



# Foreign Policy Team of George H.W. Bush, 1989 (BUSH)

# MUNUC 34



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## CHAIR LETTER

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Good Evening Delegates,

Welcome to the committee! My name is Dimitriy, and I am excited to serve as your chair as we navigate through these treacherous and unprecedented times. Just before the start of this committee, President Reagan stood in front of the Berlin Wall, the infamous emblem of the horrors brought on by repression and tyranny throughout the world, and proclaimed, "Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" Now, the struggle against communism and for worldwide liberalization continues, and all of you are at the front lines.

Europe is at an inflection point right now. With resource scarcity worsening by the day and mass hunger sweeping through the Soviet Union and the rest of the Eastern Bloc, the USSR looks to be on the verge of collapse, and it is our job -- nay, our responsibility -- to make sure that the individual member countries come out freer, safer, more prosperous, and secure in the fact that they will never again be exposed to the atrocities of the last century. This includes supporting Poland's striking union workers, and helping to ensure that they get a real place at the proverbial table. It also means accelerating the liberation of the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), and making sure that the whole of Germany is vibrant and flourishing for years to come.

Closer to home, we have plenty of pressing issues to handle as well. When it came to Central America, President Reagan had a penchant for -- to put it as delicately as possible -- unabashedly violating Federal statutes and embargoes in an effort to accomplish short-sighted military objectives, so repairing tattered relations with Nicaragua and Honduras is a must, especially if we have any hopes of holding Nicaragua's repressive socialist government accountable. We must also ensure that the work done by the United Nations Human Rights Commission in exposing serious civil liberties violations in Cuba is not in vain, and provide support for reporters on the ground. Finally, we need to work with our neighbors to the North and South in developing a trade agreement that works for everybody, and continues the economic growth of the Reagan administration.

With that, I wish all of you the best of luck on the long road ahead. You are all Points of Light in my heart.

Sincerely,

Dimitriy Leksanov

Committee Chair

## CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

Welcome to MUNUC 34! Whether this is your first conference or your twentieth, we are excited to have you join our committee this year. My name is Alexander Rodriguez; this is my first year with MUNUC after three years helping to host our college-level conference, ChoMUN. Previously, I helped staff committees on Venezuela's fight for independence and NASA's new frontiers following the Moon landing, and this year, I am thrilled to join my fellow executive Dimitriy in bringing to reality this committee simulating the foreign policy arm of President Bush's administration.

Foreign policy is the beating heart of Model UN, and our own background makes the American context particularly rich. However, why this era? Popular imagination seems to have stuck with the contention and rivalry of the decades-long Cold War, but we ourselves are more interested in the moment where the game changed. By placing this committee at the crossroads of history, we hope to open up the possibilities for charting a new course, instead of following ruts that feel inevitable. You and your team will work together to make decisions not only about the United States, but the globe it lives in. As states contort and crumble, you will need to craft a guiding strategy to inform those decisions and arrive at cohesive outcomes.

In and out of committee, think deeply about the implications and significance of these outcomes. I am not alone in asserting that this is the moment in history that did the most to shape what our international world looks like today. George H.W. Bush's one-term presidency seems to symbolize this transitional moment for America, as the nation confronted the sudden overturn of the old world order and decided where it wanted to stand in the new one. We are still feeling the consequences of this era today, in America and abroad, and so I hope this committee helps you consider what kind of world you want to live in and how we get there.

Here, our executive team has done our best to compile information, artifacts, and resources to truly establish the scene in which you will work. We encourage you to take this as permission to immerse

yourself in the history and the spirit of the era. This committee will be as much fun as you make it - costume parties are way better when you remember to dress up!

Sincerely,

Alexander Rodriguez

## EXCERPTS FROM BUSH'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

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*"I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow."*<sup>1</sup>

*"For the first time in this century, for the first time in perhaps all history, man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves. We must act on what we know."*<sup>2</sup>

*"I have spoken of a thousand points of light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I will ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in."*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bush, George H.W. "Inaugural Addresses of the Presidents of the United States : From George Washington 1789 to George Bush 1989." Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy. Accessed August 25, 2021.

[https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/bush.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/bush.asp).

<sup>2</sup> Bush, *Inaugural Address*

<sup>3</sup> Bush, *Inaugural Address*

## COMMITTEE STRUCTURE & MECHANICS

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Composed of some of the most powerful members of President George H.W. Bush's cabinet, as well as other advisors and influential figures with ties to the administration, this committee will have the ability to shape the President's foreign policy agenda with the directives that it passes and the decisions that it makes. Since Bush knows each of the members well, and has respect not only for their background and accomplishments, but also for their reasoning and intentions, he will defer to the decisions of the committee, but will still reserve the right to exert veto power over decisions that may be especially inappropriate or disruptive to the committee's purpose, as well as in dire, emergency circumstances. Several of the committee's members are Cabinet-level officials in Bush's administration, including Secretary of State James Baker, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, and Director of Central Intelligence William H. Webster. These members have powers and vested interests outside of the committee, and will be able to leverage those as appropriate; however, in committee, they will have one vote, like everybody else. Additionally, since they are appointed by the President and serve on his behalf, they will not be able to directly and overtly defy his orders or the directives of the committee, as they can simply be overridden. Instead, they would look to exert influence over the body by leveraging their connections, whether it be lower level members of their Department, other political figures with whom they have a relationship, or business partners from earlier in their career. Other members of the committee, such as Alan Greenspan, the Chair of the Federal Reserve System, are appointed by the President but serve fixed terms and cannot be dismissed by Bush at a moment's notice. This gives these members slightly more autonomy than others, but also less executive power.

There are also several members of the committee who are not members of the administration. Four of these are congressional committee leaders. Because Congress is controlled by the Democratic Party when Bush takes office, these are lawmakers opposed to parts of Bush's agenda, but their input is valued, so they get a seat on the committee and a vote, just like everyone else. Similarly to the Cabinet Secretaries, these Congressional chairs can leverage their political connections to increase their influence, and may attempt to persuade Congress to pass certain legislation "behind the scenes," but cannot attempt to unilaterally override the committee, such as by simply trying to



claim that Congress has passed a law during committee session. Other members of the committee include prominent figures outside of government entirely, including Lane Kirkland, the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). These members hold significant sway with large groups of Americans, such as organized labor groups and their rank-and-file members.

On the whole, this committee is merely an advisory body, but its decisions will manifest themselves in the decisions that the President makes, and in what he orders high-level members of his administration to do. The committee can also pass directives asking Congress to act on certain pressing issues that require a legislative solution -- in those cases, however, there is no guarantee that Congress will acquiesce, as it is controlled by the opposition party.

# TOPIC: FOREIGN POLICY TEAM OF GEORGE H.W. BUSH

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## Tools of Diplomacy

Much like domestic policy, the process of enacting foreign policy follows a certain routine:

**Agenda Setting:** The government identifies and prioritizes the problems it confronts and the objectives they aspire to achieve.

**Formulation:** The government creates options of possible plans and considers which to pursue.

**Adoption:** The government establishes agreement on which option it will pursue.

**Implementation:** The government performs the concrete actions entailed in that plan.

**Evaluation:** The government judges from the results whether the plan was successful.<sup>4</sup>

The main dichotomy of foreign policy is whether a policy involves the use of force. Diplomacy is defined as the pursuit of international objectives through means other than violence or war.<sup>5</sup>

However, this division is not always clear, particularly in instances of threats and coercion. This distinction is nevertheless useful to keep in mind when considering policy options, especially on feasibility. A policy plan that calls for the mobilization of military forces will require much wider backing and cooperation than peaceful communication by individuals. To this end, it is preferable- though not always possible- to pursue diplomatic approaches to maximize the state's beneficial outcomes while avoiding the costs of violence or the resentment it engenders.<sup>6</sup>

Another important distinction when considering policies about a problem is the number of states involved. A policy is unilateral when the state acts alone, without the input or opinion of other states.

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<sup>4</sup> SparkNotes Editors. "Foreign Policy: Tools of Foreign Policy." SparkNotes. SparkNotes, 2005.  
<https://www.sparknotes.com/us-government-and-politics/american-government/foreign-policy/section1/>.

<sup>5</sup> Freeman, C. W. and Marks, . Sally. "diplomacy." Encyclopedia Britannica, December 14, 2020.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/diplomacy>.

<sup>6</sup> Freeman, "diplomacy."

When a policy is bilateral, another state is an integral part of the decision-making process and has a significant voice in creating the outcome. A multilateral policy involves a larger number of states working together to set and enact the policy.<sup>7</sup> Including more states into a policy plan can steeply increase effectiveness and diffuse costs, but it also invites the possibility of weakening the agreement to meet the lowest common denominator.<sup>8</sup>

A treaty is a formal agreement where both parties sign to specific terms including a power of enforcement. For the United States, the Constitution empowers the President and the executive branch to negotiate the terms of treaties but dictates that the Senate must then consent to ratification before they are signed off.<sup>9</sup> Conventions are similar to treaties in their writing (an agreement to a set of binding terms) but are generally much more multilateral in structure. Usually, a large group of states join together to establish conventions and then encourage other states to later adopt them after their creation. Accords are voluntary and non-binding agreements between states, often adopted as a placeholder while terms of a binding treaty are negotiated. Alliances are agreements between states to work together on a certain cause, often focused on military defense but also including economic or political cooperation on the world stage.<sup>10</sup> Arbitration is a multilateral agreement whereby two or more parties approach an uninvolved outside actor and ask them to decide a solution from an unbiased perspective, which the original parties hope to accept. On the note of outside parties, international agreements will sometimes involve the creation of an independent body responsible for monitoring adoption; however, the reluctance of states to cede sovereignty on any issue means these bodies can lack power to enforce agreements without the cooperation of states.

Reaching agreements between states requires some skill in the art of negotiation. Consider the carrot and stick of the United States. America boasts one of the strongest and richest economies in

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<sup>7</sup> SparkNotes Editors. "Foreign Policy: Tools of Foreign Policy."

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt, Laurie J. "New Tools for Diplomacy." NASA. NASA, July 22, 2020. <https://earthdata.nasa.gov/learn/sensing-our-planet/new-tools-for-diplomacy>.

<sup>9</sup> Senate Historical Office. "About Treaties." United States Senate. U.S. Senate, March 3, 2021. <https://www.senate.gov/about/powers-procedures/treaties.htm>.

<sup>10</sup> "What Are the Tools of Diplomacy?" National Museum of American Diplomacy. U.S. Department of State, May 19, 2020. <https://diplomacy.state.gov/diplomacy/what-are-the-tools-of-diplomacy/>.

the world by many metrics,<sup>11</sup> making access to markets and investment a valuable cache for other countries. It also gives the United States much capital to dispense as foreign aid,<sup>12</sup> which can strengthen foreign economies (or militaries) while building goodwill. Few other states can pose a credible threat to the American military, so affording its protection to others can be a good way to secure cooperation. On the other side, the threat of using that military can coerce other states into acquiescing to demands. Advances in modern military technology have the potential to reduce the size and cost of a deployment while simultaneously making it more effective,<sup>13</sup> and more credible threats have more impact.

One of the most important factors to consider when developing a diplomatic approach to a situation is the relative power or position of the other parties. With states known to possess nuclear warheads or other weapons of mass destruction, the United States must be cautious and cooperative, as the possibility of escalation can never be totally ruled out. With states much weaker than the United States, the stronger power has more leeway to decide the outcome, for better or worse. Building on the use of American aid or force, conspicuous displays of military strength (“gunboat diplomacy”) or conditional loans (“debt-trap diplomacy”) can bend other states to cooperate with the national agenda. However, there are limits to this approach. Being perceived as a bully on the international stage can foster resentment, which sours relations and makes later diplomacy more costly. In the worst cases, weaker states and non-state actors can deploy asymmetric tactics such as appeals to the public, guerilla warfare, and terror campaigns to make greater powers concede to their demands. As another option to domination, states can use “soft power” to try and create consensus and cooperation. Soft power is slippery to define, but it can be understood as an influence generated by esteem. When others see the state favorably, from just and legitimate policies or an attractive image of culture, they will be more willing to work with that state, thus gaining more “friends” through popularity.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> “GDP - Gross Domestic Product 1989.” countryeconomy.com. countryeconomy.com. Accessed August 28, 2021. <https://countryeconomy.com/gdp?year=1989>.

<sup>12</sup> SparkNotes Editors. “Foreign Policy: Tools of Foreign Policy.”

<sup>13</sup> Rip, Michael Russell, and James M. Hasik. *The Precision Revolution: Gps and the Future of Aerial Warfare*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Inst. Press, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Nye, Joseph S. “Think Again: Soft Power.” *Foreign Policy*. The Slate Group, February 23, 2006. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2006/02/23/think-again-soft-power/>.

How publicized or private a diplomatic initiative is will depend on how necessary the support of the citizenry is (either Americans or those in the other states), as well as the potential for embarrassment. While quiet negotiations can arrive at thoughtful and deliberate results, taking things public can create a pressure for a certain outcome- and a show of weakness if it fails to pass. In this age of growing connectedness, publicity can be a powerful tool for change, especially in a democracy.

American foreign policy is, for the most part, entrusted to the executive branch, but many different people take part in the process. The President is afforded a particularly public “bully pulpit” to address problems, both in shaping domestic opinion and communicating with foreign leaders. They may also work behind the scenes to personally set agreements or policies. Other officials work in similar respects, often being assigned as surrogates to represent the United States and the President in these direct discussions. This foreign policy is supported by a large corps of diplomats in the State Department trained in working within the protocol of formalized diplomacy, utilizing such institutions as embassies and official visits as tools for the state’s international relations.

## The Life of George H.W. Bush

George Herbert Walker Bush was born on June 12, 1924 in Milton, Massachusetts as the son of Prescott Bush, a United States Senator from Connecticut.<sup>15</sup> Despite growing up in a wealthy family, Bush enlisted in the Navy following his eighteenth birthday, serving as a torpedo bomber pilot during World War II. Later, Bush earned an undergraduate degree in Economics from Yale University before moving to western Texas to work in the oil and gas industry. First arriving in Odessa, Bush later moved to Midland, where he co-founded the Bush-Overbey Oil Development Company and the Zapata Petroleum Corporation while also managing the local American Legion baseball team and raising his first son, John Ellis "Jeb" Bush.<sup>16</sup> During this time, Bush became friends with James Baker, who would later become his Secretary of State.<sup>17</sup>

Bush's first foray into politics happened in the early 1960s, when he became active in the Harris County Republican Party, later going on to become the county party chair in 1962. At the time, the Republican Party was extremely weak in Texas, with every governor since 1874 having been a Democrat.<sup>18</sup> However, Bush helped to strengthen the party's standing in the state significantly by building an expansive coalition. His main base consisted of the more



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<sup>15</sup> "George H.W. Bush." Biography.com. A&E Networks Television, October 17, 2019. <https://www.biography.com/us-president/george-hw-bush>.

<sup>16</sup> Haurwitz, Ralph K.M. "Timeline of George H.W. Bush's Life in Texas." Statesman. Austin American-Statesman, December 1, 2018. <https://www.statesman.com/news/20181201/timeline-of-george-hw-bushs-life-in-texas>.

<sup>17</sup> Brisbin, Shelly. "'Texas Titans' Tells the Story of the 60 Year Friendship Between George H. W. Bush And James Baker." Texas Standard, November 30, 2020. <https://www.texasstandard.org/stories/texas-titans-tells-the-story-of-the-60-year-friendship-between-george-h-w-bush-and-james-baker/>.

<sup>18</sup> "Texas." National Governors Association. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.nga.org/former-governors/texas/>.

moderate and traditional factions of the Republican Party, which mainly emphasized conservative principles like reigned-in fiscal spending, a weaker Federal government, and increased local control.

In 1964, Bush ran for the United States Senate, but lost to Democratic Party nominee Ralph Yarborough, a popular incumbent who was a staunch supporter of both the Civil Rights movement and increased spending on social programs.<sup>19</sup> However, Bush finally broke through in 1966, winning the election for United States Representative for Texas's 7th Congressional District, where he would serve for four years, before losing yet another Senate election, this time to Lloyd Bentsen, a fiscally conservative Democrat who had defeated Yarborough in a primary election.<sup>20</sup> Despite this defeat, the strength of the Republican Party had grown significantly in Texas, causing Bush's influence to grow on the national level. Bush served multiple roles during the presidencies of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford, including Ambassador to the United Nations and Chief of the U.S. Liaison's Office to China, helping to advance Nixon's foreign policy doctrine of *détente*, or an easing of tensions between the United States and communist or communist-allied nations, such as the Soviet Union and China.<sup>21</sup> Bush also served as Director of Central Intelligence and Chair of the Republican National Committee between 1973 and 1977.<sup>22</sup>

Prior to the 1980 Presidential election, Bush challenged Ronald Reagan in the Republican primaries, presenting himself as the most moderate candidate of the field while touting his foreign policy experience at a time when it was especially relevant, with the Iran Hostage Crisis, a diplomatic standoff involving the capture of several dozen Americans at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, and the Cold War still ongoing.<sup>23 24</sup> Bush was able to win the heavily publicized Iowa Caucuses, but was ultimately defeated by Reagan, who would go on to choose Bush as his running mate in an appeal to

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<sup>19</sup> Odintz, Mark. "Yarborough, Ralph Webster (1903–1996)." TSHA. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/yarborough-ralph-webster>.

<sup>20</sup> Slaughter, George. "Bentsen, Lloyd Millard, Jr. (1921–2006)." TSHA. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/bentsen-lloyd-millard-jr>.

<sup>21</sup> History.com Editors. "Détente." History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 27, 2009. <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/detente>.

<sup>22</sup> Falk, Pamela. "George H.W. Bush Stood out as Tough Negotiator on the World Stage." CBS News. CBS Interactive, December 3, 2018. <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/george-hw-bush-stood-out-as-tough-negotiator-on-world-stage/>.

<sup>23</sup> History.com Editors. "Iran Hostage Crisis." History.com. A&E Television Networks, June 1, 2010. <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/iran-hostage-crisis>.

<sup>24</sup> Noble, Jason. "George H.W. Bush in IOWA: The Family Campaign - 'It Was Easy to Become Part of Their Family'." Des Moines Register. The Des Moines Register, December 1, 2018. <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/politics/2018/11/30/george-bush-died-iowa-caucuses-obituary/545814002/>.

the Republican Party's moderate wing. After serving as Reagan's Vice President for eight years, Bush ran for President again in 1988, this time winning the Republican primary and facing popular Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis in the general election. During the race, Bush's campaign portrayed Dukakis as out of touch with the country's national security needs, seizing on an infamous photo and video of Dukakis gleefully riding around in a tank while wearing army fatigues over his suit.<sup>25</sup> This propelled Bush to the highest office in the land over Dukakis and his running mate, Bush's old Senate foe, Lloyd Bentsen.

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<sup>25</sup> History.com Editors. "Tank Ride." History.com. A&E Television Networks, May 30, 2012. <https://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/tank-ride-video>.



