



CHAPTER

32

New Challenges

1981–Present

Why It Matters

The 1980s and 1990s ushered in a period of great change. With the collapse of communism in Europe, relations between East and West changed dramatically. Former foes sought closer ties. At home, new advances in technology, medicine, and industry helped the nation move forward.

The Impact Today

The technological innovation during this period accounts for today's communications revolution and globalized economy.



The American Journey Video The chapter 32 video, "America Responds to Terrorism," focuses on how Americans united after the events of September 11, 2001.



United States

PRESIDENTS

Reagan
1981–1989



1980

- 1981**
 - Ronald Reagan becomes president

- 1983**
 - U.S. troops invade Grenada



- 1986**
 - Space shuttle *Challenger* explodes

1985

- 1990**
 - Americans with Disabilities Act passed

G.H.W. Bush
1989–1993



1990

- 1989**
 - Bush becomes president



World

- 1980**
 - Solidarity trade union formed in Poland

- 1989**
 - Students protest in Tiananmen Square
 - Fall of communism in Eastern Europe

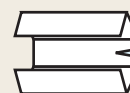


- 1990**
 - Nelson Mandela released from South African prison

Organizing Information Study Foldable

Make this foldable to help you organize what you learn about the challenges facing the United States today.

Step 1 Fold a sheet of paper into fifths from top to bottom.



This forms five rows.

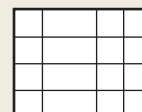
Step 2 Open the paper and refold it into fourths from side to side.



Fold it in half, then in half again.

This forms four columns.

Step 3 Unfold, turn the paper, and draw lines along the folds.

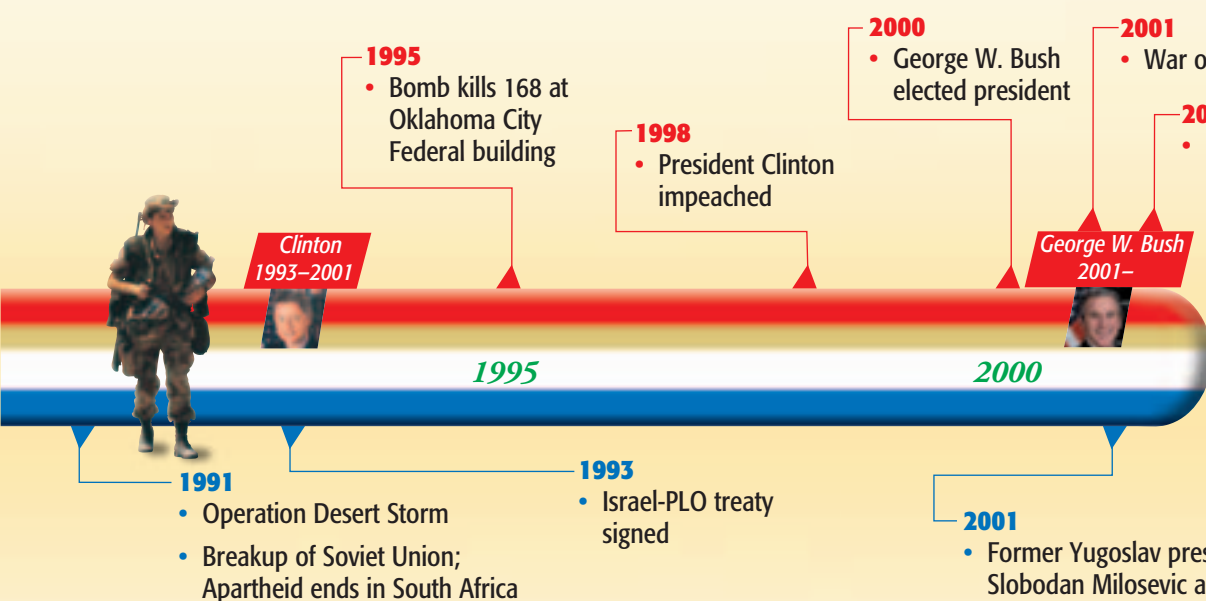


Step 4 Label your foldable as shown.

	Reagan	Bush	Clinton	G.W. Bush
Political Party				
Foreign Policy				
Domestic Policy				

Reading and Writing As you read the chapter, write information about the presidents, their political parties, and their foreign and domestic policies in the correct spaces of your foldable.

A New President George W. Bush was inaugurated the nation's forty-third president on January 20, 2001.



HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit taj.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 32—Chapter Overviews** to pre-view chapter information.

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SECTION 1

The Reagan Presidency

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

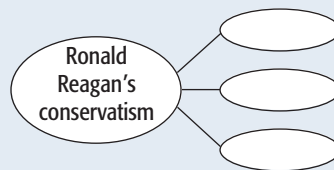
Ronald Reagan took a conservative approach to both domestic and foreign policy.

Key Terms

deregulation, federal debt, glasnost, perestroika

Reading Strategy

Classifying Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and provide three conservative actions taken by Ronald Reagan.



Read To Learn

- how Ronald Reagan implemented supply-side economics.
- how Ronald Reagan was active in foreign policy.
- how the Soviet Union changed.

Section Theme

Economic Factors Ronald Reagan was conservative at home and built up the military to counter the Soviet Union.

Preview of Events



AN American Story



President Reagan views a giant get-well card

On March 30, 1981, President Reagan gave a speech at the Washington Hilton. After the speech, the president left the hotel through a side entrance and passed through a line of press photographers and TV cameras. As he walked to his car, gunshots rang out. The president had been shot in the chest. Also injured were two security officers and the president's press secretary, James Brady. The assassin, John Hinckley, Jr., was quickly subdued. Despite the attempt on his life, the president never lost his sense of humor. In the operating room, he told the surgeons, "Please tell me you're Republicans."

The Reagan Revolution

Ronald Reagan's election to the presidency in 1980 marked a significant conservative shift in America. The conservative movement grew across the country, particularly in the South and Southwest, a region known as the **Sunbelt**. When the Sunbelt's population increased during the 1970s, the conservative movement gained political power.



Many Americans wanted a return to what President Ronald Reagan, a former actor with Illinois small-town roots, called “traditional American values”—an emphasis on family life, hard work, respect for law, and patriotism. They shared the conservative view that the federal government made too many rules, collected too much in taxes, and spent too much money on social programs.

Air Traffic Controllers’ Strike

A few months after Ronald Reagan became president, the nation’s air traffic controllers went on strike. They refused to go back to work despite the president’s orders to do so. President Reagan acted at once, firing the controllers and ordering military staff to oversee air traffic while new controllers were trained to do the work.

President Carter had been criticized for his lack of leadership and indecision. With this action, Ronald Reagan showed that he would stand firm and use his position as president to carry out the policies in which he believed.

Deregulation

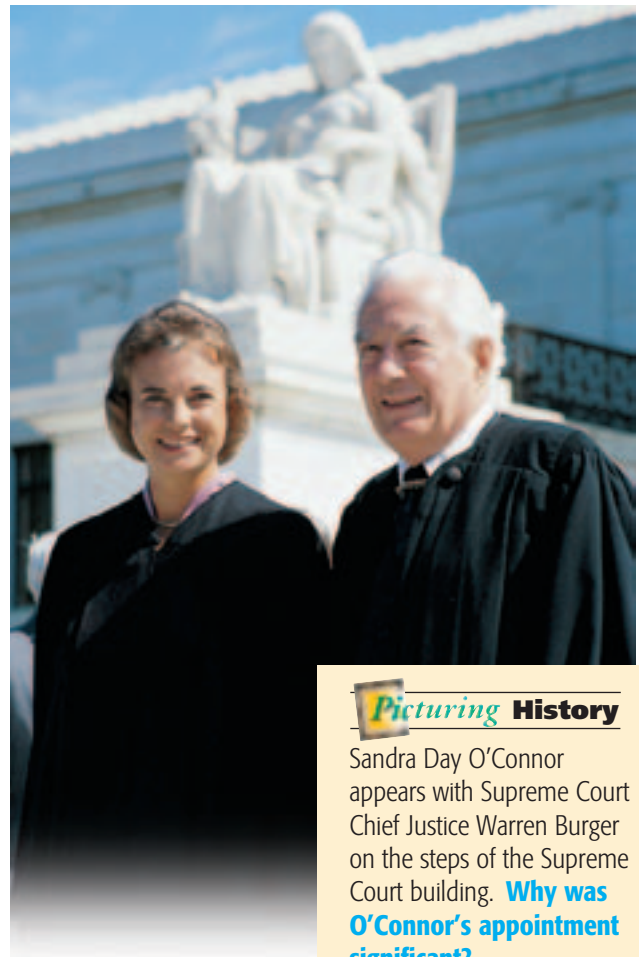
As part of his promise to reduce government and “get the government off the backs of the American people,” President Reagan pursued a policy of **deregulation**. This meant cutting the rules and regulations government agencies placed on businesses. Under President Reagan, for example, the Department of Transportation wrote new rules for automobile exhaust systems and safety measures that were easier for car manufacturers to meet.

The Supreme Court

Reagan also put a conservative stamp on the Supreme Court by naming justices to the Court who shared his views. He appointed **Sandra Day O’Connor** in 1981, the first woman ever appointed to the Court. Reagan later appointed **Antonin Scalia** and **Anthony Kennedy**.

Reaganomics

Deregulation and his court appointments showed President Reagan’s commitment to a conservative view of government. It was his



Picturing History

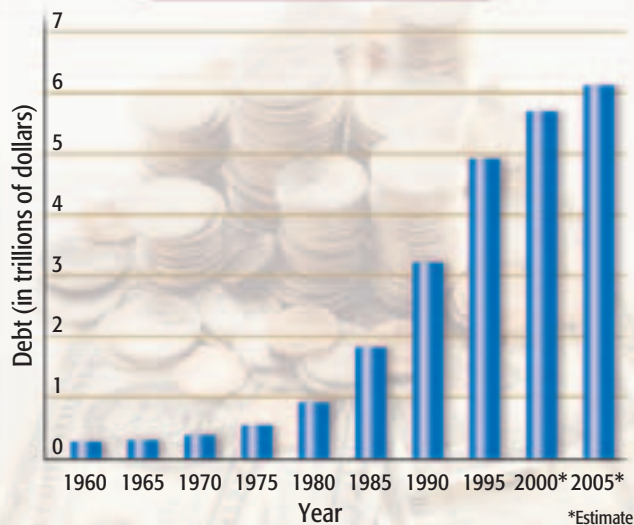
Sandra Day O’Connor appears with Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger on the steps of the Supreme Court building. **Why was O’Connor’s appointment significant?**

economic policies, however, that formed the core of the “Reagan Revolution.” Reagan believed that lower taxes would allow individuals and corporations to invest in new businesses. Because a tax cut would mean less income, Reagan also called for less government spending. Supporters called Reagan’s economic policy **supply-side economics** because it proposed to stimulate the economy by increasing the supply of goods and services. The president’s critics ridiculed the policy as “Reaganomics.”

