Into a New Century 1992–present

Why It Matters
During the 1990s, a technological revolution transformed society. President Clinton pushed for budget cuts, health care and welfare reforms, and global trade. He also worked for peace in the Middle East and the Balkans. In 2000 George W. Bush won the presidency. He supported tax cuts, a new energy program, increased trade, and a missile defense system. After terrorists killed thousands of people in the United States, the new president launched a war on terrorism.

The Impact Today
Major developments of the era continue to influence modern society.
• The use of the Internet is widespread in commerce, schools, and government.
• The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) continues to shape economic relations between the United States, Canada, and Mexico.
• The debate between conservatives and liberals continues in the United States.

The American Republic Since 1877 Video  The Chapter 29 video, “America’s Response to Terrorism,” examines how ordinary Americans responded to the terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C.
President Bush greets the soldiers of Ft. Campbell, Kentucky in March 2004.

**Chapter Overview**
Visit the American Republic Since 1877 Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on Chapter Overviews—Chapter 29 to preview chapter information.
The introduction of the first electronic digital computer in 1946 launched a technological revolution.

Key Terms and Names
ENIAC, integrated circuit, Silicon Valley, microprocessor, Bill Gates, software, telecommute, Internet, biotechnology, James Watson, Francis Crick, DNA

Reading Strategy
Categorizing As you read about the computer age, complete a chart similar to the one below to describe products that revolutionized the computer industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How It Revolutionized Computer Industry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Microprocessors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apple II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macintosh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windows</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reading Objectives
• Describe the evolution of the computer from scientific tool to household appliance.
• Evaluate how the computer has revolutionized science, medicine, and communications.

Section Theme
Economic Factors  The computer has helped reshape the nation’s economy.

An American Story

After years as a magazine editor and television news commentator, Michael Kinsley jumped into the new technology of the Internet in 1996, by agreeing to edit an online magazine called Slate. “I was determined,” Kinsley said, “to be on the next train to pull out of the station no matter where it was going—provided that I was the engineer.”

Soon newspaper and print magazines were also developing Web resources. Television stations also used the Internet to update news stories, allowing consumers to access news when and how they wanted. As Kinsley explained:

“Web readers surf. They go quickly from site to site. If they really like a particular site, they may visit it often, but they are unlikely to devote a continuous half-hour or more to any one site. . . . This appears to be in the nature of the Web and not something that is likely to change.”

—from “Slate Goes Free,” Slate, February 13, 1999

The Rise of the Compact Computer

The development of a computer capable of supporting publications such as Slate began at the end of World War II. The world’s first electronic digital computer, called ENIAC (Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer), went into operation in
February 1946. ENIAC weighed over 30 tons and was the size of a small house. In early 1959, Robert Noyce designed the first integrated circuit—a complete electronic circuit on a single chip of silicon—which made circuits much smaller and very easy to manufacture. Noyce’s company was located south of San Francisco. As new companies sprang up nearby to make products using integrated circuits, the region became known as Silicon Valley.

In 1968 Noyce and colleague Gordon Moore formed Intel, for “Integrated Electronics,” a company that revolutionized computers by combining on a single chip several integrated circuits containing both memory and computing functions. Called microprocessors, these new chips further reduced the size of computers and increased their speed.

Computers for Everyone Using microprocessor technology, Stephen Wozniak and his 20-year-old friend Steven Jobs set out to build a small computer suitable for personal use. In 1976 they founded Apple Computer and completed the Apple I. The following year they introduced the Apple II, the first practical and affordable home computer.

Apple’s success sparked intense competition in the computer industry. In 1981 International Business Machines (IBM) introduced its own compact machine, which it called the “Personal Computer” (PC). Apple responded in 1984 with the revolutionary Macintosh, a new model featuring a simplified operating system using on-screen graphic symbols called icons, which users could manipulate with a hand-operated device called a mouse.

Bill Gates and Microsoft
As Jobs and Wozniak were creating Apple, 19-year-old Harvard dropout Bill Gates co-founded Microsoft to design PC software, the instructions used to program computers to perform desired tasks. In 1980 IBM hired Microsoft to develop an operating system for its new PC. Gates quickly paid a Seattle programmer $50,000 for the rights to his software, and with some refinements, it became MS-DOS (Microsoft Disk Operating System).

In 1985 Microsoft introduced the “Windows” operating system, which enabled PCs to use the mouse-activated, on-screen graphic icons that the Macintosh had popularized. Soaring sales and rising Microsoft stock values made Gates a billionaire at the age of 31.

Compact computers became essential tools in virtually every kind of business. By the late 1990s, many workers began to “telecommute”—use computers and electronic mail to do their jobs from home via computer. The creation of wireless handheld devices and laptop computers has made computer use even more convenient. Now Internet access is available in a great deal more places and the use of the Internet is becoming much more commonplace.

The Telecommunications Revolution
A parallel revolution in communications coincided with the growing impact of computers. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the government loosened telecommunications regulations, allowing more companies to compete in the telephone and television industries. In 1996 Congress passed the Telecommunications Act. This act allowed telephone companies to compete with each other and to send
television signals, but it also permitted cable television companies to offer telephone service. Such developments spurred the creation of new technologies such as Web-enabled cellular phones and other mixing of data-platforms.

**Reading Check** Explaining How did deregulation affect the telecommunications industry?

**The Rise of the Internet**

Digital electronics also made possible a new worldwide communications system. The **Internet** let computer users post and receive information and communicate with each other. It had its roots in a computer networking system that the U.S. Defense Department’s Advanced Research Project Agency established in 1969. Known as ARPANET, this system linked government agencies, defense contractors, and scientists at various universities, enabling them to communicate with each other by electronic mail. In 1985 the National Science Foundation funded several supercomputer centers across the country. This paved the way for the Internet, a global information system that operated commercially rather than through the government.

At first, Internet users employed different types of information. With the development of the hypertext transport protocol (http) and new software known as Web browsers, the Internet rapidly expanded. Users could now click on Internet links using their computer mouse and easily jump from Web site to Web site. Internet use expanded by almost 300 percent between 1997 and 2000.

The Internet also spawned a “dot-com” economy (from the common practice of using a business name as a World Wide Web address, followed by “.com”). Seemingly rich with promise, a wide variety of dot.com companies made millions of dollars for stock investors without ever earning actual profit from operations. Internet-related stocks helped fuel the prosperity of the 1990s but dropped dramatically in 2000, raising questions about the ultimate profitability of online companies.

**Reading Check** Explaining How did the Internet expand business opportunities?

**Breakthroughs in Biotechnology**

Computers greatly assisted scientists engaged in **biotechnology**—the managing of biological systems to improve human life. Computers made it possible to study and manipulate genes and cells at the molecular level. Through biotechnology, researchers developed new medicines, animal growth

---

**TECHNOLOGY & History**

**Magnetic Resonance Imaging**

One extension of computer technology is magnetic resonance imaging (MRI). An MRI allows physicians to diagnose certain diseases, abnormalities, and injuries without resorting to x-rays or surgery. An MRI unit is made up of a large cylindrical magnet, devices for transmitting and receiving radio signals, and a computer. **Why do you think physicians prefer MRIs over x-rays and surgery?**

1. **A large cylindrical magnet** with a magnetic field 30,000 times stronger than the earth’s magnetic field surrounds the patient.

2. **Radio signals** are transmitted within the machine and pass through the patient’s body.

3. **A computer** converts the radio signals into precise images of the body’s internal structure.
hormones, genetically engineered plants, and industrial chemicals.

Unraveling the Secrets of Life  The first steps toward biotechnology came in 1953, when American molecular biologist James Watson and his British colleague, Francis Crick, deciphered the structure of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA). DNA is the genetic material in cells that determine all forms of life.

Once scientists learned how to read the message of DNA, their new knowledge improved medical research and provided law enforcement with new methods of identification. Further research has assisted genetic engineering for plants, animals, and humans.