## Domestic Situation

Although this committee is focused on helping to manage and steer President Bush's foreign policy, and will not offer advice or pass directives strictly related to domestic issues, it is still important for members of this committee to understand Bush's stances on domestic matters because they play a role in shaping his ideology and the decisions that he makes regarding foreign affairs. For example, Bush is broadly conservative, which means that he prioritizes national security and military spending over social spending, and is hostile towards anything reminiscent of socialism or communism, which informs the way that he interacts with other nations. Additionally, the President's foreign policy decisions still have an effect on people in the United States. This includes military and diplomatic decisions, but also any economic effects stemming from economic and trade agreements with other countries. Finally, Bush's beliefs about what policy may be beneficial to the United States also carry over to other parts of the world. For instance, because Bush is concerned about high levels of inflation and government spending in the US, he may look to incentivize more restrained fiscal policy abroad, as well.

### *The Economy*

George H.W. Bush's economic policy is moderate in comparison to his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. Leading up to the 1980 presidential race, the economy faced several significant challenges. In 1980, the rate of inflation peaked at more than 13.5%, putting a massive burden on the American consumer.<sup>26 27</sup> This was due to several factors. Firstly, since the Great Depression, American fiscal policy had been largely shaped with the purpose of avoiding high levels of unemployment. With the passage of the Employment Act of 1946, signed into law by Harry S. Truman, it became official policy for the Federal government to do everything in its power in order to "promote maximum employment."<sup>28</sup> Simultaneously, economists became overly reliant on the Phillips Curve, an economic theory that states that there is a tradeoff between inflation and unemployment. As a

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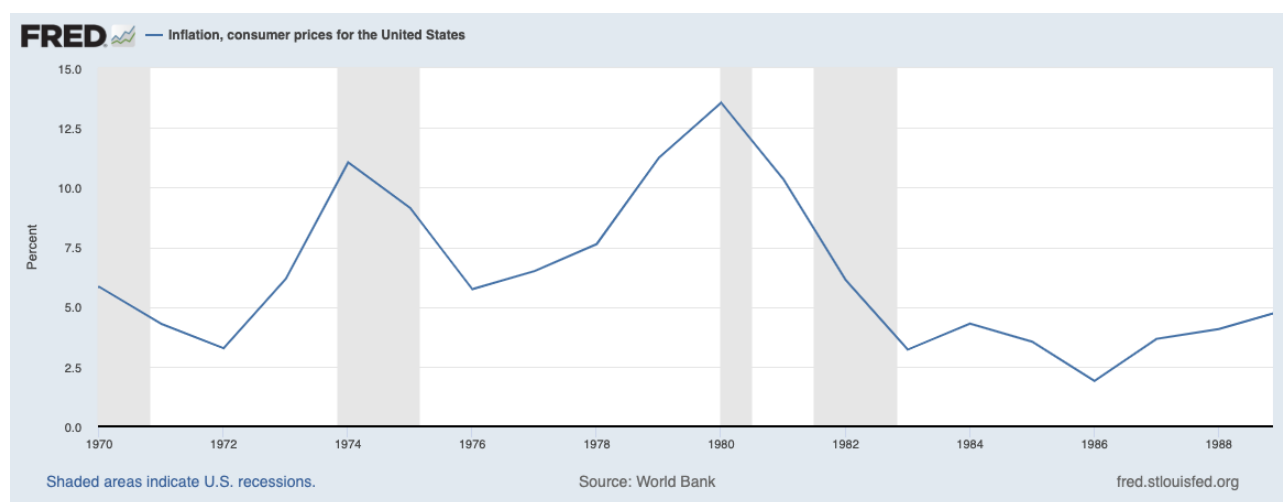
<sup>26</sup> Bryan, Michael. "The Great Inflation." Federal Reserve History. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/great-inflation>.

<sup>27</sup> "Inflation, Consumer Prices for the United States." FRED, May 26, 2021. <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FPCPITOTLZGUSA>.

<sup>28</sup> Steelman, Aaron. "Employment Act of 1946." Federal Reserve History. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.federalreservehistory.org/essays/employment-act-of-1946>.

result, American fiscal and monetary policy allowed for inflation to rise for years, with the hope that unemployment would remain low. Moreover, high levels of government spending contributed to rising rates of inflation, born out of various causes, including social spending on former President Lyndon Baines Johnson's Great Society programs, increased defense spending as the Cold War ramped up, and, costliest of all, the Vietnam War, which spanned roughly two decades.

The second economic challenge was the high rate of unemployment. The unemployment rate had fallen significantly during the early years of President Jimmy Carter's administration, from 7.5% in January of 1977 to 5.6% in May of 1979, but rapidly increased to 7.8% in mid-1980.<sup>29</sup> This was due primarily to the 1979 Oil Crisis, when oil prices rose significantly when oil supply was constricted as an indirect result of the Iranian Revolution, significantly dampening an American economy reliant on oil and gasoline.<sup>30</sup> It also stemmed from Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker's efforts to stymie



the rate of inflation by raising interest rates and tightening monetary policy on the whole, which had the expected tradeoff of weakening the economy. Simultaneously, the 1979 Oil Crisis and the rise in oil prices contributed to rising consumer prices on the whole, further exacerbating the already-high rate of inflation and counteracting Volcker's deflationary efforts.

<sup>29</sup>Image: "Unemployment Rate." FRED, August 6, 2021. <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/UNRATE>.

<sup>30</sup>"1980-82 Early 1980s Recession." 1980-82 Early 1980s Recession - Timeline - Slaying the Dragon of Debt - Regional Oral History Office - University of California, Berkeley. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/ROHO/projects/debt/1980srecession.html>.

The third economic challenge had to do with the budget deficit. In 1980, the Carter administration had run the largest deficit in American history to date, reaching \$73.83 billion.<sup>31</sup> This was concerning for two reasons. Firstly, high levels of debt often contributes to inflation, when the government is forced to print money in order to keep up spending. Secondly, American debt held by foreign governments and investors surpassed \$100 billion for the first time during the Carter administration, leading to concerns that increasing levels of debt could threaten the country's sovereignty.<sup>32</sup>

On the campaign trail, Reagan was a strong proponent of "supply-side economics," which would later be dubbed "Reaganomics" or "trickle-down economics." This school of economic thought believes that decreasing tax rates, particularly on corporations and capital gains income, would increase investments which lead to a more productive economy. Reagan also sought to rein in regulations, including those on risky investment practices by financial institutions, viewing them as a burden that slowed down the economy.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, while Reagan looked to cut social spending such as the New Deal and the Great Society programs, he wanted to dramatically increase levels of defense spending, viewing the Cold War as a severe national security threat.

Bush, in turn, characterized Reagan's proposals as being "Voodoo economics," suggesting that, while lowering tax rates and significantly increasing defense spending at the same time might have a stimulating effect on the economy and accomplish some of Reagan's national security objectives, they would only exacerbate the rising budget deficit, while potentially also contributing to inflation.<sup>34</sup> Bush positioned himself as someone more willing to compromise on economic issues, whether it be by forgoing a tax cut or military spending hike, or even by allowing for a tax increase, if it meant reducing the budget deficit.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Reagan stabilized inflation at just above 4% in 1988 and the unemployment rate fell back to 5.3% from a peak of 10.8% in 1982; however, the

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<sup>31</sup> "Federal Surplus or Deficit [-]." FRED, June 29, 2021. <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FYFSD>.

<sup>32</sup> "Federal Debt Held by Foreign and International Investors." FRED, June 2, 2021. <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/FDHBFIN>.

<sup>33</sup> Liberto, Daniel. "Voodoo Economics Definition." Investopedia. Investopedia, May 19, 2021. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/v/voodooeconomics.asp>.

<sup>34</sup> Liberto, "Voodoo Economics Definition."

<sup>35</sup> "1988 Flashback: George H.W. Bush SAYS, 'Read My LIPS: No New Taxes'." NBCNews.com. NBCUniversal News Group, May 27, 2021. <https://www.nbcnews.com/video/1988-flashback-george-h-w-bush-says-read-my-lips-no-new-taxes-1388261955924>.

budget deficit only continued to rise under Reagan, reaching a peak of \$221 billion in 1986, vindicating some of Bush's earlier concerns.

### ***Social Issues***

On most social issues, Bush espoused positions that generally aligned with traditional American conservative thought. For example, he was a strong proponent of charitable donation and volunteerism, and believed that individual Americans, rather than the government, should play a significant role in bettering their communities. To that end, in his inaugural address, he described community organizations as being a "thousand points of light," and plans to formally recognize people involved in volunteerism as being the "points of light" involved in bringing the nation together in the face of difficult situations.<sup>36</sup> Bush also emphasized reverence for American patriotic symbols, such as the American flag and the Pledge of Allegiance. Prior to the 1988 election, Bush criticized Democratic Party nominee and former governor of Massachusetts Michael Dukakis for vetoing a bill that would have required teachers to lead their students in a recitation of the Pledge, prompting the response that the bill may have violated First Amendment protections of free speech.<sup>37</sup> Beyond the Pledge of Allegiance, Bush was also highly hostile towards burning of the American flag, arguing that burning the flag in protest "goes too far." Currently, the Supreme Court of the United States is poised to rule on the case of *Texas v. Johnson*, and is likely to hold that laws criminalizing the burning of the flag are unconstitutional and in violation of the First Amendment. In anticipation of this, Bush plans to propose a constitutional amendment to override such a decision and create an exemption for the flag, and allow for a Federal law that would criminalize desecration of the American flag.

Bush also had significant concerns about the quality of education in the United States, and looked to overhaul the public education system. In particular, he supports a framework that would promote high-performing schools, students, and teachers. He plans to fund the development of magnet schools for high-performing students, as well as scholarships and grants favoring success in scientific

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<sup>36</sup> "History of Points of Light: The Founding of a Global Service Organization." Points of Light, March 28, 2019. <https://www.pointsoflight.org/history/>.

<sup>37</sup> "Bush-Era Flag Burning Ban Didn't Fly with High Court." Bloomberg Law. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/us-law-week/bush-era-flag-burning-ban-didnt-fly-with-high-court>.

fields and “Presidential Awards” for especially remarkable teachers and educators. Additionally, Bush supports the expansion of the use of private school vouchers, which are monetary awards allowing low and middle-income students to have the option to attend private schools instead of local public schools, often distributed via either a merit or lottery-based system. Moreover, he believes that the majority of control over education should be delegated to state and local governments, stating that his proposals “would not establish a national curriculum.”<sup>38</sup> However, these proposals face bipartisan opposition. Hard-line conservatives view the various planned monetary incentives as being excessive Federal government overreach into public education as well as potentially wasteful spending, while liberals believe that high-stakes testing to determine placement into the proposed magnet schools could needlessly leave students behind, and view expansions of private school vouchers as counterproductive, opting instead for expansions to traditional public schooling.

On firearm legislation and the environment, however, Bush takes more moderate stances. Although Bush is a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association, a gun manufacturing lobby and gun rights advocacy group, he is considering a ban on the importation of semiautomatic rifles following complaints from law enforcement officers that the high volume of such weapons coming into the country could be contributing to their difficulty in combating drug trafficking and other forms of organized crime.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, on environmental policy, Bush plans to strengthen provisions in the Clean Air Act by tightening limits on emissions of chemicals like sulfur dioxide, which contributes to acid rain, and looks to curb the risk of oil spills by loosening liability protections for oil companies, increasing penalties, and creating a fund in order to streamline cleanup.<sup>40 41</sup> These proposals face some opposition from business-aligned conservatives in Congress, while Bush’s opposition to

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<sup>38</sup> “Statement of Administration Policy: S. 695 - Educational Excellence Act of 1989.” Statement of Administration Policy: S. 695 - Educational Excellence Act of 1989 | The American Presidency Project, November 13, 1989.

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-administration-policy-s-695-educational-excellence-act-1989>.

<sup>39</sup> Mohr, Charles. “U.S. Bans Imports of Assault Rifles in Shift by Bush.” The New York Times. The New York Times, March 15, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/03/15/us/us-bans-imports-of-assault-rifles-in-shift-by-bush.html>.

<sup>40</sup> AP Editors. “Bush Signs Major Revision of Anti-Pollution Law.” The New York Times. The New York Times, November 16, 1990. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/11/16/us/bush-signs-major-revision-of-anti-pollution-law.html>.

<sup>41</sup> Bush, George H.W. “Statement on Signing the Oil Pollution Act of 1990.” Statement on Signing the Oil Pollution Act of 1990 | The American Presidency Project, August 18, 1990. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-signing-the-oil-pollution-act-1990>.

curbing resource extraction on certain public lands, such as Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, as well as his refusal to tighten auto-mileage standards, have drawn criticism from the left.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Brown, Elizabeth A. "Conservation League Gives Bush 'D' on Environment." The Christian Science Monitor. The Christian Science Monitor, March 19, 1991. <https://www.csmonitor.com/1991/0319/19071.html>.

## Cold War

At the close of the Second World War, the United States stood at the forefront of a new world order. After the carnage of World War I, the United States had adopted a policy of isolationism and disengagement to avoid a repeat,<sup>43</sup> but as the country had been forced into war after Pearl Harbor, the failure of the policy was evident. Now, the United States changed tack and set to shape the post-war world in its interests by a much more hands-on approach. The ascendent claims of Germany and Japan to great power status had been staunch and both countries were now occupied, but America's wartime allies were also weakened from the long years of total war.<sup>44</sup> The multipolar system in place before World War II, where a number of states could contest power and pose credible threats to each other, gave way to a bipolar one, where the United States and the Soviet Union were the clear directors of their allies and were clear rivals. Their interactions and attitudes over the following decades would reflect this positioning.

In the endgame of World War II, the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies worked together to squeeze the German army between their advances. Negotiations near the end of the war, at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, set the terms for dealing with the defeated Axis powers but were undermined by mutual distrust between the democracies and the Soviets. The Americans had disliked the emergence of a strong communist state and feared it would try to export communism and revolution to other countries. The Soviets resented American reluctance to recognize the USSR as well as the American hesitation in entering World War II.<sup>45</sup> Once the two armies had met in the middle of Europe, they both entrenched their positions and refused to leave, setting up a divided Europe and an "iron curtain" between the two worlds. The massive and well-armed Soviet forces stationed in Eastern Europe prevented any Western attack to dislodge them, and so the uneasy peace persisted.

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<sup>43</sup> "The United Nations." U.S. History Online Textbook. Independence Hall Association, 2021. <https://www.ushistory.org/us/52b.asp>.

<sup>44</sup> "The Cold War Erupts." U.S. History Online Textbook. Independence Hall Association, 2021. <https://www.ushistory.org/us/52a.asp>.

<sup>45</sup> History.com Editors. "Cold War History." History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 27, 2009. <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/cold-war-history>.

The global standing of these two great powers has been reinforced with the establishment of military and economic alliances. The United States provides most leadership and direction within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), while the Soviets do the same in the corresponding Warsaw Pact. In order to protect the allied states of NATO from communist domination, America has poured billions of dollars into aid, such as through the Marshall Plan to help rebuild after World War II. With the intention of securing a buffer zone in Europe to prevent invasion, the Soviets have maintained communist governments loyal to them in the states of Eastern Europe. To ensure their control, the Soviets have suppressed opposition to rule in these countries and has on several occasions deployed military forces against resistances. In addition, communist governments have seized power in many states elsewhere, particularly Asia. However, the communist states are not as united as they once were, with China and the Soviet Union no longer working together as allies. Nevertheless, the establishment of communist and Soviet-aligned governments can be a threat to American security interests, with the poignant example of the Cuban regime's willingness to host Soviet nuclear missiles in range of American cities as a severe example. While the two great powers are leaders of their camps on the international stage, they do not hold total control of world affairs. There exists a large contingent of states in a non-aligned movement, such as Egypt and Indonesia, supporting each other's efforts to act independently and dictate their own affairs. Even within the American-allied states, the dynamic economic growth of Western Europe and Japan has enabled relationships to be more cooperative, with members working as equals.<sup>46</sup>

To counter the proliferation of communist states, the United States has essentially maintained a grand strategy of containment against the Soviet Union. The reasoning for containment argues that there are a set of world regions which can provide industrial strength, and if one power were to control them all, it would become strong enough to pose a threat to the United States homeland.<sup>47</sup> This is coupled with "domino theory", by which one state turning communist places its neighbors at higher risk of also becoming communist.<sup>48</sup> Between these two philosophies, the United States has thus opposed the expansion of communism to any new state and acted accordingly. For instance, to

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<sup>46</sup> Augustyn, Adam. "Cold War- Toward a New World Order." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed August 29, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Cold-War/Toward-a-new-world-order>.

<sup>47</sup> Van Evera, Stephen. "Why Europe Matters, Why the Third World Doesn't: American Grand Strategy after the Cold War." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 13, no. 2 (1990): 1–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402399008437408>.

<sup>48</sup> Pike, John. "Vietnam War - The Domino Theory." GlobalSecurity.org. GlobalSecurity.org, 2011. <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/ops/vietnam2-domino-theory.htm>.



secure the Western Hemisphere from intrusion, the United States has supported, and sometimes installed, American-friendly and anti-communist governments in Latin America. In other locales, America has deployed significant military offensives to protect allied governments, such as in Korea and Vietnam. However, these operations have proven costly and can be limited in their effectiveness. The track record across world regions generally demonstrates that access to American aid and markets, along with a promotion of democratic ideals, has been a much more powerful draw for states to ally with the United States.

As one another's principle rivals, the United States and the Soviet Union have adopted a competitive relationship. Fear of the other's military superiority has led to an arms race, particularly among nuclear weapons capabilities. Now, each state has enough nuclear weapons such that each arsenal could withstand an attack and still be able to retaliate with heavy devastation, and while such mutually assured destruction has been able to prevent nuclear war thus far, a nuclear exchange cannot be ruled impossible. The competition for better missile and rocket technology led to the space race, which took on a symbolic dimension as both states pursued space exploration programs with the intent of landing citizens on the moon before the other. Elsewhere, the Olympic Games have been a stage for the expression of this rivalry, with each state vying for a dominating share of medals. In addition, when the Games were held in Moscow in 1980, the United States led a multi-nation boycott, for which the Soviets retaliated in kind at the 1984 Games in Los Angeles.

However, despite their geopolitical contention, the United States and the Soviet Union have sometimes been able to have constructive dialogue and work together. During the 1970s, the United States and the Soviet Union entered a period of eased tensions known as *detente*,<sup>49</sup> which allowed some degree of cooperation. One real outcome of this rapprochement has been the negotiation and ratification of treaties limiting armaments, including the SALT I and SALT II treaties on nuclear missiles. The ascension of Mikhail Gorbachev to the leadership of the Soviet Union seems to have turned a new page in relations altogether. Gorbachev has been willing to meet extensively with former President Reagan to further limit an arms race and open new avenues of economic cooperation. Domestically, Gorbachev seems to have installed serious reform to the Soviet Union

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<sup>49</sup> "Détente." A Visual Guide to the Cold War. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2021. <https://coldwar.unc.edu/theme/detente/>.

with the introduction of more freedom of expression, known as glasnost, and economic liberalization, known as perestroika.<sup>50</sup> In order to focus on these efforts, the Soviet government has worked to limit its international commitments, reducing funding for friendly regimes and taking a less hostile position in global politics. It is unclear how long this inward turn will last, but in the meantime, it presents the United States with an opportunity to reconsider its adversarial approach to world politics and take on new possibilities.

### ***Cold War Timeline***<sup>51</sup>

**1945: Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.** The division of Europe between the Soviets and the Western powers is uneasily agreed upon.

**1947: The Truman Doctrine.** The United States asserts its need to combat communist takeovers in any state, such as Greece.