In 1981 Congress lowered taxes and slashed nearly \$40 billion from federal programs such as school lunches, student aid, welfare, low-income housing, and food stamps. Critics charged that these cuts hurt both the working poor and unemployed people. Supporters argued that Reaganomics would boost the economy, helping everybody in the long run.



Gross Federal Debt



Source: U.S. Department of the Treasury.

Graph Skills

The federal debt is the amount of money owed by the government.

Analyzing Information When did the gross federal debt first pass \$1 trillion?



While Reagan cut domestic programs, he pushed for sharp increases in military spending. The president declared that the Soviet threat made it necessary to build up the military.

Government Debt

With higher defense spending and lower taxes, the government spent more money than it collected in revenue. It had to borrow money to make up the difference. This borrowing increased the **federal debt**—the amount of money owed by the government. Between 1970 and 1980, the federal debt had grown from \$381 to \$909 billion. By 1990 the debt had jumped to \$3.2 trillion.

\$Economics

Recession and Recovery

President Reagan's new economic policies seemed to falter when a serious recession began early in his first term. However, the economy recovered a year later and began to boom.

In 1983 the economy began a long, steady rise. Businesses expanded, and the high jobless rate of 1982 declined. Investors showed confidence in the economy with a boom in stock trading.

The federal debt continued to grow as well. In 1985 Congress tried to halt growth of the debt by passing the **Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act**. The act set a series of targets for eliminating the federal budget deficit by 1991. If Congress and the president could not agree on *voluntary* spending cuts, the law called for *automatic* spending cuts to balance the budget. The provision for automatic cuts did not apply to all areas of the budget, however, so it had limited success.

Reading Check Explaining What is the amount of money the government owes called?

Reagan's Foreign Policy

Ronald Reagan pledged in his campaign to wage a tough fight against communism. To carry out his policy, President Reagan launched a massive buildup of the military. He expanded the American arsenal of tanks, ships, aircraft, and nuclear missiles. He defended these actions by quoting George Washington's advice: "To be prepared for war is one of the most effective means of preserving peace."

Reagan also proposed an antimissile defense system, the **Strategic Defense Initiative** (SDI). Nicknamed "Star Wars," the SDI would provide a defensive shield against enemy missiles. However, scientists were unable to develop the technology for the SDI.

Latin America

Besides building up the nation's military strength, Reagan also committed American forces and aid to the fight against communism, especially in nearby Latin America.

Late in the Carter presidency, Communist rebels in **Nicaragua**—called **Sandinistas**—had overthrown the government. After becoming president, Reagan sent aid to the **contras**, a group battling the Sandinistas. The fighting in Nicaragua continued for many years and became a source of disagreement between President Reagan and Congress.



In October 1983, President Reagan took direct military action in the Caribbean. Rebels on the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada staged an uprising. Concerned about the fate of 800 American medical students on the island, Reagan dispatched troops to rescue the Americans and establish a prodemocracy government. Reagan's action won widespread approval at home.

The Middle East

President Reagan was less successful with peace efforts in the Middle East. In 1982, he sent a force of marines to help keep the peace in the war-torn nation of Lebanon. The Americans soon were caught in a web of violence. A car bomb blast killed more than 60 people at the U.S. embassy in Beirut in April 1983. Then in October, 241 Americans and 58 French died in attacks on U.S. and French military headquarters. Rather than become more deeply involved in the struggle, the president withdrew all U.S. forces from Lebanon.

 **Reading Check** Summarizing What is SDI?

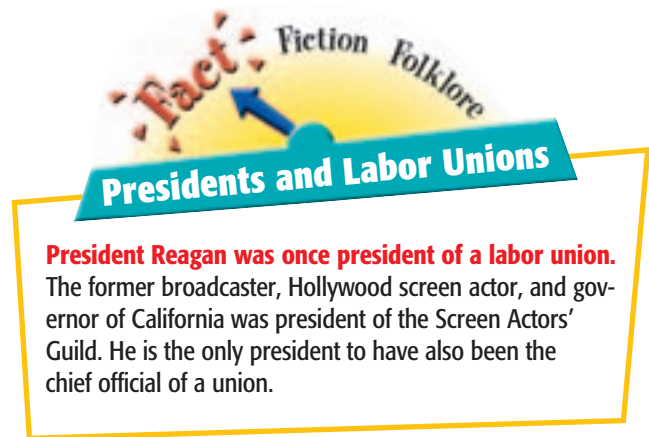
Reagan's Second Term

By 1984 the American economy was booming. In his State of the Union Address, President Reagan declared:

“America is back—standing tall, looking [toward the future] with courage, confidence and hope.”

President Reagan and Vice President **George Bush** continued using this optimistic theme in their campaign for reelection. The Democrats chose **Walter Mondale**, vice president under Jimmy Carter, and **Geraldine Ferraro**, a member of Congress from New York. Ferraro became the first woman to run for vice president on a major political party ticket.

Reagan won the electoral votes of 49 out of 50 states. It was one of the most lopsided presidential elections in American history. Spurred on by high employment, a strong economy, and low interest rates, Reagan enjoyed high popularity ratings early in his second term.



Presidents and Labor Unions

President Reagan was once president of a labor union. The former broadcaster, Hollywood screen actor, and governor of California was president of the Screen Actors' Guild. He is the only president to have also been the chief official of a union.

The Iran-Contra Scandal

Despite his popularity, a scandal cast a shadow over part of President Reagan's second term. Terrorists, with ties to the Iranian government, held U.S. citizens hostage in Lebanon. Hoping to secure the release of the hostages, Reagan officials made a deal with Iran.

Marine lieutenant colonel **Oliver North** and Navy vice admiral John Poindexter, both assigned to the White House National Security Council, arranged for the sale of weapons to Iran in return for help in freeing American hostages. North and Poindexter decided to funnel money from this secret arms sale to help the Nicaraguan contras.

News of these deals—which came to be known as the **Iran-Contra scandal**—created an uproar. Critics charged that these deals violated federal laws barring officials from aiding the contras. They also said that the deals violated the Constitution by interfering with Congress's role in making foreign policy. Congress held hearings to determine whether the president took part in breaking the law. But there was never any proof of the president's involvement.

A Changing Soviet Policy

A remarkable shift in Soviet-American relations began to take shape at the beginning of Reagan's second term as president. Changes in Soviet leadership helped trigger the change. In 1985 Communist Party leaders of the Soviet Union chose a new general secretary, or leader—**Mikhail Gorbachev**. To the surprise of people all around the world, Gorbachev was committed to reforming the Soviet government. He called for a policy of **glasnost**—opening Soviet society to new ideas.



Picturing History

President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev shake hands at their June 1988 summit meeting in Moscow. **What major step did both leaders take earlier toward ending the threat of nuclear war?**

Gorbachev also tried to change the way his country was governed. Moving away from the government's near-total control of the economy, he allowed more democracy and local economic planning. This new policy, **perestroika**, encouraged the Soviets to seek even greater changes.

With the Soviet economy in trouble, Gorbachev knew that the Soviet Union could not afford to build nuclear weapons. At several meetings he tried to convince President Reagan that he wanted to end the nuclear arms race. These early meetings accomplished little.

In 1987, however, President Reagan and Premier Gorbachev signed an agreement, the **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty**. The treaty aimed to reduce the number of nuclear missiles in each superpower's arsenal. Reagan explained the agreement by quoting what he said was a Russian proverb: "Trust, but verify." While both nations still held vast nuclear arsenals, they had taken a major step toward reducing the threat of nuclear war.

 **Reading Check Explaining** What were glasnost and perestroika?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

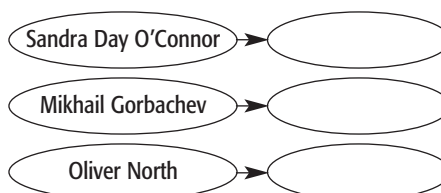
- Key Terms** Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: **deregulation**, **federal debt**, **glasnost**, **perestroika**
- Reviewing Facts** List two of President Reagan's actions that proved he was committed to creating a more conservative government.

Reviewing Themes

- Economic Factors** Why did President Reagan believe that lowering taxes would aid the economy?

Critical Thinking

- Drawing Conclusions** Do you think Reagan administration officials were justified in violating congressional laws in the Iran-Contra incident? Explain.
- Organizing Information** Re-create the diagram below and explain why each of these people was in the news.



Analyzing Visuals

- Graph Skills** Review the graph of the Gross Federal Debt shown on page 924. What years are shown? What was the first year the debt was almost twice the amount it was five years before?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Research Find the literal meaning of the terms *contras* (Spanish) and *perestroika* (Russian). Then find an English word or phrase that has the same meaning. Use the two terms in a complete sentence.



Technology SKILLBUILDER

Using an Electronic Spreadsheet

Why Learn This Skill?

People use electronic spreadsheets to manage numbers quickly and easily. You can use a spreadsheet any time a problem involves numbers that you can arrange in rows and columns.

Learning the Skill

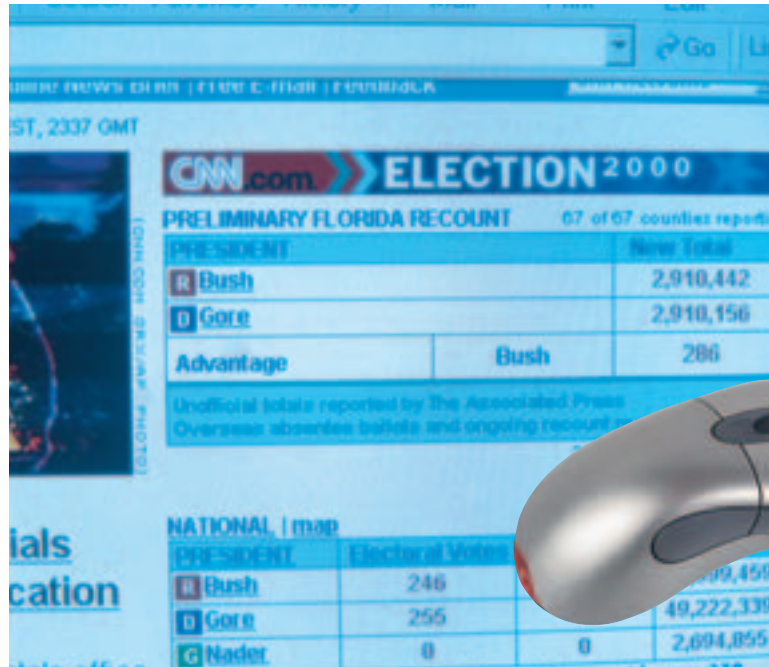
A spreadsheet is an electronic worksheet. All spreadsheets follow a basic design of rows and columns. Each column (vertical) is assigned a letter or a number. Each row (horizontal) is assigned a number. Each point where a column and row intersect is called a *cell*. The cell's position on the spreadsheet is labeled according to its corresponding column and row—Column A, Row 1 (A1); Column B, Row 2 (B2), etc.