The Human Genome Project  Super computers have also helped map the human genome, the DNA sequence for the human species. Real advances began in earnest at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in 1990 after NIH made its data available to all scientists on the Internet. It hoped to prevent any single nation or private laboratory from limiting the use of genome findings. In February 2001, the project completed its first map of the human genome. Since this important medical advance, medical research has grown even more sophisticated. Today doctors, religious experts, and politicians debate the advisability of human cloning and the possibilities of “reprogramming” fetal stem cells to become other tissue to help cure persistent diseases or improve organ replacement. The federal government has federal money on stem cell research, but new studies from Harvard University may indicate that similar “reprogramming” techniques can be applied to skin cells rather than fetal stem cells.

Reading Check  Explaining  How did computers assist the development of biotechnology?

Profiles in History
Jerry Yang  
1968–

Jerry Yang was born in Taiwan in 1968 and immigrated with his family to San Jose, California, when he was 10 years old. Yang is a co-founder of Yahoo!, one of the world’s best-known gateways to information and consumer goods on the Web. It is estimated that by the late 1990s, around 40 million people were visiting the Yahoo! Web site every month.

The company developed out of Yang’s desire to be able to find good Web sites quickly. At Stanford University, he and co-founder David Filo were doctoral students sharing office space in a trailer. They also shared information on their favorite Web sites, and Yang began compiling a list of them. He nicknamed the list “Jerry’s Guide to the World Wide Web,” and he posted it on the Internet.

Inquiries to the site boomed, and Yang and Filo concluded that they had found an untapped market. With the help of a loan from an imaginative venture capitalist, Yahoo! was born. Yang says they chose the name because it suggested the sort of “Wild West” character of the Internet. The mission for Yahoo! was not just to collect Web sites but to organize them into convenient categories, such as news, sports, games, and weather. Yahoo! became a popular gateway, or “portal,” to the Web.

SECTION 1  ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding
1. Define: microprocessor, software, telecommute, Internet, DNA.
3. Explain how scientific discoveries in biotechnology have improved people’s lives.

Reviewing Themes
4. Economic Factors  How have personal computers transformed the workplace?

Critical Thinking
5. Analyzing  How have advances in telecommunications and the rise of the Internet affected the standard of living in the United States?
6. Organizing  Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing developments that led to the technological revolution.

Analyzing Visuals
7. Analyzing Photographs  Study the crowd in the photograph of George W. Bush at Ft. Campbell on page 891. How would you describe the attitudes reflected in the faces of the people photographed?

Writing About History
8. Descriptive Writing  Write two paragraphs describing the ways that you and your family use the Internet and how your way of life would be different without it.
Main Idea
Although President Clinton struggled with Republicans in Congress and faced impeachment, several major economic and social reforms were achieved during his presidency.

Key Terms and Names
AmeriCorps, Contract with America, Kenneth Starr, perjury, ethnic cleansing, Dayton Accords

Reading Strategy
Taking Notes As you read about the administration of President Clinton, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

Reading Objectives
Describe the difficulties and successes of Bill Clinton’s two terms as president.
Discuss the nation’s involvement in world affairs during the Clinton presidency.

Section Theme
Economic Factors The United States, along with much of the industrialized world, experienced economic prosperity in the 1990s.

Preview of Events

1993
Israeli-Palestinian peace accord
1994
Republicans win both houses of Congress
1995
Federal government shuts down during budget impasse
1998
House impeaches Clinton
1999
Senate acquits Clinton; NATO aircraft bomb Serbia

An American Story
Bill Clinton was the third-youngest person ever to serve as president and the first of the “baby boom” generation to reach the Oval Office. Clinton brought with him a team of young energetic advisers. In the early weeks of the administration, Clinton’s team spent many hours at the White House adjusting to their new life. In early 1993, they began discussing plans for Clinton’s new economic strategy for paying down the deficit and reducing interest rates. George Stephanopoulos, an aide to the president, remembers their inexperienced beginnings:

“...The president presided over the rolling Roosevelt Room meetings in shirtsleeves, with glasses sliding down the end of his nose. . . . Clinton let everyone have a say, played us off against one another, asked pointed questions, and took indecipherable notes. But the reminders of who we were and what we were doing was never far away. Late one night, we ordered pizzas. When they arrived, the president grabbed a slice with the rest of us . . . [b]ut just before he took his first bite, [a secret service] agent placed a hand on his shoulder and told him to put it down. The pie hadn’t been screened. . . .”

—quoted in All Too Human

Clinton’s Agenda
Clinton’s first years in office were filled with grandiose plans and the difficult realities of politics. The new president put forth an ambitious domestic program focusing on five major areas: the economy, the family, education, crime, and health care.
Raising Taxes, Cutting Spending  As he had promised in his election campaign, Clinton focused first on the economy. The problem, in the president’s view, was the federal deficit. Under Reagan and Bush, the deficit had nearly quadrupled, adding billions of dollars annually to the national debt. High deficits forced the government to borrow large sums of money to pay for its programs and helped to drive up interest rates.

Clinton believed that the key to economic growth was to lower interest rates. Low interest rates would enable businesses to borrow more money to expand and create more jobs. Low rates would also make it easier for consumers to borrow money for mortgages, car loans, and other items, which in turn would promote economic growth.

One way to bring interest rates down was to reduce the federal deficit. In early 1993, Clinton sent Congress a deficit reduction plan. In trying to cut the deficit, however, Clinton faced a serious problem. About half of all government spending went to entitlement programs, such as Social Security, Medicare, and veterans’ benefits. Entitlement programs are very hard to cut because so many Americans depend on them.

Faced with these constraints, Clinton decided to raise taxes, even though he had promised to cut taxes during his campaign. Clinton’s plan raised tax rates for middle- and upper-income Americans and placed new taxes on gasoline, heating oil, and natural gas. The tax increases were very unpopular, and Republicans in Congress refused to support them. Clinton pressured Democrats, and after many amendments, a modified version of Clinton’s plan narrowly passed.

Families and Education  Clinton did manage to push several major pieces of legislation through Congress. During his campaign, he had stressed the need to help American families. His first success was the Family Medical Leave Act. This law gave workers up to 12 weeks per year of unpaid family leave for the birth or adoption of a child or for the illness of a family member.

Clinton also persuaded Congress to create the AmeriCorps program. This program put students to work improving low-income housing, teaching children to read, and cleaning up the environment. AmeriCorps volunteers earned a salary and were awarded a scholarship to continue their education.

Crime and Gun Control  Clinton had promised to get tough on crime during his campaign. He had also strongly endorsed new gun-control laws. Despite strong opposition from many Republicans and the National Rifle Association (NRA), the Democrats in Congress passed a gun-control law known as the Brady Bill. The bill imposed a waiting period before people could buy handguns. It also required gun dealers to have police run a background check on a person’s criminal record before selling them a handgun. The following year, Clinton introduced his first anticrime bill. The bill provided states with extra funds to build new prisons and put 100,000 more police officers on the streets.

Stumbling on Health Care  During his campaign, Clinton had promised to reform the U.S. health care system. An estimated 40 million Americans, or roughly 15 percent of the nation, did not have private health insurance. The president appointed a task force headed by his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton—an unprecedented role for a first lady. The task force developed a plan that guaranteed health benefits for all Americans, but it put much of the burden of payment of these benefits on employers. Small-business owners feared they could not afford it. The insurance industry and doctors’ organizations also opposed the plan.

Republicans opposed the plan as being complicated, costly, and reliant on government control. Congressional Democrats were divided. Some supported alternative plans, but no plan had enough support to pass. Faced with public opposition, Clinton’s plan died without ever coming to a vote.

Reading Check  Why did President Clinton’s proposed health care plan fail?
The Republicans Gain Control of Congress

Despite his successes, Clinton was very unpopular by late 1994. Instead of cutting taxes, he had raised them, and he had not fixed health care. Although the economy was improving, many companies were still downsizing. Several personal issues involving President Clinton further weakened public confidence in him. These factors convinced many Americans to vote Republican in 1994.

The Contract With America

As the 1994 midterm elections neared, congressional Republicans, led by Newt Gingrich of Georgia, created the Contract with America. This program proposed 10 major changes, including lower taxes, welfare reform, tougher anti-crime laws, term limits for members of Congress, and a balanced budget amendment. Republicans won a stunning victory—for the first time in 40 years, they had a majority in both houses of Congress.

