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 Vision Video  The Chapter 34 video, “America’s Response to Terrorism,” examines how ordinary Americans responded to the terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C.
January 20, 2001: George W. Bush is inaugurated as the nation’s 43rd president.
The Technological Revolution

Main Idea
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, 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 soon transformed the workplace, linking employees within an office or among office branches. They became essential tools in virtually every kind of business. By the late 1990s, many workers used home computers and electronic mail to “telecommute,” or do their jobs via computer without having to go to the office.

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
can be 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 com-
puter 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 prof-
itability 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 hormones, genetically engineered plants, and
industrial chemicals.

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**TECHNOLOGY & History**

**Magnetic Resonance Imaging**

One extension of computer
technology is magnetic reso-
nance 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 cylindri-
cal magnet, devices for
transmitting and receiving
radio signals, and a com-
puter. **Why do you think
physicians prefer MRIs
over x-rays and surgery?**

1. A large **cylindrical magnet** with a mag-
netic 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.
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 in biotechnology created artificial genes and assisted genetic engineering for plants, animals, and humans.

The Human Genome Project  For years scientists talked of mapping out the human genome by recording the DNA sequence of the human species. With the development of supercomputers, the Human Genome Project began in earnest at the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in 1990. NIH decided to place all of the Human Genome Project’s data on the Internet to make it available to scientists all over the world, free of charge. Researchers hoped to prevent any single nation or private laboratory from controlling the outcome and limiting the use of genome findings. In February 2001, the project completed its first map of the human genome. Medical researchers expected that this information would help them determine which genes made people more susceptible to disease, thereby improving medical diagnoses and preventive medication and assisting in finding cures.

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 cofounder 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 cofounder 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.

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Define:** microprocessor, software, telecommute, Internet, DNA.
2. **Identify:** ENIAC, integrated circuit, Silicon Valley, Bill Gates, biotechnology, James Watson, Francis Crick.
3. **Explain** how scientific discoveries in biotechnology have improved people’s lives.

### 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’s inauguration on page 1011. 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.

The Clinton Years
I. Clinton’s Agenda
   A.
   B.
   C.
   D.
   E.

II.

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.

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.

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 . . . but 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

George Stephanopoulos
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.

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.

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 also promised to get tough on crime during his campaign, and he 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 another crime bill. The bill provided states with extra funds to build new prisons and put 100,000 more police officers on the streets.

Reading Check  Why did President Clinton’s proposed health care plan fail?

Picturing History  High Hopes  The Clintons entered the White House in 1993 determined to change the United States for the better. It took time for them to adjust to life in Washington, and many of their ambitious plans were defeated in Congress. What legislative proposal was given to the First Lady to oversee?
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 and approve the budget. Otherwise, the entire federal government would shut down for lack of funds. Clinton, however, refused to budge, and allowed the federal government to close.

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.

In the months before the 1996 election, the president and the Republicans worked together to pass new legislation. In August Congress passed the Health Insurance Portability Act. This act improved coverage for people who changed jobs and reduced discrimination against people with preexisting illnesses.

Later that month, Congress passed the Welfare Reform Act, which limited people to no more than two consecutive years on welfare and required them to work to receive welfare benefits. The law also increased childcare spending and gave tax breaks to companies that hired new employees who had been on welfare.

**Reading Check**

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

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 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 chose as his running
mate Jack Kemp, a popular conservative and former member of Congress from New York. 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.

Despite these achievements, Clinton’s domestic agenda was less aggressive in his second term. Much of his time was spent on foreign policy and in struggling against a personal scandal.

**Putting Children First** During his second term, Clinton’s domestic agenda shifted toward helping the nation’s children. 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**

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 Croatians, 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.

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**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.

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**Reading Check** Identifying In what three regions of the world did Clinton use force to support his foreign policy?

**Critical Thinking**
5. **Analyzing** Why was President Clinton able to win re-election in 1996?

6. **Categorizing** Complete a chart similar to the one below by explaining the foreign policy issues facing President Clinton in each of the areas listed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Analyzing Visuals**
7. **Analyzing Photographs** Study the photographs on page 1019 of Clinton’s impeachment trial. What elements in the photograph reflect the seriousness of the occasion?

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**Writing About History**
8. **Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a member of Congress. Write a letter in which you attempt to persuade other lawmakers to vote either for or against the impeachment of President Clinton. Provide reasons for your position.
An Interdependent World

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.

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.