Spreadsheets use *standard formulas* to calculate the numbers. You create a simple mathematical equation that uses these standard formulas and the computer does the calculations for you.

Practicing the Skill

Suppose you want to know how many votes the Republican, Democratic, and Independent candidates received across six states in the 2000 presidential election. Use these steps to create a spreadsheet that will provide this information:

- 1 In cells B1, C1, and D1 respectively, type a candidate's name or political party. In cell E1, type the term *total*.
- 2 In cells A2–A7, type the name of a state. In cell A8, type the word *total*.



PRESIDENT	Votes	Advantage
R Bush	2,910,442	
D Gore	2,910,156	
		Bush 286

PRESIDENT	Electoral Votes
R Bush	246
D Gore	255
G Nader	0

Web page showing election results

- 3 In row 2, enter the number of votes each candidate received in the state named in cell A2. Repeat this process in rows 3–7.
- 4 Create a formula to calculate the votes. The formula for the equation tells what cells (B2 + C2 + D2) to add together.
- 5 Copy the formula down in the cells for the other five states.
- 6 Use the process in steps 4 and 5 to create and copy a formula to calculate the total number of votes each candidate received.

Applying the Skill

Using a Spreadsheet Use a spreadsheet to enter your test scores and your homework grades. At the end of the grading period, the spreadsheet will calculate your average grade.



SECTION 2

The Bush Presidency

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

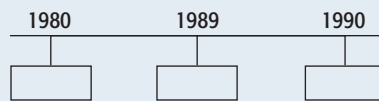
George Bush had an active foreign policy and presided over the fall of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War.

Key Terms

coup, bankruptcy

Reading Strategy

Organizing Information As you read the section, re-create the time line below and provide three key events leading to the fall of communism.



Read To Learn

- how the Soviet Union collapsed.
- how George Bush used the military overseas.
- how George Bush had difficulty domestically.

Section Theme

Global Connections Great political changes marked the global situation during George Bush's presidency.

Preview of Events

♦ 1988

1988

George Bush is elected president

♦ 1990

June 1989

Chinese students protest in Tiananmen Square

November 1989

The Berlin Wall is torn down

January 1991

Allies launch Operation Desert Storm

♦ 1992

December 1991

The Soviet Union is dismantled



Navy pilot George Bush during World War II

AN American Story

On September 2, 1944, a young pilot took part in a bombing mission against Japanese bases. World War II was raging. His plane—launched from an aircraft carrier—suffered a direct hit from a Japanese anti-aircraft gun. The pilot and his two crew members bailed out into the Pacific Ocean. A U.S. submarine rescued the pilot from a life raft, but the other two men were never found. For his heroism, the pilot—George Bush—was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. More than 40 years later, Bush would become the forty-first president of the United States.

A New World Order

As Ronald Reagan's second term drew to a close, the election campaign for his successor heated up. Vice President **George H.W. Bush** swept through the 1988 primaries to win the Republican presidential nomination. Bush chose Indiana senator **Dan Quayle** as his running mate. Many Democrats vied for their party's nomination, but the field quickly narrowed to two candidates—civil



rights leader **Jesse Jackson** and Massachusetts governor **Michael Dukakis**. Dukakis, who ran the most effective primary campaign, won the nomination and chose Senator **Lloyd Bentsen** of Texas as his running mate.

On Election Day, Bush carried 40 states, giving him 426 electoral votes to 112 for Dukakis. However, Bush's victory did not extend to Congress. The Democrats retained control of the House and the Senate.

A Changing Soviet Union

With much experience in foreign affairs, newly elected president George Bush was called upon to steer the United States through a time of sweeping change facing the world. Many important changes dealt with the Soviet Union.

In December 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev stood before the United Nations to describe the "new world order" to come. Gorbachev stressed that people throughout the world wanted "independence, democracy, and social justice."

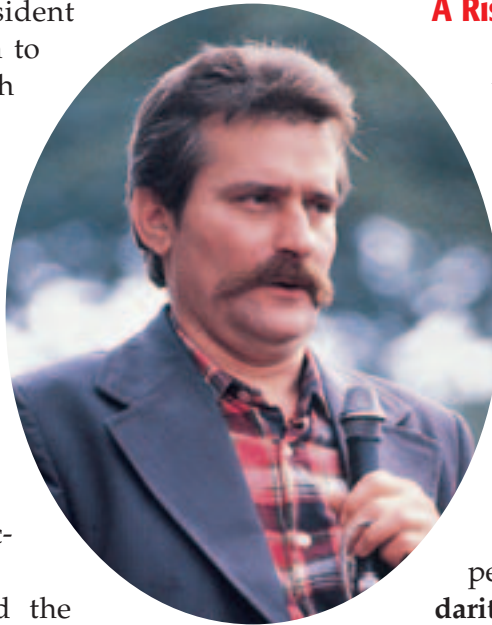
Gorbachev wanted to end the arms race so he could focus on reforms within the Soviet Union. He sought to continue the progress on arms control begun with President Reagan. In 1990 Gorbachev and President Bush agreed with European leaders to destroy tanks and other conventional weapons positioned throughout Europe. In 1991, with the **Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START)**, they achieved a breakthrough. For the first time, two nuclear powers agreed to destroy existing nuclear weapons.

Unrest in the Soviet Union

Most Soviet citizens, however, were more concerned about their own problems than about arms control. For years they had endured shortages of food and basic items such as shoes and soap because of government mismanagement

and heavy defense spending. Gorbachev's policies aimed to solve the economic problems, but changes came slowly. The shortages continued, and people grew impatient with the conditions.

With Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, Soviet citizens began to express their dissatisfaction openly. Thousands of people marched through Moscow in February 1990, demanding an end to Communist rule. Unrest and calls for democracy had also spread throughout the Soviet Union. Many of the republics that made up the Soviet Union demanded independence.



Lech Walesa

A Rising Tide of Freedom

While events were unfolding in the Soviet Union, the people of Eastern Europe also grew restless. Many people sensing change occurring in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's leadership felt freer to demand change in their countries as well.

The first democratic moves outside of the Soviet Union occurred in **Poland**, where shipyard workers had won the right to form an independent labor union—called **Solidarity**—in August 1980. **Lech Walesa**, the leader of Solidarity, emerged as a symbol of resistance to Communist rule. He led the Poles in calling for reforms. Although the government cracked down on the democratic movement in the mid-1980s, the movement gained strength and forced the government to hold open elections in June 1989.

The democratic cause spread to neighboring countries. Across Eastern Europe demonstrators filled the streets of major cities. As a result of a relaxation of Soviet control and public pressure, long-sealed national borders were opened and Communist governments toppled. In the last three months of 1989, the iron curtain that had separated Eastern and Western Europe for more than 40 years began to crumble. Throughout 1989 Gorbachev not only refused to intervene, but he encouraged reform.



Geography Skills

By the early 1990s, all the republics had declared independence from the Soviet Union.

- 1. Location** What republics border Belarus?
- 2. Location** Which of the republics have the best access to shipping lanes in the Black Sea?

The Wall Comes Tumbling Down

Freedom also came to East Germany—the focus of so much cold war tension. With protests raging and thousands of citizens fleeing to West Germany, the Communist government opened the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989.

Germans brought hammers and chisels to chop away at the Berlin Wall, long the symbol of the barrier to the West. In 1990 East Germany voted to reunite with West Germany.

Collapse of the Soviet Union

As Europe was changing, Gorbachev faced mounting opposition from political rivals within the Soviet Union. Some reformers demanded that he move more quickly. Hard-line Communists in the military and secret police resisted his changes and feared the collapse of the Soviet empire.

In August 1991, the hard-liners struck back. A group of Communist officials and army generals staged a **coup**, an overthrow of the government. They held Gorbachev captive and ordered soldiers to seize the parliament building.

As the world waited anxiously, about 50,000 Russians surrounded the parliament building to protect it from the soldiers. **Boris Yeltsin**, president of the Russian Republic and a reformer, stood on top of a tank and declared, “Democracy will win!” President Bush telephoned Yeltsin to express America’s support. On

August 22 the coup collapsed. Freed, Gorbachev returned to Moscow.

The defeat of the coup turned the tide of democracy into a tidal wave. Soon all 15 republics had declared their independence from the Soviet Union. Yeltsin outlawed the Communist Party in Russia. On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union and the Soviet flag that flew over the Kremlin was lowered for the last time.

The End of the Cold War

President Bush responded quickly to the new situation. In the spring of 1992, Bush and other world leaders pledged \$24 billion in assistance to the former Soviet republics. President Bush declared:

“For over 40 years, the United States led the West in the struggle against communism and the threat it posed to our most precious values. That confrontation is over.”

✓ Reading Check Cause and Effect How did the fall of communism in Eastern Europe affect Germany?



A New Foreign Policy

With the end of the Cold War came both renewed hope and new challenges to maintaining world peace. While trying to redefine the goals of American foreign policy, President Bush had to deal with crises in Central America, China, the Middle East, and the Balkans.

Panama

President Bush had declared that a “war on drugs” was one of the major goals of his administration. This war played a role in Bush’s policy in Central America.

Under the rule of General **Manuel Noriega**, political repression and corruption had become widespread in Panama. In 1988 Noriega was charged with drug trafficking by an American court. Previously, he had refused to yield power to the newly elected president of Panama, Guillermo Endara. In December 1989, Bush ordered U.S. troops to the Central American nation to overthrow Noriega. When the troops gained control of the country, Noriega surrendered. Endara became Panama’s new president, and the U.S. troops left Panama. In 1992 Noriega was tried and convicted in the United States.

China

George Bush had served as the first U.S. **envoy**—diplomatic representative—to China, when the two countries reopened relations in 1974. He took a special interest in China, claiming, “I know the Chinese.” During the 1980s, China’s Communist government began to reform the economy, but it refused to make political reforms. In May 1989, students and workers in China held demonstrations calling for more democracy. As the protests spread, the country seemed on the verge of revolution.