In their first 100 days in office, House Republicans passed almost the entire Contract with America, but they soon ran into trouble. The Senate defeated several proposals, including the balanced budget amendment, while the president vetoed others.

The Budget Battle

In 1995 the Republicans lost more momentum when they clashed with the president over the new federal budget. Clinton vetoed several Republican budget proposals, claiming they cut into social programs too much. Gingrich believed that if Republicans stood firm, the president would back down. Otherwise, the entire federal government would shut down for lack of funds. Clinton, however, refused to budge.

By standing firm against Republican budget proposals and allowing the government to shut down, Clinton regained much of the support he had lost in 1994. The Republicans in Congress realized they needed to work with the president to pass legislation. Soon afterward, they reached an agreement with Clinton to balance the budget.

The 1996 Election

As the 1996 campaign began, Clinton took credit for the economy. The economic boom of the 1990s was the longest sustained period of growth in American history. Unemployment and inflation fell to their lowest levels in 40 years. The stock market

Identifying What two reforms did Clinton and Congress agree to support?

Reading Check

Republicans Triumphant As a result of the 1994 midterm congressional elections, the Republican Party gained control of the House and the Senate for the first time since the 1950s. Newt Gingrich (at podium) helped lead a group of young GOP congressional representatives in passing the Contract with America legislation. How successful was the Contract with America legislation? Explain.
soared, wages rose, crime rates fell, and the number of people on welfare declined. With the economy booming, Clinton’s popularity climbed rapidly.

The Republican Party nominated Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the Republican leader in the Senate, to run against Clinton. Dole promised a 15 percent tax cut if elected and tried to portray Clinton as a tax-and-spend liberal.

H. Ross Perot also ran again as a candidate. This time he ran as the candidate of the Reform Party, which he had created. Once again Perot made the deficit the main campaign issue.

President Clinton won re-election, winning a little more than 49 percent of the popular vote and 379 electoral votes. Dole received slightly less than 41 percent and 159 electoral votes. Perot won about 8.4 percent of the vote—less than half of what he had received in 1992. Despite Clinton’s victory, Republicans retained control of Congress.

**Reading Check**

**Explaining** Why do you think President Clinton won re-election in 1996?

### Clinton’s Second Term

During Clinton’s second term, the economy continued its expansion. As people’s incomes rose, so too did the amount of taxes they paid. At the same time, despite their differences, the president and Congress continued to shrink the deficit. In 1997, for the first time in 24 years, the president was able to submit a balanced budget to Congress. Beginning in 1998, the government began to run a surplus—that is, it collected more money than it spent.

**Putting Children First** During his second term, Clinton’s domestic agenda shifted toward children’s issues. He began by asking Congress to pass a $500-per-child tax credit. He also signed the Adoption and Safe Families Act and asked Congress to ban cigarette advertising aimed at children. In August 1997, Clinton signed the Children’s Health Insurance Program—a plan to provide health insurance for children whose parents could not afford it.

Clinton also continued his efforts to help students. “I come from a family where nobody had ever gone to college before,” Clinton said. “When I became president, I was determined to do what I could to give every student that chance.” To help students, he asked for a tax credit, a large increase in student grants, and an expansion of the Head Start program for preschoolers.

**Clinton Is Impeached** The robust economy and his high standing in the polls allowed Clinton to regain the initiative in dealing with Congress. By 1998, however,
he had become entangled in a serious scandal that threatened to undermine his presidency.

The scandal began in Clinton’s first term, when he was accused of arranging illegal loans for Whitewater Development—an Arkansas real estate company—while he was governor of that state. Attorney General Janet Reno decided that an independent counsel should investigate the president. A special three-judge panel appointed Kenneth Starr, a former federal judge, to this position.

In early 1998, a new scandal emerged involving a personal relationship between the president and a White House intern. Some evidence suggested that the president had committed perjury, or had lied under oath, about the relationship. The three-judge panel directed Starr to investigate this scandal as well. In September 1998, after examining the evidence, Starr sent his report to the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives. Starr argued that Clinton had obstructed justice, abused his power as president, and committed perjury.

After the 1998 elections, the House began impeachment hearings. Clinton’s supporters charged that Starr’s investigation was politically motivated. Clinton’s accusers argued that the president was accountable if his actions were illegal.

On December 19, 1998, the House of Representatives passed two articles of impeachment, one for perjury and one for obstruction of justice. The vote split almost evenly along party lines, and the case moved to the Senate for trial. On February 12, 1999, the senators cast their votes. The vote was 55 to 45 that Clinton was not guilty of perjury, and 50–50 on the charge of obstruction of justice. Although both votes were well short of the two-thirds needed to remove the president from office, Clinton’s reputation had suffered.

**Reading Check** Examining What events led to the impeachment of President Clinton?

## Clinton’s Foreign Policy

While attracting worldwide attention, the impeachment drama did not affect world affairs. The collapse of the Soviet Union virtually ended the struggle between communism and democracy, but small bloody wars continued to erupt around the world. On several occasions President Clinton used force to bring an end to regional conflicts.

### The Haitian Intervention

In 1991 military leaders in Haiti overthrew Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the country’s first democratically elected president in many decades. Aristide sought refuge in the United States. The new rulers of Haiti used violence, even murder, to suppress the opposition. Seeking to restore democracy, the Clinton administration convinced the United Nations to impose a trade embargo on Haiti. The embargo created a severe economic crisis in that country. Thousands of Haitian refugees fled to the United States in small boats, and many died at sea.

Determined to put an end to the crisis, Clinton ordered an invasion of Haiti. Before the troops arrived, however, former president Jimmy Carter convinced Haiti’s rulers to step aside.

**Peacekeeping in Bosnia and Kosovo** The United States also was concerned about mounting tensions in southeastern Europe. During the Cold War, Yugoslavia had been a single federated nation made up of many different ethnic groups under a strong Communist government. In 1991, after the collapse of communism, Yugoslavia split apart.

In Bosnia, one of the former Yugoslav republics, a vicious three-way civil war erupted between Orthodox Christian Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Bosnian Muslims. Despite international pressure, the fighting continued until 1995. The Serbs began what they called *ethnic cleansing*—the brutal expulsion of an ethnic group from a geographic area. In some cases, Serbian troops slaughtered the Muslims instead of moving them.

The United States convinced its NATO allies that military action was necessary. NATO warplanes attacked the Serbs in Bosnia, forcing them to negotiate. The Clinton administration then arranged peace talks in Dayton, Ohio. The participants signed a peace plan known as the **Dayton Accords**. In 1996 some 60,000 NATO troops, including 20,000 Americans, entered Bosnia to enforce the plan.

In 1998 another war erupted, this time within the Serbian province of Kosovo. Kosovo has two major ethnic groups—Serbs and Albanians. Many of the Albanians wanted Kosovo to separate from Serbia. To keep Kosovo in Serbia, Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic ordered a crackdown. The Albanians then organized their own army to fight back. Worried by reports of Serbian violence against Albanian civilians, President Clinton convinced European leaders that NATO should again use force to stop the fighting. In March 1999, NATO began bombing Serbia. The bombing convinced Serbia to pull its troops out of Kosovo.
Peacemaking in the Middle East Despite the overwhelming defeat Iraq suffered in the Persian Gulf War, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein remained in power and continued to make threats against Iraq’s neighbors. In 1996 Iraq attacked the Kurds, an ethnic group whose homeland lies in northern Iraq. To stop the attacks, the United States fired cruise missiles at Iraqi military targets.

Relations between Israel and the Palestinians were even more volatile. In 1993 Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat reached an agreement. The PLO recognized Israel’s right to exist, and Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians. President Clinton then invited Arafat and Rabin to the White House, where they signed the Declaration of Principles—a plan for creating a Palestinian government.

Opposition to the peace plan emerged on both sides. Radical Palestinians exploded bombs in Israel and in 1995 a right-wing Israeli assassinated Prime Minister Rabin.

In 1998 Israeli and Palestinian leaders met with President Clinton at the Wye River plantation in Maryland to work out details of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This agreement, however, failed to settle the status of Jerusalem, which both sides claimed.

In July 2000, President Clinton invited Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak to reach an agreement, but these talks failed. Beginning in October, violence started to break out between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers. The region was as far from peace as ever.