**1947: The Marshall Plan.** The United States pours millions of dollars in aid to Western Europe to rebuild after World War II, strengthening the governments there and establishing goodwill toward American cooperation.

**1949: Nuclear proliferation.** The Soviet Union tests its first successful nuclear weapon.

**1949: Chinese Revolution.** Mao Zedong leads the communist party to victory in China and establishes the People's Republic of China.

**1950-53: Korean War.** Communist North Korea invades South Korea, prompting the United States to lead a United Nations military coalition to counter the invasion. When the Northern forces are pushed to the border with China, the Chinese government provides support for a counterattack. The two sides fight in a stalemate until an armistice preserves the two Koreas.

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<sup>50</sup> "Gorbachev's 'Perestroika' And 'GLASNOST' - the Cold War (1945–1989)." CVCU.eu By Uni.lu. CVCE. Accessed August 30, 2021. <https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/55c09dcc-agf2-45e9-b240-eaef64452cae/dd66dd61-dbe6-4e51-a055-b8bf6e3ca07c>.

<sup>51</sup> "Timeline of the Cold War." Harry S. Truman Presidential Library and Museum. National Archives. Accessed August 29, 2021. [https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/public/TrumanCIA\\_Timeline.pdf](https://www.trumanlibrary.gov/public/TrumanCIA_Timeline.pdf).

- 1956: Hungarian Revolution.** The Soviet Union directly sends in military forces to suppress a rebellion against the communist government in place in the country.
- 1956: Suez Crisis.** Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal over the protests of the Western European states. When Britain, France, and Israel launch an attack to recapture the Canal, both the United States and the Soviet Union take punitive measures and threaten sanctions, forcing a withdrawal and demonstrating dominance of the world stage.
- 1957: Sputnik.** The Soviet Union successfully launches an artificial satellite into orbit around the Earth. The technological ability to fly a satellite over the United States equates to the ability to deliver a nuclear warhead there, which triggers fears of Soviet scientific superiority. The Americans resolve to close the gap, dedicating themselves to the Space Race.
- 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis.** The Soviet Union posts nuclear missiles in communist Cuba, close enough to threaten American cities. To prevent more missiles being installed, the United States initiates a blockade of Cuba, forcing Soviet ships to turn around. The possibility of nuclear war was averted when the Soviet Union declared it would withdraw its armaments from the island. The United States also agreed to the removal of similar missile postings in Greece and Turkey.
- 1964: Gulf of Tonkin incident.** A purported attack on an American ship by communist North Vietnamese forces allows for justification for Congress to give the President wider powers in deploying the military. Involvement in the conflict between the two Vietnams is intensified to protect the American-allied government in the South.
- 1968: Prague Spring.** A revolution against the communist government of Czechoslovakia is suppressed by a full invasion of the country by the Soviet Union, who reinstall their allied regime.
- 1969: Apollo 11 moon landing.** The United States's space exploration program NASA successfully lands men on the moon and returns them safely before the Soviet Union, effectively winning the Space Race.

- 1972: Nixon visits China.** The United States recognizes the People's Republic of China as the government of China and normalizes relations with the intent of capitalizing on the distancing of the Chinese and Soviet communist governments.
- 1975: Fall of South Vietnam.** North Vietnam capitalizes on a cease fire and invades the South, defeating the regime there and reunifying the state.
- 1979: Invasion of Afghanistan.** When the communist government of Afghanistan becomes unstable, the Soviet Union sends its military in a direct invasion. However, the country proves difficult to subdue, and the occupation turns into a protracted bloodletting campaign with little success.
- 1985: Installation of Gorbachev.** Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the leader of the Soviet Union and begins a campaign of economic and political reform.
- 1987: Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty.** Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev agree on a framework for arms reduction, mutually promising to dismantle smaller classes of nuclear weapons, especially those positioned in Europe.

## Regional Primers

### *Africa*

In Africa, the Bush administration will have two primary areas of focus, both being sizable countries undergoing significant political upheaval. The Federal Republic of Somalia has been ruled by a repressive socialist government for roughly two decades, and is now on the verge of civil war as food scarcity worsens and rebel groups gain strength and influence. Meanwhile, the Republic of South Africa is still ruled by a brutal apartheid regime, which has drawn heavy sanctions and international condemnation, and calls for the liberation of opposition activists like Nelson Mandela are gaining worldwide support.

### *Somalia*

Somalia is a relatively young nation currently, having only gained its independence from Italy and Britain on July 1, 1960 through the unification of the two regions previously controlled by the respective imperial powers. Despite its relatively short history of autonomy, Somalia has undergone several drastic swings of power, and has endured conflict among warring political factions over the course of the past decade. During its first decade of independence, Somalia looked to foreign powers in order to gain stability, such as by accepting military assistance from nearby Egypt and military training from the Soviet Union.<sup>52</sup> The nation also held several elections during the 1960s. While the Somali Youth League (SYL), a big-tent, nationalistic party that played a key role in securing Somalia's independence during the prior decades, largely dominated, the country also had a noticeable socialist opposition wing, in the form of the Socialist National Congress (SNC). Following the 1969 Somali Parliamentary election, in which the SNC secured just 11 seats, violent demonstrations broke out in the weeks and months following the election, culminating in President Abdi Rashid Ali Shirmanke and Prime Minister Maxamed Xaaji Ibrahim Cigaal being assassinated and deposed, respectively, within a week of one another, leading to a seizure of power by General

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<sup>52</sup> "28. Somalia (1960-Present)." University of Central arkansas: UCA - Political Science. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://uca.edu/politicalscience/dadm-project/sub-saharan-africa-region/somalia-1960-present/>.

Mohammed Siad Barre and his far-left Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), which later became the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party (SRSP).

Siad Barre would then rule as a Marxist-Leninist dictator for the next decade, abolishing opposition political parties and the Somali National Assembly. Early in his rule, prominent Western powers suspected that Somalia was behaving like a satellite state, either controlled or heavily influenced by the Soviet Union, due to Siad Barre's inclination towards communist economic policy, leading the United States to impose sanctions upon the regime in 1970. However, this theory was disproved later that year, when Somalia went to war against Ethiopia over a region of disputed land, and the Soviet Union offered material support to Ethiopia.<sup>53</sup> The 1970s were rife with conflict within the country, as well, with many of the nation's residents dissatisfied with food shortages and regime repression. In 1971, Vice-President Muhammad Ainshe Guleid unsuccessfully attempted to overthrow General Barre, and in 1978, the government put down a sizable armed rebellion, with roughly 200 people dying in the conflict. Although Siad Barre declared Somalia to be a socialist state for the foreseeable future on the tenth anniversary of his coup in 1979, several rebel factions swiftly formed and clashed with Siad Barre's government throughout the 1980s. These included the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) and the Democratic Front for the Salvation of Somalia (DFSS). Now, with shortages and dysfunction continuing to plague Somalia and violence escalating, the nation seems to be on the brink of civil war.<sup>54</sup>

## ***South Africa***

Simultaneously, South Africa is also at an inflection point in its political history. Since its establishment as a republic in 1961, South Africa had been governed by a brutal apartheid regime that had imprisoned a multitude of anti-apartheid activists belonging to the Africa National Congress, a nationalistic and anti-apartheid movement and political party.<sup>55</sup> Most notably, this included Nelson Mandela, who had been put in various prisons throughout the country since 1962. The regime's oppressive tactics drew significant worldwide opposition, primarily in the form of

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<sup>53</sup> "Buried in the Sands of the Ogaden: The Horn of Africa and SALT II, 1977–1979." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/horn-of-africa>.

<sup>54</sup> Hassig, Susan M., Zawiah Abdul Latif, and Ruth Bjorklund. *Somalia*. New York: Cavendish Square Publishing, 2017.

<sup>55</sup> "Mandela Concert Wembley 1988." Forward to Freedom. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.aamarchives.org/archive/video/music/vid001-mandela-concert-at-wembley-1988.html>.

sanctions and embargoes from other African countries. These punitive measures took a significant toll on South Africa, as they led to severe logistical slowdowns, culminating in the crash of South African Airways Flight 295, a deadly aviation accident caused by an in-flight fire that was believed to have originated from weapons being smuggled by the South African government in the plane's cargo section due to an inability to import weapons as a result of apartheid-related sanctions.<sup>56</sup> The anti-apartheid movement and calls for Mandela's release gained international strength during the 1980s, with a tribute concert on Mandela's 70th birthday at Wembley Stadium in 1988 helping to raise awareness. Now, these calls for Mandela's release are more forceful than ever, having gained worldwide backing, and some lower-level members of South African State President P. W. Botha's government have suggested the possibility of a new, desegregated constitution.

## ***Americas***

In the Americas, the Bush administration's efforts will focus on a wide range of topics, including national security, promotion of liberalization in countries with authoritarian left-wing governments, and progress towards a free trade agreement with the United States' immediate neighbors. Specifically, Bush and his top officials will look to hold regimes in Cuba and Nicaragua accountable while also attempting to correct mistakes made by previous administrations. Furthermore, Bush hopes to avoid escalating tensions with Panama, to evade an imminent economic collapse in Venezuela, and to engineer a mutually beneficial agreement with Mexico and Canada.

## ***Nicaragua and Honduras***

During the Reagan administration, the Reagan Doctrine dictated that the United States would provide logistical and military support to rebel groups opposing communist regimes, including the Contras, a coalition of right-wing groups that opposed Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front government. While the intention was to facilitate a swift overthrow of the Nicaraguan government, the conflict dragged on for many years, and actions taken by the Contras grew increasingly brutal.

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<sup>56</sup> Zhang, Benjamin. "This Tragic Story Shows Why It's Been so Difficult to Find MH370 in the Indian Ocean." Business Insider. Business Insider, July 29, 2015. <https://www.businessinsider.com/possible-mh370-debris-south-africa-2015-7>.

As a result of the brutality perpetrated by the Contras, as well as the knowledge that significant portions of the Contras' funding had come via trade of illicit substances, the United States Congress passed a series of bills between 1982 and 1985, restricting funding for the Contras.<sup>57 58</sup> In response, the Reagan administration attempted to circumvent the funding cuts by selling weapons, such as missiles, to the Iranian government. Then, the administration would tacitly funnel funding to Contra rebels via the CIA. However, because the weapons sales to Iran violated an embargo that the United States had placed on Iran, the arrangement was illegal, and the scandal widely became known as the "Iran-Contra Affair."

During the conflict between the Contras and the ruling Sandinista government, Contras would station outside Nicaragua in neighboring countries, including Honduras. Although Bush hopes to distance himself from Reagan's legacy of supporting the Contras and the Iran-Contra Scandal in particular, and plans to withdraw support from rebel efforts in Nicaragua, he has urged the Honduran government to allow Nicaraguan rebels to station in Honduras. The Bush administration's rationale is to use this as leverage, and continue to exert pressure on the Sandinistas to make stronger commitments towards democratization. However, this agenda faces fierce opposition from several surrounding nations, including Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala, as well as both Honduras and Nicaragua.<sup>59</sup> Most importantly, Bush wants whatever solution for the Nicaragua situation to be a coordinated one, where the president and Congress agree on a way forward.<sup>60</sup>

## **Cuba**

In 1988, the United Nations Human Rights Commission investigated possible human rights abuses in Cuba, a one-party communist state controlled by dictator Fidel Castro. The report was critical of Castro's regime, and Cuban leadership attempted to interfere with the investigation while it was ongoing, with allegations that some witnesses were intimidated, while, in other cases, "Cubans who

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<sup>57</sup> History.com Editors. "Iran-Contra Affair." History.com. A&E Television Networks, August 10, 2017. <https://www.history.com/topics/1980s/iran-contra-affair>.

<sup>58</sup> Purdy, Elizabeth R. "Boland Amendment." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Boland-Amendment>.

<sup>59</sup> Pear, Robert. "U.S. ENVOY URGES HONDURANS TO LET THE CONTRAS STAY." The New York Times. The New York Times, March 14, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/03/14/world/us-envoy-urges-hondurans-to-let-the-contras-stay.html>.

<sup>60</sup> Sununu, John H. *The Quiet Man: The Indispensable Presidency of George H.W. Bush*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2015.



gave evidence to an investigating team sent to Havana by the commission in 1988 were subsequently arrested and mistreated.”<sup>61</sup>

Just over a month after taking office, Bush’s office released a statement expressing support for the Human Rights Commission’s report, while also characterizing the Cuban government as “one of the most repressive in the world,” and calling for “a long-term effort to bring about true and lasting changes in the Cuban Government’s performance on human rights,” both by the U.N. and by member states individually.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, in a continuation of former President Reagan’s doctrine of hostility towards communist regimes throughout the world, Bush is seeking more than a continuation of mere investigations. Rather, he also plans to pressure the U.N. Secretary-General, Javier Perez de Cuellar, into releasing a report about his discussions with Cuban leadership, in order to bring additional details to light.

## **NAFTA**

Calls for a free trade agreement between the United States, Mexico, and Canada began in 1979, when Reagan raised the idea of a free trade zone encompassing all of North America while announcing his candidacy for President.<sup>63</sup> Over the course of his two terms, Reagan was able to engineer the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA), which liberalized trade relations between the two northernmost nations, but left out Mexico. The deal was extremely divisive in Canada. While Canada’s Liberal Party had long supported classically liberal economic policy, including free trade, or “reciprocity,” since its creation in the mid-1800s, the party fiercely opposed the deal, primarily on nationalistic grounds. After Canada elected Progressive Conservative Party leader Brian Mulroney as its prime minister in 1984, his government called a snap election in 1988, effectively making that a referendum on the free-trade agreement.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Lewis, Paul. “U.S. to Press U.N. Chief on Human Rights in Cuba.” *The New York Times*. The New York Times, January 27, 1990. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/01/27/world/us-to-press-un-chief-on-human-rights-in-cuba.html>.

<sup>62</sup> “Statement on the United Nations Human Rights Commission Report on Cuba.” George Bush Presidential Library and Museum. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://bush41library.tamu.edu/archives/public-papers/93>.

<sup>63</sup> Macdonald, Laura. “Canada and NAFTA.” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, March 29, 2017. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/north-american-free-trade-agreement-nafta>.

<sup>64</sup> Hall, D.J. *Clifford Sifton, Volume 2: A Lonely Eminence, 1901-1929*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2014.

During the election campaign period, the Liberal Party ran negative ads about the proposed deal, portraying it as a threat to Canada's sovereignty. One especially memorable advertisement included a scene where American negotiators suggest that a "line" be stricken in the agreement, only for it to be revealed that the "line" is in fact the border between Canada and the United States, thus suggesting that the agreement would allow the United States to exert undue influence over Canada, with Canada becoming *de facto* part of the United States.<sup>65</sup> The agreement also drew opposition from the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's left-wing party. The NDP is closely allied with trade unions in Canada, and, as a result, NDP leader Ed Broadbent echoed the fears of the Liberals, while also raising concerns about "brain drain" and the outsourcing of Canadian labor to the United States, and the effect that the new deal could have on existing agreements involving auto parts. On the other hand, the CUSFTA also drew support from some economists, including Ronald and Paul Wonnacott, who had argued several decades earlier that Canadian industry would benefit significantly from the lowering of trade barriers.<sup>66</sup> Ultimately, the agreement was implemented, and Mulroney's Progressive Conservative party was able to maintain power in the 1988 election.

Adding Mexico to the deal would prove to be even more controversial. Although Mulroney and the Progressive Conservatives were extremely enthusiastic about signing the CUSFTA, they were uneasy about the idea of sharing access to the enormous American government with Mexico, but eventually came around. The deal involving all three countries -- the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) -- also faced heavy pushback from labor groups, in both the United States and Canada, who argued that the agreement would cause a "race to the bottom," in which the countries involved would depress wages and labor standards in hopes of drawing investment from exploitative businesses. Moreover, unions argued that they had been left out of negotiations, in favor of corporate leadership.

In Mexico, meanwhile, support for the trade agreement had to do with political legitimacy as much as it did with economics. The Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) took power in Mexico in 1929,

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<sup>65</sup> Ibbitson, John. "After 25 Years, Free-Trade Deal with U.S. Has Helped Canada Grow Up." *The Globe and Mail*, September 29, 2012. <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/economy/after-25-years-free-trade-deal-with-us-has-helped-canada-grow-up/article4576313/>.

<sup>66</sup> Wonnacott, Ronald J., and Paul Wonnacott. "Free Trade between the United States and Canada." *Free Trade between the United States and Canada* - Ronald J. Wonnacott, Paul Wonnacott | Harvard University Press, January 1, 1967. <https://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674319004>.

and had since then faced little electoral opposition, allowing them to rule in authoritarian fashion. However, in 1988, they saw a significant challenge from left-wing activist Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, leading many to believe the victory of PRI candidate Carlos Salinas de Gortari to be fraudulent.<sup>67</sup> So, Salinas saw NAFTA as a potential vehicle for boosting economic growth in Mexico, and, with it, increasing his legitimacy with the general populace.

Bush supports the idea of NAFTA, as he sees it as a continuation of the economic liberalization that began under the Reagan administration, and agrees with the premise that increased liberalization would lead to faster economic growth and greater prosperity. Tacitly, Bush also believes that implementing NAFTA would give Salinas a significant policy accomplishment and help to legitimize his rule, thus helping to bring stability to the United States' southern neighbor, and help to avoid any potential conflict around the border. At the same time, the deal faces significant opposition from labor unions and other special interest groups in the United States, and Bush is wary of the political climate in Canada, where the Liberal party has gained in popularity since the 1988 election, and could be on its way to a victory over the NAFTA-supporting Progressive Conservatives in 1993 -- a fate that could potentially befall Bush's own Republican Party as well.

## **Venezuela**

Venezuela, meanwhile, is undergoing a severe economic crisis. The Venezuelan government is in debt to the point that it has nearly run out of money, with President Carlos Andres Perez now considering completely suspending payments to pay off the nation's outstanding foreign debt, which as of now is around \$30 billion.<sup>68</sup> Simultaneously, the debt crisis has triggered severe inflation that has led to shortages nationwide, which in turn has caused deadly riots in the nation's capital Caracas, and a significant uptick in violent crime. In an effort to correct some of these problems, Bush's administration plans to urge the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to grant Venezuela a relief loan of nearly \$2 billion. However, this proposal has garnered opposition, as IMF loans, and especially those to countries with extremely high rates of inflation, often carry requirements that the

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<sup>67</sup> Thompson, Ginger. "Ex-President in Mexico Casts New Light on Rigged 1988 Election." The New York Times. The New York Times, March 9, 2004. <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/09/world/ex-president-in-mexico-casts-new-light-on-rigged-1988-election.html>.

<sup>68</sup> Kilborn, Peter T. "U.S. Planning Role in \$2 Billion Loan to Aid Venezuela." The New York Times. The New York Times, March 4, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/03/04/world/us-planning-role-in-2-billion-loan-to-aid-venezuela.html>.

country receiving the loan take austerity measures in order to lower its inflation rate and reduce its national debt. While some view these as necessary, difficult steps to correct a country's economy, others, particularly in the case of Venezuela, view such conditions on the loan as gratuitous cruelty that would only further reduce the standard of living of Venezuela's citizens.

