

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009 Chapter Contents

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter 41

America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009

- Chapter Introduction
- 41-1 Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President
- 41-2 A False Start for Reform
- 41-3 The Politics of Distrust
- 41-4 Clinton Again
- 41-5 Problems Abroad
- 41-6 Scandal and Impeachment
- 41-7 Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election
- 41-8 Bush Begins
- 41-9 Terrorism Comes to America
- 41-10 Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq
- 41-11 Owning Iraq
- 41-12 Reelecting George W. Bush
- 41-13 Bush's Second Term
- 41-14 Midterm Elections of 2006
- 41-15 The Presidential Election of 2008
- 41-16 Obama in the White House
- 41-17 A Sea of Troubles
- 41-18 Wars, Oil Spills, and Political Backlash
- 41-19 Chapter Review
 - 41-19a Key Terms
 - 41-19b People to Know
 - 41-19c To Learn More
 - 41-19d Chronology

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009 Chapter Introduction

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Introduction

There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured with what is right in America.

William J. Clinton, Inaugural, 1993

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the democratization of its client regimes in Eastern Europe ended the four-decade-old Cold War and left the United States the world's sole remaining super-power. Americans welcomed these changes but seemed unsure how to exercise their unprecedented economic and military might in this new international scenario. The culture wars that had started in the 1960s fed ferociously partisan political squabbles that distracted the nation from the urgent task of clearly defining its role in the dawning age of globalization. In 2000 **George W. Bush** won a bitterly contested presidential election that left the nation more rancorously divided than ever, until the spectacular terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, called forth, at least temporarily, a resurgent sense of national unity. Bush responded to the 9/11 attacks by invading the terrorist haven of Afghanistan. Amidst roiling controversy over his claims that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (Refers to weapons—nuclear, biological, and chemical—that can kill large numbers of people and do great damage to the built and natural environment. The term was used to refer to nuclear weapons during the Cold War. The Bush administration's claim that **Saddam Hussein** had developed WMD provided the rationale for the United States's invasion of Iraq in 2003. These weapons were never found after the invasion.) and had ties to terrorists, Bush proceeded to invade Iraq as well. After the failure to find WMD and over four thousand American battle deaths in the prolonged Iraq War, a war-weary country, nostalgic for the prosperity and peace of the 1990s, made history by electing the first African American president, Barack Obama. The new president inherited a crushing economic crisis, soon dubbed “The Great Recession.” Its scale was exceeded in modern times only by the Great Depression of the 1930s. And like Franklin Roosevelt in the depression era, Obama seized the occasion to pursue major reforms in health care and financial regulation. But unlike FDR, Obama triggered a powerful Republican backlash that erased the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives in the congressional elections of 2010.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-1 Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-1 Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President

As the last decade of the twentieth century opened, the slumbering economy, the widening gender gap, and the rising anti-incumbent spirit spelled opportunity for Democrats, frozen out of the White House for all but four years since 1968. Governor **William Jefferson ("Bill") Clinton** of Arkansas weathered blistering accusations of womanizing and draft evasion to emerge as his party's standard-bearer. He selected a fellow forty-something southern white male Protestant moderate, Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, as his vice-presidential running mate.

Clinton claimed to be a "new" Democrat, chastened by the party's long exile in the political wilderness. With other centrist Democrats, he had formed the **Democratic Leadership Council** (Non-profit organization of centrist Democrats founded in the mid-1980s. The group attempted to push the Democratic party toward pro-growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies. Among its most influential early members was **Bill Clinton**, whom it held up as an example of "third way" politics.) to point the party away from its traditional antibusiness, dovish, champion-of-the-underdog orientation and toward pro-growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies. Clinton campaigned especially vigorously on promises to stimulate the economy, reform the welfare system, and overhaul the nation's health-care apparatus.

Trying to wring one more win out of the social issues that had underwritten two Reagan and one Bush presidential victories, the Republicans emphasized "family values" and, as expected, nominated **George H. W. Bush** and Vice President **J. Danforth Quayle** for a second term. But Bush's listless campaign could not keep pace with the super-energetic and phenomenally articulate Clinton. Bush claimed credit for ending the Cold War and trumpeted his leadership role in the Persian Gulf War. But pocketbook problems as the economy dipped into recession swayed more voters than pride in past foreign policy.

At Clinton's campaign headquarters, a simple sign reminded staffers of his principal campaign theme: "It's the economy, stupid." Reflecting pervasive economic unease and the virulence of the throw-the-bums-out national mood, nearly 20 percent of voters cast their ballots for independent presidential candidate H. Ross Perot, a bantamweight, jug-eared Texas billionaire who harped incessantly on the problem of the federal deficit and made a boast of the fact that he had never held any public office.

Presidential Campaign Debate, 1992

George Bush, Ross Perot, and Bill Clinton squared off at the University of Richmond (Virginia) on October 16, 1992. The telegenic Clinton handily dominated the televised debates, especially in the "talk-show" format used on this occasion.

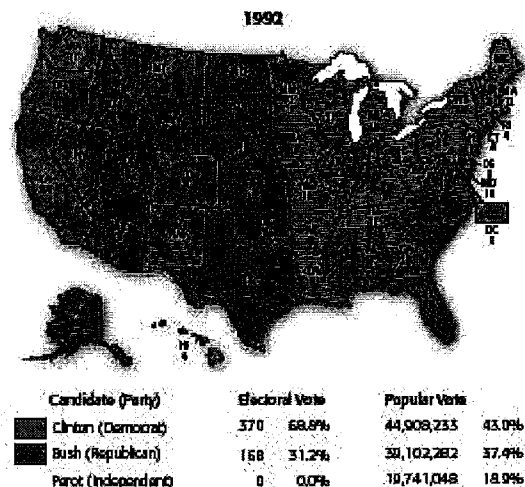


© Bettmann/Corbis

Perot's colorful presence probably accounted for the record turnout on election day, when some 100 million voters—55 percent of those eligible—went to the polls. The final tally gave Clinton 44,909,889 popular votes and 370 votes in the Electoral College. He was the first baby boomer to ascend to the White House, a distinction reflecting the electoral profile of the population, 70 percent of whom had been born after World War II. Bush polled some 39,104,545 popular votes and 168 electoral votes. Perot won no electoral votes but did gather 19,742,267 popular votes—the strongest showing for an independent or third-party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt ran on the Bull Moose ticket in 1912 (see Map 41.1). Democrats also racked up clear majorities in both houses of Congress, which seated near-record numbers of new members, including thirty-nine African Americans, nineteen Hispanic Americans, seven Asian Americans, one Native American, and forty-eight women, six of them in the Senate. Clinton also seized the opportunity in 1993 to nominate Ruth Bader Ginsburg to the Supreme Court, where she joined **Sandra Day O'Connor** to make a pair of women justices.