Clinton Leaves Office As he prepared to leave office, President Clinton’s legacy was uncertain. He had balanced the budget and presided over the greatest period of economic growth in American history. Clinton’s presidency was marred, however, by the impeachment trial, which had divided the nation and widened the divide between liberals and conservatives. In the election of 2000, that division would lead to the closest election in American history.
Main Idea
As the world adjusted to a new era, it faced the advantages and disadvantages of growing economic globalization and the end of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry.

Key Terms and Names
trade deficit, North American Free Trade Agreement, euro, nuclear proliferation, global warming, Kyoto Protocol

Reading Strategy
Organizing Complete a graphic organizer like the one below to chart the major political and economic problems facing the world at the turn of the century.

Reading Objectives
• Explain the development of regional economic blocs around the world.
• Assess environmental issues that have become important internationally.

Section Theme
Global Connections Economic, health, and environmental developments in recent years have led to the world’s nations becoming more interdependent.

1993 European Union launched
1994 United States, Mexico, and Canada inaugurate NAFTA
2000 U.S. gives permanent trade status to China
2001 China becomes member of WTO
2002 Treaty of Moscow signed

An American Story
It was an important breakthrough when President Clinton appointed Madeleine Albright in 1996 to be the first woman to serve as secretary of state. Born in Czechoslovakia, Albright immigrated to the United States as a young girl. She earned a Ph.D. in Russian studies from Columbia University. Her tough-talking approach as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations earned her the nation’s top foreign policy job.

As secretary of state, Albright dealt with everything from peace negotiations in the Middle East to improving trade relations with China. She also championed women’s rights in developing countries. Here, she expresses her views on women’s rights:

“[Halting violence against women] is a goal of American foreign policy around the world, where abuses range from domestic violence . . . to forcing young girls into prostitution. Some say all this is cultural, and there’s nothing we can do about it. I say it’s criminal, and we each have a responsibility to stop it.”

—quoted in Madeleine Albright and the New American Diplomacy

The New Global Economy
In the latter part of the 1900s, American leaders became more concerned with many global issues. Economies around the world had become much more interdependent. Computer technology and the Internet played a big role in forging a global economy.
Selling American-made goods abroad had long been important to American prosperity. By the 1970s, however, serious trade deficits had mounted—Americans purchased more from foreign nations than American industry and agriculture sold abroad. The United States found it necessary to compete harder in the global marketplace by streamlining industry, using new technology, and opening new markets.

From World War II to the present, Republican and Democratic administrations have both tried to lower barriers to international trade. They reasoned that the U.S. economy benefited from the sale of American exports, and that the purchase of imports would keep consumer prices, inflation, and interest rates low for Americans. Opponents warned that the global economy might cost the United States industrial jobs as manufacturing shifted to lesser-developed nations with few environmental regulations and cheap labor. By the 1990s, the debate between supporters of free trade and those who wanted to limit trade to protect industries had become an important part of American politics.

**Regional Blocs** One means of increasing international trade was to create regional trade pacts. In 1994 the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) joined Canada, the United States, and Mexico in a free-trade zone. With NAFTA in operation, exports of American goods to both Canada and Mexico rose dramatically. From 1993 to 2000, it is estimated that combined exports to those two countries rose from $142 to $290 billion, an increase of 104 percent.

One concern of many Americans was that industrial jobs would go to Mexico, where labor costs were lower. Although some jobs were lost to Mexico, unemployment rates in the United States fell during this period and wages rose. Many American businesses upgraded their technology, and workers shifted to more skilled jobs or to the service industry.

NAFTA faced competing regional trade blocs in Europe and Asia. In 1993 the European Union (EU) was created to promote economic and political cooperation among many European nations. The EU created a common bank and the euro, a common currency for member nations. The organization also removed trade barriers between its members and set policies on imports from nations outside the community.

EU rules tended to favor imports from the European nations’ former colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Pacific over competing products from the United States. The EU also banned scientifically modified food, such as hormone-treated beef from the United States. American exporters argued that hormones were a safe way to accelerate livestock growth rates and produce leaner meat. They protested that European fears lacked a scientific basis.

The Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was an attempt to create a Pacific trade community to rival the European Union. APEC represented the fastest-growing region in the world and controlled 47 percent of global trade in 2001. APEC began as a
forum to promote economic cooperation and lower trade barriers, but major political differences kept its members from acting together.

The World Trade Organization Central to the effort to promote a global economy was the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO administered international trade agreements and helped settle trade disputes. American supporters of the WTO cited benefits for U.S. consumers, including cheaper imports, new markets, and copyright protection for the American entertainment industry. On the other hand, the United States had no veto power in the WTO and poorer nations could outvote it.

Trade With China China’s huge population offered vast potential as a market for American goods, but many Americans had strong reservations about China’s record on human rights, and they worried about its threats to invade Taiwan. President Clinton pressed Congress to grant China permanent normal trade relation status, hoping to bring the nation into the world community. Despite opposition from labor unions, conservatives, and environmentalists, the bill passed in late 2000. In 2001 China joined the WTO.

Even with these steps toward the global community, many American officials demand that China must do more to repair its history of human rights abuses and address the problem of selling pirated versions of copyrighted materials. Critics of China also argue that American manufacturers should not be threatened by low-cost goods imported from Chinese factories.

Reading Check Explaining Why was the European Union (EU) created in 1993?

Issues of Global Concern

Although the end of the Cold War had reduced the threat of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, it also increased fears that nuclear weapons might fall into the wrong hands. Equally worrisome were efforts by several nations, including Pakistan, North Korea, and Iraq, to acquire nuclear weapons and long-range missiles. Beginning in the 1980s, nations also began to be concerned about the environment.


**TECHNOLOGY**

**Nuclear Proliferation** When Russia agreed to reduce its nuclear arsenal, fears arose that some of its weapons or radioactive material could be stolen or sold on the black market. In response, the U.S. provided funds to Russia to assist in the reduction of its nuclear stockpile.

Other efforts were made to reduce the threat of nuclear proliferation, or the spread of nuclear weapons to new nations. Congress passed legislation that cut aid and imposed sanctions on nations seeking to acquire such weapons. In 1996 President Clinton signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but the Senate refused to ratify it to avoid limiting American nuclear research. The 2002 Treaty of Moscow aimed at further reductions of U.S. and Russian nuclear weapons. The treaty stated that by the end of 2012 the total number of strategic nuclear warheads possessed by each country could not exceed 2,200.

Iran and North Korea caused concern in the international community by taking steps to reinvigorate their nuclear energy programs. While both countries insist that nuclear power is only used for fuel, the United States and the European Union have demanded that these nations undergo close scrutiny to ensure these programs do not lead to nuclear weapons.

**Concern About Ozone** In the 1980s, scientists discovered that chemicals called chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) had the potential to deplete the earth’s atmosphere of ozone. Ozone is a gas in the atmosphere that protects life on Earth from the cancer-causing ultraviolet rays of the sun. In the late 1980s, public awareness of the ozone issue increased dramatically when stories appeared documenting a large ozone “hole” over Antarctica. In 1987 the United States and 22 other nations agreed to phase out the production of CFCs and other chemicals that might be weakening the ozone layer.

**Global Warming** In the early 1990s, another global environmental issue developed when some scientists found evidence of global warming—an increase in average world temperatures over time. Such a rise in temperature could eventually lead to more droughts and other forms of extreme weather. A furious debate is now underway among scientists over how to measure changes in the earth’s temperature and what the results mean.

Many experts believe carbon dioxide emissions from factories and power plants caused global warming, but others disagree. Some question whether global warming even exists. The issue is very controversial because the cost of controlling emissions would affect the global economy. Developing nations trying to industrialize would be hurt the most, but economic growth in wealthier nations would be hurt, too.

Concern about global warming led to an international conference in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997. Thirty-eight nations and the EU signed the Kyoto Protocol promising to reduce emissions, but very few put it into effect. President Clinton did not submit the Kyoto Protocol to the Senate for ratification because most senators were opposed to it. In 2001 President George W. Bush withdrew the United States from the Kyoto Protocol, citing flaws in the treaty.