## ***Panama***

Perhaps the most complicated situation involves Panama, which is currently being ruled by dictator Manuel Noriega. Several decades earlier, Noriega began serving as an informant for the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), aiding the US in its efforts to curtail the spread of communism in South and Central America.<sup>69</sup> Later, during the Reagan administration, Noriega aided the administration's efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan Sandinista government, thus putting him on good terms with Reagan. In recent years, however, America's relationship with Noriega soured after it was revealed that he had been involved with racketeering, money laundering, and drug smuggling. In an effort to distance itself from a CIA source who had been involved in heinous illegal activities for decades, the Department of Justice brought charges against Noriega, and he was indicted by two Federal grand juries in Florida.

With the relationship between Noriega and the United States now in shambles, tensions are as high as they have ever been. In retaliation for the indictment, Noriega has threatened to seize control of the Panama Canal and prevent it from remaining open. According to a treaty signed with Panama during the Carter presidency, the Canal Zone is set to transfer to Panamanian control in 1999, with the United States and Panama sharing joint administration in the meantime.<sup>70</sup> However, the threat to the Canal's neutrality has led the Reagan administration to station American troops in the Panama Canal Zone. Now, any hostility on the part of Noriega's government towards the American soldiers, or any foul play by Noriega in the upcoming 1989 Presidential election in Panama, could trigger a full-scale US invasion.

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<sup>69</sup> "The U.S. Invades Panama." History.com. A&E Television Networks, February 9, 2010. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-u-s-invades-panama>.

<sup>70</sup> "The Panama Canal and the Torrijos-Carter Treaties." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1977-1980/panama-canal>.

## *Asia*

Being the largest continent on the planet in terms of both area and population, Asia would be a primary area of focus for any administration, and Bush's is no exception.<sup>71</sup> On the Korean Peninsula and in China, this concerns national security and human rights, as both the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) are totalitarian communist regimes that are steadily advancing their military capabilities. However, with other Asian countries, such as India and Japan, the focus is primarily on the United States' economic interests.

## *Japan*

With respect to Japan, Bush's administration looks to continue the tradition left by the Reagan administration, particularly in relation to international trade. Specifically, Bush is looking to accelerate a joint \$7 billion effort with Japan to develop the FSX, a new, advanced version of the F-16 fighter jet.<sup>72</sup> However, this plan for collaboration faces stiff opposition from some members of Congress, which could derail the proposal. Bush's administration has argued that the deal has not involved many significant concessions on the part of the United States, as the US would maintain exclusive rights to sensitive computer software and American companies would be guaranteed at least 40% of the manufacturing work. Supporters have also stated that the agreement would keep Japan from developing its own jet to compete with the American model, while granting the US insider access to Japanese technological plans. However, opponents have argued that, by allowing a Japanese firm to serve as a major contractor in the agreement, the US is simply giving away its technology to Japan, a rising economic competitor of the United States, allowing it not just to develop its own aerospace industry to compete with that of the US, but also to develop competitive auto and computer chip industries, as well. The rise of Japan as an economic competitor is especially relevant now, with growth being seen in almost every sector and business bankruptcies hitting a thirteen-year low in the year following Noboru Takeshita's inauguration as Prime Minister.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> O'Neill, Aaron. "Most Populated Continent 2018." Statista, August 17, 2021. <https://www.statista.com/statistics/262881/global-population-by-continent/>.

<sup>72</sup> Weinraub, Bernard. "U.S. and Japanese Agree to Proceed on Fighter Plane." The New York Times. The New York Times, April 29, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/04/29/world/us-and-japanese-agree-to-proceed-on-fighter-plane.html>.

<sup>73</sup> Fukui, Haruhiro. "Japan in 1988: At the End of an Era." Asian Survey 29, no. 1 (1989): 1-11. Accessed August 25, 2021. doi:10.2307/2644511.

However, there are also signs that the rapid, unexpected pace of economic growth may be due to the presence of asset bubbles in both the real estate and housing markets, meaning that any cooperation between the United States and Japan might be risky, as these bubbles could pop, leading to a swift economic collapse.<sup>74</sup>

## ***India***

Bush's administration is also concerned about trade practices in India. In the early months of the presidency, Bush plans to attempt to pressure the Indian government into strengthening its patent protection legislation or face retaliatory trade sanctions. As a result of a law passed in 1988, Bush's administration has the authority to retaliate against nations that explicitly or implicitly condone "pirate and profit" practices, which occur when firms from another country appropriate American technology and intellectual property for profit without paying royalties to the American companies involved.<sup>75</sup> Bush's administration believes that lax enforcement of intellectual property rights have allowed such behavior to flourish in India, and thus want the legislation to be tightened. Additionally, the administration plans to come up with a list of countries that have allowed "pirate and profit" practices to occur, and push for tighter safeguard in those nations, as well. Moreover, Bush's administration is also concerned about increasingly illiberal actions taken by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's government. In July of 1988, Gandhi introduced a bill that would have significantly broadened the legal definition of defamation, severely curtailing the ability of the press to report critically on Gandhi's administration, possibly as retaliation against several investigative pieces about election-related corruption in Gandhi's party, the Indian National Congress, that had recently been published.<sup>76</sup> Although the bill was later withdrawn, it faced widespread opposition throughout India, and the Bush administration plans to monitor Gandhi's government with increased scrutiny.

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<sup>74</sup> "The Bubble Economy of Japan." Japan's Bubble Economy. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/watkins/bubble.htm>.

<sup>75</sup> Hazarika, Sanjoy. "India and U.s. Disagree on Patents." The New York Times. The New York Times, April 17, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/04/17/business/international-report-india-and-us-disagree-on-patents.htm>.

<sup>76</sup> Crossette, Barbara. "India Newspapers Protest New Bill." The New York Times. The New York Times, September 4, 1988. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/09/04/world/india-newspapers-protest-new-bill.html>.

## ***China and North Korea***

Aside from that, Bush is also looking to continue and build on another tradition of the Reagan administration: limiting the political and military strength of totalitarian communist regimes. This includes combating human rights violations in China, which has been ruled by Central Advisory Commission and Central Military Commission Chairman Deng Xiaoping since former leader Mao Zedong's death in 1976, but it also involves attempting to curtail the potential development of atomic weapons in North Korea, a communist regime that has been ruled by General Secretary Kim Il-sung since the country's inception in 1948.<sup>77</sup> Noticing that North Korea had developed on its own a nuclear reactor at Yongbyon, with a nearby structure suspected to be a plant for extracting plutonium for nuclear bombs, Bush's administration plans to attempt to pressure the North Korean government to subject its nuclear facilities to international safeguards against nuclear proliferation. If the North Korean government refuses to submit to these safeguards, it could indicate that North Korea is actually using these facilities for the purpose of developing a nuclear weapons program, and would threaten the security of adjacent South Korea, an American ally.

## ***Europe***

In Europe, the administration inherits a divided continent. After the devastation of World War II, the great powers in Europe have seemed to unite in peace to present a strong front against Soviet intrusion. While Western Europe has continued to move toward further integration and cooperation, especially within the European Union,<sup>78</sup> Eastern Europe still operates on the will of the Soviet Union. Germany still lies divided in two, and the fence between East and West Berlin is both a piece and a symbol of the "Iron Curtain" cutting off the Communist sphere from the democratic one. However, Gorbachev's desires for reform indicate a distancing from these satellite states and a reluctance for the kind of domination employed by his predecessors. This may alienate the Eastern European

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<sup>77</sup> Gordon, Michael R. "U.S. Concern Rises over North Korea Atom Plant." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, October 25, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/10/25/world/us-concern-rises-over-north-korea-atom-plant.html>.

<sup>78</sup> Anonymous. "The History of the European Union - 1988." *European Union*. European Union, March 27, 2018. [https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/1980-1989/1988\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/history/1980-1989/1988_en).

communist governments, who may not survive without Soviet backing. With Eastern Bloc leaders feeling undercut, it is up in the air as to what may happen next.

### ***United Kingdom***

The United Kingdom is still under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party. The ideological alignment between Thatcher and the previous president Reagan helped strengthen the "special relationship" with the United States.<sup>79</sup> Expressions of this include a willingness for military cooperation, such as permitting American air forces to use British bases in operations against Libya or welcoming the positioning of nuclear missile systems in Western Europe. President Bush has met with the Prime Minister during the Reagan administration, and he hopes to build on the established rapport to maintain the United Kingdom as a strong ally. However, the Prime Minister's increasing "Euroscepticism" is posing difficulties for further European integration, such as on establishing a common currency.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, the continuing work on the English Channel Tunnel between Britain and France stands as a monument to growing ties between the states of Europe.<sup>81</sup>

The United Kingdom is also embroiled in a decades-long conflict in Ireland known as The Troubles. When the Republic of Ireland first gained independence in 1922, the northern, majority-Protestant counties were detached from the new majority-Catholic state and kept by the United Kingdom as Northern Ireland. However, those who wish to pull Northern Ireland away and unite the entire island have waged a bloody guerilla war against the British to end what they see as an occupation. At the forefront of this struggle is the Irish Republican Army (IRA), a paramilitary and terrorist group dedicated to ending British rule over Northern Ireland. In the last decade, the IRA has carried out and extolled a slew of attacks on British armed services and civilians alike in the hopes of making continued control cost more than its worth. While Northern Ireland itself, especially the capital Belfast, has seen the bulk of the unrest, the IRA have plotted attacks elsewhere to strike at the

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<sup>79</sup> Dee, Liz. "The Extra SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP: Thatcher, Reagan, and the 1980s." Association for Diplomatic Studies & Training. Association for Diplomatic Studies & Training, July 26, 2016. <https://adst.org/2016/07/extra-special-relationship-thatcher-reagan-1980s/>.

<sup>80</sup> Palmer, John. "September 21 1988: Thatcher Sets Face against United Europe." The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, September 21, 1988. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/1988/sep/21/emu.theeuro>.

<sup>81</sup> "BBC on This Day | 1 | 1990: Tunnel LINKS UK and Europe." BBC News. BBC, December 1, 1990. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/1/newsid\\_2516000/2516473.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/1/newsid_2516000/2516473.stm).



United Kingdom.<sup>82</sup> In the last year in particular, a Special Air Service operation that killed 3 IRA operatives believed to be plotting a car bomb attack in Gibraltar and the loyalist attack on the operatives' funeral triggered a retaliatory killing of two British corporals.<sup>83</sup> Adding to the bloodshed are loyalist paramilitary groups who seem to think the British are not forceful enough and plot their own attacks against IRA supporters. In a hopeful sign, the political arm of the IRA, known as Sinn Fein, has sought a negotiated end to the conflict and has reached out to the British government through religious clergy, but for now the violence continues in random vicious incidents.

### ***Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc***

Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev, inaugurated in 1985, has continued with his agenda of reform for the Eastern Bloc, including a program of economic restructuring and liberalization known as perestroika. In 1988, Yugoslavia saw the first McDonald's open in a communist state. This economic linkage has accompanied a general opening of cooperation. After a 6.8 magnitude earthquake in the Soviet republic of Armenia, Gorbachev requested and accepted foreign aid into the Soviet Union for the first time since the 1940s.<sup>84</sup> Likely, the most important single move in relations with the Eastern Bloc has been the negotiation and signing of arms-control agreements between the United States and Soviet Union, committing the two superpowers to dismantling certain types of missile weaponry and relocating warheads out of Europe.<sup>85</sup> The President participated in some of these meetings during his tenure as Vice-President, and now he hopes to build on these successes and relationships to further secure peace between the two nuclear-armed states.

At the same time, this work toward rapprochement is threatened by destabilizing forces in the Eastern Bloc. Gorbachev's reform-minded agenda has turned his attention inward to domestic affairs, which has troubled the leaders of communist states who fear their governments will not persist without Soviet support. The first Eastern Bloc country to experience significant political

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<sup>82</sup> "BBC on This Day | 7 | 1988: IRA Gang Shot Dead in Gibraltar." BBC News. BBC, March 7, 1988. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/7/newsid\\_2516000/2516155.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/march/7/newsid_2516000/2516155.stm).

<sup>83</sup> "Pop Goes Northern Ireland, Series 3, 1988." BBC Two. BBC, November 28, 2017. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0ghcdnb>.

<sup>84</sup> Taubman, Philip. "Soviet Relief Plane Crashes, Killing 78." The New York Times. The New York Times, December 12, 1988. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/12/12/world/soviet-relief-plane-crashes-killing-78.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>.

<sup>85</sup> "Summits with Mikhail Gorbachev." Ronald Reagan Presidential Library & Museum. National Archives. Accessed August 30, 2021. <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/audiovisual/white-house-photo-collection-galleries/summits-mikhail-gorbachev>.

upheaval was Poland, where several waves of massive workers' strikes in 1988 shook the totalitarian regime "to such an extent that it doesn't know which way to turn."<sup>86</sup> By November of 1988, the ruling Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR) was forced to listen to the demands of the massive trade union Solidarity, with PZPR leader Alfred Miodowicz confronting Solidarity leader and Nobel Prize recipient Lech Walesa in a televised debate.<sup>87</sup> Since Bush's inauguration, further changes have come in Poland, with the government slated to begin round-table talks with Solidarity in February, and pro-democracy sentiment steadily building.<sup>88</sup>

However, Poland is not the only country to have begun liberalization. Just before Bush's inauguration, Hungary's parliament, controlled by the totalitarian Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, passed a legislative package allowing for public demonstrations against the regime, and for private citizens to be able to form opposition political parties.<sup>89</sup> Even more prominently, reunification of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) is starting to gain overwhelming international support. In their push for democratization, Hungarian opposition factions are pushing for the country's border with Austria to be opened for free movement, which would create a way for East Germans to freely defect to the West. At the same time, Gorbachev has already abandoned the Brezhnev Doctrine on foreign policy, which calls for swift intervention whenever Soviet or communist rule is threatened, by pulling troops out of Afghanistan. This indicates that he may also be hesitant to intervene against liberalization efforts across the Eastern Bloc.<sup>90</sup> For example, a 1988 candle demonstration in Bratislava signified

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<sup>86</sup> Zebrowski, Andy. "Turning the Tables?" Andy Zebrowski: Poland - Turning the tables? (1988). Accessed August 25, 2021. <http://www.marxisme.dk/arkiv/zebrowskia/1988/10/poland.htm>.

<sup>87</sup> "Communism | Poland." BBC News. BBC. Accessed August 25, 2021. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/special\\_report/1999/09/99/iron\\_curtain/timelines/poland\\_8488.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/special_report/1999/09/99/iron_curtain/timelines/poland_8488.stm).

<sup>88</sup> Porter, Brian. "The 1989 Polish Round Table Revisited: Making History." Journal of the International Institute. MPublishing, University of Michigan Library, July 1, 1999. <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/j/jii/4750978.0006.301?rgn=main%3Bview>.

<sup>89</sup> Reuters. "Hungary Eases Dissent Curbs." The New York Times. The New York Times, January 12, 1989. <https://www.nytimes.com/1989/01/12/world/hungary-eases-dissent-curbs.html?scp=432&sq=Hungary&st=nyt&gwh=92733275AEC8E1D4866E0147173B702E>.

<sup>90</sup> "Brezhnev Doctrine." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed August 25, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Brezhnev-Doctrine>.

the first mass protest in Czechoslovakia against the communist regime there since the revolts in 1969,<sup>91</sup> only this time without a massive Soviet response.

Even within the Soviet Union, Moscow's control may be more tenuous than thought. The provincial government of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic has attempted to assert its own sovereignty as superseding that of the Soviet leadership, while crowds there are emboldened enough to assemble in mass "singing" protests against communist rule. Furthermore, stifled ethnic tensions within the Soviet Union seem to be reappearing, resulting in episodes of bloody mob violence, including a massacre of Armenians in the city of Sumgait near the capital of the Azerbaijani SSR.<sup>92</sup> As it stands, the Bush administration hopes to encourage these steps toward democracy, insofar as they will help spread civil rights, freedom, and cooperation throughout Europe. However, these changes have the potential to lead to conflict or collapse in the Eastern Bloc, and in order to prevent a humanitarian crisis, Bush advocates a careful and conservative approach to managing the situation.

### ***Middle East***

Over the course of a few decades, the Middle East has changed dramatically. The blossoming of the petroleum industry has transformed the region from poor deserts to gleaming cities, but these social changes have not translated into political ones. The governments of the region are mostly either near-absolute monarchies or military dictatorships, and the growing middle class has not *en masse* declared an interest in democracy. However, this is not to say the region is politically stagnant or quiet. Sectarian conflict dating back centuries between religious groups, especially Sunni and Shia, continues into the present. These long-running battles for power have also become woven into the greater geopolitical struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union for influence and control. Indeed, the wealth of energy resources and the strategic position at the crossroads of trade make this region a necessary focus of a global national security strategy. However, the states of the Middle East have thus far been resistant to cooperation or alliance with either side. The influence of

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<sup>91</sup> "Memorial of the Candle Demonstration." Monuments of Remembrance 1918-2018. Monuments of Remembrance. Accessed August 30, 2021. <http://monuments-remembrance.eu/en/panstwa/slowacja-2/231-memorial-of-the-candle-demonstration>.

<sup>92</sup> "A Genocide Gone Unpunished: Pogroms of Armenians in Sumgait (February 1988)." Office of the Nagorno Karabakh Republic. NKR Office in Washington, DC. Accessed August 30, 2021. [http://www.nkrusa.org/nk\\_conflict/sumgait\\_massacre.shtml](http://www.nkrusa.org/nk_conflict/sumgait_massacre.shtml).

Gamal Abdel Nasser is still felt, and his projects of pan-Arab unity (states working together rather than growing apart for independent power) and the Non-Aligned Movement (refusing to prescribe to either the American or Soviet agenda and staying independent in world politics) seem to guide most states today.

### ***Iran-Iraq War***

Among the most important phenomena in the region is the Iran-Iraq War. The war started when Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein and his Baathist Party, invaded Iran in 1980. The best explanation for the war is opportunism: Hussein thought the newly-founded Islamic Republic of Iran was too fragile and unsettled to put up a fight, allowing him to take the Shatt Al-Arab region to expand Iraqi coastal access. However, only a year after the Islamic Revolution, Hussein underestimated the ability of Iranian leadership to mobilize its population to defend the nation.<sup>93</sup> The Iraqis had a large military advantage, steepened by significant support from Arab regional allies and Western states, less from any amity with Hussein's regime than from fear of a powerful fundamentalist Shia state in the region. Despite being outgunned, Iranian forces were able to effectively secure their boundaries. The first few years of the war were dynamic, but by 1983 both sides had become mired in trench warfare, with massive casualties for little to no territorial gains. Away from the front, the cities were hammered with missiles, but rather than cow the populace into peace settlements, this only strengthened their resolve. The Iranian strategy of funding and provoking proxy groups elsewhere in the region has had little effect, but the repression from other states against these proxies has been genuinely destabilizing.<sup>94</sup> Perceived disloyalty to Hussein from the Iraqi Kurds and Shia Muslims has triggered large-scale persecution from the regime. In the last year, Iraq and Iran have both acceded to a UN-brokered ceasefire, and despite some last fits of violence, it seems the two states have chosen peace for now. However, both countries have suffered massive losses and damage over the long course of the war. Iran harbors much bitterness, both toward Hussein's aggressive regime and

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<sup>93</sup> Gallagher, Mike. "The 'Beauty' and the Horror of the Iran-Iraq War." BBC News. BBC, September 26, 2015. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34353349>.