The Chinese government sent troops to crush the uprising. On June 4, 1989, soldiers and tanks killed several hundred protesters gathered in **Tiananmen Square** in the center of Beijing. World leaders condemned the slaughter. Although President Bush disapproved of the Chinese leaders’ use of force, he carefully avoided words or actions that might lead the Chinese to break off relations with the United States. He did not believe that

international pressure or trade sanctions would result in a change in Chinese policies. Although Bush’s policy met opposition, it permitted U.S. trade with China to continue to grow.

The Persian Gulf War

The Bush administration—and the world—faced a serious challenge to stability in 1990. On August 2 Iraq’s dictator, **Saddam Hussein** (hoo•SAYN), sent his army into **Kuwait**, a small neighboring country rich in oil. Kuwait was quickly overwhelmed. The fear grew that Iraq would also invade Saudi Arabia.

Vowing to “draw a line in the sand,” President Bush persuaded other nations to join what he called **Operation Desert Shield**. Hundreds of thousands of troops moved to Saudi Arabia to prevent an invasion of that country. The coalition forces were under the command of U. S. general **Norman Schwarzkopf**. Hussein was ordered to withdraw his troops from Kuwait—but the Iraqi troops did not leave and tension mounted. The United Nations set a deadline. Iraq must withdraw by January 15, 1991, or the allies would use force to remove them. Congress voted to support military action if Iraq did not withdraw.

Operation Desert Storm

Iraq refused to budge, and on January 16 the allies launched **Operation Desert Storm**. Laser-guided missiles and thousands of tons of bombs

Students demanding democratic reform gathered in Tiananmen Square.





Picturing History

Women serving in the military made up about 10 percent of the U.S. forces involved in the Persian Gulf War. **What was the outcome of the Persian Gulf War?**



fell on Iraq, destroying its air defenses and other military targets and damaging many civilian sites. President Bush explained the attack:

“The world could wait no longer. . . . While the world waited, Saddam Hussein met every overture of peace with open contempt.”

After almost six weeks of round-the-clock bombardment, Hussein’s forces still refused to leave Kuwait. In late February the allies opened the second phase of Desert Storm—a ground war in which they attacked Iraqi troops from the side and rear. At the same time, planes bombarded Iraqi positions.

Thousands of Iraqi soldiers died. Thousands more surrendered. Just 100 hours after the ground war began, President Bush suspended military action. “Kuwait is liberated,” he announced. “America and the world have kept their word.” Iraq accepted the allied cease-fire terms, and Saddam Hussein’s troops finally left Kuwait.

Americans celebrated the sudden victory. They hailed the leaders of Desert Storm, Norman Schwarzkopf and General **Colin Powell**, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and held parades for the troops. President Bush’s approval rating in opinion polls soared above 90 percent. After the war, the United States helped rebuild Kuwait. It took nine months to extinguish the hundreds of oil well fires set by fleeing Iraqi troops.

War in the Balkans

Another challenge to world peace arose in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia had been composed of several republics. After the collapse of Yugoslavia’s government, the republics of **Slovenia**, **Croatia**, and **Bosnia-Herzegovina** declared independence in 1991. The population of Croatia and Bosnia included many Serbs—people from the Yugoslav republic of Serbia. These Serbs, backed by the Serbian republic, fought to hold on to certain areas of Croatia and Bosnia. In the terrible civil war that followed, thousands died.

Reports of atrocities committed by the Serbs outraged world leaders. In 1992 the UN passed a resolution that placed a boycott on trade with Serbia until the fighting stopped.

 **Reading Check** **Evaluating** How long did Operation Desert Storm last?

Domestic Issues

Early in his presidency, Bush faced a banking crisis. During the 1980s, the Reagan administration had cut regulations in many industries. New laws eased restrictions on savings and loan associations (S&Ls)—financial institutions that specialized in making loans to buy homes.

The new laws allowed managers of S&Ls to become more aggressive in offering attractive returns to savers—and in making far more risky loans. When many borrowers could not repay their loans and real estate values declined, S&Ls began to lose millions of dollars. Many failed completely and closed their doors. Individual deposits in S&Ls were insured by the government, which now had to pay out billions of dollars to the customers of the failed institutions. To prevent the crisis from spreading, the government bailed out other struggling S&Ls. This policy eventually cost taxpayers almost \$500 billion.

Economic Downturn

The heavy borrowing of the 1980s loomed as another source of trouble for the economy. As the federal debt continued to reach new highs,



business and personal debt grew as well. In 1990, when the economy slowed to a recession, many people and businesses could not meet loan payments. Some had to declare **bankruptcy**, selling off everything they owned to pay debts. Across the country businesses closed. Cuts in military spending, made possible by the end of the Cold War, led to additional job losses.

Many people called for the government to step in to stimulate the economy. President Bush refused to increase federal spending. He did agree to extend unemployment benefits for people who had lost their jobs, but he opposed further government involvement. The nation had to wait out the recession.

Accomplishments

While the president and Congress disagreed on many issues, they cooperated on some legislation. In 1990, for example, the president signed a law updating the Clean Air Act. The next year he signed a law combating job discrimination.

Bush and Congress agreed on a major civil rights law as well. The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 outlawed job discrimination against people with disabilities. It also required institutions to provide disabled people with easier access to workplaces, communications, transportation, and housing.



Picturing History

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 requires institutions to provide disabled people with easier access to public transportation.

What other protection does the act provide?

Another important part of the president's domestic agenda was the war on illegal drugs. In 1989 President Bush created the Office of National Drug Control Policy. This department coordinates the activities of more than 50 federal agencies involved in the war on drugs.

✓ Reading Check **Identifying** What is an S&L?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

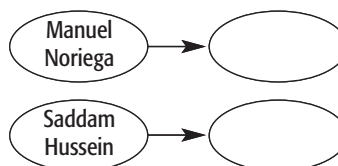
- Key Terms** Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: **coup**, **bankruptcy**
- Reviewing Facts** Explain why the people of Eastern Europe abandoned communism.

Reviewing Themes

- Global Connections** Compare President Bush's handling of the Tiananmen Square incident in China to his handling of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Critical Thinking

- Determining Cause and Effect** What economic issues reduced Bush's popularity?
- Organizing Information** Re-create the diagram below and list what each person did to cause Bush to respond with military power.



Analyzing Visuals

- Geography Skills** Examine the map on page 930. Which of the independent states is larger—Georgia or Uzbekistan? What bodies of water does Russia border?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Geography Make a photocopy of your state map. Draw a "wall" that runs down the middle of your state north to south. If you could not cross this wall, which large cities would you be cut off from?



GLOBAL CANDY

THE CHOCOLATE CANDY that you buy at your local store is produced by a vast network of people and businesses all around the world.

The raw ingredients for chocolate are grown all over the world, then are processed into candy in high-tech factories in industrialized nations. Cacao beans, chocolate's primary raw material, are gathered from trees in countries along the Equator. Approximately 40 percent of the world's cacao comes from the West African nation of Côte d'Ivoire.

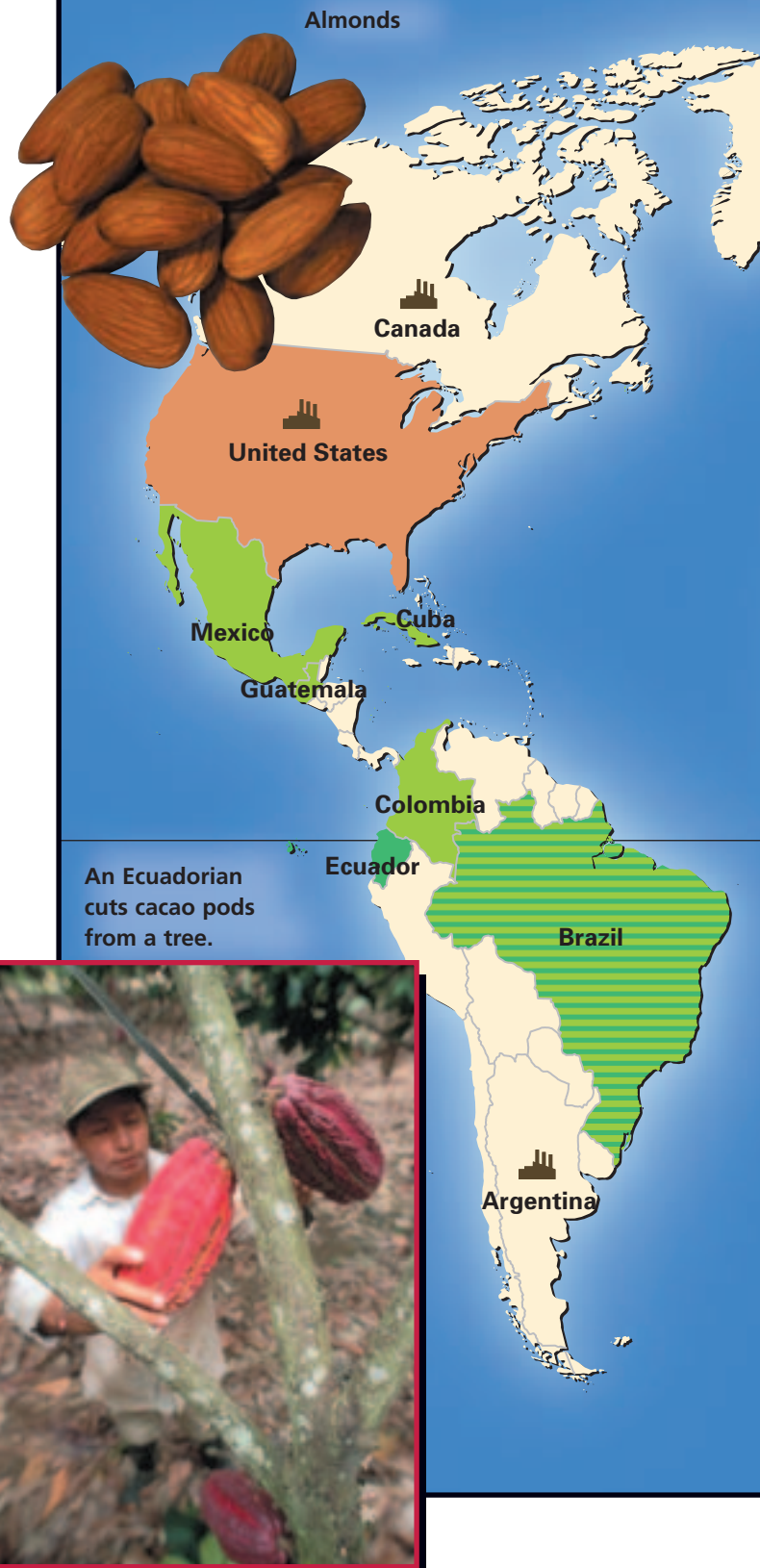


Sugar to sweeten chocolate is processed from sugarcane and sugar beets. Major exporters of sugar are found in nearly every continent.