**Checking for Understanding**

1. Define: trade deficit, euro, nuclear proliferation, global warming.
3. Describe the international response to concerns about global warming.

**Reviewing Themes**

4. Global Connections Why was China an important factor in world trade?

**Critical Thinking**

5. Analyzing Do you think the new global economy has helped or hurt the United States?
6. Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing and describing the regional trade blocs that formed in the 1990s.

```
Regional Trade Blocs

[ ] [ ] [ ]
```

7. Analyzing Photographs Study the photograph on page 904 of the Oklahoma City National Memorial. What do the empty chairs represent? How has the memorial helped relatives of the victims?

**Writing About History**

8. Expository Writing Decide which issue of global concern today is the most serious. In an essay, explain why you think it is the most serious problem, and provide some possible solutions.
The 2000 presidential election was very close. Two candidates battled over the Electoral College votes of one state—Florida. The election remained undecided for more than a month. Though this election was a spectacle of demonstrations and detailed ballot evaluations, some people tried to put it all in perspective. May Akabogu-Collins, an American citizen originally from Nigeria, contrasted the “turmoil” and “chaos” of the election with the transfer of power in other parts of the world:

"America should be grateful that this election was as wild as it gets. Some of us originally came from places where heads would have rolled during a similar crisis. So far, not a gunshot has been heard on account of the balloting, and you call this ‘wild’? An election held in Nigeria in 1993 led to the President-elect’s being thrown in jail for trying to assume office and ultimately to his mysterious death. Going to court to decide who won this contest is, in my opinion, as civilized as it gets."

—quoted in *Time*, December 11, 2000
the election approached, the Republicans and the Democrats both tried to find candidates who would appeal to a broad cross-section of society.

**The Candidates Are Chosen** The Democrats nominated Vice President Al Gore for president in 2000. As his running mate, Gore chose Senator Joseph Lieberman from Connecticut, the first Jewish American ever to run for vice president on a major party ticket.

The Republican contest for the presidential nomination came down to two men: Governor George W. Bush of Texas, son of former president George Bush, and Senator John McCain of Arizona, a former navy pilot and prisoner of war in North Vietnam. Most Republican leaders endorsed Bush, who was also popular with conservative Republicans. He easily won the nomination, despite some early McCain victories in the primaries. Bush chose former defense secretary Richard Cheney as his vice presidential running mate.

**The 2000 Campaign** The election campaign revolved around the question of what to do with surplus tax revenues. Both Bush and Gore agreed that Social Security needed reform, but they disagreed on the details. Both promised to cut taxes, although Bush proposed a much larger tax cut than Gore. Both men also promised to improve public education and to support plans to help seniors pay for prescription drugs.

The healthy economy helped Gore, who stressed that the Clinton-Gore administration had brought prosperity to the nation. Many voters, however, were concerned with what they perceived as a decline in moral values among the nation’s leaders. Bush promised to restore dignity to the White House.

Frustrated by the similarities between Bush and Gore, well-known consumer advocate Ralph Nader entered the race as the nominee of the Green Party. Nader was known for his strong environmentalist views and his criticism of the power of large corporations. Nader argued that both Bush and Gore were
dependent on campaign funds from large companies and were unwilling to support policies that favored American workers and the environment.

A Close Vote  The 2000 election was one of the closest in American history. Gore narrowly won the popular vote. He received 48.4 percent of the vote to 47.9 for Bush. To win the presidency, however, candidates have to win a majority of state electoral votes, not the overall popular vote.

Neither candidate had the 270 electoral votes needed to win. The election came down to the Florida vote—both men needed its 25 electoral votes.

The results in Florida were so close that state law required a recount of the ballots using vote-counting machines. There were, however, thousands of ballots that had been thrown out because the counting machines could not discern a vote for president. Gore immediately asked for a hand recount of ballots in several strongly Democratic counties.

After the machine recount showed Bush still ahead, a battle began over the manual recounts. Most Florida ballots required voters to punch a hole. The little piece of cardboard punched out of the ballot is called a chad. The problem for vote counters was how to count a ballot when the chad was still partially attached. On some, the chad was still in place, and the voter had left only a dimple on the surface of the ballot. When looking at the ballots, vote counters had to determine what the voter intended—and different counties used different standards.

Under state law, Florida officials had to certify the results by a certain date. When it became clear that not all of the recounts could be finished in time, Gore went to court to overturn the deadline. The Florida Supreme Court agreed to set a new deadline. At Bush’s request, the United States Supreme Court then intervened in the case to decide whether the Florida Supreme Court had acted unconstitutionally.

While lawyers for Bush and Gore prepared their arguments for the Supreme Court, the hand recounts continued. Despite having more time, not all of the counties where Gore wanted recounts were able to meet the new deadline. On November 26, Florida officials certified Bush the winner by 537 votes.

Bush v. Gore  Although Bush had been declared the winner in Florida, Gore’s lawyers headed back to court arguing that thousands of ballots were still uncounted. The Florida Supreme Court ordered all Florida counties to begin a hand recount of ballots rejected by the counting machines. As counting began, the United States Supreme Court ordered the recount to stop until it had issued its ruling.

On December 12, in Bush v. Gore, the United States Supreme Court ruled 7–2 that the hand recounts in Florida violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. The Court argued that because different vote counters used different standards, the recount did not treat all voters equally. (See page 962 for more information on Bush v. Gore.)
Both federal law and the Constitution require the electoral votes for president to be cast on a certain day. If Florida missed that deadline, its electoral votes would not count. The Court ruled 5–4 that there was not enough time left to conduct a manual recount that would pass constitutional standards. This ruling left Bush the certified winner in Florida. The next day, Gore conceded the election.

**Reading Check**  Analyzing Why did the U.S. Supreme Court stop the manual recounts in Florida?

---

**Bush Becomes President**

On January 20, 2001, George W. Bush became the 43rd president of the United States. In his inaugural address, Bush promised to improve the nation’s public schools, to cut taxes, to reform Social Security and Medicare, and to build up the nation’s defenses.

After taking office, the president’s first priority was to cut taxes to try to boost the economy. During the election campaign, the economy had begun to slow. The stock market dropped sharply, and many new Internet-based companies went out of business. Many other businesses laid off thousands of workers. Despite opposition from some Democrats, Congress passed a large $1.35 trillion tax cut to be phased in over 10 years. In the summer of 2001, Americans began receiving tax rebate checks that put about $40 billion back into the economy in an effort to prevent a recession.

Soon after Congress passed the tax cut plan, President Bush proposed two major reforms in education. He wanted public schools to hold annual standardized tests, and he wanted to allow parents to use federal funds to pay for private schools if their public schools were doing a poor job. Although Congress refused to give federal funds to private schools, it did vote in favor of annual reading and math tests in public schools for grades 3–8.

President Bush also focused on Medicare reform. By the summer of 2002, Congress introduced a bill adding prescription drug benefits to this health care program. The bill remained mired in controversy until it was finally passed in November 2003.

Congress also reacted to a rash of corporate scandals. For example, at one large energy trading company, Enron, corporate leaders cost investors and employees billions of dollars before the company went bankrupt. The federal government tightened accounting regulations and toughened penalties for dishonest executives.

Shortly after taking office, President Bush asked Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to conduct a comprehensive review of the nation’s military. The president wanted to increase military spending, but he also wanted new military programs designed to meet the needs of the post–Cold War world.

One military program Bush strongly favored was strategic defense—the effort to develop missiles and other devices that could shoot down nuclear missiles. Bush argued that missile defense was needed because many unfriendly nations were developing the technology to build nuclear missiles.

As the debate about the nation’s military programs continued in the summer of 2001, a horrific event changed everything. On September 11, 2001, terrorists crashed passenger jets into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. A new war had begun.

**Reading Check**  Explaining What was President George W. Bush’s first priority when he took office?

---

**SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT**

1. **Define:** chad, strategic defense.
2. **Identify:** Al Gore, George W. Bush, Ralph Nader.
3. **Reviewing Facts** What did the Supreme Court decide in Bush v. Gore?
4. **Government and Democracy** What caused the vote-count controversy in Florida in the 2000 election?
5. **Forming an Opinion** Do you think the 2000 presidential election was decided fairly? Why or why not?
6. **Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing President Bush’s goals when he took office.