<sup>94</sup> Alaaldin, Ranj. "How the Iran-Iraq War Will Shape the Region for Decades to Come." Brookings Institution. Brookings Institution, October 9, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/10/09/how-the-iran-iraq-war-will-shape-the-region-for-decades-to-come/>.

the callous international community.<sup>95</sup> Meanwhile, Iraq is now heavily in debt to Saudi Arabia, the United States, and others who financed the war with loans. In order for peace to be stable, the region will have to rebuild, a massive task for years to come.

## ***Afghanistan***

The event with the most significance to the wider scope of international relations is the ending of the Soviet war in Afghanistan. In 1979, the collapse of a Soviet-friendly regime and the subsequent turmoil led the Soviet Army to invade Afghanistan. With a well-equipped force of more than 100,000 men at its strongest, the Soviets swept through the country and quickly took over.<sup>96</sup> The initial plan was to secure towns, stabilize the newly-installed Soviet loyalist regime, and withdraw in less than a year. However, the Soviets soon became entrenched in a fierce struggle to maintain control, as resistance from armed paramilitary groups known as Mujahideen bled away at the army. The harsh winters and rugged terrain of Afghanistan made a counterinsurgency war incredibly difficult for the Soviet army, conventionally armed and unprepared for guerilla attacks.<sup>97</sup> The Mujahideen groups were funded and armed by outside powers such as the United States and Pakistan, who hoped to capitalize on the opportunity to weaken the Soviet forces. They also gained the sympathies of Western media, who regarded them as martyrs and heroes defending their land against the “evil empire”. Soviet tactics such as the destruction of entire villages to deny refuge to guerilla fighters certainly did not endear them to civilians. On the international stage, the Soviet Union faced massive opposition and protest to its invasion, including sanctions and a wide boycott of the 1980 Olympics in Moscow.<sup>98</sup> However, with Gorbachev’s ascension to leadership, the Soviet Union has turned much more inward and eschewed its prior interventionism. By 1987 Gorbachev announced the Soviets would begin to withdraw, and the 1988 Geneva Accords between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan promised no further interference. The withdrawal is now about halfway complete, and the Soviet-

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<sup>95</sup> “Iran-Iraq War.” Wilson Center Digital Archive. Wilson Center. Accessed August 29, 2021. <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/collection/48/iran-iraq-war>.

<sup>96</sup> History.com Editors. “Soviet Union Invades Afghanistan.” History.com. A&E Television Networks, November 24, 2009. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviet-tanks-roll-into-afghanistan>.

<sup>97</sup> Bershidsky, Leonid. “Why Both Russians and Americans Got Nowhere in Afghanistan.” Bloomberg. Bloomberg LD, July 8, 2021. <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2021-07-08/why-both-russians-and-americans-got-nowhere-in-afghanistan>.

<sup>98</sup> Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. “Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.” Encyclopedia Britannica, May 11, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Soviet-invasion-of-Afghanistan>.

installed regime may lose control of the country soon after. With Soviet forces weakened and deterred from further interventions, the upper hand may be firmly with the United States.

### ***Elsewhere***

The Middle East at this moment has endured much instability. The civil war in Lebanon continues, with many outside powers stationing troops or backing proxies who then turn outward to export their violence, such as the Iran-backed Hezbollah.<sup>99</sup> Elsewhere, Muammar Gaddafi seems committed to making Libya a pariah state in the world, pursuing weapons of mass destruction and financing terrorists such as the intelligence agents responsible for the recent bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland.<sup>100</sup> However, there is hope for the future of this region. The election of Benazir Bhutto as president of Pakistan, the first woman elected as head of state for a majority-Islam country, represents the advances made in human rights in the last few decades.<sup>101</sup> The growing momentum for peaceful reunification of North and South Yemen shows how diplomacy can realize real change without violence.<sup>102</sup> If the United States wishes to continue good relations with the states of this region, it will have to play an active part in promoting stability and human rights for all the people instead of the easy trap of picking a side and stoking a fight.

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<sup>99</sup> Kingston, P. and Ochsenwald, . William L.. "Lebanese Civil War." Encyclopedia Britannica, July 19, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Lebanese-Civil-War>.

<sup>100</sup> "Pan Am 103 Bombing." FBI. FBI, May 18, 2016. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/pan-am-103-bombing>.

<sup>101</sup> Bokhari, Sajjad. Mohtarma Benazir BHUTTO, the Leader of Today. Lahore: Fiction House, 1993.

<sup>102</sup> Dunbar, Charles. "The Unification of Yemen: Process, Politics, and Prospects." *Middle East Journal* 46, no. 3 (1992): 456-76. Accessed August 30, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4328466>.

## Character Biographies

### 1. James Baker -- Secretary of State

James Addison Baker III was born on April 28, 1930, in Houston, Texas but moved to the northeast in his early youth, growing up in Pennsylvania and eventually graduating from Princeton University. Following a brief stint in the United States Marine Corps, Baker returned to the Lone Star State, where he received a J.D. from the University of Texas at Austin -- commonly referred to as "UTexas" -- before beginning a career in law.<sup>103</sup> During the 1970s, Baker would meet George H.W. Bush, sparking a friendship that would initiate Baker's foray into politics. Upon hearing that Baker was a Democrat with no political experience, Bush proclaimed, "I can change both of those!" -- and boy, did he ever.<sup>104</sup> With Bush gaining prominence in the nationwide Republican Party, Baker first served as the manager of Bush's unsuccessful U.S. Senate bid in 1970 before being rapidly promoted to Finance Chairman of the Republican Party.

Following Richard Nixon's resignation in 1974, Baker was appointed to be President Gerald Ford's Under Secretary of Commerce. Later, Baker would manage Bush's unsuccessful presidential campaign in 1980 before taking multiple roles in Ronald Reagan's administration, including Secretary of the Treasury. During his tenure, he employed a number of unconventional strategies, including negotiating the Plaza Accord, a 1985 agreement with the United Kingdom, Japan, Germany, and France in order to devalue the American dollar and reduce the United States' trade deficit.<sup>105</sup> On January 22, 1989, Bush appointed Baker to be his Secretary of State.

As Secretary of State, Baker is in charge of the US Department of State. Primarily, this makes him the nation's chief diplomat and foreign affairs advisor, as well as the predominant negotiator with other countries' foreign secretaries and ministers. Accordingly, this puts Baker in charge of the US Foreign Service and its many officers, as well as the United States Agency for International Development, which is responsible for foreign aid. The State Department is also responsible for

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<sup>103</sup> "Biographies of the Secretaries of State: James Addison Baker III (1930–)." U.S. department of state. U.S. Department of State. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/people/baker-james-addison>.

<sup>104</sup> Brisbin. "'Texas Titans' Tells the Story"

<sup>105</sup> Chen, James. "Plaza Accord Definition." Investopedia. Investopedia, August 25, 2021. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/p/plaza-accord.asp>.

operating the United States' immigration system, and processing applications for refugees, international workers, and legal residents.<sup>106</sup>

## 2. Dick Cheney -- Secretary of Defense

Richard Bruce "Dick" Cheney was born on January 30th, 1941 in Lincoln, Nebraska, the home of America's only unicameral state legislature and its rather Freudian capitol building.<sup>107</sup> After growing up in Casper, Wyoming, Cheney briefly attended Yale University before dropping out and earning two degrees from the University of Wyoming, during which time he obtained five draft deferments to avoid serving in the Vietnam War. Cheney then began his political career immediately after his graduation in 1965. Despite being raised by two Democrats, Cheney identified with and worked for Republicans, including as an intern in the Wyoming Senate and as an aide to Wisconsin governor Warren Knowles and U.S. Representative Bill Steiger.

Cheney's major breakthrough into nationwide prominence came while working for Steiger. In 1969, U.S. Representative Donald Rumsfeld of Illinois was under consideration to be named Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity by President Richard Nixon. Seeking advice, Rumsfeld wrote to Steiger, and, in response, Cheney wrote a memo detailing how Rumsfeld should approach his confirmation hearings, which Rumsfeld found so impressive that he hired Cheney immediately.<sup>108</sup> From there, Cheney's influence would grow rapidly. In 1975, Cheney was named Gerald Ford's White House Chief of Staff, and, in 1978, he would leave the Executive Branch and be elected the U.S. Representative for Wyoming. Cheney would then serve in Congress for ten years, rising as high as the Whip of the House Republican Conference, its second-highest position, before being named Bush's Secretary of Defense.

The US Secretary of Defense is in charge of the Department of Defense, which oversees the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force. This puts Cheney in charge of most facets of military

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<sup>106</sup> "The Secretary of State - United States Department of State." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State, January 27, 2021. <https://www.state.gov/secretary/>.

<sup>107</sup> "Dick Cheney." Biography.com. A&E Networks Television, April 26, 2021. <https://www.biography.com/political-figure/dick-cheney>.

<sup>108</sup> Context of '1969: Cheney hired by Rumsfeld to serve as Aide'. Accessed August 26, 2021. <http://www.historycommons.org/context.jsp?item=a1969cheneyrumsfeld>.



function, including troop deployment, military strategy, organization and logistics, and the convening of Courts-Martial in the military justice system. Additionally, according to the National Security Act of 1947, the Secretary of Defense is required to be at least seven years removed from non-reserve duty as a commissioned officer to ensure civilian control over the military.<sup>109</sup>

### **3. Nicholas F. Brady -- Secretary of the Treasury**

Nicholas Frederick Brady, named for his philanthropic great-uncle, was born on April 11, 1930 in Manhattan, New York, just a stone's throw from Jersey City.<sup>110</sup> Growing up on the coastal northeast, Brady attended Yale University before obtaining an M.B.A. from Harvard University, propelling him into the business world. Brady would begin his career at Dillon, Read, and Company, an investment firm, shortly after graduating, and would eventually rise to president and C.E.O. in 1971 before becoming Chair of the company's board of directors in 1974.<sup>111</sup> In 1982, Brady would make his first venture into politics thanks to the Federal Bureau of Investigations' (FBI) "ABSCAM" investigation.<sup>112</sup>

ABSCAM, short for "Abdul Enterprises Scam," was a sting operation that began in 1978 with the intention of apprehending prominent figures involved in bribery and organized crime. The titular "Abdul Enterprises" was a fictitious Long Island firm set up by the FBI that purported to finance a wide range of illicit activities, including bribes in the form of art sales. Numerous politicians were implicated in the operation, including U.S. Senator Harrison A. Williams, Jr. of New Jersey, leading to Brady being appointed in his place by New Jersey governor Thomas Kean. Brady did not run for re-election, but was later appointed to several roles in President Ronald Reagan's administration, starting in 1982, including the Presidential Task Force on Market Mechanisms, which investigated the 1987 stock market crash.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> 61 Stat. 495 (Pub. Law 80-253).

<sup>110</sup> "A Son to Mrs. James Cox Brady Jr." The New York Times. The New York Times, April 16, 1930. <https://www.nytimes.com/1930/04/16/archives/a-son-to-mrs-james-cox-brady-jr.html>.

<sup>111</sup> Britannica Kids. "Nicholas Frederick Brady." Accessed December 17, 2021. <https://kids.britannica.com/students/article/Nicholas-Frederick-Brady/310350>.

<sup>112</sup> "ABSCAM." FBI. FBI, May 18, 2016. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/abscam>.

<sup>113</sup> Nash, Nathaniel C. "Task Force Ties Market Collapse to Big Investors' Program Trades." The New York Times. The New York Times, January 9, 1988. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/01/09/business/task-force-ties-market-collapse-to-big-investors-program-trades.html>.

In 1988, Reagan appointed Brady as his Secretary of the Treasury, where he is expected to be retained by the newly elected President George H.W. Bush. As Secretary of the Treasury, Brady will be in charge of the Department of the Treasury, which is responsible for disbursement of money that has been appropriated by Congress. The Secretary serves both as the principal economic advisor to the President and a leading negotiator on economic issues of both domestic and international importance, assuming the role of US Governor of organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Additionally, the Secretary oversees the Treasury Department's law enforcement functions, such as tax enforcement, as well as the manufacture of new coins and currency.<sup>114</sup>

#### **4. John H. Sununu -- White House Chief of Staff**

John Henry Sununu was born on July 2, 1939 in Havana, Cuba. Of Lebanese ancestry, Sununu visited Beirut, his family's city of origin, during the late 1940s while growing up in New York City.<sup>115</sup> After graduating from La Salle Military Academy on Long Island, not to be confused with the De La Salle Institute in Chicago, Illinois, Sununu attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he earned a Ph.D in mechanical engineering in 1966. Sununu would then work both in the engineering industry and in academia, serving as associate dean of the Tufts University College of Engineering until 1973, while also serving as president of the JHS Engineering Company and Thermal Research Inc.<sup>116</sup>

A Republican, Sununu entered into politics in 1972, being elected to the New Hampshire House of Representatives, where he would serve until 1975.<sup>117</sup> In 1982, Sununu was elected governor of New Hampshire and governed as a staunch fiscal conservative, looking to reduce the state's large budget deficit by cutting pensions for public employees. During this time, Sununu gained national prominence, becoming chair of the Coalition of Northeastern Governors, the Republican Governors

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<sup>114</sup> "Duties & Functions." U.S. Treasury - Duties & Functions of the Secretary of the Treasury. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://web.archive.org/web/20101119160912/http://www.treasury.gov/education/duties/treas/sec-treasury.shtml>.

<sup>115</sup> "Behind the Sununu Surname." The New York Times. The New York Times, November 21, 1988. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/11/21/us/behind-the-sununu-surname.html>.

<sup>116</sup> "Gov. John H. Sununu." National Governors Association. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.nga.org/governor/john-h-sununu/>.

<sup>117</sup> Pichirallo, Joe, and Michael Rezendes. "The Forceful Style of John Sununu." The Washington Post. WP Company, March 12, 1989. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1989/03/12/the-forceful-style-of-john-sununu/e050bd92-9010-4ca6-b20e-d1c149e24312/>.

Association, and the National Governors Association. At the same time, Sununu was named the chair of George H.W. Bush's 1988 presidential campaign. Following Bush's victory in the general election, Sununu has since been named Bush's White House Chief of Staff.

The White House Chief of Staff is not a Senate-confirmed position, but it is still extremely important, as it is essentially the President's secretary. As such, Sununu's official duties are primarily managerial, and involve advising President Bush on his staffing decisions, including possible dismissals and appointments of Cabinet secretaries. The role also involves managing the President's schedule and the flow of information to and from the President. Finally, the Chief of Staff is also the president's primary advisor on general strategy related to foreign and domestic policy matters.<sup>118</sup>

## **5. Samuel K. Skinner -- Secretary of Transportation**

Samuel Knox Skinner was born right here in Chicago, Illinois on June 10, 1938. As soon as he came out the womb, his mother knew that a star was born, and, indeed, Skinner garnered several accolades and leadership positions at an early age. He was an Eagle Scout in his youth, and later went on to become a platoon leader in the Army Reserves at Fort Knox, Kentucky following his graduation from the University of Illinois. After gaining his law license in 1966, Skinner spent two years in private practice before joining the United States Attorney's Office for the Northern District of Illinois under James R. Thompson.

During this time, Skinner assisted with several high-profile prosecutions, including a corruption case against US Circuit Court Judge Otto Kerner, Jr., who would become the first US federal judge to be convicted of a crime. In 1975, Skinner was appointed by President Gerald Ford to be the US Attorney for the same district, succeeding Thompson. Following the election of Jimmy Carter, a Democrat, and the subsequent mass dismissal of Republican-appointed, Skinner returned to private practice, while also obtaining a piloting license.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> "White House Chief of Staff." Ballotpedia. Accessed August 26, 2021. [https://ballotpedia.org/White\\_House\\_Chief\\_of\\_Staff](https://ballotpedia.org/White_House_Chief_of_Staff).

<sup>119</sup> Rooney, John Flynn. "Skinner a Multipurpose 'Hammer'." Chicago Daily Law Bulletin. Chicago Daily Law Bulletin. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.chicagolawbulletin.com/archives/2014/12/22/samuel-skinner-12-22-2014.aspx>.

As Secretary of Transportation, Skinner is in charge of the Department of Transportation and its many agencies, including the Federal Aviation Administration, the Federal Highway Administration, the Federal Railroad Administration, and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.<sup>120</sup> His responsibilities include issuing orders to these various agencies to ensure safe and efficient travel throughout the country.

## **6. James D. Watkins - Secretary of Energy**

Admiral James David Watkins was born on March 7, 1927 in Alhambra, California, not to be confused with the fortified residence associated with the Emirate of Granada in Spain. After growing up in a well-to-do family, Watkins spent several decades in the military, graduating from the United States Naval Academy and the Naval Submarine School before obtaining a Master's degree in mechanical engineering from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1958. Watkins then went on to rise through the Naval ranks, eventually becoming an admiral and obtaining several high-leverage positions, including Vice-Chief of Naval Operations, and Commander in Chief of the Pacific Fleet.<sup>121</sup>

Watkins would later be appointed as Chief of Naval Personnel by President Gerald Ford, and Chief of Naval Operations by President Ronald Reagan. Following the latter stint, Reagan would then appoint Watkins, much too late to register any profound preventative effect on the ongoing pandemic, to head the President's Commission on the HIV/AIDS Epidemic, a panel that would return several key recommendations, including antidiscrimination laws to protect patients and expanded treatment for addicts.<sup>122</sup> Now, President Bush has appointed Watkins as his Secretary of Energy, which heads the Department of Energy. This position focuses primarily on promoting the plentiful and efficient production of energy and maintenance of environmental quality, but, critically, is also in charge of

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<sup>120</sup> "The United States Department of Transportation: A Brief History." The United States Department of Transportation Library. Accessed August 26, 2021.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20040717162622/http://dotlibrary.dot.gov/Historian/history.htm>.

<sup>121</sup> "James D. Watkins (1989–1993)." Miller Center, February 23, 2017. <https://millercenter.org/president/essays/watkins-1989-secretary-of-energy>.

<sup>122</sup> Van, Jon. "AIDS Panel Urges Antibias Laws." *chicagotribune.com*, June 3, 1988. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1988-06-03-8801040536-story.html>.

the building and maintenance of the United States' arsenal of nuclear weapons, including the safe disposal of nuclear waste.<sup>123</sup>

## **7. James R. Lilley -- U.S. Ambassador to the People's Republic of China**

James Roderick Lilley was born in Qingdao, China on January 15, 1928. Lilley grew up in the Shandong Province speaking English, Mandarin, and French. His family returned to the United States in 1940, where Lilley would obtain degrees from Yale University and George Washington University, as well as some supplemental education from Columbia University and Hong Kong University in classical Chinese.<sup>124</sup>

Following brief stints in the Army and Air Force, Lilley joined the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the intention of undermining communist regimes and insurgencies throughout the world, gathering intelligence in Laos and Hong Kong. He quickly rose through the ranks, eventually becoming the National Intelligence Officer for China, making him the leading intelligence analyst for that region.<sup>125</sup> During President Ronald Reagan's administration, Lilley continued to rise in influence, first being named to the National Security Council, where he brokered a deal in an effort to reduce tensions between the PRC and the Republic of China, better known as Taiwan. The agreement scaled back US weapons sales to Taiwan, but also made "Six Assurances" of long-term cooperation between the two countries.<sup>126</sup>

Lilley also served as Reagan's Ambassador to South Korea. Now, under President Bush, Lilley will serve as Ambassador to China, which makes him the United States' lead negotiator and representative on agreements and disputes involving pressing economic and national security issues relating to the most populous nation on Earth.