Almond trees grow in Morocco, Iran, in southern Europe, and on the west coast of the United States.

Cacao beans are processed into cocoa butter and mixed with other ingredients in factories located mainly in Western Europe and North America. The exact process and the proportions of ingredients are usually closely guarded secrets.

Chocolate is an international product. Before World War II most products were made in a single country. As transportation and communication networks have improved, more and more multinational companies have come to rely on natural resources and manufacturing facilities in many countries. Now roughly one third of all products produced involve several nations. What we decide to buy today affects people and businesses all around the world.



LEARNING from GEOGRAPHY

1. Why would a nation need to import resources rather than use its own?
2. What patterns do you see in the locations of the countries that grow cacao? Almonds?

Workers pack chocolates at a candy factory in Belgium.



Farmers oversee a sugarcane harvest in South Africa.



CONTENTS



SECTION 3 A New Century

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

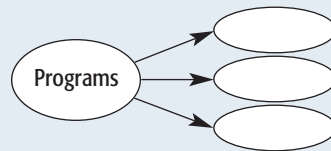
During the Clinton and Bush administrations, the nation faced new challenges at home and abroad.

Key Terms

grassroots, budget deficit, line-item veto, gross domestic product, impeach, incumbent, Internet, ozone, global warming, terrorism

Reading Strategy

Classifying Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe three domestic programs of the 1990s.



Read to Learn

- why President Clinton was impeached by Congress.
- why the election of 2000 triggered controversy.

Section Theme

Continuity and Change As the nation looked to the future, a changing world created new challenges.

Preview of Events



Clinton inaugural button

AN American Story

A president appears on MTV. Politicians perform rock music on talk shows. What would George Washington have thought about such events? In 1991, polls showed that voters were turned off by politics. So the 1992 presidential candidates found new ways to reach the public—especially young people. President Bush and challenger Bill Clinton appeared on TV and radio talk shows. Both candidates appeared on MTV.

The Clinton Administration

After the Gulf War victory, President Bush's popularity soared. A troubled economy, however, hurt Bush's reelection chances for 1992 and encouraged challengers to enter the race. The Democrats nominated Arkansas governor **Bill Clinton** to run against President Bush. Clinton chose Tennessee senator **Al Gore** as his running mate. The Clinton campaign focused on the economy and the high unemployment rate.

Unhappy with "politics as usual," many Americans did not want to vote for either Bush or Clinton. A **grassroots** movement—people organizing at the local level around the nation—put Texas businessman **H. Ross Perot** on the ballot as a third-party candidate. Perot stressed the need to end the government's **deficit spending**, or spending more money than it takes in.



Americans elected Clinton, the first president born after World War II. Clinton received 43 percent of the popular vote, Bush 38 percent, and Perot 19 percent. Clinton received less than a majority of the votes because of Perot's strong showing, the highest percentage of popular votes for any third-party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912.

Domestic Program

One of the new president's goals was reducing the **budget deficit**—the amount by which spending exceeds revenue. Clinton proposed cutting government spending, raising taxes for middle- and upper-income Americans, and providing tax credits to the poorest. Most Republicans in Congress opposed this plan, but it narrowly passed.

Clinton faced even stronger opposition to his plan for health-care reform. His goal was to control rising health-care costs and provide adequate health insurance for every American. The president named the First Lady, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, to head the task force.

Congress rejected the Clinton plan, calling it too expensive and too reliant on government control. Later, Congress did pass a number of measures that provided more health-care protection for workers who changed jobs, the elderly, children, and other groups not covered.

During his first term, President Clinton won some legislative battles. Despite strong opposition, the president succeeded in passing the Brady Bill of 1993. The law imposed a waiting period and background checks for handgun purchases. The 1994 crime bill banned 19 kinds of assault weapons and provided for 100,000 new police officers.

Another Clinton proposal that became law was the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. It permitted workers to take time off from their jobs for special family situations.



Contract with America

Before the 1994 congressional elections, a group of Republicans crafted a new plan of action. Led by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, congressional Republicans declared a **Contract with America** to

“return to the basic values that had built the country: work and family and the recognition of a higher moral authority.”

In the contract, Republicans promised to reduce the federal government, balance the budget, lower taxes, and reform how Congress operates. They also pledged to pass laws to reduce crime, reform welfare, and strengthen the family.

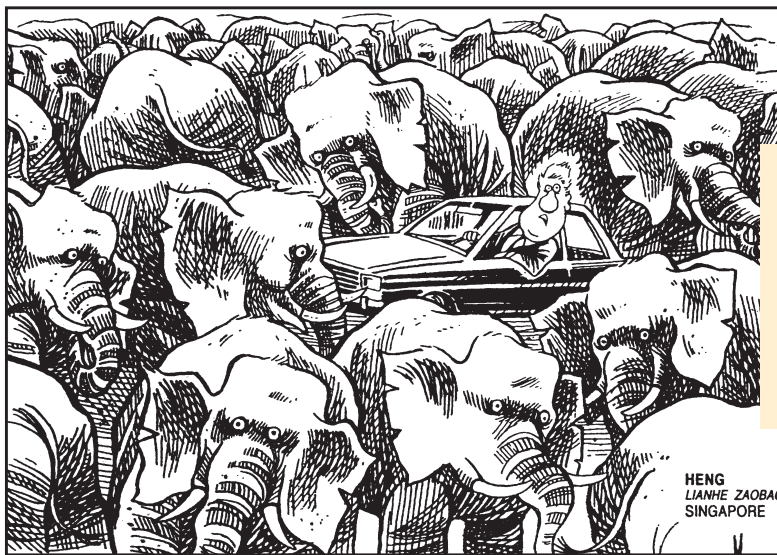
The result was a strong Republican victory in the 1994 elections. For the first time in 40 years, the Republicans controlled both houses of Congress. In their first hundred days in office, the Republicans passed many parts of the Contract with America.

Congress passed a line-item veto bill. Intended as a way to reduce wasteful spending, the **line-item veto** allowed the president to cancel any individual items within a spending bill. The Supreme Court later overturned the law. It ruled that such an increase in the president's power could be granted only through a constitutional amendment.

Other parts of the Contract with America were also rejected. Some proposals stalled in the Senate, and President Clinton vetoed several Republican bills on welfare reform and the budget. Clinton argued that budget cuts would hurt elderly people on Medicare, damage the environment, and damage education.

Picturing History

Health-care reform was an important program for both the president and Congress. **Why did Congress reject the Clinton plan?**



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Cartoonists often use the elephant to represent the Republican Party and the donkey to represent the Democratic Party. **What statement is the cartoonist making about Congress and the president?**

Budget Problems and Compromise

Disagreement between the president and congressional Republicans continued. A major dispute blocked passage of the 1996 budget, causing the federal government to run out of money. The government shut down nonessential services twice for a total of 27 days. Congress and the president recognized that compromise was needed.

Both the Republicans in Congress and President Clinton proposed plans for a balanced budget. The president also pushed for an increase in the minimum wage and sponsored a welfare reform bill that set a work requirement for people receiving benefits and put a five-year time limit on benefits.

Clinton Wins a Second Term

The Republicans hoped to recapture the White House in 1996. However, passage of the Brady Act and the Crime Act weakened Republican arguments that Clinton was soft on crime. Most important, the economy was healthy and unemployment was at a 30-year low. President Clinton easily won reelection, beating the Republican candidate, former Senate majority leader **Robert Dole**.

The American economy continued to grow. One measure of this growth is the **gross domestic product** (GDP), which is the value of all the goods and services produced in a nation in a year. In 1996 and 1997, the GDP grew by about 4 percent a year—one of the highest rates of growth since the post-World War II boom.

The economy's growth increased the amount of tax money the government received. At the same time, the president and Congress cut back the size of the federal budget. The federal budget is prepared for a **fiscal year**—a 12-month planning period. The 1998 fiscal year ended with a federal **budget surplus**—the amount of money remaining after all expenditures—of about \$80 billion, the first surplus in three decades.

Under Investigation

In 1994 legal questions arose relating to real estate investments Clinton had made while governor of Arkansas. Attorney General **Janet Reno** appointed an independent counsel to investigate the president. **Kenneth Starr**, a former federal judge, led the investigation. As other scandals were exposed, Starr widened the scope of the investigation.

In early 1998 a new scandal emerged involving a personal relationship between the president and a White House intern. Evidence suggested that the president may have committed **perjury**, or lied under oath, about the relationship. In September, Starr sent a report to Congress claiming that President Clinton had committed perjury and obstructed justice in an effort to conceal the personal relationship.

The House of Representatives voted to hold hearings to decide whether to impeach the president, in response to Starr's report. To **impeach** is to make a formal accusation of wrongdoing against a public official. The House scheduled the hearings for November, following the 1998 congressional elections.



With Clinton in trouble, the Republicans expected to make major gains in the 1998 elections. Instead, the Democrats gained 5 seats in the House, although they still trailed the Republicans 223 to 211. The Senate remained unchanged, with 55 Republicans and 45 Democrats. **Incumbents**—the current officeholders—did extremely well in the 1998 elections.

Impeachment

Although there was general agreement that the president had lied, Congress was divided over whether his actions justified impeachment. Clinton's supporters argued that his offenses did not qualify as "high crimes and misdemeanors," as stated in the Constitution. Clinton's accusers insisted that the "rule of law" is a fundamental principle of American society, and that the president should be held 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. With this action, Bill Clinton became only the second president ever to be impeached. The case moved to the Senate for trial. A two-thirds majority Senate vote is needed to convict and remove a president from office.

On February 12, 1999, the senators cast their votes. The result was 45 guilty to 55 not guilty on the perjury article, and 50 guilty to 50 not guilty on the obstruction of justice article. Acquitted of both charges, Bill Clinton had survived the challenge to his presidency.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What role did Kenneth Starr play?

Foreign Policy

Even as the nation struggled with domestic issues, international matters presented new challenges.

Two ViewPoints

Should We Convict the President?

In 1998 a political storm brewed in the nation's capital over the future of President Bill Clinton. The House of Representatives accused President Clinton of lying under oath and obstructing justice, and voted to impeach him. Now it was up to the Senate to convict and remove him from office. Passionate voices cried out for and against conviction.