Map 41.1

Presidential Election of 1992 (with electoral vote by state)



© Cengage Learning

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-2 A False Start for Reform

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-2 A False Start for Reform

Badly overestimating his electoral mandate for liberal reform, the young president made a series of costly blunders upon entering the White House. He stirred a hornet's nest of controversy by advocating an end to the ban on gays and lesbians in the armed services. Confronted with fierce opposition, the president finally had to settle for a **“Don't Ask, Don't Tell”** (From 1993 to 2010, the policy affecting homosexuals in the military. It emerged as a compromise between the standing prohibition against homosexuals in the armed forces and President Clinton's push to allow all citizens to serve regardless of sexual orientation. Military authorities were forbidden to ask about a service member's orientation, and gay service personnel could be discharged if they publicly revealed their homosexuality. At President Obama's urging, Congress repealed DADT in 2010, permitting gays to serve openly in uniform.) policy that quietly accepted gay and lesbian soldiers and sailors without officially acknowledging their presence in the military. (Congress finally repealed the discriminatory policy in 2010.)

Even more damaging to Clinton's political standing, and to his hopes for lasting liberal achievement, was the fiasco of his attempt to reform the nation's health-care system. In a dramatic but personally and politically risky move, the president appointed his wife, nationally prominent lawyer and children's advocate **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, as the director of a task force charged with redesigning the medical-service industry. Their stupefyingly complicated plan was dead on arrival when it was presented to Congress in October 1993. The First Lady was doused with a torrent of abuse, although she eventually rehabilitated herself sufficiently to win election as a U.S. senator from New York in 2000—the first First Lady ever to hold elective office—and later became President Obama's secretary of state. President Clinton had better luck with a deficit-reduction bill in 1993, which combined with an increasingly buoyant economy by 1996 to shrink the federal deficit to its lowest level in more than a decade. By 1998 Clinton's policies seemed to have caged the ravenous deficit monster, as Congress argued over the unfamiliar question of how to manage federal budget *surpluses*.

Despite these successes, a sour antigovernment mood persisted. A huge explosion destroyed a federal office building in Oklahoma City in 1995, taking 168 lives, in retribution for a 1993 standoff in Waco, Texas, between federal agents and a fundamentalist sect known as the Branch Davidians. That showdown had ended in the destruction of the sect's compound and the deaths of many Branch Davidians, including women and children. Events like the **Oklahoma City bombing** (Truck-bomb explosion that killed 168 people in a federal office building on April 19, 1995. The attack was perpetrated by right-wing and anti-government militant Timothy McVeigh, later executed by the U.S. government for the crime.) brought to light a lurid and secretive underground of paramilitary private “militias” composed of alienated citizens armed to the teeth and ultrasuspicious of all government.

Even many law-abiding citizens shared to some degree in the antigovernment attitudes that

drove the militia members to murderous extremes. Thanks largely to the disillusioning agony of the Vietnam War and the naked cynicism of Richard Nixon in the Watergate scandal, the confidence in government that had come naturally to the generation that had licked the Great Depression and won the Second World War was in short supply by century's end. Reflecting that pervasive disenchantment with politics and politicians, several states passed term-limit laws for elected officials, although the Supreme Court ruled in 1995 that the restrictions did not apply to federal officeholders.

Bombing of Federal Building in Oklahoma City, 1995

A truck bomb killed 168 people in this federal office building in the worst act of terrorism in the United States until September 11, 2001. Convicted in 2001 for the attack, antigovernment militant Timothy McVeigh became the first person executed by the federal government in nearly forty years.



AP Images

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-3 The Politics of Distrust
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-3 The Politics of Distrust

Clinton's failed initiatives and widespread antigovernment sentiment afforded Republicans a golden opportunity in 1994, and they seized it aggressively. Led by outspoken Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich, Republicans offered voters a Contract with America (Multi-point program offered by Republican candidates and sitting politicians in the 1994 midterm election. The platform proposed smaller government, Congressional ethics reform, term limits, great emphasis on personal responsibility, and a general repudiation of the Democratic party. This articulation of dissent was a significant blow to the Clinton

Administration and led to the Republican party's takeover of both houses of Congress for the first time in half a century.) that promised an all-out assault on budget deficits and radical reductions in welfare programs. Their campaign succeeded fabulously, as a conservative tornado roared across the land in the 1994 congressional elections. Republicans picked up eleven new governorships, eight seats in the Senate, and fifty-three seats in the House (where Gingrich became Speaker), giving them control of both chambers of the federal Congress for the first time in forty years.

But if President Clinton had overplayed his mandate for liberal reform in 1993, the congressional Republicans soon proceeded to overplay their mandate for conservative retrenchment. In 1996 the new Congress achieved a major conservative victory when it compelled a reluctant Clinton to sign the **Welfare Reform Bill** (Legislation that made deep cuts in welfare grants and required able-bodied welfare recipients to find employment. Part of Bill Clinton's campaign platform in 1992, the reforms were widely seen by liberals as an abandonment of key New Deal/Great Society provisions to care for the impoverished.) , which made deep cuts in welfare grants and required able-bodied welfare recipients to find employment. The new welfare law also tightly restricted welfare benefits for legal and illegal immigrants alike, reflecting a rising tide of anti-immigrant sentiment as the numbers of newcomers climbed toward an all-time high. Old-line liberal Democrats howled with pain at the president's alleged betrayal of his party's heritage. But Clinton's acceptance of the welfare reform package was part of his shrewd political strategy of accommodating the electorate's conservative mood by moving to his right.

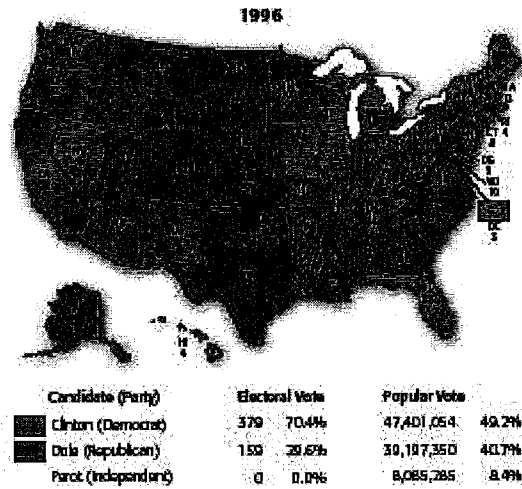
Many Americans gradually came to feel that the Gingrich Republicans were bending their conservative bow too far, especially when the new Speaker advocated provocative ideas like sending the children of welfare families to orphanages. In a tense confrontation between the Democratic president and the Republican Congress, the federal government was actually forced to shut down for several days at the end of 1995 until a budget package was agreed upon. These outlandishly partisan antics bred a backlash that helped President Clinton rebound from his political near-death experience.

As the 1996 election approached, the Republicans chose Kansas senator Robert Dole as their presidential candidate. A decorated World War II veteran, Dole ran a lackluster campaign. Clinton, buoyed by a healthy economy and by his artful trimming to the conservative wind, breezed to an easy victory, with 47,401,898 popular votes to Dole's 39,198,482 (see Map 41.2). The Reform party's egomaniacal leader, Ross Perot, ran a sorry third, picking up less than half the votes he had garnered in 1992. Clinton won 379 electoral votes, Dole only 159. But Republicans remained in control of Congress.