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<sup>123</sup> "About Us." Energy.gov. United States Department of Energy. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.energy.gov/about-us>.

<sup>124</sup> Stout, David. "James R. Lilley, 81, Envoy in Tiananmen Era, Dies." The New York Times. The New York Times, November 14, 2009. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/15/us/15lilley.html>.

<sup>125</sup> Pomfret, John. "James Lilley Dies at 81; Ambassador to China and CIA Operative." Los Angeles Times. Los Angeles Times, November 16, 2009. <https://www.latimes.com/local/obituaries/la-me-james-lilley16-2009nov16-story.html>.

<sup>126</sup> Chabot, Steve. "Text - H.Con.Res.88 - 114th Congress (2015-2016): Reaffirming the Taiwan Relations Act and the SIX Assurances as Cornerstones of United States-Taiwan Relations." Congress.gov, May 17, 2016. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-concurrent-resolution/88/text/eh>.

## **8. Robert Schwarz Strauss -- United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union**

Robert Schwarz Strauss, was born on October 19, 1918 in Lockhart, Texas. Unlike the vast majority of President Bush's administration, Schwarz, the son of Jewish immigrants from Germany, was an active and outspoken Democrat since his youth, first getting into politics by campaigning for eventual President Lyndon Baines Johnson's first congressional campaign while attending class at the University of Texas at Austin.

After obtaining his law degree, Strauss used his connections to John Connally, a friend from law school, to join Lyndon Johnson's official staff just before Johnson's rise to Senate Majority Leader, and later managed Connally's successful campaign for governor of Texas.<sup>127</sup> On the heels of these successes, Strauss gained popularity in the national Democratic Party, being named the Democratic National Committee's treasurer in 1970, and then its chair in 1972 in an effort to moderate the party's politics following the evisceration of George McGovern, a staunch left-winger, in the 1972 Presidential Election. During President Jimmy Carter's administration, Strauss was named to several international relations posts, including US Trade Representative and Special Envoy to the Middle East, in which he attempted to broker worldwide trade negotiations and peace talks between Israeli and Egyptian leaders.

After his election as President, George H.W. Bush named Strauss as his Ambassador to the Soviet Union in an effort to show that his selection process is meritocratic, rather than based on party affiliation.<sup>128</sup> As Ambassador, Strauss is in charge of negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union, primarily towards the goal of improving the welfare and expanding the freedoms of Soviet citizens, and liberalization efforts in the member states. Strauss will also be involved in negotiating matters of national security related to the Soviet Union, such as arms treaties and USSR support for various insurgency efforts throughout the world.

## **9. Thomas R. Pickering -- United States Ambassador to the United Nations**

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<sup>127</sup> "Robert S. Strauss." The Strauss Center, June 1, 2020. <https://www.strausscenter.org/robert-s-strauss/>.

<sup>128</sup> Cohen, Richard. "Political Samesmanship." The Washington Post | HighBeam Research. The Washington Post, October 27, 1991.

Thomas Reeve Pickering, ostensibly nicknamed “Tom,” was born in Orange, New Jersey on November 5, 1931. After growing up in the Garden State, Pickering graduated from Bowdoin College in Maine before obtaining a Master’s degree in law and diplomacy from Tufts University and another in international relations from the University of Melbourne in Australia. Following his schooling, Pickering joined the United States Navy, where he did intelligence and surveillance work. At the time, Pickering was married to Alice Jean Stover, an officer in the US Foreign Service. When Pickering joined the Foreign Service following his stint in the Navy, Stover was forced to resign due to regulations prohibiting married couples from serving together.<sup>129</sup>

Today, Pickering has spent nearly four decades in foreign affairs, having risen to the rank of Career Ambassador, the highest possible. Over the course of four different presidential administrations spanning from Richard Nixon to Ronald Reagan, Pickering served in a multitude of roles, including Ambassador to Jordan, Nigeria, El Salvador, and Israel, playing a critical role in attempting to weather the fallout from the Iran-Contra Affair, and maintain cordial relations with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir’s government.<sup>130</sup> Now, President Bush has named Pickering, who is conversant in a multitude of languages, including French, Spanish, Swahili, Russian, Hebrew, and Arabic, to be Ambassador to the United Nations, a unique position that involves advancing American economic, diplomatic, and national security interests. He is involved with the United Nations General Assembly, the United Nations Security Council, the Western European and Others Group (WEOG) Regional Body, and several other agencies.<sup>131</sup>

#### **10. Dante Fascell - United States Representative for Florida’s 19th Congressional District and Chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee**

Dante Bruno Fascell, not to be confused with his long-lost brother, Dante Borat Fascell, was born on March 9, 1917 in Bridgehampton, New York. Fascell’s family moved to Florida in his early youth, and he graduated from Ponce de Leon High School in Coral Gables before obtaining a J.D. from the

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<sup>129</sup> Mills, Barry. “Ambassador Tom Pickering Lecture Introduction.” Bowdoin - Office of the President. Bowdoin College. Accessed August 26, 2021.

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110603234747/http://www.bowdoin.edu/president/speeches/2008/pickering-introduction.shtml>.

<sup>130</sup> Brinkley, Joel. “U.S. Criticism Sets off a Furor in Israel.” The New York Times. The New York Times, August 25, 1988. <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/08/25/world/us-criticism-sets-off-a-furor-in-israel.html>.

<sup>131</sup> “About the Mission.” United States Mission to the United Nations, June 18, 2019. <https://usun.usmission.gov/mission/>.

University of Miami School of Law in 1938. After spending three years practicing law, Fascell joined the Florida National Guard, which was promptly deputized by the United States Army following the nation's entry into World War II, leading Fascell to serve in multiple theaters, including Africa, Sicily, and greater Italy, eventually becoming a captain.<sup>132</sup>

A member of the Democratic Party, Fascell first entered politics in 1950 with his election to the Florida House of Representatives, where he spent four years before being elected to the US House of Representatives in 1954. He has served in the House ever since with a mixed record on foreign policy: although Fascell initially supported the Vietnam War, he grew increasingly critical of it, and went on to co-sponsor the War Powers Resolution, a Federal law passed over President Richard Nixon's veto with the intent of curtailing the President's power to unilaterally engage in armed conflict.<sup>133</sup> On domestic policy, Fascell has largely focused on local issues, such as obtaining increased aid for Cuban-American immigrants in his district.

In 1983, Fascell became the Chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. This is a powerful role, as the Foreign Affairs Committee touches on a wide range of policy areas, including war powers, military deployment, treaties, national security and arms proliferation, economic collaboration and trade, foreign aid, human rights oversight, and oversight of the Department of State, with subpoena power in each of those domains.<sup>134</sup>

## **11. Claiborne Pell -- United States Senator for Rhode Island and Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee**

Claiborne de Borda Pell was born on November 22, 1918 in New York City. The son of United States Representative and diplomat Herbert Pell and the stepson of Hugo W. Koehler, a US Navy officer rumored to be an illegitimate child of Rudolf, Crown Prince of Austria, Pell excelled academically in

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<sup>132</sup> "FASCELL, Dante Bruno." US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://history.house.gov/People/Detail?id=13015>.

<sup>133</sup> Zablocki, Clement J. "Cosponsors - H.j.res.542 - 93RD Congress (1973-1974): War Powers Resolution." Congress.gov, November 7, 1973. <https://www.congress.gov/bill/93rd-congress/house-joint-resolution/542/cosponsors>.

<sup>134</sup> "About." House Foreign Affairs Committee. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/about>.



his youth, graduating from Princeton University before obtaining a Master's degree from Columbia University.<sup>135</sup>

After his schooling, Pell took a job working on an oil rig in Oklahoma before becoming a clerical assistant for his father, who was the Ambassador to Portugal at the time. Later, just prior to the United States' entry into World War II, Pell enlisted in the Coast Guard, where he served in naval battles in the North Atlantic Ocean and off the coast of Sicily.<sup>136</sup> Then, following the war, Pell worked in the US Foreign Service for seven years, becoming fluent in French, Italian, and Portuguese. Later, he took a leadership position at the International Rescue Committee, a nongovernmental organization primarily focused on humanitarian aid, assisting in the resettlement of refugees following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

In 1960, Pell was elected US Senator for Rhode Island. He is known for dressing in a quirky, informal manner and, on both foreign and domestic issues, Pell, a Democrat, has taken staunchly liberal positions, playing a leading role in education reform, including the creation of secondary education scholarship grants that would later be dubbed "Pell Grants," opposing the Vietnam War, advising on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) and helping to garner international cooperation in responsible nuclear arms disposal and environmental protection.<sup>137</sup> In 1987, Pell became Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which, like its House counterpart, is involved in a wide range of policy foci, including treaties, arms deals, troop deployments, economic agreements, and congressional oversight over the State Department, holding subpoena power for each. Being in the Senate, the committee also focuses on confirmation hearings for presidential nominees to positions in the Department of State.<sup>138</sup>

## **12. Alan Greenspan -- Chair of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System**

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<sup>135</sup> Miller, G. Wayne. *An Uncommon Man: the Life & Times of Senator Claiborne Pell*. Hanover, NH: Univ. Press of New England, 2011.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Miller. *An Uncommon Man*.

<sup>138</sup> "Committee History & Rules: United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations." History & Rules | About | United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.foreign.senate.gov/about/history>.

Alan Greenspan was born on March 6, 1926 in Washington Heights, New York City to two Eastern European immigrants.<sup>139</sup> After growing up in the city, Greenspan attended New York University, eventually earning a Ph.D in economics. Prior to receiving his doctorate, Greenspan attended supplemental classes at Columbia University under eventual Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns.<sup>140</sup> Greenspan's first job was at the National Industrial Conference Board, where he analyzed demand for steel, aluminum, and copper. Afterwards, he spent over two decades as president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co., Inc., an economic consulting firm.

In 1974, Greenspan was named chair of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Gerald Ford, where he served for three years, and, between 1981 and 1983, he headed President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Social Security Reform, where he advocated for privatization of the national pension system. Later, he spent four years as director of the Council on Foreign Relations, a non-profit foreign policy think tank. Then, in 1987, Greenspan was appointed to be the Chair of the Federal Reserve System, succeeding Paul Volcker, who had played a significant role in curtailing the high rates of inflation that the United States experienced during the 1970s.<sup>141</sup> Ideologically, Greenspan has espoused similar principles, emphasizing price stability over economic growth. However, in response to the 1987 Stock Market Crash, he made the decision to keep interest rates low in order to promote regrowth in the stock market, a strategy that became known as the Greenspan Put.<sup>142</sup>

As Chair of the Federal Reserve System, Greenspan is in charge of the United States' monetary policy, with the overall objectives of price stability and robust economic growth. This primarily involves manipulating interest rates and seigniorage, or the amount of money being issued, in order to achieve a desired balance between inflation and economic activity. On this committee, Greenspan will serve in an advisory role, commenting on how different foreign policy actions may affect

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<sup>139</sup> Greenspan, Alan (2007). *The Age of Turbulence: Adventures in a New World*. New York: Penguin Press. ISBN 978-1-59420-131-8. OCLC 122973403.

<sup>140</sup> "Alan Greenspan." Federal Reserve History. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.federalreservehistory.org/people/alan-greenspan>.

<sup>141</sup> "Inflation, Consumer Prices for the United States." FRED,

<sup>142</sup> "Greenspan Put." The Free Dictionary. Farlex. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://financial-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Greenspan+Put>.

economic conditions both domestically and abroad, and how that may trickle down to issues such as government stability and national security.

### **13. Lane Kirkland -- President of the A.F.L.-C.I.O.**

Joseph Lane Kirkland was born on March 22, 1922 in Camden, South Carolina. Prior to the United States' entry into World War II, Kirkland first tried unsuccessfully to join the Canadian military before becoming a cadet on the U.S.S. *Liberator*, a merchant marine ship, and enrolling in the US Merchant Marine Academy in 1940. Following his graduation in 1942, Kirkland assisted in transporting war material throughout the world, including Sicily, South America, and the Solomon Islands.<sup>143</sup> Kirkland's first forays into organized labor and politics began in 1948, after his graduation from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He worked as a researcher for the American Federation of Labor, while also serving as a speechwriter for Democratic Party presidential candidates, including Harry S. Truman and Adlai Stevenson. After obtaining a leadership position at the International Union of Operating Engineers, Kirkland was hired as an executive assistant at the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Over the next two decades, Meany gained influence at the AFL-CIO, and became president of the AFL-CIO in 1979.

Kirkland's role on this committee is advisory, and derives from his foreign affairs advocacy throughout his tenure at the AFL-CIO. A staunch anti-communist, Kirkland advocated for the Vietnam War, and founded the AFL-CIO's Committee on the Present Danger, which called for increased military funding to confront the Soviet Union. He is also an ally of Lech Walesa and the Solidarity organized labor movement in Poland in its struggle to gain influence against the country's ruling communist regime, which should make him supportive of Bush's efforts toward worldwide liberalization. At the same time, Kirkland is skeptical of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and will push for increased representation for labor groups.

### **14. Colin Powell -- Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff**

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<sup>143</sup> Serrin, William. "Lane Kirkland, Who Led Labor in Difficult Times, Is Dead at 77." The New York Times. The New York Times, August 15, 1999. <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/08/15/us/lane-kirkland-who-led-labor-in-difficult-times-is-dead-at-77.html>.

Colin Powell was born April 5, 1937 in the Harlem neighborhood of New York City to Jamaican immigrant parents.<sup>144</sup> While attending the City College of New York, he joined the Reserve Officer Training Corps and thus began his military career, gaining a commission at second lieutenant rank upon graduating. Over the course of his thirty-five year long military career, he served two tours fighting in the Vietnam War, there earning the Soldier's Medal for his bravery, as well as postings in West Germany and South Korea.<sup>145</sup> Also during these thirty-five years, he studied at George Washington University and Command and General Staff College for the military. He earned the rank of brigadier general in 1979 and major general in 1986.

From his previous leadership roles commanding divisions, General Powell was tapped by President Reagan to be the Deputy National Security Advisor under Frank Carlucci in 1987. When Carlucci became the Secretary of Defense, Powell took the National Security Advisor post and served from December 1987 to the end of Reagan's administration. In this job, Powell organized important meetings between the president and world leaders. Now, President Bush has enlisted General Powell to serve as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the youngest ever at 52 and the first African-American or ROTC graduate to hold the post.<sup>146</sup>

The Chairman of the Joint Chief of Staff is the principal military advisor to the President. While they do not exercise command over combatant forces (a chain that runs from President to Secretary of Defense to commanders), they assign forces to their commands and deployments.<sup>147</sup> As the first Chairman to serve under the Goldwater-Nichols Reorganization Act, General Powell heads a military much more integrated and cooperative across branches. Powell in particular wants to further develop this "joint culture" to solicit insight and input from the other members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and commanders. In addition, his years of experience in combat and command lend his views much weight when it comes to military affairs. If the Soviet Union continues its pivot away from

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<sup>144</sup> Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "Colin Powell." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., April 1, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Colin-Powell>.

<sup>145</sup> "Colin Luther Powell." U.S. Department of State Office of the Historian. U.S. Department of State. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://history.state.gov/departments/history/people/powell-colin-luther>.

<sup>146</sup> "Chairman Colin Luther Powell." Official Website of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Department Of Defense. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://www.jcs.mil/About/The-Joint-Staff/Chairman/General-Colin-Luther-Powell/>.

<sup>147</sup> "Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (CJCS)." Official Website of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Department Of Defense. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://www.jcs.mil/About/The-Joint-Staff/Chairman/>.

aggressive expansionism and poses less of an immediate threat, General Powell will be a key guide in determining the future of American military strength and deployment to face different threats.

### **15. Robert Mosbacher -- Secretary of Commerce**

Robert Adam Mosbacher Sr. was born March 11, 1927, in Mt. Vernon, New York. He graduated from Washington and Lee University of Virginia, where he earned his B.S. degree in 1947. He then began his career in oil and gas, serving on the board of Houston-based Mosbacher Energy Company under the tutelage of his father.<sup>148</sup> The company made several discoveries of significant new oil reserves while he worked there, lifting up the entire industry. It was also during this time that Mosbacher, a skilled amateur sailor, began to amass an impressive slew of sailing championship titles, from the 1939 Long Island Sound Midget Sailing Championship to the 1971 Soling Class World Championship with many in between. Among other achievements, he was on the cover of Sports Illustrated with his brother in 1959. Splitting his time between coastal Houston and the beaches of Long Island, his move from East to West mirrored that of ascendant Republican George H.W. Bush, and the two became friends.<sup>149</sup>

Mosbacher began his involvement with Republican electoral politics in the 60s, serving as Harris County Chairman of the 1968 Nixon Campaign. His friendship and support of George H.W. Bush took him to the national level. Mosbacher led the national fundraising campaigns for Gerald Ford's 1976 race and Bush's 1998 race, showing himself to be one of the most formidable political fundraisers in history. Following the 1988 election, he was asked by President-elect George H.W. Bush to join his Cabinet as the Secretary of Commerce.<sup>150</sup>

Robert Mosbacher will head up the Department of Commerce, whose job it is to foster the conditions for economic growth and opportunity. The Secretary of Commerce represents the interests of businesses to the President to help him consider policy impacts. The Department coordinates with a number of other agencies- the Census Bureau, the National Weather Service, NOAA Fisheries, the Foreign Commercial Service- to get business owners the information and help

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<sup>148</sup> "Robert A. Mosbacher (1989-1992)." Miller Center. University of Virginia, February 23, 2017. <https://millercenter.org/president/essays/mosbacher-1989-secretary-of-commerce>.

<sup>149</sup> "The Honorable Robert A Mosbacher Sr." The Bush School of Government & Public Service. Texas A&M, January 24, 2010. <https://bush.tamu.edu/mosbacher/bio/>.

<sup>150</sup> Smith, Evan. "Robert Mosbacher, Sr. Dies." The Texas Tribune. The Texas Tribune, January 24, 2010. <https://www.texastribune.org/2010/01/24/robert-mosbacher-sr-dies/>.

they need to succeed. Aside from the domestic efforts of the Department, Mosbacher specifically will work with the President on the foreign aspects of the position, including helping negotiate bilateral or multilateral trade agreements and enforcing laws that ensure a level playing field for American businesses and workers.<sup>151</sup>

## **16. Elizabeth Dole -- Secretary of Labor**

Elizabeth Hanford Dole was born on July 29, 1936 in Salisbury, North Carolina, the home of the famous steaks. Growing up in a relatively well-to-do household, Dole would go on to earn degrees from Duke and Harvard University during the late 1950s. While pursuing a Master's degree in education from Harvard, Dole had her first entry into politics, working as a Capitol Hill staffer for United States Senator Benjamin Everett Jordan, a North Carolina Democrat who supported the expansions of the social safety net championed by President Lyndon Baines Johnson, but also supported segregation. Later, in 1965, Dole obtained her law degree from Harvard.<sup>152 153</sup>

As a newly minted attorney, and with several postgraduate degrees from what I would rather charitably describe as a relatively prestigious university, Dole quickly gained prominence in politics, serving in a number of high-ranking roles in different Cabinet agencies under both Democratic and Republican presidents. She first served as a staff assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Johnson in 1967, before working in the Office of Consumer Affairs after Richard Nixon took the reins in 1969.<sup>5</sup> While working for Nixon, Dole met United States Senator Robert Dole, a Kansas Republican, eventually marrying him in 1975 and officially changing her party affiliation to Republican.