Statement of Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.), 1999

The gravity of what is at stake—the democratic choice of the American people—and the solemnity of the proceedings dictate that a decision to remove the President from office should follow only from the most serious of circumstances. . . .

The Articles of Impeachment that have been exhibited to the Senate fall far short of what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they placed in the hands of Congress the power to impeach and remove a President from office. They fall far short of what the American people demand to be shown and proven before their democratic choice is reversed. . . .

Statement of Senator Pete Domenici (R-N.M.), 1999

The President had a choice to make during this entire, lamentable episode. At a number of critical junctures, he had a choice either to tell the truth or to lie, first in the civil rights case, before the grand jury and on national television. Each time he chose to lie. He made that fateful choice. . . .

The President has committed high crimes and misdemeanors, in violation of his oath of office. He lied under oath. He obstructed justice. His behavior was unworthy of the Presidency of the United States.



President Clinton

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What reasons does Senator Sarbanes give for his vote to not remove President Clinton from office?
2. Why does Senator Domenici believe that the president should be removed from office?
3. Would you have voted to remove President Clinton from office? Why or why not?



Important decisions faced American policy-makers on defining the nation's role in the post-Cold War world.

In 1993 Clinton persuaded Congress to ratify the **North American Free Trade Agreement**, or NAFTA. Under NAFTA the United States, Canada, and Mexico agreed to eliminate trade barriers among the three nations. NAFTA opponents feared a loss of U.S. jobs. Farmers also feared NAFTA, saying that low-priced Mexican produce would undercut American goods. Supporters argued that the treaty would lower prices for American consumers and expand markets.

Middle East Peace Accords

In September 1993 President Clinton invited Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yassir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), to the White House for the signing of a historic agreement between the two

leaders. Israel recognized the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people, and the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist. The agreement created a plan for limited Palestinian self-government over certain areas in Israel.

Opposition to the plan emerged on both sides and the violence continued. In 1995 an Israeli extremist assassinated Prime Minister Rabin. In 2001 Ariel Sharon, the new Israeli prime minister, pledged to put Israel's security above the peace process. The region remained as far from peace as ever.

Peacekeeping in the Balkans

As you read earlier, civil war had erupted in the former Yugoslavia. Bitter fighting followed, especially in Bosnia, where Serbs engaged in **ethnic cleansing**—forcibly removing or killing members—of the Muslim population. NATO air strikes on their positions brought Serbs to the bargaining table. The Clinton administration then led peace talks, which produced the Dayton Accords in December 1995.

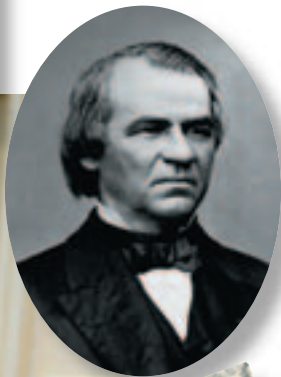
In 1998 Serbian leader **Slobodan Milosevic** attempted to drive the Muslims out of the Kosovo region. The United States and NATO launched air strikes against Serbia, until Serb troops withdrew from Kosovo and its Muslim population could return.

✓ Reading Check Summarizing

What did critics say NAFTA would cause?

Picturing History

The Senate has tried two presidents on impeachment charges: Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton. Johnson was acquitted by only one vote in 1868. **What was the verdict in Clinton's trial?**



Andrew Johnson
and ticket of
admission to
impeachment trial

A New President for a New Century

President Clinton's two terms in office left the country divided. Many Americans were pleased with the economy, but were disappointed with the president's personal behavior. As the 2000 election approached, the major parties looked for candidates who appealed to a broad cross section of voters.

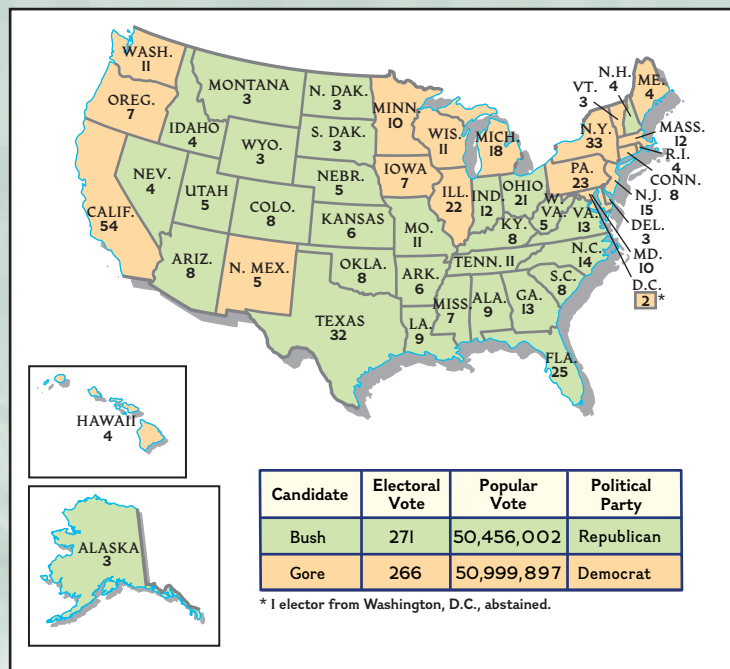




Geography Skills

The 2000 election marked the first election in 112 years where the candidate who won the popular vote did not win the electoral vote.

- 1. Location** What states have more than 20 electoral votes?
- 2. Location** What candidate won the electoral votes in each of these states?



The Election of 2000

The Democrats nominated Vice President Al Gore for president, hoping that the popularity of Clinton's policies would convince Americans to vote for Gore. The large Republican field eventually came down to two men: Governor **George W. Bush** of Texas and Senator **John McCain** of Arizona. Ultimately, the Republicans chose Bush, the son of former President Bush, as their nominee.

Gore made history by naming Senator **Joseph Lieberman** as his running mate. This marked the first time in U.S. history that a Jewish American ran on a national ticket. George W. Bush chose **Richard Cheney** as his running mate. Cheney served as chief of staff to President Gerald Ford and defense secretary to former President George Bush in 1989.

A major issue of the campaign of 2000 was what to do with the budget surplus. Gore and Bush agreed that Social Security and Medicare needed reform, but disagreed on the details. Both also supported tax cuts and plans to help seniors pay for prescription drugs. Consumer

activist **Ralph Nader** also entered the race. Noting that "too much power in the hands of the few has further weakened our democracy," Nader ran as the nominee of the Green Party.

The 2000 election was extraordinarily close between Bush and Gore. Although Bush had a slim lead in Florida, the results were so close an automatic recount was required by law. Without Florida's 25 electoral votes, neither Bush nor Gore had the 270 electoral votes needed to win.

Gore also asked for manual recounts in several counties, and a battle began over whether and how to conduct them. Lawsuits were filed in state and federal courts. The issue ultimately reached the United States Supreme Court. On December 12, five weeks after the election, the Court issued its decision after a five-to-four vote. In *Bush v. Gore*, the Court ruled that a hand recount of selected votes in Florida ordered by the Florida Supreme Court violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. It further held that there was not enough time to conduct a recount that would pass constitutional standards.



President Bush meets with the cabinet.

In a televised speech the following day, Gore conceded. On January 20, 2001, Bush became the 43rd president of the United States.

The Bush Administration

Protests followed the election. Some groups claimed the Florida counts were unfair. Others criticized the decision of the Supreme Court. In his Inaugural Address, President Bush repeated his campaign message of “inclusion, not division,” saying America should be united.

The need for unity and cooperation was important in Congress as well. After the election the Senate was evenly split—50 Republicans and 50 Democrats. This meant that the Republicans held control because Vice President Richard Cheney, as president of the Senate, could cast the deciding vote when there was a tie.

Then Vermont senator James Jeffords left the Republican Party in May 2001 and became an independent. This led to a historic switch in power, transferring control to the Democrats in mid-session.

Cabinet and Advisers

Nominating the members of the cabinet was one of the new president’s first responsibilities. President Bush named popular retired General of the Army **Colin Powell** as secretary of state. The Senate quickly approved Powell and most of Bush’s other nominees. However, Bush’s choice for secretary of labor, Linda Chavez, was forced to withdraw when questions arose over her housing an illegal immigrant. Replacing Chavez was

Elaine Chao, the first Asian American woman to serve in a president’s cabinet. Chao had previously served as director of the Peace Corps.

Other women played leading roles in the new administration. **Condoleezza Rice**, the first woman in history to hold the job of national security adviser, was instrumental in shaping foreign policy. First Lady **Laura Bush** promoted education. She organized a series of book festivals to raise money for libraries. She also called attention to the need for recruiting more teachers and improving reading skills.

Tax Cut

During the campaign, Bush promised a tax cut, and he quickly presented his proposal to Congress. The proposal caused much debate. Republicans argued that it was the peoples’ money and that they deserved it back. They also claimed that the tax cut would help the slowing economy. Opponents argued that the money could be used more responsibly elsewhere, such as for Social Security or for paying off the national debt.

In June 2001 President Bush signed into law the largest reduction in federal taxes since 1981. Joined by a bipartisan group from the House and Senate, the President signed a 10-year, \$1.3 trillion tax-cut bill into law.

International Affairs

The Bush administration proposed a National Missile Defense system, designed to protect the United States from any incoming missiles by shooting them down before they reach American airspace. Supporters viewed the system as a means of protection against an unstable leader who might use nuclear weapons. Critics countered that the system would renew an international arms race.

As President Bush’s top military adviser, Colin Powell laid out a blueprint for intervention in international conflict. The **Powell Doctrine** calls for using American troops only when a vital national interest is at stake and there is a clear and realistic goal.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** What is Elaine Chao’s role in the Bush administration?



Looking to the Future

As Americans entered a new century, they faced many uncertainties—and opportunities. New technologies and a changing society had begun to transform America in new ways.

President Bush said one of his major aims was to stimulate global economic growth. He called for a world trading system that is dramatically more open and more free:

“We know that nations that open their economies to the benefits of trade are more successful in climbing out of poverty. . . . We also know that free trade encourages the habits of liberty that sustain freedom. . . .”

Since 1995 the World Trade Organization (WTO) has administered trade practices between many nations. The WTO has more than 146 members.

Growth of technology industries boosted economic growth. Personal computers were being used in homes, schools, and businesses in

greater numbers than ever before. Through the **Internet**, a worldwide linking of computer networks, American students could communicate with students in countries halfway around the world.

A Changing Society

As America entered the twenty-first century, its population had begun to change significantly.

By 2002, more than 10 percent of the population was foreign-born. Asian Americans made up about 4 percent of the population; Hispanic Americans more than 12 percent. The Hispanic community is now the nation's largest minority community.