---

**Critical Thinking**

**Analyzing Visuals**

**Writing About History**

8. **Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a Supreme Court justice. Write a statement explaining how you voted in Bush v. Gore.

---

**HISTORY Online**

**Study Central** To review this section, go to tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on Study Central.
Reading a Cartogram

Why Learn This Skill?
On most maps, land areas are drawn in proportion to their actual surface areas on the earth. On some maps, however, a small country may appear much larger than usual, and a large country may look much smaller. The shapes of the countries may also look different.

Learning the Skill
Maps that distort country size and shape are called cartograms. In a cartogram, country size reflects some value other than land area, such as population or gross national product. For example, on a conventional map, Canada appears much larger than India. In a cartogram showing world population, however, India would appear larger than Canada because it has a much larger population. The cartogram is a tool for making visual comparisons. At a glance, you can see how each country or region compares with another in a particular value.

To use a cartogram, first read the title and key to identify what value the cartogram illustrates. Then examine the cartogram to see which countries or regions appear. Find the largest and smallest countries. Compare the cartogram with a conventional land-area map to determine the degree of distortion of particular countries. Finally, draw conclusions about the topic.

Practicing the Skill
Study the cartogram shown on this page, and then answer these questions.

1. What is the subject of the cartogram?
2. Which region appears largest on the cartogram? Which appears smallest?
3. Compare the cartogram to the map of the United States found in the Atlas. Which region is the most distorted in size compared to a land-area map?
4. Provide a brief explanation for this distortion.

Skills Assessment
Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 921 and the Chapter 29 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill
Reading a Cartogram Find statistics that compare some value for different states or countries. For example, you might compare the number of farms in each state or the annual oil consumption of countries on one continent. Be creative in your choice. Convert these statistics into a simple cartogram. Determine the relative size of each country or state according to the chosen value. For example, if the United States consumes five times more oil than Canada, then the United States should appear five times larger.

Glencoe’s Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
The War on Terrorism

At 8:45 A.M. Eastern Daylight Time on September 11, 2001, a Boeing 767 passenger jet slammed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. As people below gazed in horror, a second plane collided with the South Tower. Soon afterward, a third plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. At 9:50 A.M., the South Tower collapsed in a billowing cloud of dust and debris. The North Tower fell about 40 minutes later. The falling towers killed thousands of people, burying them beneath a vast mound of rubble.

The airplanes did not crash accidentally. Hijackers deliberately crashed them into the buildings. Hijackers also seized a fourth airplane, United Airlines Flight 93, probably hopping to crash it into the White House or the Capitol. Many passengers on Flight 93 had cell phones. After hearing about the World Trade Center, four passengers—Todd Beamer, Thomas Burnett, Jeremy Glick, and Mark Bingham—decided to do something. An operator listening over a cell phone heard Todd Beamer’s voice: “Are you ready, guys? Let’s roll.” Soon afterward, Flight 93 crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. At that moment, Vice President Dick Cheney was in a bunker under the White House. After hearing that Flight 93 had crashed, he said, “I think an act of heroism just took place on that plane.”

—adapted from Let’s Roll: Ordinary People, Extraordinary Courage

September 11, 2001

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, killed all 266 passengers and crewmembers on the four hijacked planes. Another 125 people died in the Pentagon. In New York City, nearly 3,000 people died. More Americans were killed in the attacks than died at Pearl Harbor or on D-Day in World War II.
The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were acts of terrorism. **Terrorism** is the use of violence by nongovernmental groups against civilians to achieve a political goal. Terrorist acts are intended to instill fear in people and to frighten their governments into changing their policies.

**Middle East Terrorism** Although there have been many acts of terrorism in American history, most terrorist attacks on Americans since World War II have been carried out by Middle Eastern groups. The reason Middle Eastern terrorists have targeted Americans can be traced back to events early in the twentieth century.

As oil became important to the American economy in the 1920s, the United States invested heavily in the Middle East oil industry. This industry brought great wealth to the ruling families in some Middle Eastern kingdoms, but most of the people remained poor. Some became angry at the United States for supporting the wealthy kingdoms and families.

The rise of the oil industry increased the Middle East’s contact with Western society. As Western ideas spread through the region, many Muslims—followers of the region’s dominant religion—feared that their traditional values and beliefs were being weakened. New movements arose calling for a strict interpretation of the Quran—the Muslim holy book—and a return to traditional Muslim religious laws.

These Muslim movements wanted to overthrow pro-Western governments in the Middle East and create a pure Islamic society. Muslims who support these movements are referred to as fundamentalist militants. Although the vast majority of Muslims believe terrorism is contrary to their faith, militants began using terrorism to achieve their goals.

American support of Israel also angered many in the Middle East. In 1947 the UN divided British-controlled Palestine into two territories to provide a home for Jews. One part became Israel. The other part was to become a Palestinian state, but fighting between Israel and the Arab states in 1948 left this territory under the control of Israel, Jordan, and Egypt.

The Palestinians wanted their own nation. In the 1950s, they began staging guerrilla raids and terrorist attacks against Israel. Since the United States gave military and economic aid to Israel, it became the target of Muslim hostility. In the 1970s, several Middle Eastern nations realized they could fight Israel and the United States by providing terrorist groups with money, weapons, and training. When a government secretly supports terrorism, this is called **state-sponsored terrorism**. The governments of Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Iran have all sponsored terrorism.

**A New Terrorist Threat** In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, Muslims from across the Middle East headed to Afghanistan to join the struggle against the Soviets. Among them was a 22-year-old Muslim named **Osama bin Laden**. Bin Laden came from one of Saudi Arabia’s wealthiest
families. He used his wealth to support the Afghan resistance. In 1988 he founded an organization called al-Qaeda (al KY·duh), or “the Base.” Al-Qaeda recruited Muslims and channeled money and arms to the Afghan resistance.

Bin Laden’s experience in Afghanistan convinced him that superpowers could be beaten. He also believed that Western ideas had contaminated Muslim society. He was outraged when Saudi Arabia allowed American troops on Saudi soil after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

Operating first from Sudan and then from Afghanistan—then under the control of Muslim fundamentalists known as the Taliban—bin Laden dedicated himself and al-Qaeda to driving Westerners, and especially Americans, out of the Middle East. In 1998 he called on Muslims to kill Americans. Soon afterward, bin Laden’s followers set off bombs at the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Over 200 people died in the attacks, including 12 Americans, and more than 5,400 were injured.

Shortly after these bombings, President Clinton ordered cruise missiles launched at terrorist facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan. The attacks did not deter bin Laden. In 1999 al-Qaeda terrorists were arrested while trying to smuggle explosives into the United States in an attempt to bomb Seattle. In October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the USS Cole, an American warship, while it was docked in the Middle Eastern country of Yemen.

**American Heroes**

After two hijacked aircraft slammed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center on September 11, survivors in the building headed down smoky, dust-choked stairways to escape. Yet even as thousands of people streamed out of the buildings, hundreds more headed into the blazing structures, fully aware of the danger they faced.

The people climbing the staircases into the burning buildings were New York City firefighters and rescue workers. When the towers collapsed, over 300 firefighters died. The tragedy at the World Trade Center reminded everyone that these men and women who daily risk their lives to save others are true American heroes whose sacrifices must not be forgotten.

---

**America Unites**

The attack on the Cole and the attempted bombing of Seattle were overshadowed by the close presidential election of 2000 and the policies of President George W. Bush’s new administration. Then, on September 11, 2001, terrorists struck again, hijacking four American passenger planes and executing the most devastating terrorist attack in history.

**Citizens Respond to the Crisis** The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon shocked Americans, but they responded rapidly to the crisis. Firefighters and medical workers from other cities headed to New York to help. Across the nation, Americans donated blood, raised money, and collected food, blankets, and other supplies. Within weeks, Americans had donated over one billion dollars. From around the world came sympathy. “We are all Americans!” wrote one French journalist.

Everywhere across the nation, Americans put up flags to show their unity and resolve. They held candlelight vigils and prayer services as they searched for ways to help. If the terrorists had hoped to divide Americans, they failed. As the Reverend Billy Graham noted at a memorial service: “A tragedy like this could have torn our country apart. But instead it has united us and we have become a family.”