Map 41.2

Presidential Election of 1996 (with electoral vote by state)

The “solid South,” once a safe Democratic stronghold, had by century's end largely become Republican territory.



© Cengage Learning

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-4 Clinton Again

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-4 Clinton Again

As Clinton began his second term—the first Democratic president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt to be reelected—the heady promises of far-reaching reform with which he had entered the White House four years earlier were no longer heard. Still facing Republican majorities in both houses of Congress, he proposed only modest legislative goals, even though soaring tax revenues generated by the prosperous economy produced in 1998 a balanced federal budget for the first time in three decades.

Clinton cleverly managed to put Republicans on the defensive by claiming the political middle ground. He now warmly embraced the landmark Welfare Reform Bill of 1996 that he had initially been slow to endorse. Juggling the political hot potato of affirmative action, Clinton pledged to “mend it, not end it.” When voters in California in 1996 approved Proposition 209, prohibiting affirmative-action preferences in government and higher education, the number of minority students in the state's public universities temporarily plummeted. A federal appeals court decision, *Hopwood v. Texas*, had a similar effect in Texas. Clinton criticized these broad assaults on affirmative action but stopped short of trying to reverse them, aware that public support for affirmative action, especially among white Americans, had diminished since the 1970s.

Clinton's major political advantage continued to be the roaring economy, which by 2000 had sustained the longest period of growth in American history, driven by the Federal Reserve Board's low-interest, easy-money policies and by the explosive growth of new Internet (“dot-com”) businesses. While unemployment crept down to 4 percent and employers scrambled madly for workers, inflationary pressure remained remarkably low.

Protesting NAFTA, 1993

These members of the Teamsters Union feared that the adoption of the North

American Free Trade Agreement would mean the replacement of high-paying American jobs with low-wage, nonunion Mexican labor. More than a decade later, the treaty still rankled. Policymakers disagreed about whether NAFTA had been damaging to American workers. In the 2008 election, the Republicans endorsed it, while the Democrats attacked it.



NAFTA/Office of the United States Trade Representative

Prosperity did not make Clinton immune to controversy over trade policy. During his first term, he had shown political courage by supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Free trade zone encompassing Mexico, Canada, and the United States. A symbol of the increased reality of a globalized market place, the treaty passed despite opposition from protectionists and labor leaders.), creating in 1993 a free-trade zone encompassing Mexico, Canada, and the United States. In doing so, he bucked the opposition of protectionists in his own party, especially labor leaders fearful of losing jobs to low-wage Mexican workers. Clinton took another step in 1994 toward a global free-trade system when he vigorously promoted the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (An international body to promote and supervise liberal trade among nations. The successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, it marked a key world trade policy achievement of the Clinton Administration.), the successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and a cherished goal of free-trade advocates since the end of the Second World War.

Simmering discontent over trade policy boiled over in 1999 when Clinton hosted the meeting of the WTO in Seattle. The city's streets filled with protesters railing against what they viewed as the human and environmental costs of economic "globalization."

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-5 Problems Abroad

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-5 Problems Abroad

The end of the Cold War dismantled the framework within which the United States had conducted foreign policy for nearly half a century. Clinton groped for a diplomatic formula to replace anticommunism as the basic premise of American diplomacy.

Absorbed by domestic issues, President Clinton at first seemed uncertain and even amateurish in his conduct of foreign policy. He followed his predecessor's lead in dispatching American troops as part of a peace-keeping mission to Somalia. But after Somali rebels killed more than a dozen Americans, the president quietly withdrew the U.S. units in March 1994, without having accomplished any clearly defined goal. Burned in Somalia, Washington stood on the sidelines in 1994 when catastrophic ethnic violence in the central African country of Rwanda resulted in the deaths of half a million people.

Clinton also struggled to define a policy with respect to China, which was rapidly emerging as an economic and political powerhouse. Clinton soft-pedaled his earlier criticism of the Beijing regime on human rights issues and instead began seeking improved trade relations with that robustly industrializing country and potential market bonanza. By 2000 Clinton was crusading for a controversial China trade bill. Congress passed it in May 2000, making the Asian giant a full-fledged trading partner of the United States.

Other problems boiled up in the tormented Balkans in southeastern Europe. As vicious ethnic conflict raged through Bosnia, the Washington government dithered until finally deciding to commit American troops to a NATO peacekeeping contingent in late 1995. Yet NATO's expansion to include the new member states of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in 1997, and its continuing presence in Bosnia, failed to pacify the Balkans completely. When Serbian president Slobodan Milosević in 1999 unleashed a new round of "ethnic cleansing" in the region, this time against ethnic Albanians in the province of Kosovo, U.S.-led NATO forces launched an air war against Serbia. The bombing campaign eventually forced Milosević to accept a NATO peacekeeping force on the ground in Kosovo. Milosević was arrested in 2001 and put on trial before the International Criminal Court in The Hague, where he died in 2006 before the trial was completed.

The Middle East remained a major focus of American diplomacy right up to the end of Clinton's tenure. In 1993 Clinton presided over a historic meeting at the White House between Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat. They agreed in principle on self-rule for the Palestinians within Israel. But hopes flickered two years later when Rabin fell to an assassin's bullet. Clinton and his second-term secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, spent the rest of the 1990s struggling in vain to broker the permanent settlement that continued to elude Israelis and Palestinians. Arafat died in 2004 with his dream of creating a Palestinian state still unrealized.

In his final year as president, Clinton stepped up his efforts to leave a legacy as an international peace-maker. Along with his work in the Middle East, he sought to bring peace to Northern Ireland and the Korean peninsula, and he traveled to India and Pakistan in hopes of reducing the rivalry between the two nuclear powers of southern Asia. But the guiding principles of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era remained ill-defined and elusive.

41-6 Scandal and Impeachment

Scandal had dogged **Bill Clinton** from the beginning of his presidency. Critics brought charges of everything from philandering to illegal financial transactions. Allegations of corruption stemming from a real estate deal called **Whitewater** (A series of scandals during the Clinton Administration that stemmed from a failed real estate investment from which the Clintons were alleged to have illicitly profited. The accusations prompted the appointment of a special federal prosecutor, though no indictments.) while he was governor of Arkansas triggered an investigation by a special prosecutor, but no indictment ever materialized.

All the previous scandals were overshadowed by the revelation in January 1998 that Clinton had engaged in a sexual affair with a young White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, and then blatantly lied about it when testifying under oath in another woman's civil suit accusing him of sexual harassment. Caught in his bold lie, the president made a humiliating confession, but his political opponents smelled blood in the water. In September 1998 the special prosecutor investigating Whitewater, who had broad powers to investigate *any* evidence of presidential malfeasance, presented a stinging report, including lurid sexual details, to the Republican- controlled House of Representatives. That report presented eleven possible grounds for impeachment, all related to lying about the **Lewinsky affair** (Political sex scandal that resulted in Bill Clinton's impeachment and trial by Congress. In 1998, Clinton gave sworn testimony in a sexual harassment case that he had never engaged in sexual activity with a White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. When prosecutors discovered evidence that the President had lied under oath about the affair, to which Clinton admitted, Republicans in Congress began impeachment proceedings. Although Clinton was ultimately not convicted by the Senate, the scandal put a lasting blemish on his presidential legacy.) .