Dole was involved in her husband's 1976 and 1980 runs for Vice President and President, respectively. Following Robert's loss in the 1980 Republican Primaries, Ronald Reagan, the eventual winner of the 1980 Presidential Election, subsequently appointed Elizabeth to be United States

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<sup>151</sup> "About Commerce." US Department Of Commerce. Department of Commerce. Accessed September 9, 2021. <https://www.commerce.gov/about>.

<sup>152</sup> DOLE, Elizabeth Hanford." US House of Representatives: History, Art & Archives. Accessed September 8, 2021. <https://history.house.gov/People/detail/12577>

<sup>153</sup> Troxler, George W. "Jordan, Benjamin Everett." NCpedia. Accessed September 8, 2021. <https://www.ncpedia.org/biography/jordan-benjamin-everett>.

Secretary of Transportation, the first woman to hold that post. In that role, Dole pushed for a variety of policy measures including heightened airbag requirements and raising the legal drinking age to 21<sup>5</sup>. Now, President George H.W. Bush has nominated Dole to be his Secretary of Labor. This position involves enacting policy related to enforcement of labor standards, such as safeguards against unsafe workplace conditions, and resolving disputes between labor groups, such as unions, and management. From a foreign policy perspective, this position will involve negotiating with American labor groups about pressing issues like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as well as addressing worldwide labor movements, such as the Solidarity Movement in Poland, which is challenging the communist regime for increased rights to prominence and autonomy.

### **17. Clayton Yeutter -- Secretary of Agriculture**

Clayton Keith Yeutter was born on December 10, 1930 in Eustis, Nebraska. Yeutter grew up in a rural, farming community, and remained true to the locality even throughout his schooling, obtaining each of his Bachelor's, Master's, and law degrees from the University of Nebraska. After earning his Bachelor's degree, Yeutter enrolled in the United States Air Force, where he served for five years, while simultaneously maintaining a 2500-acre family farm in central Nebraska -- a grueling job that frequently involved having to clear away 30-50 feral hogs who had meandered onto the property in mere minutes.<sup>7</sup>

After obtaining his J.D. in 1966, Yeutter briefly attempted to enter academia as an instructor before swiftly pivoting to politics, serving as an executive assistant to Frank Brenner Morrison, the Governor of Nebraska.<sup>154</sup> In 1970, Yeutter truly broke through, being named as an Assistant Secretary of Agriculture in President Richard Nixon's administration. Then, in 1972, he was named a regional director for the Committee to Re-Elect the President, entrenching his position in nationwide Republican Party politics. Following Nixon's resignation in 1974, Yeutter served several more roles in

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<sup>154</sup>Troxler, George W. "Jordan, Benjamin Everett."

President Gerald Ford's administration, including Deputy Special Trade Representative, before leaving government to go back to private practice in Nebraska.<sup>7</sup>

Later, Yeutter moved to Chicago, going on to become president and CEO of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, an expansive marketplace for derivatives and other financial assets.<sup>155</sup> In 1985, Yeutter was drawn back into politics when he was named the United States Trade Representative by President Ronald Reagan, putting him at the forefront of several key negotiations, including the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) and the beginnings of NAFTA. Now, President George H.W. Bush has named Yeutter to be his Secretary of Agriculture. On the domestic front, this position involves enforcing agricultural regulations, including environmental restrictions, and ensuring the well-being of agricultural workers, including farmers, such as by providing relief payments during periods of extremely destructive weather. Meanwhile, on the foreign policy front, this position will be heavily involved in any disputes and negotiations involving policy that affects the agricultural sector, including free trade negotiations and rationing during wartime.

#### **18. Carla Anderson Hills -- U.S. Trade Representative**

Carla Anderson Hills was born January 3, 1934 in Los Angeles, California. She earned her B.A. from Stanford University, followed by a law degree from Yale Law School in 1958.<sup>156</sup> In the years following, she served in a variety of positions, including as assistant US attorney general in California, a partner at the Munger, Tolles, Hill, and Rickershauser law firm, and an adjunct professor at UCLA. In 1974, Hills served as the head of the civil division of the Justice Department, the first woman in 40 years to serve as attorney general.<sup>157</sup> In 1975, President Gerald Ford appointed Carla A. Hills as the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, where she became the third woman to ever serve on the Cabinet. After this national role, she left to the private sector during the Carter and

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<sup>155</sup> "Futures & Options Trading for Risk Management - CME Group." Futures & Options Trading for Risk Management - CME Group. Accessed September 8, 2021. <https://www.cmegroup.com/#>

<sup>156</sup> "Carla Anderson Hills (1975–1977)." Miller Center. University of Virginia, February 23, 2017. <https://millercenter.org/president/ford/essays/hills-1975-secretary-of-housing-and-urban-development>.

<sup>157</sup> "Carla Anderson HILLS (LL.B. 1958)." Yale Law Women. Yale University. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://ylw.yale.edu/portraits-project/carla-anderson-hills-ll-b-1958/>.



Reagan administrations. Now, she has returned to the Cabinet with the Bush administration, appointed as U.S. Trade Representative.<sup>158</sup>

In this role, Carla A. Hills will serve as America's chief trade negotiator, personally representing the United States in bilateral and multilateral trade talks and leading united delegations for this work.<sup>159</sup> As a staunch advocate for free trade, she is set to use her position and her formidable negotiation skills to open up markets and eliminate barriers for United States trade, especially with Latin American partners and developing countries.<sup>160</sup> She will also translate this experience in the field into guidance for the President on international trade policy, standing as the principal advisor on the subject.

### **19. Brent Scowcroft -- National Security Advisor**

Brent Scowcroft was born on March 19, 1925, in Ogden, Utah. He graduated from West Point in 1947 and enlisted as a pilot in the Air Force, but a crash landing in 1949 led him to consider other military career options. Choosing to refocus on strategy and planning, he earned a master's degree at Columbia University and taught for the Air Force before his assignment to Air Force Headquarters and the Pentagon. In 1972, by then a commissioned general, he became military assistant to President Nixon, preparing and accompanying the President for his crucial diplomatic trips to China and Moscow. His work impressed head of national security Henry Kissinger, who took him as his deputy in 1973.<sup>161</sup> When Kissinger became secretary of state, Scowcroft took charge of National Security meetings. Upon Nixon's resignation, Scowcroft was responsible for briefing the new President Gerald Ford on national security matters. Grateful for the support, Ford asked Scowcroft to become his national security advisor, for which he had to resign his commission as general.

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<sup>158</sup> "Biography- Carla Anderson Hills." Stanford Law School. Stanford University. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://abawtp.law.stanford.edu/exhibits/show/carla-anderson-hills/biography>.

<sup>159</sup> "Carla A. Hills." Hills & Company. Hills & Company, May 3, 2019. [https://www.hillsandco.com/wp-content/endurance-page-cache/professionals/carla-a-hills/\\_index.html](https://www.hillsandco.com/wp-content/endurance-page-cache/professionals/carla-a-hills/_index.html).

<sup>160</sup> "Carla Anderson Hills." Chartwell Speakers. Chartwell Speakers. Accessed September 5, 2021. <https://www.chartwellspeakers.com/speaker/carla-anderson-hills/>.

<sup>161</sup> Douglass, Daniel K. "Ford, Bush Presidential Adviser Brent SCOWCROFT Dies at 95." AP NEWS. Associated Press, August 7, 2020. <https://apnews.com/article/ap-top-news-air-force-george-h-w-bush-tx-state-wire-obituaries-42daf34201cc29aceb84983cca227880>.

When Jimmy Carter became president, Scowcroft left the White House for Henry Kissinger's consulting group. However, he still stayed connected to the Oval Office, serving on President Carter's advisory committee on arms control to help formulate the SALT II treaty. Under President Reagan, Scowcroft served as the chairman of the Commission on Strategic Forces, supervising the modernization of U.S. nuclear weapons. He also served on the three-member Tower Commission, which investigated the Iran-Contra arms deals and the President's role therein.<sup>162</sup> When Bush, a personal friend since the Nixon administration, won election to the presidency, Scowcroft was interested in becoming Defense Secretary, but, eschewing the bureaucracy of the Defense Department, he instead accepted a rare return to national security adviser to be by the president's side.

Scowcroft will bring the same approach to the position as during the Ford administration, dedicated to being the best resource for the President possible. He dislikes rigid hierarchy and prefers to pass along the views and suggestions of all his team, not just those he concurs with. He does not want to become a decision-maker, and he keeps his NSC staff small to avoid taking charge of overseeing operations themselves. He will regularly attend President Bush's daily briefings with the CIA, getting the same information on current events.<sup>163</sup> Having a lower profile than the President himself will be an asset, as he can be sent on private diplomatic missions that would otherwise generate publicity. He sees himself as a "traditionalist," pushing for the United States to work with allies and international organizations rather than alone. This attitude lends to a cautious approach that prioritizes dialogue over dynamism.

## **20. William H. Webster -- Director of Central Intelligence**

William H. Webster was born on March 6, 1924 in St. Louis, Missouri and served as a lieutenant in the US Navy during World War II before earning his bachelor's degree from Amherst College. He then received his Juris Doctor degree from Washington University Law School in 1949 before returning to the Navy during the Korean War. From 1949 to 1978, Judge Webster embarked on a career in law,

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<sup>162</sup> McFadden, Robert D. "Brent Scowcroft, a Force on Foreign Policy for 40 Years, Dies at 95." The New York Times. The New York Times, August 7, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/07/us/politics/brent-scowcroft-dead.html>.

<sup>163</sup> Riedel, Bruce. "Remembering Brent Scowcroft, a True National Security Maverick." Brookings. Brookings Institute, August 10, 2020. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2020/08/10/remembering-brent-scowcroft-a-true-national-security-maverick/>.

serving as a practicing attorney with a St. Louis law firm, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Missouri, a member of the Missouri Board of Law Examiners, a Judge of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, and finally a Judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.<sup>164</sup>

In 1978, then-President Jimmy Carter selected Webster to become the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He served faithfully in this position, supervising domestic prosecutions for federal crimes for nearly a decade. Then, in 1987, President Ronald Reagan appointed him as the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, becoming the first person to have led both the FBI and the CIA. Because of the agency-based nature of the position, he remains in this post as the Bush administration begins.<sup>165</sup>

As Director of the CIA, William H. Webster leads all foreign intelligence agencies of the United States. Ever since the reforms of the Ford and Carter administrations, the CIA has not had the same free rein to launch clandestine operations abroad or assassinate foreign leaders, as it might have during the early Cold War. However, the CIA today is no less crucial. The Director of the CIA manages the Agency's intelligence collection, analysis, covert action, counterintelligence, and liaison relationships with foreign services, as well as foreign intelligence acquired by human sources. Webster also has a hand in the CIA Daily Briefings to the President on global current events, placing him in a sort of advisory role to the President.<sup>166</sup>

## **21. Vernon A. Walters -- Ambassador to West Germany**

Vernon Anthony Walters was born in New York City on January 3, 1917, and attended Stonyhurst College in England. He joined the United States Army in 1941, and served in North Africa and Italy during World War II. His ability to speak French, Spanish, Italian, German, Dutch, Portuguese and Russian made him an incredibly useful asset. During the War, he infiltrated a circle of suspected Nazi

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<sup>164</sup> "William H. Webster, February 23, 1978 - May 25, 1987." FBI. Federal Bureau of Investigation, May 3, 2016. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/directors/william-h-webster>.

<sup>165</sup> "William H. Webster." Center for Strategic and International Studies. Center for Strategic and International Studies. Accessed September 7, 2021. <https://www.csis.org/people/william-h-webster>.

<sup>166</sup> "About CIA- Director of the CIA." Central Intelligence Agency. Central Intelligence Agency, March 19, 2021. <https://www.cia.gov/about/director-of-cia/>.

spies and managed interrogations in Morocco. Employing his linguistic skills, he went with Eisenhower to Paris in 1951 to translate between him and French President Charles De Gaulle and accompanied then-Vice President Nixon to Latin America in 1958, where he incurred injuries from broken glass when their car was attacked. Through the 1960s, he served as the military attache in a number of locales, including Italy, Brazil, and France.<sup>167</sup>

During the Nixon presidency, he worked behind the scenes with Henry Kissinger at secret negotiations held with North Vietnam in Paris. Impressed with his work, Nixon appointed him deputy director of the CIA in 1972, hoping for an ally in the agency. However, Walters firmly refused to use the CIA to block the FBI's investigation into the Watergate affair on false grounds of national security secrecy, thus allowing the facts of the affair to be revealed. He stayed in this role until 1976. In 1981, President Reagan appointed Walters as Ambassador-at-Large, and in this capacity, he visited more than 100 countries representing the United States on troubleshooting missions. He then became the US Ambassador to the United Nations in 1985, a Cabinet-rank position. Now, with the start of the Bush administration, Walters has accepted an appointment as the Ambassador to the Federal Republic of [West] Germany.<sup>168</sup>

As Ambassador, Walters lives in West Germany to serve as the Chief of Mission for the US Embassy's team. In his leadership role, Walters is responsible for representing the United States to the people and government of Germany, and he is the face of America in Bonn. He executes the President's diplomatic missions, both public and private, and he passes along information and advice gleaned locally to the President. The Ambassador must also maintain a close relationship with the US military command in Germany, who manage much of the diplomatic affairs for divided Berlin. Indeed, the large presence of troop divisions and missile armaments in West Germany, aimed at the Eastern Bloc, make West Germany a crucial ally. However, the combination of arms reductions treaties between the US and USSR, coupled with German discomfort with the military presence,

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<sup>167</sup> Smith, J.Y. "Gen. Vernon A. Walters." The Washington Post. WP Company, February 14, 2002. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/2002/02/14/gen-vernon-a-walters/5f2793c9-2cb6-41ed-96d3-76e5aodb6393/>.

<sup>168</sup> "Honorable Vernon A. Walters." Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame. Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame, 1987. <https://www.ikn.army.mil/apps/MIHOF/biographies/Walters,%20Vernon.pdf>.

have shaken up this relationship, making Walter's experience and knowledge in diplomacy all the more important.<sup>169</sup>

## **22. Henry Edward Catto -- Ambassador to United Kingdom**

Henry Edward Catto, Jr., was born in Dallas, Texas, on December 6, 1930. He graduated from the Texas Military Institute and Williams College with a degree in American history. After college, he joined his father and uncles' San Antonio insurance company, Catto and Catto. He became interested in politics in the late 1950s and ran on the Republican legislative ticket in Bexar County in 1960 and again in 1961. Texas was a Democratic stronghold at the time, and he roundly lost both races.<sup>170</sup>

However, around this time he befriended George H.W. Bush, another Texas Republican on the rise. When Republican President Richard Nixon was elected in 1968, Catto gained an appointment as deputy representative to the Organization of American States, then became the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador in 1971. He left to become chief of protocol to the White House and State Department, in which role he helped to plan and attend to visits from foreign dignitaries. He then served as US Representative to the European branch of the United Nations in Geneva until the start of the Carter Administration. When Republicans returned to the White House under Ronald Reagan, he was appointed assistant secretary of defense, making him the Pentagon's top spokesman. Now, his long-time friend George H.W. Bush, having been elected President, has given him the coveted post of Ambassador to the United Kingdom.<sup>171</sup>

Catto is a colorful character who takes pride in his Texas heritage and makes quite an impression. A non-career diplomat who nevertheless served in a number of foreign postings, Catto represents the United States at the Court of St. James, the British center for receiving foreign ambassadors.<sup>172</sup> As

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<sup>169</sup> "The Role of an Ambassador." U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Canada. US Department of State, June 1, 2017. <https://ca.usembassy.gov/our-relationship/our-ambassador/the-role-of-an-ambassador/>.

<sup>170</sup> Catto, Henry E, and Bob Steel. "Henry E. Catto, Jr. (1930-2011)." The Aspen Institute. The Aspen Institute, December 18, 2011. <https://www.aspeninstitute.org/news/press-release/henry-e-catto-jr-1930-2011/>.

<sup>171</sup> "Henry Edward Catto Jr." Office of the Historian, Foreign Service Institute. United States Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/departments/history/people/catto-henry-edward-jr>.

<sup>172</sup> Shapiro, T. Rees. "Henry E. Catto JR., Former Ambassador to Britain, Dies at 81." The Washington Post. WP Company, December 18, 2011. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/henry-e-catto-jr-former-ambassador-to-britain-dies-at-81/2011/12/19/gIQAuceJBP\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/henry-e-catto-jr-former-ambassador-to-britain-dies-at-81/2011/12/19/gIQAuceJBP_story.html).

Chief of Mission for the US Embassy's team, Catto is responsible for representing the United States to the people and government of Germany and promoting American interests in London. He executes the President's diplomatic missions, both public and private, and he passes along information and advice gleaned locally to the President. The Ambassador also plays a key role in bolstering military cooperation with the United Kingdom, a staunch ally against the Eastern Bloc.<sup>173</sup>

### **23. Les Aspin -- House Representative for Wisconsin and Chair of House Armed Services Committee**

Leslie Aspin was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin on July 21, 1938 and attended Milwaukee public schools before attaining a B.A. from Yale, an M.A. from Oxford, and a Ph.D. in economics from MIT. He went to serve as economic adviser to the Secretary of Defense while in the United States Army as a captain from 1966 to 1968. In 1968, he ran unsuccessfully for Wisconsin State Treasurer, but he subsequently found success with a run for Congress in 1971.<sup>174</sup> In fact, originally, he had lost his Democratic primary by a few dozen votes and refused to pay for a recount out of his own pocket, but when his campaign manager raised the funds and paid for the recount himself, he found he had won by a slim margin and went on to sweep the general election. Ever since then, he has been representing his district in the House.

Aspin began his career in Congress as an outsider but soon developed an interest and expertise in defense matters. He was not alone in opposing the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, and from the start of his House tenure, he issued press releases often critical of shortcomings in the armed forces. When he brought to light a military plan to test chemical weapons on beagle puppies, he initiated the largest-ever public letter-writing campaign to the military which got the plan cancelled. By 1985, when he became chairman of the House Committee on Armed Services, he was recognized as a leading authority on defense. His pragmatic approach sometimes ran afoul with his party, actually siding with the Reagan administration over the MX missile and aiding the Nicaraguan

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<sup>173</sup> "The Role of an Ambassador."

<sup>174</sup> "Aspin, Leslie." Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. Office of the House Historian. Accessed September 9, 2021. <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/A000224>.