**A National Emergency** The American government reacted quickly by grounding civilian airlines and alerting the armed forces. On September 14, President Bush declared a national emergency. Congress voted to authorize the use of force to fight the terrorists. Intelligence sources and the FBI quickly identified
the attacks as the work of Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda network.

President Bush decided the time had come to end the threat of terrorism in the world. He issued an ultimatum to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, demanding they turn over bin Laden and his supporters and close all terrorist camps. He also declared that although the war on terrorism would start by targeting al-Qaeda, it would not stop there. “It will not end,” he announced, “until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.”

The president also announced that the United States would no longer tolerate states that aided terrorists. “From this day forward,” he proclaimed, “any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.” The war, President Bush warned, would not end quickly, but it was a war the nation had to fight:

“Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment . . . Our

Nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future . . .

—President George W. Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001

**Reading Check**  **Outlining** What steps did the president take in response to the terrorist attacks?

**A New War Begins**

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld warned Americans that “this will be a war like none other our nation has faced.” The enemy, he explained, “is a global network of terrorist organizations and their state sponsors, committed to denying free people the opportunity to live as they choose.” Military force would be used to fight terrorism, but other means would be used as well.

**Fighting Terrorism At Home** In an effort to protect the American people from further terrorist attacks, President Bush called on Congress to create the Department of Homeland Security to merge the
dozens of federal agencies working to prevent terrorism. Among the organizations that the new department controls are the Coast Guard, the Border Patrol, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Customs Service, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

President Bush also asked Congress to pass legislation to help law enforcement agencies track down terrorist suspects. Congress acted with unusual speed, and the president signed the antiterroism bill—known as the USA Patriot Act—into law in October 2001. The new law allowed secret searches to avoid tipping off suspects in terrorism cases. It also allowed authorities to obtain a single nationwide search warrant that could be used anywhere. The law also made it easier to wiretap suspects, and it allowed authorities to track e-mail and seize voice mail. Although Congress sought to balance Americans’ rights with the need to increase security, civil libertarians worried that the new law eroded the Fourth Amendment’s protection against unreasonable search and seizure.

**Bioterrorism Strikes America** On October 5, 2001, a new terrorist attack began when a Florida newspaper editor died from anthrax. Anthrax is a type of bacteria that has been used to create biological weapons and if not treated with antibiotics it can kill quickly.

Soon, anthrax was found in news organizations and government offices, in some cases brought in through the mail. The FBI investigated the attacks, but apprehended no suspects. Government agencies responded by adopting rigorous measures to screen their mail.

**War in Afghanistan** On October 7, 2001, the United States began bombing targets in Afghanistan to attack al-Qaeda’s camps and the Taliban’s military forces. President Bush explained that Islam and the Afghan people were not the enemy, and he pledged food, medicine, and other supplies to Afghan refugees. The United States also sent aid to a coalition of Afghan groups, known as the Northern Alliance, which had been fighting the Taliban.

The American bombing campaign quickly shattered the Taliban’s defenses. The Northern Alliance then launched a massive attack and by early December, the Taliban regime had collapsed. The United States and its allies then began helping Afghan leaders create a new government. In January of 2004, Afghanistan adopted a new constitution that granted equality for men and women and defined the country as an Islamic Republic. In October, Hamid Karzai became the first democratically-elected leader of Afghanistan. Parliamentary elections were set for September 2005. American and allied troops remained in Afghanistan to act as peacekeepers and continue hunting for bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists.

**Weapons of Mass Destruction** The United States grew concerned that groups such as al-Qaeda might acquire nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. These weapons of mass destruction could kill tens of thousands of people at once.

In his state of the union speech in January 2002, President Bush warned that an “axis of evil,” which he identified as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, posed a grave threat to the world. Each of these countries had been known to sponsor terrorism and was suspected
of trying to develop weapons of mass destruction. The president promised to take strong action: “The United States of America will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.”

Months later, North Korea announced that it had restarted its nuclear program. The Bush administration exerted diplomatic pressure to persuade the North Korean government to stop the program, but the North Koreans argued that they needed the weapons to protect themselves from a U.S. attack.

**Reading Check**  
**Explaining** What is the Department of Homeland Security?

### Confronting Iraq

President Bush considered Iraq a more immediate threat than North Korea in developing and distributing weapons of mass destruction. Iraq’s dictator, Saddam Hussein, had already used chemical weapons twice, once in Iraq’s war against Iran in the 1980s and again in 1988 against the Kurds, an ethnic minority in northern Iraq who had rebelled against Hussein’s regime. After the Gulf War in 1991, UN inspectors found evidence that Iraq had developed biological weapons and was working on a nuclear bomb.

**Pressure on Iraq** In the summer of 2002, President Bush called for a regime change in Iraq. In September he asked for a UN resolution demanding that Iraq give up its weapons of mass destruction. He made it clear, though, that the United States would act with or without UN support. He asked Congress to authorize the use of force against Iraq, and Congress granted his request.

During the congressional elections of 2002, Democrats focused on the nation’s faltering economy, but President Bush made national security his chief theme. His vigorous campaigning helped Republicans add seats in the House of Representatives and regain a slim majority in the Senate.

**War and Its Aftermath** Soon after the elections, the United Nations approved a new resolution that set a deadline for Iraq, but the Bush administration doubted its effectiveness. The administration believed that Saddam Hussein had hidden weapons of mass destruction that were ready or nearly ready for use. Bush also believed that Hussein had ties to al-Qaeda. Many of America’s traditional allies in Europe wanted to give the inspectors more time, and refused to support a resolution from the UN Security Council authorizing the use of force. President Bush then argued that the Iraq threat justified a preemptive war—a war launched to prevent rather than to respond to an attack. The United States, Great Britain, and about 30 other countries prepared for war.

On March 20, 2003, the U.S.-led coalition attacked Iraq. Over the next six weeks, the Iraqi army dissolved as soldiers refused to risk their lives for Hussein. The coalition forces quickly seized control of the country, and on May 1, President Bush declared that the major combat was over. About 140 Americans, and several thousand Iraqis, had died. American troops captured Saddam Hussein by the end of the year.

Yet both the controversy over Iraq and the fighting continued. U.S. forces found no evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, and a serious link between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda was not discovered. The United States also lacked sufficient forces in Iraq to prevent the widespread looting that broke out after Hussein’s government fell. The lawlessness that followed the war encouraged radical religious factions within Iraq and terrorists who entered the country to target American troops and consultants from coalition countries. More Americans died in Iraq after President Bush had declared the end of combat than during the war itself.

As casualties and costs mounted, President Bush sought help from the UN and other countries to stabilize and rebuild Iraq. In April 2005, Iraq’s Transitional National Assembly selected Ibrahim al-Ja’afari as Iraq’s prime minister.

Writing the draft of Iraq’s constitution exposed the divisions within the country. The Kurds and Shiite Muslims presented a draft document in August 2005, but the Sunnis disagreed with the new federal structure, which would decentralize Iraq’s government and give new powers to local provincial councils. The Sunnis, who governed Iraq during Saddam Hussein’s regime, believed federalism would greatly reduce their influence.

**Reading Check**  
**Summarizing** Why did President Bush decide to confront Iraq?

### The 2004 Elections

The war on terrorism and the war in Iraq dominated the election of 2004. In the wake of the terrorist attacks, President Bush won widespread support for his firm determination to wage war on terrorism.

**The Kerry Challenge** President Bush and Vice President Cheney won nomination for a second term
without challenge. After primary campaigns that focused largely on the war in Iraq, Democrats nominated Massachusetts senator John Kerry and North Carolina senator John Edwards.

Kerry’s Vietnam War service was a dominant campaign issue. He had enlisted in the Navy and fought in Vietnam, where he was decorated for valor. Kerry returned from Vietnam convinced of the war’s futility and became an outspoken critic. His experiences in Vietnam made him leery of sending American troops into combat.