Intifada Against Israeli Control, 1994

Beginning in 1987, Palestinians living in the Israeli-controlled territories of the West Bank and Gaza rose up in protest. As the stalemate dragged on, the likelihood of Middle East peace receded, despite repeated international diplomatic efforts to reach a settlement. These young Palestinians in East Jerusalem wave Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) flags outlawed by Israel.

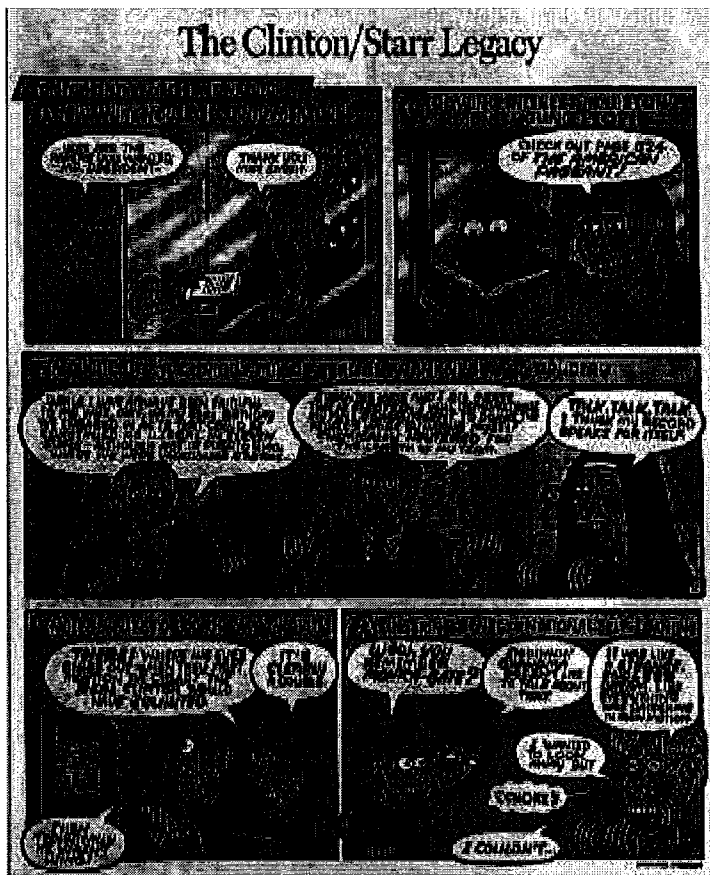


© Bettmann/Corbis

The House quickly cranked up the rusty machinery of impeachment. As an acrid partisan atmosphere enveloped the Capitol, House Republicans in December 1998 passed two articles of impeachment against the president: perjury before a grand jury and obstruction of justice. Crying foul, the Democratic minority charged that, however deplorable Clinton's personal misconduct, sexual transgressions did not rise to the level of “high crimes and misdemeanors” prescribed in the Constitution (see Art. II, Sec. IV in the Appendix). The House Republican managers (prosecutors) of impeachment for the Senate trial replied that perjury and obstruction were grave public issues and that nothing less than the “rule of law” was at stake.

The Legacy of Impeachment

Time magazine's cartoonist asked how future generations would judge the Clinton impeachment episode—and how it might be treated in history textbooks.



Michael Dougan

As cries of “honor the Constitution” and “sexual McCarthyism” filled the air, the nation debated whether the president’s peccadilloes amounted to high crimes or low follies. Most Americans apparently leaned toward the latter view. In the 1998 midterm elections, voters reduced the House Republicans’ majority, causing fiery House speaker Newt Gingrich to resign his post. Although Americans held a low opinion of Clinton’s slip-shod personal morals, most liked the president’s political and economic policies and wanted him to stay in office.

In early 1999, for the first time in 130 years, the nation witnessed an impeachment proceeding in the U.S. Senate. Dusting off ancient precedents from Andrew Johnson’s trial, the one hundred senators solemnly heard arguments in the case. With the facts widely known and the two parties’ political positions firmly locked in, the trial’s outcome was a foregone conclusion. On the key obstruction of justice charge, five northeastern Republicans joined all forty-five Democratic senators in voting not guilty. The fifty Republican votes for conviction fell far short of the constitutionally required two-thirds majority. The vote on the perjury charge was forty-five guilty, fifty-five not guilty.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-7 Clinton’s Legacy and the 2000 Election
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

41-7 Clinton’s Legacy and the 2000 Election

Beyond the obvious stain of impeachment, Clinton’s legacy was mixed. His sound economic

policies encouraged growth and trade in a rapidly globalizing post– Cold War world. Yet as a “New Democrat” and avowed centrist, Clinton did more to consolidate than to reverse the Reagan-Bush revolution against New Deal liberalism that for half a century had provided the compass for the Democratic party and the nation. Further, by setting such a low standard in his personal conduct, he replenished the sad reservoir of public cynicism about politics that Vietnam and Watergate had created a generation before.

Nonetheless, as the end of the Clinton term and the beginning of the new millennium approached, the Democrats stayed on their political course and nominated loyal vice president Albert Gore for president. Gore faced the tricky challenge of linking himself to Clinton-era peace and prosperity while at the same time distancing himself from his boss's personal foibles. He chose as his running mate Connecticut senator Joseph Lieberman, an outspoken Clinton critic and the first Jew nominated to a major national ticket. Their Republican challenger, **George W. Bush**, won the nomination on the strength of his father's name and his years as governor of Texas. Bush surrounded himself with Washington insiders, including vice-presidential nominee Richard Cheney, and, in a clear jab at Clinton, promised to “restore dignity to the White House.”

Rosy estimates that the federal budget would produce a surplus of some \$2 trillion in the coming decade set the stage for the presidential contest. Echoing the Republican creed of smaller government, Bush argued for returning the budget surplus to “the people” through massive tax cuts and for promoting private-sector programs, such as school vouchers and a reliance on “faith-based” institutions to help the poor. Gore proposed smaller tax cuts, targeted at middle- and lower-class people, and strengthening Social Security. In an era of peace, foreign policy figured hardly at all in the campaign, although Bush struck a moderate note when he urged that America should act like “a humble nation.”

Pollsters predicted a close election, but none fore-saw the epochal cliffhanger that the election would become. On election day the country split nearly evenly between the two candidates, and it was soon clear that Florida's electoral votes would determine the winner. Television news programs announced that Bush had won the Sunshine State, and Al Gore called the Texas governor to concede defeat. Yet just an hour later, Gore's camp decided that Florida was too close to call, and the vice president—in perhaps the most awkward phone call in modern politics—phoned back to retract his concession.