Preview of Events

1992
European Union launched

1994
United States, Mexico, and Canada inaugurate NAFTA

1998
Oklahoma City bombing

2000
U.S. gives permanent trade status to China

1995

1998

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
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 played an increasingly important role in world trade. Its huge population offered vast potential as a market for American goods. Many Americans, however, had strong reservations about China’s record on human rights, and they worried about its threats to invade Taiwan. Despite these concerns, President Clinton argued that regularizing trade with China would help bring it into the world community.

After negotiating a new trade agreement, Clinton pressed Congress to grant China permanent normal trade relation status. Those opposing the bill were an unusual coalition. Labor unions were concerned that inexpensive Chinese goods would flood U.S. markets; conservatives objected to China’s military ambitions; and environmentalists worried about pollution from Chinese factories. Despite their opposition, the bill passed in late 2000.

Reading Check  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** During the Cold War, only a few nations had possessed nuclear weapons, and they tried to restrict the spread of nuclear technology to other countries. When Russia agreed to reduce its nuclear arsenal, concerns arose that some of its nuclear weapons or radioactive material could be lost, stolen, or sold on the black market. In response, the United States provided funds to Russia to assist in the reduction of its nuclear stockpile.

Other measures followed 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 nuclear weapons. In 1996 President Clinton also signed the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, but the U.S. Senate refused to ratify it fearing it would limit American nuclear research.

**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. At that time, CFCs were widely used in air conditioners and refrigerators. Many environmental activists began to push for a ban on CFC production. 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. Industries would have to pay the cost of further reducing emissions, and those costs would eventually be passed on to consumers. 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. As the 2000s began, Americans struggled to balance economic progress with environmental concerns.

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**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT**

### Checking for Understanding

1. **Define** trade deficit, euro, nuclear proliferation, global warming.
2. **Identify** North American Free Trade Agreement, Kyoto Protocol.
3. **Describe** the international response to concerns about global warming.

### 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](image)

### Analyzing Visuals

7. **Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 1024 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.
Main Idea
The closest presidential election in American history served as the prelude to the new century. The new president initiated an ambitious program.

Key Terms and Names
Al Gore, George W. Bush, Ralph Nader, chad, strategic defense

Reading Strategy
Organizing As you read about the 2000 presidential election, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by charting the key post-election events culminating in George W. Bush’s victory.

Reading Objectives
• Describe the unusual circumstances surrounding the outcome of the 2000 presidential election.
• Evaluate the programs President George W. Bush initiated.

Section Theme
Government and Democracy The 2000 presidential election was very close, and the outcome was controversial.

An American Story
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

A New President for a New Century
The close election of 2000 was, in some ways, another legacy of Bill Clinton’s years in power. Clinton’s presidency had left the country deeply divided. Many people were pleased with the economy but disappointed with the president’s personal behavior. As
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 1080 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. In a televised speech the next day, Gore conceded the election. Bush responded with a message intended to unite Americans after the bitter election battle:

"I have faith that... together we will create an America that is open... an America that is united in our diversity and our shared American values that are larger than race or party. I was not elected to serve one party, but to serve one nation."

—George W. Bush, televised statement, December 13, 2000

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.

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

Checking for Understanding

1. Define: chad, strategic defense.
3. Reviewing Facts What did the Supreme Court decide in Bush v. Gore?

Reviewing Themes

4. Government and Democracy What caused the vote-count controversy in Florida in the 2000 election?

Critical Thinking

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.

Analyzing Visuals

7. Interpreting Graphs Study the graph on page 1027. By how many votes was Gore leading when news networks declared him the winner in Florida? What was Bush’s lead when networks declared him to be the winner?

Writing About History

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 1039 and the Chapter 34 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.
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 hoping 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.

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.

**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.

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 also responded quickly. All civilian airliners were grounded. The armed forces were put on high alert. Americans in the National Guard left their civilian jobs and reported for duty. The Air National Guard began patrolling the skies over major cities, and...
Army National Guard troops headed to airports to strengthen security.

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. While Secretary of State Colin Powell began building an international coalition to support the United States, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld began deploying troops, aircraft, and warships to the Middle East.

The president then 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,” the president 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:

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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

**A New War Begins**

In a letter to the *New York Times*, Secretary of Defense 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.

**Cutting Terrorist Funding** One important way to fight terrorist organizations is to cut off their funding. On September 24, President Bush issued an executive order freezing the financial assets of several individuals and groups suspected of terrorism. The president also asked other nations to help, and within weeks, some 80 nations had issued orders freezing the assets of suspected terrorists.

**Fighting Terrorism At Home** As part of his effort to protect the American people from further terrorist attacks, President Bush created the Office of Homeland Security to coordinate the dozens of federal agencies working to prevent terrorism. He then appointed Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge to serve as the agency’s director.

