation, S&L Crisis, Sandinistas, contras, *glasnost*, *perestroika*.

CRITICAL THINKING: What effects were President Reagan's economic policies suppose to have on inflation, unemployment, and business?

A BUSH TAKES OVER

The Republican presidential candidate in 1988 was George H.W. Bush, Reagan's vice president. The Democrats nominated Michael Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts. Bush benefited from Reagan's continued popularity and won a solid victory, with 54 percent of the popular vote and an electoral margin of 426 to 112.

1. Domestic Issues. A difficult issue facing Bush was an economy with a growth rate slower than at any time in the previous 45 years. Unemployment rose, and U.S. car and electronics manufacturers had trouble competing with Asian rivals, particularly those of Japan. A recession that began in 1990 limited funds needed to cope with urban decay, crime, drugs, and inadequate education and health-care systems. Bush had made a campaign pledge of "no new taxes." But he broke his pledge by raising income taxes on the wealthiest and taxing such items as gasoline, cigarettes, and liquor. Nevertheless, the gap between government income and expenses continued. In 1991, the U.S. budget deficit climbed to \$268 billion, the highest to that time.

2. Foreign Concerns. Easing tensions in several regions of the world gave hope for a more peaceful future. While the United States did not play a prominent role in all instances, its careful diplomacy enabled it to steer a moderate course in difficult times. In Central America, the civil wars in both Nicaragua and El Salvador ended. In South Africa, white and black leaders negotiated to create a less racist, more democratic regime.

a. The Middle East. The early 1990s saw an apparent end to the bloody civil war in Lebanon. Israeli-Palestinian negotiators seemed to settle long-standing differences between the two people.

The West came to see Iraq as a serious menace to security in the region. Although Iraq's long war with Iran (1980–1988) had depleted its military forces, Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein quickly rebuilt



During the Persian Gulf War of 1991, U.S. Marines patrolled near burning oil wells near Kuwait City. Iraqi forces had set fire to Kuwaiti oil fields before retreating north into Iraq.

them. In the summer of 1990, he suddenly invaded one of Iraq's oil-rich neighbors, Kuwait.

With UN approval, the United States organized an army of more than 500,000 Americans and some 265,000 others, including Egyptians, Saudi Arabians, British, and French. When the Iraqis ignored a UN deadline to withdraw from Kuwait by January 15, 1991, the U.S.-led forces launched a massive air and missile attack. This was followed by a 100-hour ground war, which led to Iraq's surrender and withdrawal from Kuwait. The six-week Persian Gulf War cost the allies about 300 combat deaths. Iraqi casualties totaled at least 100,000. Despite his defeat, Hussein remained in power. The United States and its allies refused to invade Iraq and drive him out.

b. End of the Cold War. Probably the most dramatic foreign development during the Bush administration was the end of the Cold War. The change began in 1980 with developments in Poland. There, an independent trade union called Solidarity won wide popular support. Its activities led to free elections in 1989 that forced out the Communist dictatorship and initiated a return to a free-market economy.

The Soviet Union allowed Poland, a former satellite, to determine its own future. The USSR also refused to intervene in a series of events that transformed Eastern Europe beginning in late 1989. In East Germany, widespread demands for reform and free access to the West led to the downfall of the hard-line Communist regime and the opening of the Berlin Wall. West and East Germany reunited as a single nation in 1990.

Meanwhile, revolutionary forces were at work in other Soviet satellites. In a few months, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania overturned their dictatorships and set up more democratic regimes. The Warsaw Pact disbanded in July 1991. Yugoslavia came to an end as a unified country after ethnic violence split it apart into separate national units.

Turmoil swept the Soviet Union itself. In the Baltic region, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia declared their independence. Other Soviet republics began to break away as well. In late 1991, the Soviet Union officially disbanded. Gorbachev resigned. Most former Soviet republics formed a loose union, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Russia, the largest republic in the CIS, assumed the Soviet Union's seat on the UN Security Council. Russian President Boris Yeltsin became the dominant leader of the region after Gorbachev's resignation. Early in 1993, he and George Bush signed a far-reaching disarmament pact providing for big cuts in long-range nuclear missiles.



In 1989, demonstrators stood on top of the Berlin Wall as East German border guards looked on. The demonstration symbolized the opening of the Berlin Wall and movement of people between East and West Germany.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Persian Gulf War, Kuwait, Iraq, Commonwealth of Independent States, Boris Yeltsin.

CRITICAL THINKING: How and when did the Persian Gulf War come about?

Chapter Review



MATCHING TEST

Column A

1. Henry Kissinger
2. Mikhail Gorbachev
3. contras
4. OPEC
5. Walter Mondale

Column B

- a. Soviet leader who came to power in 1985
- b. association of oil-producing nations
- c. secretary of state under Nixon
- d. vice president under Carter
- e. anti-Communist force in Nicaragua

MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST

1. A Communist country with which President Nixon made dramatic breakthroughs in improving relations was (a) Cuba (b) China (c) North Korea (d) Albania.
2. President Nixon attempted to curb inflation by (a) setting up wage and price controls (b) cutting taxes (c) increasing spending on domestic programs (d) encouraging greater investment.
3. Stagflation is a combination of (a) high oil prices and high unemployment (b) low unemployment and low inflation (c) economic stagnation and high inflation (d) economic stagnation and low inflation.
4. Nixon's vice president who resigned after criminal investigations were under way was (a) Archibald Cox (b) James McCord (c) Warren Burger (d) Spiro Agnew.
5. President Ford selected as his vice president (a) Nelson Rockefeller (b) Barry Goldwater (c) Ronald Reagan (d) Robert Dole.
6. A key element of President Carter's foreign policy was (a) rolling back communism (b) promoting human rights (c) reducing de-

pendence on foreign aid (*d*) turning control of the Panama Canal over to Panama's government.