What ensued was a five-week political standoff over how to count the votes in Florida. Democrats argued that some ballots were confusing or had been misread by machines and asked for recounts by hand in several counties. Republicans claimed that such recounts would amount to “changing the rules in the middle of the game” and thus thwart the rule of law. After weeks of legal bickering with the presidency in the balance, the Supreme Court finally intervened. By a five-to-four vote along partisan lines, the Court reasoned that since neither Florida's legislature nor its courts had established a uniform standard for evaluating disputed ballots, the hand counts amounted to an unconstitutional breach of the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.

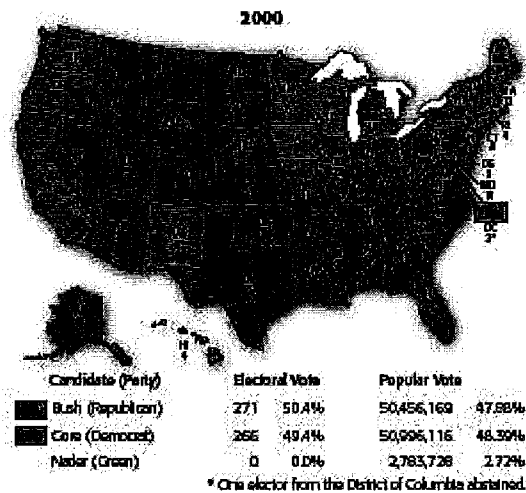
That ruling gave Bush the White House but cast a dark shadow of illegitimacy over his presidency. Bush officially won Florida by 537 votes out of 6 million cast, and he squeaked by in the Electoral College, 271 to 266 (see Maps 41.3 and 41.4). The national popular vote went decisively to Gore, 50,999,897 to 50,456,002. For the first time since 1888, a candidate

won the White House with fewer popular votes than his opponent. Calls to abolish the Electoral College, however, were few and muted (see Art. V of the Constitution).

Map 41.3

Presidential Election of 2000 (with electoral vote by state)

Although Democrat **Albert Gore** won the popular election by half a million votes, **George W. Bush's** contested 537-vote advantage in Florida gave him a slight lead in the Electoral College. The 2.7 million popular votes won by Green party candidate and consumer activist Ralph Nader almost surely deprived Gore of victory, casting Nader in the role of spoiler. Bush's failure to win the popular vote inspired critics to protest at his inauguration with placards reading "Hail to the Thief."

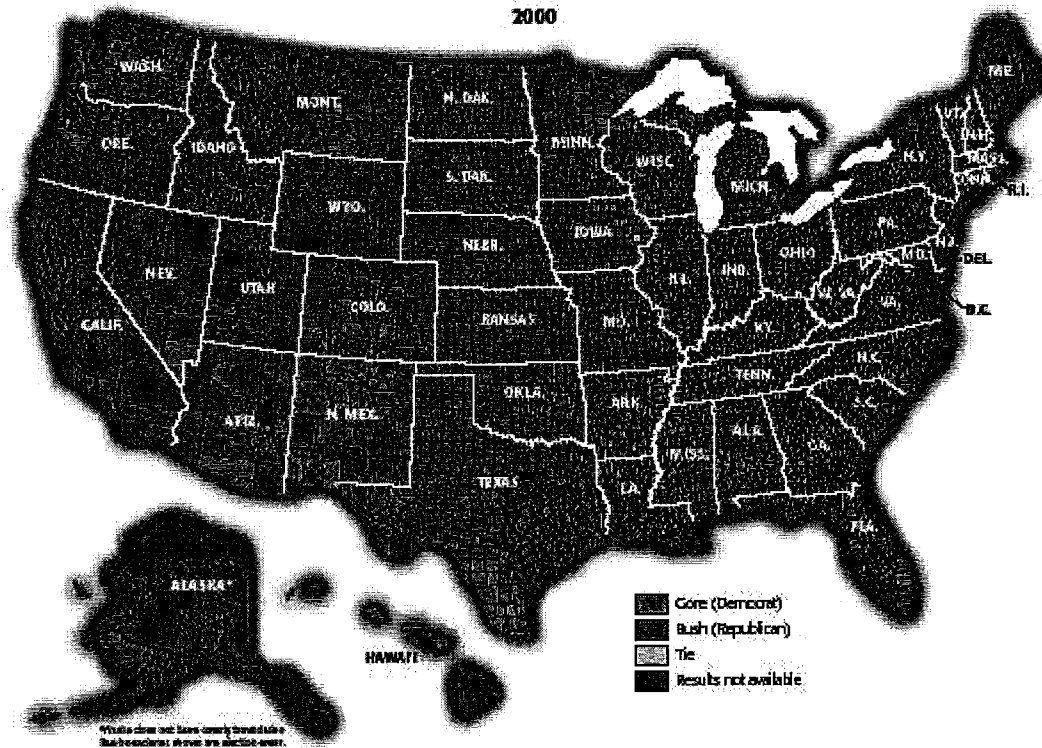


© Cengage Learning

Map 41.4

America in Red and Blue

This map showing the vote by county in the hotly contested 2000 presidential election vividly illustrates the geography of modern America's political divisions. Democratic candidate Albert Gore won a popular majority by carrying just 676 mostly urban counties, heavily populated by union members, minorities, and prosperous, educated white-collar workers. Republican **George W. Bush** won the election by taking 2,477 mostly rural counties, where feelings about "social issues" such as abortion and gun control ran high and shaped solid conservative constituencies.



(Source: Adapted from VNS Graphic by Stanford Kay-Newsweek.) © Cengage Learning

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-8 Bush Begins

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-8 Bush Begins

As the son of the forty-first president (“41”), **George W. Bush (“43”)** became the first presidential offspring since John Quincy Adams to reach the White House. Raised largely in Texas, the younger Bush publicly distanced himself from his family's privileged New England heritage and affected the chummy manner of a self-made good ol' boy—though he held degrees from Yale and Harvard. (His adversaries sniped that he had been born on third base and claimed to have hit a triple.) He promised to bring to Washington the conciliatory skills he had honed as the Republican governor of Texas, where he had worked well with the Democratic majority in the state's legislature.