Contras. Although temporarily removed from his committee chair by his Democratic colleagues in 1987, Aspin weathered the crisis and resumed the post.<sup>175</sup>

Les Aspin represents a fairly safe district and is unlikely to leave the House anytime soon, making him a fixture of the Washington apparatus. He is a Democrat, but he is not above working with Republicans when the ideas are good. There are few defense specialists in Washington more respected or experienced, and so Aspin's inclusion in this team represents the kind of cooperation and agreement the President hopes to create between the Oval Office and Congress. Aspin's position entails managing the House Armed Services Committee's meetings, which include members of both parties discussing military policies and direction. The combined expertise of the Committee makes it a good resource for advising Congress and the White House on military matters, especially (since it is the House) budgeting and funds allocation. He also serves as a liaison to Democrats and the House on foreign policy.<sup>176</sup>

#### **24. Sam Nunn -- United States Senator for Georgia and Chair of Senate Armed Services Committee**

Samuel Nunn was born in Mason, Georgia on September 08, 1938 and raised in the small town of Perry in middle Georgia. He attended Georgia Tech, Emory University, and Emory Law School, from which he graduated with honors in 1962. After active duty service in the US Coast Guard, he served six years in the US Coast Guard Reserve. He first entered politics as a Democratic member of the Georgia House of Representatives in 1968 and hoped to quickly jump to a run for the national House, but when a new district failed to materialize, he took a chance and ran for the Senate in 1972, surprising onlookers by winning.<sup>177</sup>

Upon arriving in Washington, Nunn opted to focus on defense issues, looking for mentorship and collaboration with greats from both parties. He supported initiatives he believed would work,

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<sup>175</sup> "Leslie Aspin." Historical Office, Office of the Secretary Of Defense. Department of Defense. Accessed September 9, 2021. <https://history.defense.gov/Multimedia/Biographies/Article-View/Article/571283/leslie-aspin/>.

<sup>176</sup> "Chairman Adam Smith." House Armed Services Committee. House Armed Services Committee. Accessed September 9, 2021. <https://armedservices.house.gov/chairman>.

<sup>177</sup> "Sam Nunn." Hoover Institute. Stanford University. Accessed September 10, 2021. <https://www.hoover.org/profiles/sam-nunn>.

regardless of whose party suggested them, and he earned himself a reputation as a pragmatic moderate. He was an early supporter of the Strategic Defense Initiative and aiding the Nicaraguan Contras, to the ire of some of his party. Nevertheless, he has demonstrated his left-wing credentials in leading the Democratic Leadership Council, which he founded in 1985 with Charles Robb, Joseph Biden, and Lawton Chiles to the end of making a moderate appeal to the conservative South and West. The group has focused on shoring up civil rights gains, a strong national defense, and a commitment to reasonable arms control. When the Democrats won control of the Senate in 1986, Sam Nunn was elevated to national stature and replaced his Republican friend Barry Goldwater as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.<sup>178</sup>

Samuel Nunn is that rare Democrat still able to win statewide races in the conservative New South. He himself is fairly conservative (whether on principle or prudence), and he often puts policy above party to support Republican defense initiatives. Nunn has been remarkably consistent in his positions, preferring a focus on defense to waging war. His ability to draw implications from mere proposals makes him an adept critic of Pentagon plans, especially wasteful spending and development. Nunn's inclusion in this team represents the kind of cooperation and agreement the President hopes to create between the Oval Office and Congress. He also serves as a liaison to Democrats and the Senate on foreign policy. Nunn's position entails managing the Senate Armed Services Committee's meetings, which include members of both parties overseeing the nation's military structure, overseas operations, and common defense. The combined expertise of the Committee makes it a good resource for advising Congress and the White House on military matters.<sup>179</sup>

## **25. Richard G. Darman -- Director of the Office of Management and Budget**

Richard G. Darman was born in Charlotte, North Carolina, on May 10, 1943, to a textile mill owner and his wife. Raised in Massachusetts, he graduated with honors from Harvard College in 1964 and from the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration in 1967. He started his career in

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<sup>178</sup> "Sam Nunn." YourDictionary.com. YourDictionary. Accessed September 10, 2021. <https://biography.yourdictionary.com/sam-nunn>.

<sup>179</sup> "Committee Assignments." Jack Reed, United States Senator for Rhode Island. Office of Jack Reed. Accessed September 10, 2021. <https://www.reed.senate.gov/about/committees>.



national administration during the Nixon presidency with a series of appointments in the Cabinet departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, Defence, and Justice.<sup>180</sup> In the administration of Gerald Ford, Darman rose to become Assistant Secretary of Commerce, but when Jimmy Carter took over the Oval Office, he stepped away from public jobs, instead serving as a principal consultant at ICF Inc. as well as a faculty lecturer at Harvard's Graduate School of Government.

Upon Reagan's victory in 1980, Darman became a key player in the President's team, first as executive director of the White House transition, then deputy Secretary of the Treasury, and finally as deputy to the Chief of Staff. A trusted ally and advisor to the White House, Darman demonstrated his understanding of government agency workings early on, and his work allowed Washington outsider Reagan to make concrete policy decisions with confidence.<sup>181</sup> With Bush's 1988 election, Darman was quickly nominated for the post of Director of the Office of Management and Budget in an effort to both create some continuity from the Reagan to Bush teams and to retain skilled policymakers.

Richard G. Darman is the perfect man for the position of Director of the Office of Management and Budget. A dedicated public servant and skilled technocrat, Darman knows the ins and outs of Washington bureaucracy, which will come in handy overseeing the federal budget. His primary objective in his new position will be to craft a comprehensive deficit-reduction agreement, necessary in the face of legislation that will automatically enact unsavory spending cuts if the deficit gets too high. However, he will have his work cut out for him. Even since the nominating convention, Darman has winced at the President's pledge of "no new taxes" for the ways it hampers what might well be necessary action to reduce the deficit, especially if economic growth slows. In the context of this team, Darman will be helpful in both offering his expertise with governmental agencies as well as

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<sup>180</sup> Maclin, Beth. "Tribute to Richard Darman – Public Servant, Counselor, Friend." Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Harvard University, Spring 2009. <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/tribute-richard-darman-public-servant-counselor-friend>.

<sup>181</sup> Reagan, Ronald, John Woolley and Gerhard Peters. "Appointment of Richard G. Darman as Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff." The American Presidency Project. UC Santa Barbara, September 14, 1981. <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/appointment-richard-g-darman-assistant-the-president-and-deputy-the-chief-staff>.

pushing for sensible budgeting for defense spending and planning. Every dollar counts, and limiting spending or finding vendors for downsized equipment can be a real policy option.<sup>182</sup>

## **26. Michael J. Boskin -- Chair of the Council of Economic Advisors**

Michael Jay Boskin was born on September 23, 1945 in New York City. Studying economics at the University of California at Berkeley, he earned his B.A. in 1967, his M.A. in 1968, and his Ph.D. in 1971. He spent the bulk of the 1970s and 80s teaching economics at Stanford University, as well as Harvard and Yale as a visiting lecturer.<sup>183</sup> During these years, he became widely recognized for his research on world economic growth, tax and budget theory and policy, Social Security, U.S. saving and consumption patterns, and the implications of changing technology and demography on capital, labor, and product markets. He steadily became sought out as an informal advisor for American and foreign governments on economic matters.<sup>184</sup>

Boskin first came to the government in the 1980s to help presidential candidate Reagan's Tax Policy Task Force, where he helped develop the signature policies that substantially lowered marginal tax rates, indexed tax brackets for inflation, and accelerated depreciation. His suggestions were also responsible for the creation of IRAs and 401ks, built on his research on the predicted effects of saving on taxes. He has become a prominent symbol of the kind of economic thinking that led the Reagan administration, as well as a respected economist in his own right who has continued to write and publish. Now, President Bush has asked him to serve as Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, the perfect role in which to continue Reagan's conservative economics in an informed way.

As Chairman of the CEA, Boskin will lead the team of experienced and brilliant economists tasked with guiding the President's macroeconomic policy decisions. At this level, economic policy will need to consider more than just the domestic market and instead factor in the effects and decisions taken

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<sup>182</sup> Holley, Joe. "Richard G. Darman: 1943 ~ 2008." The Washington Post. WP Company, January 26, 2008. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2008-01-26-0801250745-story.html>

<sup>183</sup> Boskin, Michael J. "Curriculum Vitae." Michael J. Boskin Personal Home Page. Stanford University, 2017. <https://web.stanford.edu/~boskin/mjb%20cv.pdf>

<sup>184</sup> "Michael J. Boskin." Stanford Department of Economics. Stanford University. Accessed September 10, 2021. <https://economics.stanford.edu/people/michael-j-boskin>.

for trade and relations with other states. Coming into the position, Boskin will be tasked with searching for a solution for the problem of debt owed to the United States by “third-world” countries, a default on which could seriously damage both the American economy and relations. On a related domestic front, the precipitating crisis in savings and loans could, if not properly addressed, plunge the United States into a deep recession and drag down the rest of the global economy. Through it all, budgetary decisions will need to control government spending while still protecting the defense budget to allow for new development. Boskin is generally an ally of the Reagan administration’s direction, and so if the Bush team continues in a similar vein with its spending, he will be invaluable in ensuring everything can be paid for.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> “Michael J. Boskin.” Hoover Institution. Stanford University. Accessed September 10, 2021. <https://www.hoover.org/profiles/michael-j-boskin>.

## Glossary

*The A-to-Z's of GHWB -- a list of political and economic terms that could be helpful as you read this document and prepare for your role in the committee*

**Authoritarianism:** A political system and philosophy in which power is concentrated in a single leader or small number of leaders who are unconstrained by the will of the general public; essentially, a wholly undemocratic system of government<sup>186</sup>

**Capitalism:** An economic system defined by private or corporate ownership of *capital goods*, or goods, services, and materials that are used in the production of other goods and services, private investment decisions, and prices and allocations of resources that are determined by free-market competition<sup>187</sup>

**(Classical) Liberalism:** An economic and political philosophy centered around free-market capitalism, free trade and economic activity between different nations, limited government intervention in the economy, and the protection of civil and political liberties<sup>188</sup>

**Communism:** An economic philosophy characterized by the complete abolition of private property, leading to public ownership of all goods<sup>189</sup>

**Conservatism:** A political philosophy that emphasizes values such as order, tradition, social stability, and preservation of established institutions over values such as fairness and equality; this often manifests specifically in support for policy focused on limited government spending and intervention, a balance of power that favors local authorities over the central government, an

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<sup>186</sup> "Authoritarian." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/authoritarian>.

<sup>187</sup> "Capitalism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/capitalism>.

<sup>188</sup> "Liberalism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/liberalism>.

<sup>189</sup> "Communism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/communism>.

emphasis on crime prevention, prioritization of national security, and preservation of institutional norms over radical change, including the supremacy of the nation's *constitution*<sup>190</sup>

**Constitution:** A nation's founding legal document or supreme law, to which all other laws and rules issued by that country's government must adhere

**Democracy:** A political system in which supreme power is vested in the general public; a democracy can be *direct*, in which the people rule directly, or *representative*, in which the people elect representatives who are accountable to the general public in order to enact laws and rules on their behalf<sup>191</sup>

**Democratic Party:** One of the two main political parties in American politics, and the primary opponents of the Republican Party. While, today, the Democratic Party is primarily characterized as espousing *modern liberal* or *progressive* political beliefs with small *far-left* factions, the party previously had factions across the political spectrum, including members of the *far-right*, primarily in American South, who supported racial segregation

**Depression (economic):** An especially lengthy and profound period of *economic recession*, typically defined to be a decline in *gross domestic product (GDP)* that lasts three or more years, or a year in which GDP declines by at least 10%<sup>192</sup>

**Economic growth:** An increase in a country's *gross domestic product (GDP)*, the sum of all final goods and services produced in that country during a fixed period of time

**Economic policy:** Action taken by the government to influence the state of a nation's economy; this includes both *fiscal* and *monetary* policy

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<sup>190</sup> "Conservatism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/conservatism>.

<sup>191</sup> "Democracy." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/democracy>.

<sup>192</sup> Liberto, Daniel. "Depression Definition." Investopedia. Investopedia, June 29, 2021. <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/d/depression.asp>.

**Embargo:** An extreme form of *economic sanction* imposed by the government of one country onto another that prohibits all or nearly all commercial activities between the two nations, whether it be in a specific industry, such as in the case of an *arms embargo*, or in all industries at once

**Executive (branch of government):** An executive, or executive branch, is a single official or group of officials responsible for ensuring that a country's laws are completely and appropriately executed; in the United States, this primarily consists of the President and their Cabinet, whereas in a *parliamentary* system, it would consist of the Prime Minister and their Cabinet Ministers

**Federalism:** A system of government in which power is divided between the national or *central government* and *local governments*, such as states and municipalities

**Fiscal policy:** The use of government spending and taxation to influence the state of a country's economy

**Head of Government:** The person responsible for overseeing and discharging the functions of the various departments and agencies of a country's central government; in a *presidential* system, this role is typically delegated to the *president*; in a *parliamentary* system, this role is often delegated to a *prime minister* or *chancellor*

**Head of State:** The person primarily in charge of representing their country, whether in a diplomatic or purely abstract sense; this person may also act as their nation's *head of state*, such as in the case of the President of the United States, or this person's role may be entirely *symbolic*, such as in the case of the Emperor of Japan

**Inflation:** An increase in the price of a typical set of goods and services, which is often referred to as a *market basket*

**Left-wing politics:** A broad conglomeration of political philosophies that reject the notion that inequality and social hierarchy are inevitable or inherently positive, and seek to promote ideas like fairness and equality; these include philosophies such as *modern liberalism* and *progressivism*, as well

as *far-left* ideologies such as *communism*, which attempts to promote equality at the expense of extreme amounts of personal liberty

**Legislature:** The branch of government tasked with enacting a nation's laws

**Liberalization:** The transition of a nation's core political and economic principles away from high levels of government influence over daily life, and towards *classically liberal* principles, such as limited government influence and greater emphasis on individual ability and performance; politically, this often suggests a transition from an *authoritarian* to a *democratic* system, whereas, economically, this suggests a transition away from a *socialist* or *communist* system and towards a *capitalist* system

**Libertarianism:** A political philosophy that emphasizes the promotion of individual liberty and free will above all else, and advocates for a minimal role for a given nation's government in practically all facets of life<sup>193</sup>

**Mixed economy:** An economic system that can be characterized as demonstrating elements of both *socialism* and *capitalism* or *classical liberalism* at the same time; typically, this means that some industries are controlled by the government, whereas others are minimally regulated, and involve prices and resource allocation largely determined by the free market

**(Modern or Social) Liberalism:** A political philosophy that, like *classical liberalism*, values civil and political liberties; however unlike *classical liberalism*, this philosophy suggests that personal liberty is closely related to ideas like *social justice* and *equality*, and that the government has a role to play in promoting these ideas, such as by establishing a *social safety net* and engaging in other forms of *redistribution*; this is the philosophy most often associated with American politicians who are characterized as "liberal," such as Michael Dukakis

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<sup>193</sup> "Libertarianism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/libertarianism>.

**Nationalism:** Strong loyalty or devotion to one's nation, accompanied by a belief that the interests of one's own country must necessarily be put before the interests of all others<sup>194</sup>

**Neoconservatism:** A late 20th-century political movement that combines traditional *conservative* beliefs with *neoliberal* economic and fiscal principles, and includes a particular emphasis on staunch social conservatism based on strict interpretations of Christian teachings and interventionist foreign and military policy

**Neoliberalism:** The late-20th century resurgence of *classically liberal* principles, including free-market *capitalism*, an emphasis on individual liberty, an increasingly limited role for government, and an emphasis on worldwide economic *liberalization*, such as the promotion of free trade; this philosophy is associated with several US presidents, including Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush, as well as Arkansas Governor William J. Clinton

**Monetary policy:** Action taken by a country's *monetary authority* or *central bank* in order to influence certain economic conditions, such as rates of economic growth, inflation, or unemployment; this includes the manipulation of *interest rates* and alterations of the *money supply*, such as by physically issuing more currency

**Parliamentary system:** A system of government in which a collective of public representatives, a *parliament*, holds both *legislative* and *executive* power; typically, laws are enacted by parliament, and then executed by the *prime minister* or *chancellor*, the parliament's leader, and their *cabinet ministers*, who are in charge of government departments

**Populism:** A political philosophy that promotes policy that is perceived to be beneficial to the rights and values associated with common people<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> "Nationalism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nationalism>.

<sup>195</sup> "Populism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/populism>.



**Presidential system:** A system of government in which *executive* power is primarily exercised by a single elected *president*, who, along with the rest of the *executive branch*, is entirely separate from the country's legislature, typically known as the *congress*

**Progressive taxation:** A system of taxation in which the average tax burden increases as income increases; this is different from *regressive taxation*, which is when tax burden decreases with income, and *flat taxation*, which is when all income is taxed at the same rate

**Progressivism:** A political philosophy that emphasizes a desire for continuous *social reform* or progress, often with the intention of dismantling social hierarchies and reducing inequality perceived to be destructive or detrimental to the improvement of humanity

**Protectionism:** An economic philosophy characterized by a desire to protect a country's domestic industries from foreign competition, such as by enacting *tariffs*, or taxes on imported goods; this is related to *nationalism*, and is largely antithetical to certain *classically liberal* beliefs, such as the promotion of *free trade*

**Reactionary (politics):** A political philosophy centered around a desire to return to older or more archaic social, cultural, and political norms and traditions. This is considered to be more radical than *conservative* politics, as while conservatism, broadly, is predicated on conserving existing norms and traditions, a *reactionary* would go further, and seek to reverse reforms

**Recession:** A prolonged period of economic decline, officially defined to be a decrease in a nation's *GDP* that lasts two or more consecutive quarters

**Redistribution:** Policy action taken with the intention of reducing *wealth inequality* between people, such as through *progressive taxation* and the development of a *social safety net*, or a series of government programs meant to ensure a basic level of welfare for the general public

**Republic:** A system of government in which supreme power is held by the people and exercised by representatives and officials who are elected and held accountable to the general public, specifically

including a head of state who is elected, rather than a monarch or dictator; in practice, a republic is typically a *representative democracy* that has a *president* as its head of state<sup>196</sup>

**Republicanism:** A belief in or advocacy for the *republic* as being the optimal or most practical form of government

**Republican Party:** One of the two main political parties in American politics, and the primary opponents of the Democratic Party. While, today, the Republican Party is primarily characterized as espousing *conservative* or *reactionary* political beliefs with some *far-right* factions, the party previously had factions across the political spectrum, including a *progressive* wing associated with President Theodore Roosevelt and a group of “Radical Republicans” that staunchly supported the abolition of slavery and the equal treatment of freed Black Americans during and after the Civil War<sup>197</sup>

**Right-wing politics:** A broad conglomeration of political philosophies that support the idea that certain social orders and hierarchies are correct, natural, or inevitable; this includes *conservative* and *nationalist* political beliefs, but also extends to *far-right* philosophies, such as *fascism*, *racism*, and *chauvinism*, an extreme belief in the supremacy of the group to which one belongs

**Sanction (economic):** An action taken by a nation’s government to economically disadvantage a person or group of people in a different country, often members of that country’s government, typically in retaliation for the violation of some agreement or expectation between the two nations

**Socialism:** An economic system in which the means of production and distribution are owned either by the general public, the collective of workers, or the government; however, this does not preclude the existence of private property<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> “Republic.” Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/republic>.

<sup>197</sup> “Radical Republican.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Radical-Republican>.

<sup>198</sup> “Socialism.” Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/socialism>.

**Totalitarianism:** A political system and philosophy that states that the individual must be subject to *total* and unquestioned control by the government<sup>199</sup>

**War crime:** A violation of basic standards, typically set by a law or treaty, for appropriate conduct during military conflict; one example of a *war crime* is the mistreatment or murder of prisoners of war

**Xenophobia:** A fear of anything that is perceived to be strange, different, or foreign; in a political context, *xenophobia* usually refers to a fear of or hatred towards people from a different country or part of the world to one's own, particularly if those people are looking to immigrate to one's country

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<sup>199</sup> "Totalitarianism." Merriam-Webster. Merriam-Webster. Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/totalitarianism>.

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