Because Americans were living longer than in the past, elderly people formed an increasing portion of the population. The Census Bureau reported that more than 12 percent of the population was over 65 years of age in the year 2000.

An important issue facing the nation was reform of Medicare. Medicare is the federal health care program for the elderly. By the summer of

People In History

Colin Powell 1937–



During the Persian Gulf War, the highest-ranking military officer serving was Colin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. He was the youngest person and the first African American to hold that position. A four-star general, Powell had a very distinguished military career for thirty-

five years, serving twice in Vietnam and working for four presidents.

Born to Jamaican immigrants, Powell was raised in Harlem and the South Bronx of New York City. He attended public school and the City College of New York, where he studied geology and began military training.

After the Gulf War, Powell wrote an autobiography and established a charitable organization, America's Promise—the Alliance for Youth, that helps children.

In 2001, Powell went to work for his fifth president, George W. Bush, as the first African American secretary of state.



CLICK HERE

2002, both the House and the Senate had passed bills that added a benefit for prescription drugs.

Congress also reacted to an increase in 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.

Environmental Challenges

For years, scientists noted that the earth's atmosphere was losing **ozone**. This layer of gas protects life on Earth from cancer-causing rays of the sun. In 1987, the United States and 23 other nations agreed to stop making chemicals that might be weakening the ozone layer.

Scientists continued to debate the effects of **global warming**. They warned that the steady increase in average world temperatures could bring about major changes in weather patterns, the environment, and crop production.

Threats to Peace and Security

Preserving peace remains the most pressing global issue. In the late 1900s and early 2000s, acts of terror multiplied. New dangers lurked with the development of new kinds of warfare, including chemical weapons and biological weapons, which deliberately spread disease among humans.

Terrorism—the use of violence by groups against civilians to achieve a political goal—threatened the security of the nation. On April 19, 1995, a massive bomb exploded at the Murrah Federal Building in downtown Oklahoma City, leaving 168 dead. The tragedy focused national attention on the violent anti-government feelings of private American militia groups. In January 1998, Theodore Kaczynski pleaded guilty to a string of mail bombings, dating from 1978 to 1995, which killed 3 and injured 29 others. Kaczynski hoped to inspire a rebellion against modern industrial society. These are examples of domestic terrorism. People engage in **domestic terrorism** when they attack people in their own country.

In addition to concern about domestic terrorism, the United States also faced **international terrorism**. As the world's most powerful nation, the United States frequently served as a target for terrorists—either acting independently or with the support of a hostile government. The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, was an example of international terrorism.

HISTORY Online
Student Web Activity
 Visit taj.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 32—Student Web Activities** for an activity on today's technology.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

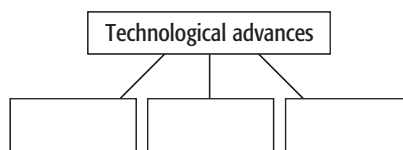
- Key Terms** Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: **budget deficit**, **gross domestic product**, **impeach**, **incumbent**.
- Reviewing Facts** Summarize the events of Clinton's impeachment.

Reviewing Themes

- Continuity and Change** How did the 1994 election affect the balance of parties in Congress?

Critical Thinking

- Predicting Consequences** How might an aging population affect the nation's workforce?
- Determining Cause and Effect** Use a diagram like the one below to list the effects of recent technological advances on your life.



Analyzing Visuals

- Geography Skills** Examine the election map on page 941. What was the difference in the electoral vote count?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Citizenship During the next week, pay attention to the news to find what actions the president has taken on different issues. Write down your findings. Next to each entry, indicate your stand on the issue and whether or not you agree with the president's actions.



SECTION 4 The War on Terrorism

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

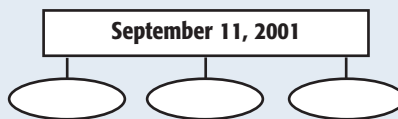
After suffering the worst terrorist attack in its history, the United States launched an effort to fight international terrorism.

Key Terms

counter-terrorism

Reading Strategy

Organizing Information As you read about America's war on terrorism, complete a diagram like the one below to explain how Americans responded to the events of September 11, 2001.



Read to Learn

- how Americans responded to terrorism.
- what actions the government took to fight terrorism.

Section Theme

Global Connections The United States called for a worldwide coalition to fight against terrorism.

Preview of Events



AN American Story



Rescue workers carry out an injured man at the World Trade Center.

The first airliner hit the World Trade Center's north tower in New York City at about 8:45 in the morning. Eighteen minutes later, a second plane hit the south tower. Those who died on the airplanes were the first victims. Fire and falling wreckage from the twin towers of the World Trade Center killed thousands more, and hundreds of rescuers—fire fighters, police officers, and volunteers—themselves became victims. "The smoke was so bad, I was suffocating. When the buildings toppled, it was like a volcano," one survivor noted. "We have a lot of heroes," said one firefighter, "and we lost a lot of good people."

The crash of two passenger airplanes into the World Trade Center was not an accident. Early on the morning of September 11, 2001, terrorist hijackers had seized control of the planes, then deliberately flew them into the buildings. Terrorists took control of a third plane and crashed into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the nation's Department of Defense. Hijackers also seized a fourth airplane, but passengers heroically attacked the hijackers, causing that plane to crash in Pennsylvania. In all, thousands of people died.



Terrorist attacks destroyed the World Trade Center (left), one of the nation's economic centers. Three New York City firefighters (right) raise the American flag amid the rubble.



Many New York City rescue workers who went to help also lost their lives when the towers collapsed. Hundreds of firefighters, police officers, and volunteers gave their lives in the line of duty trying to save others. Among those who died were Fire Department chaplain Mychal Judge and first deputy commissioner William Feehan, a 42-year veteran of the fire department. The largest number of New York City firefighters to have died in a single disaster before the terrorist attack was 12.

The Terrorist Threat

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were acts of terrorism. Terrorism is the use of violence by groups against civilians to achieve a political goal.

Who Was Responsible?

Intelligence sources and FBI investigators quickly identified **Osama bin Laden** as the prime suspect. Like most people in the Middle East, bin Laden is a **Muslim**—someone who believes in and practices the religion of Islam. Although the vast majority of the 1 billion Muslims worldwide believe Islam rejects terrorism, militant **fundamentalists** like bin Laden do not. They believe that any action is justified to drive American influence out of the Arab world.

Bin Laden believed that Western ideas had harmed Muslim society. His experience in Afghanistan convinced him that superpowers could be beaten.

War in Afghanistan

In 1979 the Soviet Union had invaded the nation of **Afghanistan**, in Southwest Asia, to support that nation's pro-communist government.

Muslims from across the Middle East went to Afghanistan to fight against the Soviets. Among them was bin Laden, who came from one of Saudi Arabia's wealthiest families. In 1988, he founded an organization called **al-Qaeda** (al KY•duh), or "the Base." Al-Qaeda recruited Muslims to fight against the Soviets and bought arms for the Afghanistan soldiers. After Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan, bin Laden became a hero to many fundamentalists.

Terrorist Acts

Operating first from Sudan and then from Afghanistan—then under the control of Muslim fundamentalists known as the **Taliban**—bin Laden led al-Qaeda on a mission to drive Americans and other non-Muslims out of the Middle East. In 1998 terrorist truck bombs exploded at the American embassies in the African countries of **Kenya** and **Tanzania**. The bombs killed more than 200 people, including 12 Americans, and injured over 4,500.



In late 1999, terrorists linked to al-Qaeda were arrested trying to smuggle explosives into the United States in an attempt to bomb targets in Seattle, Washington. In October 2000, terrorists backed by al-Qaeda crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the **USS Cole**, an American warship, while it was refueling in Yemen.

Reading Check Describing How did Osama bin Laden become so influential in Afghanistan?

A New War Begins

Then on September 11, 2001, terrorists struck on an even greater scale. The shock was felt across the nation, and thousands of people sought a way to help.

The Spirit of America

From coast to coast, thousands attended prayer services and vigils. Across the nation, Americans lined up to donate blood. Others raised money and collected food, blankets, and other supplies for the victims and rescue workers. Firefighters and medical workers from many cities headed to New York to help.

Using a combination of imagination and hard work, young people throughout the nation volunteered to help. Students in Western Springs, a village near Chicago, Illinois, encouraged their entire community to take part in a toys, books, and games garage sale to raise money. Students at a school in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, started a project called Working for America. The students worked by doing chores for family and neighbors





AMERICA'S HEROES



New York City Fire Department chaplain Mychal Judge, shown here in prayer, was killed while administering last rites to a firefighter.



New York City firefighter Tony James salutes during a funeral service.



Jessica Malone, who comes from a large family of firefighters, went to New York City to help.

and donated money they earned to the Red Cross. The South Bronx Job Corps Center put together canine care packages for search and rescue dogs at the World Trade Center site.

Fair Treatment

Realizing that many people might turn their anger against Muslims in the United States, President Bush visited the Islamic Center in Washington, D.C. There he issued a statement explaining that Islam is a peaceful religion. He urged all Americans to uphold the nation's values and treat Muslim Americans fairly.

President Bush created a special fund to help the children of Afghanistan. Many of the children in Afghanistan are orphans and do not have enough to eat. The president asked the

children of the United States to send \$1—or whatever they could—to America's Fund for Afghan Children.

New Threats

Concern over the use of biological and chemical weapons grew in the wake of the September 11 tragedy. Letters containing deadly anthrax spores were mailed to several political leaders and the news media. **Anthrax** is an animal disease that has existed for tens of thousands of years.

Law enforcement investigated to determine the identity and the motives of the attackers, but so far, no suspects have been identified. Officials do not think al-Qaeda sent the anthrax.

“In the face of all this evil, we remain strong and united, one nation under God.” —President George W. Bush



Protecting America

President Bush and his advisers began planning a response to the terrorist attacks. The president placed the armed forces on high alert. Fighter aircraft began patrolling the skies over major cities. Security at airports was increased, and the FBI began a massive investigation. The president created a new cabinet-level post, **Homeland Security**, to coordinate **counter-terrorism** efforts. Counter-terrorism involves military or political activities intended to combat terrorism. He named Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge as head of the department. 📖 (See pages 978–979 of the Appendix for President Bush’s address to Congress after the attacks.)

The Office of Homeland Security had trouble coordinating counter-terrorism efforts. In June 2002, President Bush asked Congress to combine all of the agencies responsible for the public’s safety into a new department to be called the Department of Homeland Security.