7. The arms control treaty that President Reagan signed with the Soviet Union was (*a*) SALT II (*b*) START I (*c*) ABM (*d*) INF.
8. Reagan's economic policies (*a*) balanced the budget by 1984 (*b*) reduced military spending (*c*) substantially increased the national debt (*d*) led to bankruptcy for the U.S. government.
9. Which was a campaign pledge President George H.W. Bush broke? (*a*) enact no new taxes (*b*) improve relations with Cuba (*c*) impose tariffs on Japanese imports (*d*) conclude no more arms control treaties with Russia.
10. The CIS is made up of most of the former lands of (*a*) Yugoslavia (*b*) Austria-Hungary (*c*) the Soviet Union (*d*) the United Arab Emirates.



ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Why did President Richard Nixon resign in 1974?
2. Do you think President Gerald Ford was correct to pardon Nixon? Explain your answer.
3. Why did Iranian militants seize and hold Americans as hostages in 1979? Why did they eventually release the hostages?
4. How and why did the Cold War come to an end?
5. What was President Clinton's main domestic achievement? Explain your choice.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

These questions are based on the accompanying documents (1–5). They will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

Historical Context:

From 1969 to 1992, the United States faced a number of domestic and international problems: Watergate, impeachment, a president never elected to a national office, inflation, assassination attempts, the Iranian Hostage Crisis, the end of the Cold War, and the Persian Gulf War. Some historians say that the Watergate Crisis was the country's major problem.

Task:

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

Document 1. The following is an excerpt from John Dean's book *Blind Ambition: The White House Years* (1976). Dean, who served as President Richard Nixon's lawyer and later went to jail for obstruction of justice, recalled a meeting he had had with the president on March 21, 1973:

"I think there's no doubt about the seriousness of the problem we've got," I said. "We have a cancer within—close to the Presidency—that's growing. It's growing daily. It's compounding. It grows geometrically now, because it compounds itself."

Source: Dean, John. *Blind Ambition: The White House Years*. NY: Simon and Schuster, 1976, p. 201.

What was the "cancer" that Dean was talking about?

Document 2. Excerpt from President Gerald R. Ford's speech of September 8, 1974, announcing a full and unconditional pardon for President Richard Nixon for any crimes he committed while in his office:

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised, and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States under governing decisions of the Supreme Court.

...

During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused. And our people would again be polarized in their opinions. And the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad. . . .

Finally, I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough.

Source: <http://www.ford.utexas.edu/library/speeches/740060.htm>

How did Ford justify his decision to pardon Nixon?

Document 3. Excerpt from President Jimmy Carter's televised address to the nation, July 15, 1979:

In little more than two decades we've gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign countries, at prices that are going through the roof. Our excessive dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people. This is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend aggravating hours waiting for gasoline. It's a cause of the increased inflation and unemployment that we now face. This intolerable dependence on foreign oil threatens our economic independence and the very security of our nation. The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger to our nation. These are the facts and we simply must face them. . . .

To give us energy security, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel—from coal, from oil shale, from plant products for gasohol, from unconventional gas, from the sun.

Source: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/carter/filmmore/ps_crisis.html

Why did President Carter believe that dependence on foreign oil was “a clear and present danger” to the nation?

Document 4. Excerpt from President Ronald Reagan's speech at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, June 12, 1987:

We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control.

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!

Source: <http://www.reaganfoundation.org/reagan/speeches/wall.asp>

What more did Reagan say the Soviets could do if they were serious about their new policies of reform and openness?

Document 5. Excerpt from President George H.W. Bush's televised address on January 16, 1991, announcing the beginning of military operations to expel Iraq from Kuwait:

This conflict started August 2nd when the dictator of Iraq invaded a small and helpless neighbor. Kuwait—a member of the Arab League and a member of the United Nations—was crushed; its people, brutalized. . . .

This military action, taken in accord with United Nations resolutions and with the consent of the United States Congress, follows months of constant and virtually endless diplomatic activity on the part of the United Nations, the United States, and many, many other countries. Arab leaders sought what became known as an Arab solution, only to conclude that Saddam Hussein was unwilling to leave Kuwait. . . .

Now the 28 countries with forces in the Gulf area have exhausted all reasonable efforts to reach a peaceful resolution—have no choice but to drive Saddam [Hussein] from Kuwait by force.

Source: <http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/bush-war.htm>

What efforts to resolve the crisis peacefully were taken but, in the opinion of the president, failed?

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY

Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain how the presidents of the United States from Nixon to George H.W. Bush exercised leadership such as making decisions, pursuing certain policies and initiatives, and using their influence to win public and even international support for their policies.
- Explain what successes and failures they had and what, in your opinion, they should have done differently.