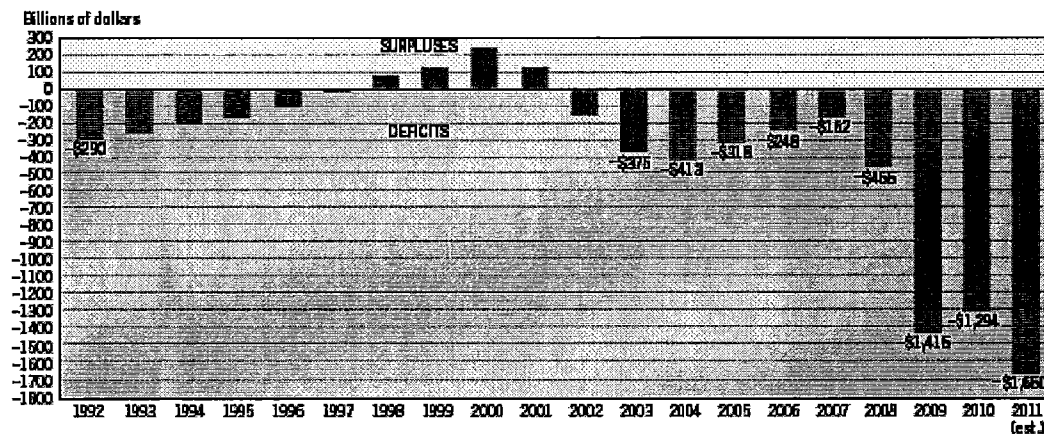
But as president, Bush soon proved to be more of a divider than a uniter, less a “compassionate conservative” than a crusading ideologue. Religious traditionalists cheered but liberals jeered when he withdrew American support from international health programs that sanctioned abortion, advocated federally financed faith-based social-welfare initiatives, and sharply limited government-sponsored research on embryonic stem cells, which many scientists believed held the key to conquering diseases such as Parkinson's and Alzheimer's. He pleased corporate chieftains but angered environmentalists by challenging scientific findings on groundwater contamination and global warming, repudiating the **Kyoto Treaty** (International treaty to limit greenhouse gas emissions. It was negotiated and opened for signatories in 1997, and took effect in 2005. Although signed by 169 (of 192) countries, the Bush Administration rejected the plan as too costly in 2001.) limiting

greenhouse gas emissions (negotiated by the Clinton administration but never ratified by the Senate), advocating new oil exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge on Alaska's ecologically fragile north coast, and allowing Vice President Cheney to hammer out his administration's energy policy in behind-closed-doors meetings with representatives of several giant oil companies. Even many fiscal conservatives thought him reckless when he pressed ahead with a whopping \$1.3 trillion tax cut. Together with a softening economy and the increasing costs of war in Iraq, the tax cut turned the federal budget surpluses of the late 1990s into yawning deficits, reaching more than \$400 billion in 2004 (see Figure 41.1).

Figure 41.1

Deficits into Surpluses and Back Again

In 1998 the U.S. budget deficit became a surplus for the first time in decades. But by 2002 the government was back in deficit, due to President Bush's tax cuts, a weak economy, and mushrooming defense spending on the Iraq War. Following the onset of the "Great Recession" in 2008, deficits ballooned to historic highs.



(Source: Office of Management and Budget, *Historical Tables: Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2009*.)

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-9 Terrorism Comes to America

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-9 Terrorism Comes to America

On September 11, 2001, the long era of America's impregnable national security violently ended. On a balmy late-summer morning, suicidal terrorists slammed two hijacked airliners, loaded with passengers and jet fuel, into the twin towers of New York City's World Trade Center. They flew a third plane into the military nerve center of the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C., killing 189 people. Heroic passengers forced a fourth hijacked aircraft to crash in rural Pennsylvania, killing all 44 aboard but depriving the terrorists of an additional weapon of mass destruction. As the two giant New York skyscrapers thunderously collapsed, some three thousand innocent victims perished, including people of many races and faiths from more than sixty countries, as well as hundreds of New York's

police- and fire-department rescue workers. A stunned nation blossomed with flags, as grieving and outraged Americans struggled to express their sorrow and solidarity in the face of the catastrophic terrorism of 9/11 (Common shorthand for the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, in which nineteen militant Islamist men hijacked and crashed four commercial aircraft. Two planes hit the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing them to collapse. One plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and the fourth, overtaken by passengers, crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania. Nearly 3,000 people were killed in the worst case of domestic terrorism in American history.) .

The Toll of Terror

Grief overcame this exhausted firefighter during the search for survivors in the wreckage of New York City's World Trade Center.



© David Turnley/Corbis

President Bush responded with a sober and stirring address to Congress nine days later. His solemn demeanor and the gravity of the situation helped to dissipate the cloud of illegitimacy that had shadowed his presidency since the disputed election of 2000. While emphasizing his respect for the Islamic religion and Muslim people, he identified the principal enemy as Osama bin Laden, head of a shadowy terrorist network known as Al Qaeda (Arabic for “The Base,” an international alliance of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organizations founded in the late 1980s. Founded by veterans of the Afghan struggle against the Soviet Union, the group was headed by Osama Bin Laden and has taken responsibility for numerous terrorist attacks, especially after the late 1990s. Al Qaeda organized the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States, from its headquarters in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. Since the U.S-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the launch of the “Global War on Terror,” the group has been weakened, but still poses significant threats around the world.) (“the base” in Arabic). A wealthy extremist

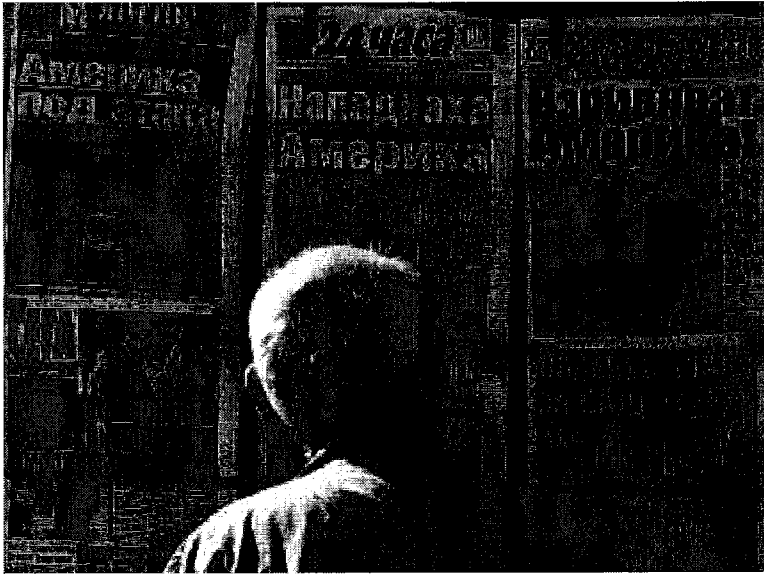
exiled from his native Saudi Arabia, bin Laden was associated with earlier attacks on American embassies in East Africa and on the USS *Cole* in Yemen. He had taken refuge in landlocked Afghanistan, ruled by Islamic fundamentalists called the Taliban. (Ironically, the United States had indirectly helped bring the Taliban to power by supporting religious rebels resisting the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s.) Bin Laden was known to harbor venomous resentment toward the United States for its growing military presence in the Middle East (especially on the sacred soil of the Arabian Peninsula) and its unyielding support for Israel in the face of intensifying Palestinian nationalism. Bin Laden also fed on worldwide resentment of America's enormous economic, military, and cultural power. Ironically, America's most conspicuous strengths had made it a conspicuous target.