In late October 2001, Congress passed and the president signed into law new measures to combat terrorism. The **USA Patriot Act of 2001** gave federal prosecutors and FBI agents new powers to investigate those who plot or carry out acts of terrorism. The law expanded the power of federal agents to tap telephones and track Internet usage in the hunt for terrorists. It also permits agents to conduct secret searches of a suspect’s home or office without giving prior notice to the owner of the property.

Attorney General **John Ashcroft** promised that government agents would waste no time putting the new tools to use in the hunt for terrorists. Although both houses of Congress passed the bill overwhelmingly, some critics expressed concern that measures could be used not only against suspected terrorists, but people and organizations engaged in lawful activity. To make sure civil liberties were not compromised by the new law, many of its powers will expire in late 2005, unless extended by Congress.

Building a Coalition

The death and devastation caused by the terrorism affected not only Americans, but also people around the world. World leaders responded with statements of sympathy and outrage. NATO members promised to support the

United States as did other nations including Pakistan, India, Turkey, and Israel. Some Muslim nations, including Saudi Arabia and Egypt, offered more limited support because they feared widespread protests from their people.

On the Trail of Terrorism

The war against terrorism first concentrated on Afghanistan where bin Laden was reported to be in hiding. The Taliban controlled most of Afghanistan and imposed their religious views on the Afghan people. Taliban leaders had come under criticism for discriminating against women and being intolerant of other religions. Since 1996, when the Taliban captured the Afghan capital, **Kabul**, the main opposition force, the **Northern Alliance**, had battled the Taliban but had made little headway.

President Bush demanded that the Taliban in Afghanistan turn over bin Laden and his supporters. After the Taliban refused, on October 7 the U.S. military attacked Taliban and al-Qaeda forces. Cargo jets also dropped food, medicine, and supplies to the Afghan people.

The air strikes by U.S. warplanes allowed the Northern Alliance to quickly take control of the country. After the Taliban fell from power, the United States and its allies worked with Afghan leaders to create an interim—or temporary—government to run the country. Nations around the world pledged a total of more than four billion dollars to help Afghanistan.

Although the war in Afghanistan was going well, terrorist attacks in South Asia and the Middle East created new problems. In December 2001, terrorists from Kashmir—a region in northern India—attacked India’s parliament. India has fought many wars with Pakistan over Kashmir. India’s leaders blamed Pakistan for the attack on the parliament, and began mobilizing India’s army.

By June 2002, the two nations were ready to go to war. The situation was very dangerous because both sides had nuclear weapons. Although India and Pakistan eventually stepped back from the threat of nuclear war, neither side showed signs of setting aside their arms.

South Asia was not the only region where terrorism created problems. In the Middle East, Palestinian terrorists sent suicide bombers into Israel. These bombers concealed explosives under their



Americans gathered at parks, churches, and fire stations across the nation to express not only their grief but their patriotism.

clothing. They detonated the bombs in Israeli restaurants, shops, and buses, killing dozens of other people. After several suicide bombings took place in Israel, the Israeli army invaded several Palestinian cities where they believed the terrorist groups were based.

In response to the violence in the Middle East, President Bush outlined a plan for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He announced his support for the creation of a Palestinian state living in peace beside Israel. He asked Israel to stop raiding Palestinian cities. At the same time, he demanded Palestinian leaders stop terrorist attacks and reform their government to make it more democratic and less corrupt.

Continuing the War on Terrorism

President Bush made it clear that while the war on terrorism would start by targeting al-Qaeda, it would not end there. “It will not end,” the president announced, “until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.” He also warned that the United States would regard “any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism” as an enemy.



The war against terrorism, President Bush warned Americans, would not end quickly, but it was a war the people of the United States were now called 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. . . . We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.”

Widening the War on Terror

The attacks of September 11, 2001, raised fears that al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups might acquire nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. These **weapons of mass destruction** could kill tens of thousands of people all at once.

In his 2002 State of the Union address, President Bush said his goal was “to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends with weapons of mass destruction.” He singled out Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, claiming these



states “and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil arming to threaten the peace of the world.”

In October 2002, North Korea, announced that it had restarted its nuclear weapons program. The Bush administration used diplomatic pressure to persuade the North Koreans to stop. However, North Korea warned the U.S. that it would continue to build its nuclear power.

Confronting Iraq

Iraq’s dictator Saddam Hussein had already ordered the use of chemical weapons twice, once in Iraq’s war against Iran in the 1980s and again against the Kurds, an ethnic minority in northern Iraq who had rebelled against Hussein. After the Gulf War in 1991, UN inspectors found evidence that Iraq had developed biological weapons and was working on a nuclear bomb.

In the summer of 2002, President Bush increased pressure on Iraq. On September 12, he asked the UN to pass a new resolution demanding that Iraq give up its weapons of mass destruction. The president made it clear that the United States would act with or without UN support.

In mid-October, Congress voted to authorize the use of force against Iraq. Then, in early November, the United Nations set a deadline for Iraq to readmit weapons inspectors. It required Iraq to declare all of its weapons of mass destruction, to stop supporting terrorism, and to stop oppressing its people. The resolution threatened Iraq with “serious consequences” if it did not cooperate.

Iraq agreed to allow UN inspectors into the country, but questions arose over whether Iraqi officials were cooperating as they had promised. President Bush argued that the Iraqis were still hiding weapons of mass destruction. The Bush administrations asked the UN Security Council to pass a resolution calling for the use of force in Iraq. When Council members France and Russia said they would veto a resolution, the United States prepared for war.

On March 20, the American military, aided by soldiers from Great Britain, attacked. Over the next six weeks, much of Iraq’s army fell into disarray. American troops quickly seized control of the country. On May 1, President Bush declared the end of major combat operations. About 140 Americans, and several thousand Iraqis, had died.

The controversy over Iraq and the fighting, though, continued. While many Iraqis welcomed the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime, others did not. U.S. and British troops faced continued attacks. By the fall of 2003, more Americans had died after May 1 than had died in the six weeks of major combat. As American deaths and expenses mounted, President Bush began to seek support from the UN and other countries to rebuild Iraq. Despite the capture of Saddam Hussein in December 2003, the path toward a free and stable Iraq appeared to be long and difficult.

 **Reading Check Analyzing** Why did President Bush call for military action against Saddam Hussein’s regime?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

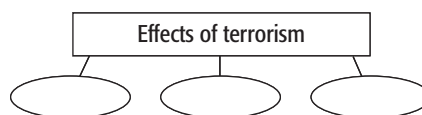
- 1. Key Terms** Define: **counter-terrorism**.
- 2. Reviewing Facts** What happened to the USS *Cole* when it was refueling in Yemen?

Reviewing Themes

- 3. Global Connections** Do you think the dangers of terrorism require global cooperation? Explain and support your point of view with reasons.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think President Bush specifically chose to visit the Islamic Center in Washington, D.C.?
- 5. Organizing Information** Use a diagram like the one below to identify what you think are the three major effects of terrorism on Americans.



Analyzing Visuals

- 6. Geography Skills** Examine the map on terrorism on page 947. How many Americans were taken hostage in Iran? What events on the map took place in the 1990s?

Interdisciplinary Activity

Expository Writing How will world events affect your future? Write an essay entitled “The World’s Future and My Own” identifying important issues and explaining how events could affect your life.

CHAPTER 32

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Chapter Summary

New Challenges

The Reagan Presidency

- President Reagan pursues deregulation
- Reagan appoints conservative justices to Supreme Court, including the first woman appointment
- Reagan cuts taxes and spending on domestic programs
- Reagan and Gorbachev sign INF Treaty

The Bush Presidency

- Communist governments fall and democracy spreads in many countries
- Allies launch Desert Storm
- Federal debt and banking crisis require major government funds

The Clinton Presidency

- President Clinton proposes health-care reforms that fail in Congress
- Congress ratifies North American Free Trade Agreement
- Clinton is impeached following a scandal, but is cleared by Senate

George W. Bush wins presidency

- Tax-cut bill signed into law
- The nation begins a fight against terrorism
- Saddam Hussein is deposed as Iraqi leader

Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, define the following terms:

1. deregulation
2. federal debt
3. perestroika
4. coup
5. incumbent
6. global warming
7. ozone
8. line-item veto

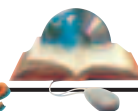
Reviewing Key Facts

9. What was Reagan's economic policy?
10. How did Mikhail Gorbachev try to reform the Soviet government?
11. How did Poland lead the way in toppling communism in Eastern Europe?
12. What triggered the Persian Gulf War?
13. Why was health care an important issue in the 1990s?
14. What was the significance of the Middle East Peace Accords?
15. What was the outcome of President Clinton's impeachment trial?
16. Who won the presidential election in 2000? Why was the election unusual?

Critical Thinking

17. **Economic Factors** What was the goal of President Reagan's policy of deregulation?
18. **Global Connections** What event marked the end of the Cold War?
19. **Groups and Institutions** Why did the federal government run out of money in the mid-1990s?
20. **Groups and Institutions** What message do you think voters were sending by electing a majority of Republicans to both houses of Congress in 1994?
21. **Evaluating** Re-create the diagram below and rank the four presidents that you studied in this chapter from best to worst. Then explain why you ranked them as you did.

President	Your reasons
1	
2	
3	
4	



Self-Check Quiz

Visit taj.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 32—Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.



Geography and History Activity

Study the map and answer the questions that follow.



22. **Region** What country borders Iraq to the northeast?
23. **Movement** The blue lines indicate invasion forces. From what country was the invasion launched?
24. **Location** In what body of water were warships present?

Practicing Skills

25. **Using an Electronic Spreadsheet** Use a spreadsheet to enter the daily high, average, and low temperatures for your community for four weeks. At the end of this period, calculate your average local temperature. Then use the spreadsheet to make line graphs showing the monthly high temperatures, average temperatures, and low temperatures for your community.



Technology Activity

26. **Using the Internet** Use a search engine to search the Internet for information about Afghanistan. Write a short description of the change in power in that country during the past 20 years.

Citizenship Cooperative Activity

27. **Your Community and the World** Ask family members and neighbors about ways in which your community is connected to other parts of the world. Prepare a short fact sheet on the international connections of your community and the world. Discuss your view with the other groups.



Alternative Assessment

28. **Portfolio Writing Activity** Review the chapter for information about how the three presidents in office from 1980 to 2000 viewed the role of the federal government. Record the information in your journal. Use your notes to summarize each president's view in a single sentence.

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the *best* answer to the following question.

The government had to shut down nonessential services twice in 1996 in response to what situation?

- F power outages
- G disputes over the budget
- H bipartisan agreement
- J the "Contract with America"

Test-Taking Tip

Eliminate answers that don't make sense. For example, why would the government shut down because of "bipartisan agreement"? Answer **H** must be wrong.