The president also asked Congress to pass legislation to help law enforcement agencies track down terrorist suspects. Drafting the legislation took time. Congress had to balance Americans’ Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure with the need to increase security.

President Bush signed the new antiterrorist 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.

In the months following the attack, the Office of Homeland Security found it difficult to coordinate all of the federal agencies fighting terrorism. In June 2002, President Bush asked Congress to merge the agencies responsible for the public’s safety into one department to be called the Department of Homeland Security.

The president’s proposal led to an intense debate in Congress, but after the midterm elections in November 2002, the new department was created. It controls the Coast Guard, the Border Patrol, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Customs Service, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and many other agencies.

**Bioterrorism Strikes America** As the nation tried to cope with the events of September 11, a new terrorist attack began. On October 5, 2001, a Florida newspaper editor died from anthrax. Anthrax is a type of bacteria. Several nations, including the United States, Russia, and Iraq, have used it to create biological weapons. Antibiotics can cure anthrax, but if left untreated, it can kill quickly.

Soon after appearing in Florida, anthrax was found at several news organizations in New York City. In Washington, D.C., a letter filled with anthrax arrived at Senator Tom Daschle’s office. It became clear that terrorists were using the mail to spread anthrax. Several postal workers contracted anthrax, and two died. The FBI investigated the anthrax attacks, but no suspects were publicly identified.

**War in Afghanistan** On October 7, 2001, the United States began bombing targets in Afghanistan. In an

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**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.
address to the nation, President Bush explained that he had ordered the military to attack al-Qaeda’s camps and the Taliban’s military forces. He explained that Islam and the Afghan people were not the enemy, and he announced that the United States would drop food, medicine, and other supplies by parachute to Afghan refugees. The president also explained that the attack on the Taliban was only the beginning:

“Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril. . . . The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail.”

—President George W. Bush, Address to the Nation, October 7, 2001

While American warplanes bombed the Taliban’s forces, the United States began sending aid to a coalition of Afghan groups, known as the Northern Alliance, that had been fighting the Taliban. The American bombing campaign quickly shattered the Taliban’s defenses. The Northern Alliance then launched a massive attack on Taliban lines. By early December, the Taliban regime had collapsed. The United States and its allies then helped Afghan leaders create a new government, and they promised more than $4 billion in aid. Meanwhile, thousands of American and allied troops began arriving in Afghanistan to act as peacekeepers and to hunt for al-Qaeda terrorists.

By March 2002, Taliban and al-Qaeda forces had begun to regroup in the mountains near Pakistan’s border. The United States responded by launching Operation Anaconda. Several Americans died during the difficult battle high in the mountains, but the al-Qaeda troops were defeated and forced to scatter. Throughout 2002, the United States and its allies continued their worldwide hunt for al-Qaeda members. By the end of the year, hundreds of people had been captured or killed.

**Reading Check**

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

**Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction**

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, showed that terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda were determined to kill as many Americans as possible. President Bush and his advisers were deeply worried that terrorist groups might acquire **weapons of mass destruction**. Weapons of mass destruction can kill tens of thousands of people all at once. Nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons are examples of weapons of mass destruction.

During the Cold War, very few nations had weapons of mass destruction, and the United States relied on a policy of **deterrence** to prevent the use of such weapons. Under the deterrence policy, the United States vowed that if a nation used weapons of mass destruction against the U.S., the U.S. would counterattack by using its own weapons of mass destruction. Deterrence worked during the Cold War, but it could not stop state-sponsored terrorism. If a nation secretly gave weapons of mass destruction to terrorists who then used them against the United States, the American military would not know where the weapons came from or whom to attack in response.

In his state of the union message to the American people in January 2002, President Bush warned that an “axis of evil,” made up of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, posed a grave threat to the world. All three nations actively sponsored terrorism and were developing weapons of mass destruction. “I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer,” the president promised. “The United States of America will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.”

Of the three nations in the “axis of evil,” President Bush and his advisers believed Iraq to be the most immediate threat. After the Gulf War ended in 1991, UN weapons inspectors found evidence that Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein, had developed biological weapons and had nearly succeeded in building a nuclear bomb. Iraq had also used chemical weapons in its war against Iran in the 1980s and against the Kurds, an ethnic minority in northern Iraq who had rebelled against Saddam Hussein’s regime.

In the summer of 2002, President Bush decided the time had come to deal with Iraq. On September 12, he asked the UN to pass a new resolution against Iraq. If Saddam Hussein wanted peace, he had to give up Iraq’s weapons of mass destruction, readmit the UN weapons inspectors, stop supporting terrorism, and stop oppressing his people.