When the Taliban refused to hand over bin Laden, Bush ordered a massive military campaign against Afghanistan. Within three months American and Afghan rebel forces had overthrown the Taliban but failed to find bin Laden, and Americans continued to live in fear of future attacks. Confronted with this unconventional, diffuse menace, antiterrorism experts called for a new kind of "asymmetrical warfare," employing not just traditional military muscle but also counter-insurgency tactics like innovative intelligence gathering, training of local police forces, economic reprisals, infiltration of suspected organizations, and even assassinations.

The terrorists' blows diabolically coincided with the onset of a recession. The already gathering economic downturn worsened as edgy Americans shunned air travel and the tourist industry withered. In this anxious atmosphere, Congress in October 2001 rammed through the **USA Patriot Act** (Legislation passed shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that granted broad surveillance and detention authority to the government.) * The act permitted extensive telephone and e-mail surveillance and authorized the detention and deportation of immigrants suspected of terrorism. Just over a year later, Congress created the new cabinet-level **Department of Home-land Security** (Cabinet-level agency created in 2003 to unify and coordinate public safety and anti-terrorism operations within the federal government.) to protect the nation's borders and ferret out potential attackers. The Justice Department meanwhile rounded up hundreds of immigrants and held them without habeas corpus (formal charges in an open court). The Bush administration further called for trying suspected terrorists before military tribunals, where the usual rules of evidence and procedure did not apply. As hundreds of Taliban fighters captured in Afghanistan languished in legal limbo and demoralizing isolation in the **Guantánamo Detention Camp** (Controversial prison facility constructed after the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Located on territory occupied by the U.S. military, but not technically part of the United States, the facility serves as an extra-legal holding area for suspected terrorists.) on the American military base at Guantánamo, Cuba, public-opinion polls showed Americans sharply divided on whether the terrorist threat fully warranted such drastic encroachments on America's venerable tradition of protecting civil liberties.

The Attacks Seen Around the World

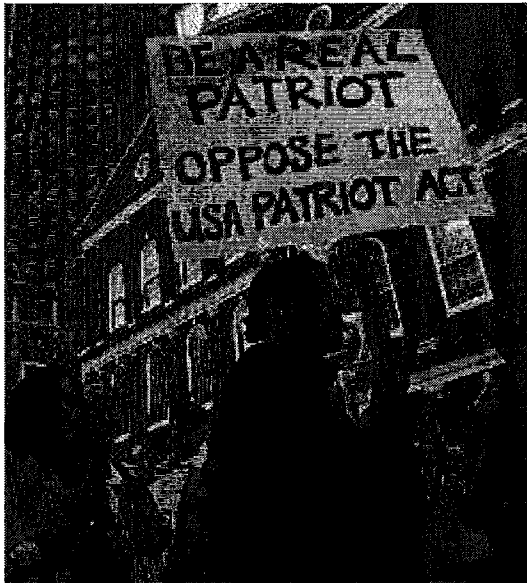
The attacks of September 11, 2001, became events of international, not just American, significance, as revealed in the newspapers on display in Sofia, Bulgaria.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Liberty or Death

Critics of the USA Patriot Act feared the extinction of cherished civil liberties, including the right to protest against the government's policies.



AP Photo/Don Heupel

Catastrophic terrorism posed an unprecedented challenge to the United States. The events of that murderous September morning reanimated American patriotism, but they also brought a long chapter in American history to a dramatic climax. All but unique among modern peoples, Americans for nearly two centuries had been spared from foreign attack on their home-land. That unusual degree of virtually cost-free national security had undergirded the values of openness and individual freedom that defined the distinctive character of American society. Now American security and American liberty alike were dangerously imperiled.

Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-10 Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

On only its second day in office, the Bush administration warned that it would not tolerate Iraq's continued defiance of United Nations weapons inspections, mandated after Iraq's defeat in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Iraqi dictator **Saddam Hussein**, after playing hide-and-seek with the inspectors for years, expelled them from his country in 1998, inducing President Clinton, with congressional approval, to declare that Saddam's removal ("regime change") was an official goal of U.S. policy. But no sustained military action against Iraq had followed. Now, in the context of the new terrorist threat, the Bush administration focused on Iraq with a vengeance.

In January 2002, just weeks after the September 11 attacks, Bush claimed that Iraq, along with Iran and North Korea, constituted an "axis of evil" that gravely menaced American security. Iran and North Korea were both known to be pursuing nuclear weapons programs, and Iran had long supported terrorist operations in the Middle East. But Iraqi tyrant **Saddam Hussein**, defeated but not destroyed by Bush's father in 1991, became the principal object of the new president's wrath. The elder Bush had carefully assembled a broad international coalition to fight the 1991 Persian Gulf War. He had also spoken so often of "prudence" that late-night television comedians had mocked him for it. In contrast, his son was brashly determined to break with longstanding American traditions and wage a preemptive war against Iraq—and to go it alone if necessary. The younger Bush thus cast off his appeal for America to be a "humble nation" and stood revealed as a plunger, a daring risk-taker willing to embrace bold, dramatic policies, foreign as well as fiscal. In that spirit Bush began laying plans for a war against Iraq.

In his 2002 state of the union address, President **George W. Bush** (b. 1946) declared:

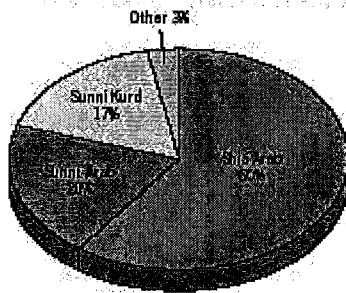
"Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens—leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections—then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.

"States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic."

Itching for a fight, and egged on by hawkish Vice President Cheney and other “neoconservative” advisers, Bush accused the Iraqi regime of all manner of wrongdoing: oppressing its own people; frustrating the weapons inspectors; developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction referred to as “WMD”; and supporting terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda. Perhaps most controversially, he also suggested that a liberated, democratized Iraq might provide a beacon of hope to the Islamic world and thereby begin to improve the political equation in the volatile Middle East. To skeptical observers, including America's usually reliable European allies, the very multiplicity of Bush's reasons for war cast doubt on his case, and his ambition to create a democracy in long-suffering Iraq, burdened with centuries of internecine conflict, seemed naively utopian. Secretary of State Colin Powell urged caution, warning about the long-term consequences for the United States of invading and occupying an unstable, religiously and culturally divided nation of 25 million people. “You break it, you own it,” he told the president.

Heavy majorities in both houses of Congress nevertheless passed a resolution in October 2002 authorizing the president to employ armed force to defend against Iraqi threats to America's national security and to enforce United Nations resolutions regarding Iraq. A month later the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to give Iraq “a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations.” There followed a months-long cat-and-mouse game. U.N. weapons inspectors returned to Iraq. Saddam once again harassed and blocked them. No weapons of mass destruction were found. The inspectors asked for more time. The United Nations declined to authorize the use of force to compel compliance.