**A Choice for a Divided Nation** In policies and personalities, Bush and Kerry offered the nation a sharp choice. President Bush pledged to continue cutting taxes and building a strong national defense. He opposed abortion and endorsed a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriages. His supporters saw him as someone who operated on fixed moral and religious principles, trusted his instincts, and steadfastly followed a course of action once he made a decision.

Senator Kerry criticized what he considered Bush’s single-mindedness, insisting that a president must be able to focus on more than one issue at a time. He pledged to address domestic economic problems while pursuing the war on terrorism. Kerry promised to strengthen Social Security and to raise taxes on the wealthiest individuals in order to fund health-care insurance for the millions of Americans who lacked health coverage. Although a Catholic, Kerry differed with church leaders on many social issues, including abortion.

While the events of September 11, 2001, had united the nation emotionally, the country remained as divided politically as it had been during the 2000 election. President Bush drew his support from the Southeast and Southwest, as well as from rural areas and outer suburbs. Senator Kerry’s base was in the Northeast and on the West Coast, along with cities and inner suburbs. Both candidates devoted most of their campaigning to a few “battleground” states in the Midwest and in Florida, where voters’ opinions were the most narrowly divided.

**Bush Wins a Second Term** Both parties saw voter turnout as the key to the victory. On Election Day the Republicans best succeeded in mobilizing their core supporters. President Bush took the lead in the popular vote and a majority in the Electoral College. His victory helped preserve the Republican majorities in Congress. “We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion,” President Bush asserted in his second inaugural address: “The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands.” The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.”

**Reading Check** Summarizing Which issues divided the country during the 2004 presidential election?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Interpreting** What factors have contributed to the rise of Middle Eastern terrorist groups?

6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the reasons why President Bush declared war on Iraq.

[Diagram: War on Iraq]

**Analyzing Visuals**

7. **Examining Maps** Study the map on page 914 of terrorist attacks. In what region of the world did most of the attacks take place?

**Writing About History**

8. **Persuasive Writing** The attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., convinced many Americans that more security was needed, even if it meant giving up some freedoms. Write a letter to a newspaper explaining why you are for or against increased security.
Looking Back...

Representative Government

**Steps To . . . Representative Government**

The United States has a representative government in which citizens elect representatives to speak for them on political matters. The roots of American representative government date back to the colonial era.

**Virginia House of Burgesses** The first representative body in colonial America was the Virginia House of Burgesses. The House was comprised of two elected representatives, or burgesses, from each of 10 of Virginia’s settlements. The body had the power to pass laws for the colony. The Virginia Company, however, had the power to disallow laws passed by the Burgesses.

Despite this limitation on its authority, the House of Burgesses changed Virginia from a company-run colony into a partially self-governing colony where elected representatives made the laws. Later on, Virginia became a royal colony, ruled by a governor appointed by the king. To keep settlers’ support, the king allowed the House of Burgesses to continue to meet. This established the tradition of representative government in the colonies.

Why It Matters  Bill Daley, the chairperson of Vice President Al Gore’s presidential campaign, was frantically trying to reach the vice president. It was 2:00 A.M. on Wednesday morning, November 8, 2000, the day after the presidential election. The election had come down to the vote counts in one state—Florida—and the votes in Florida were showing George W. Bush as having a significant lead. Gore was preparing to publicly concede the election. Daley, however, had heard that the latest Florida counts showed Bush’s lead shrinking to below one percent. There would have to be a recount. When Daley finally got Gore on the phone, Daley shouted, “Whatever you do, do not go out on the stage.”

As the debate began in Florida over how to recount the ballots, Daley stressed that “technicalities should not determine the presidency of the United States; the will of the people should.” The dispute over how to recount the ballots in Florida mattered deeply to both candidates and to the American people, because it involved one of the basic ideas of the American system of government—that officials are elected to represent the needs and wishes of the people.

*“The right of voting for representatives is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right is to reduce a man to [the] slavery . . . of being subject to the will of another . . .”*

—Thomas Paine, 1795
The Mayflower Compact

The Mayflower Compact was an agreement signed in November 1620 by the male passengers aboard the Mayflower before they came ashore at Plymouth. The signers agreed to form a civil government that represented the wishes of the majority. The compact called for government leaders to "enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions . . . as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony. . . ."

Fundamental Orders of Connecticut

The notion of representative government took another step forward in 1639 when several towns along the Connecticut River joined together to create a government. They laid out the structure of this government in the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut—the first written constitution in American history. The document, which consisted of a preamble and eleven orders, gave citizens the right to elect the governor, judges, and representatives to make laws. The Orders also introduced the idea of limited government. For example, citizens could call the legislature into session if the governor refused to do so. The legislature could also remove officials from power for misbehavior.

Colonial Assemblies

By the time of the American Revolution, most British colonies in America had local assemblies elected by the people. Colonial governments were not truly representative, however, because the king chose the governors and gave them the power to veto laws passed by the assemblies. Although the governors were powerful, the assemblies could control them by refusing to vote for new taxes. The American Revolution was partly caused by Britain’s challenge to this system. When Britain began taxing the colonies directly, it endangered the power of the local assemblies. Americans insisted that taxation without representation violated their rights.

The U.S. Constitution

These ideas of representative government and limited government would be bound together in the document that has governed the nation as a whole for more than 200 years: the U.S. Constitution. The Federalists, or those who supported the Constitution during its ratification process, strongly believed in representative government. Indeed, the authors of the Federalist Papers, the collection of famous essays written in support of the Constitution, preferred a government one step removed from the common people, whom they insisted "seldom judge or determine right." The fact that the Constitution placed political power "in the hands of the representatives of the people," the authors stated, "is the essential, and, after all, only efficacious security for the rights and privileges of the people."

Checking for Understanding

1. What is a representative government?
2. What was significant about the formation of the Virginia House of Burgesses?

Critical Thinking

1. Do you think a written constitution is preferrable to a constitution based on tradition? Explain.
2. Would you rather live under a representative government or in a direct democracy, where people govern themselves by voting directly on all issues? Explain.
Reviewing Key Terms
On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

1. microprocessor 8. euro  
2. software 9. nuclear proliferation  
3. telecommute 10. global warming  
4. Internet 11. chad  
5. perjury 12. strategic defense  
6. ethnic cleansing 13. terrorism  
7. trade deficit 14. state-sponsored terrorism  

Reviewing Key Facts
16. How did compact computers transform the workplace?
17. What advances in biotechnology occurred in the 1990s?
18. After his election in 1992, how did President Clinton propose to strengthen the nation’s economy?
19. What regional trade blocs were formed in the 1990s to increase international trade?
20. Which state was significant in the 2000 presidential election?

Critical Thinking
21. Analyzing Themes: Global Connections What foreign-policy challenges did President Clinton face? Do you think he handled the situations effectively? Why or why not?
22. Evaluating What developments in the Middle East explain the rise of terrorist groups that want to attack Americans?
23. Analyzing Points of View Read the excerpt below about global warming, then answer the questions that follow.

“The world is getting warmer, and by the end of the 21st century could warm by another 6 degrees Celsius (10.8 degrees Fahrenheit) . . . . And climate scientists at the heart of the research are now convinced that human action is to blame for some or most of this warming . . . .
Everywhere climatologists look—at tree-ring patterns, fossil successions in rock strata, ocean-floor corings . . . . they see evidence of dramatic shifts from cold to hot to cold again . . . . None of these ancient shifts can be blamed on humans . . . . There is still room for argument about the precise role of the sun or other natural cycles in the contribution to global warming . . . . Richard S. Lindzen, a leading meteorologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology said . . . the picture of a consensus about global warming was ‘misleading to the public and even to scientists . . . .’ But most climate scientists . . . . now believe that the climate is being influenced by human beings.”

—from World Press Review, February 2001

a. According to the article, what two points of view exist about global warming?
b. Why is the debate on global warming important?
Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following sentence.

The Contract with America involved
F a commitment by Russia to eliminate land-based nuclear weapons.
G a campaign promise by President Clinton to create a national health care system for all Americans.
H a legislative agenda promoted by the Republican Party in 1994.
J programs intended to increase the size and readiness of the military.

Test-Taking Tip: This question requires that you remember details of a specific program. Use the process of elimination if you are unsure. Does the Contract with America sound like a foreign policy agreement between two countries?