**The 2002 Election** While the UN Security Council began debating a new resolution on Iraq, the president asked Congress to authorize the use of force.
against Iraq. The request created a problem for Democrats. With the midterm elections only weeks away, many Democrats wanted to focus on the economy. The economy was growing very slowly, unemployment was high, and stock prices remained low. The Democrats hoped that the poor economy would enable them to pick up seats in Congress in the elections.

In mid-October, Congress voted to authorize the use of force against Iraq. Despite getting this vote out of the way, however, the Democrats were still not able to focus on the economy. President Bush actively campaigned for Republicans running for Congress, complaining to voters that the Democrats had delayed the bill creating the Department of Homeland Security. He also called on voters to elect members of Congress who would support him in winning the war on terrorism. The president’s focus on national security worked. Voters were worried about the economy, but they were also worried about security. Usually in midterm elections the president’s party loses seats. In 2002, however, the Republicans picked up seats in the House of Representatives and took back control of the Senate.

**Confronting Iraq** Soon after the elections, the United Nations approved a new resolution that 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 “serious consequences” if Iraq did not comply.

The Iraqi government agreed to the return of the UN weapons inspectors. In December, Iraq gave the UN a statement denying it had any weapons of mass destruction. Secretary of State Colin Powell accused the Iraqis of lying. Iraq, Powell warned, was “well on the way to losing its last chance.”

In January 2003, the United States and Great Britain began building up their forces in the Middle East in preparation for war with Iraq. On January 28, President Bush delivered his State of the Union address. He warned that unless Saddam Hussein disarmed voluntarily, “for the safety of our people, and for the peace of the world, we will lead a coalition to disarm him.” The United States did not want war, the president explained, but “sometimes peace must be defended. A future lived at the mercy of terrible threats is no peace at all.”

**SECTION 5 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. **Define**: terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism.
2. **Identify**: Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda, anthrax.
3. **Explain** how the United States responded to the attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C.

**Reviewing Themes**

4. **Global Connections**: Why does American foreign policy anger Islamic fundamentalists in the Middle East?

**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 main ideas of President Bush’s address to Congress on the terrorist attacks.

**Analyzing Visuals**

7. **Examining Maps**: Study the map on page 1034 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.
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, and 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?

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

The Technological Revolution

• Personal computers grow faster and more powerful.
• Communications deregulation expands cellular phone usage.
• The Internet provides a worldwide network of information.
• Biotechnology research increases knowledge of human genetics.

The Clinton Years

• A new global economy emerges based on regional trade blocs.
• The ozone layer and global warming become major environmental issues.
• Clinton and Congress cut spending; reform welfare and health care.
• U.S. economy grows rapidly; federal budget is balanced.
• U.S. tries to end violence in Haiti, the Middle East, and the Balkans.
• Scandal and impeachment tarnish the Clinton administration.

Bush Takes Office

• 2000 election results disputed in Florida; Supreme Court resolves dispute; George W. Bush becomes president.
• Bush focuses on cutting taxes, reforming education, and working on energy problems.
• Terrorists destroy the World Trade Center and attack the Pentagon.
• Bush organizes a global coalition and launches a new war on terrorism.
24. **Categorizing** Complete the graphic organizer below by listing changes in communications, politics, the economy, and population that occurred in the United States by the end of the 1900s.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Practicing Skills**

25. **Reading a Cartogram** Create a cartogram that reflects the importance of each state in the Electoral College. Research the number of votes held by each state, and alter the size of each state to roughly show that state’s number of available votes. Create questions that refer to the information you present in your cartogram.

**Chapter Activities**

26. **Applying Chronology Skills** Absolute chronology refers to specific dates, while relative chronology looks at when something occurred with reference to when other things occurred. Practice relative chronology by listing the presidents of the twentieth century in the order they served as president. Then practice absolute chronology by giving the dates of their terms in office.

27. **Researching Election Results** Study the 2000 election map and chart on page 1028. Then use library or Internet resources to research statistics on the 1996 presidential election. Using the 2000 election map and chart as a guide, create a similar thematic map and chart of the 1996 election. Create questions about your map and chart that would help a classmate understand the data you have compiled.

**Writing Activity**

28. **Informative Writing** Research the changing roles of the federal and state governments as a result of recent legislative reforms, including gun control and welfare reforms. Based on your research, write a short paper predicting how the role of the federal government and the state governments might change in order to implement the legislative programs. Present your predictions to the class.

**Geography and History**

29. The graph above shows the diverse population of the United States at the beginning of the new century. Study the graph and answer the questions below.

a. **Interpreting Graphs** Why is getting accurate data on the Hispanic population difficult?

b. **Making Generalizations** How will population diversity affect government in the future?

**Standardized Test Practice**

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?