Ethnic and religious groups by percent of total population (c. 25,000,000)



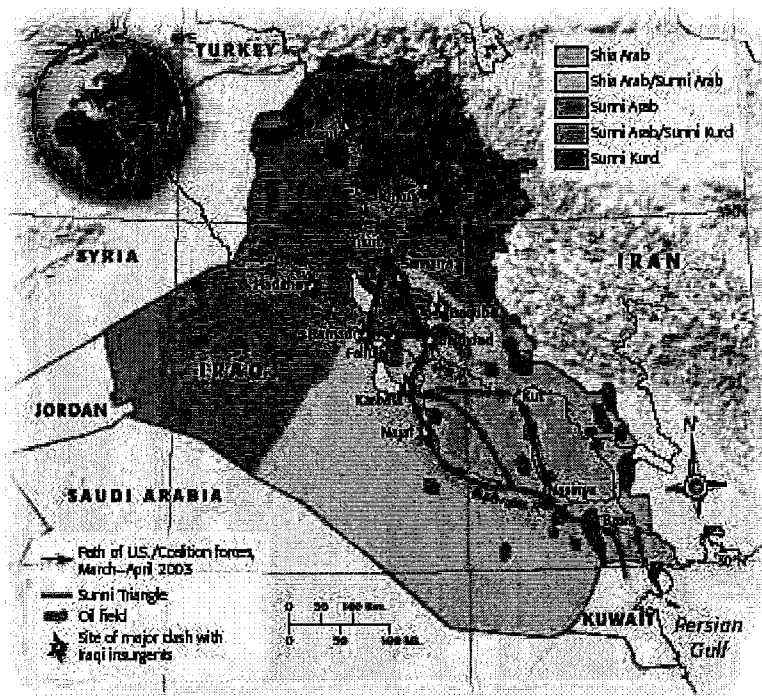
In this tense and confusing atmosphere, Bush, with Britain his only major ally, launched the long-anticipated invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003. **Saddam Hussein's** vaunted military machine collapsed almost immediately. In less than a month, Baghdad had fallen and Saddam had been driven from power and hounded into hiding. (He was found and arrested some nine months later and executed in 2006.) From the deck of a U.S. aircraft carrier off the California coast, speaking beneath a banner declaring “Mission Accomplished,” Bush triumphantly announced on May 1, 2003, that “major combat operations in Iraq have ended” (see Map 41.5).

Map 41.5

Iraq in Transition

Carved out of the old Ottoman Empire after World War I, Iraq has long been a combustible compound of rivalrous ethnic and religious groups. **Saddam**

Hussein's dictatorial regime imposed a brutal peace on the country for twenty-four years following his ascent to power in 1979, but after the American invasion in 2003, old feuds resumed, exacerbated by stinging resentment against the occupying forces.



© Cengage Learning

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992-2009: 41-11 Owing Iraq

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-11 Owing Iraq

In his 1998 book, *A World Transformed*, former president **George H. W. Bush** (b. 1924) explained his rationale for not driving **Saddam Hussein** from power during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. His words made sobering reading in the context of his son's subsequent invasion of Iraq:

“Trying to eliminate Saddam... would have incurred incalculable human and political costs.... The coalition would instantly have collapsed, the Arabs deserting it in anger and other allies pulling out as well. Under the circumstances, there was no viable 'exit strategy' we could see, violating another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post-Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations' mandate, would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression

that we hoped to establish.”

On the Fiery Ground in Basra, Iraq, 2004

These British soldiers are running from a gasoline bomb detonated during a protest by Iraqi job seekers who claimed that they had been promised employment in the security services. The British, who had invaded Iraq alongside the United States, oversaw the southern Iraq city of Basra, a role that proved so unpopular with British voters that Prime Minister Tony Blair was eventually forced to resign.



© Bettmann/Corbis

President Bush's words soon came back to haunt him. “Neoconservative” pundits in Washington had predicted that American soldiers would be greeted as liberators and that Saddam's ouster would lead to flowering democracy across the Middle East. In reality post-Saddam Iraq quickly devolved into a seething cauldron of violence. The country's largest ethnic groups, Sunni and Shia Muslims, clashed violently, especially in the capital city of Baghdad. Both groups attacked American forces, especially after the U.S. decision to disband the Iraqi army, which deprived Iraq of an effective indigenous police force. A locally grown insurgency quickly spread, and occupying Iraq became ever more perilous for American troops. Hatred for Americans only worsened with revelations in April 2004 that Iraqi prisoners in Baghdad's **Abu Ghraib prison** (A detention facility near Baghdad, Iraq. Under **Saddam Hussein**, the prison was the site of infamous torturing and execution of political dissidents. In 2004, during the U.S. occupation of Iraq, the prison became the focal point of a prisoner-abuse and torture scandal after photographs surfaced of American soldiers mistreating, torturing, and degrading Iraqi war prisoners and suspected terrorists. The scandal was one of several dark spots on the public image of the Iraq War and led to increased criticism of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.) had been tortured and humiliated by their American captors. Amid this chaos, jihadist terrorists from around the

region flooded into Iraq, often fueling the intra-Iraqi conflicts to further their own radical Islamist vision. Although Al Qaeda had had no link to Iraq under Saddam, as Bush had falsely alleged, the organization certainly moved in afterward. These three battles—Shia-Sunni ethnic violence, counter-occupation insurgency, and jihadist terrorism—fed a spiraling maelstrom of bloodshed. By the end of 2006, more Americans had died in Iraq than in the attacks of September 11 (see “Thinking Globally: America Through Foreign Eyes: Hyperpower or Hapless Power?”).

Almost from the outset of the intervention, American forces began preparing to withdraw. In the summer of 2004, the American military ceded political power and limited sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government. National elections followed in early 2005, and millions of Iraqis voted for a national assembly to draft a constitution. After a referendum vote on the constitution in October 2005, another round of elections chose parliamentary representatives, a prime minister, and a president. But under the seeming stability of Iraq's new democratic government lay deep, violent tensions. Sunni Muslims, the minority that had held power under **Saddam Hussein**, one of their own, feared reprisals and repressions under a majority Shia government. Sunnis largely boycotted the first election and tried unsuccessfully to block the ratification of the constitution. Unsuccessful at the ballot box, many Sunnis turned to bombings and political assassinations.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-12 Reelecting George W. Bush
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

41-12 Reelecting George W. Bush

Americans had rarely been as divided as they were in the first years of the twenty-first century. Civil libertarians worried that the government was trampling on personal freedoms in the name of fighting terrorism. Revelations in 2002 about flagrant corporate fraud fed rampant popular disillusion with the business community. Cultural tensions brewed over the rights of gay and lesbian Americans when leaders in San Francisco and Massachusetts permitted same-sex couples to marry in 2004. Affirmative action continued to spark sharp debate, as the Supreme Court permitted some preferential treatment in admitting minority undergraduate and law students to the University of Michigan in 2003.

Amid this division **George W. Bush** positioned himself to run for reelection. He proclaimed that his tax cuts had spurred economic growth. Targeting what he called “the soft bigotry of low expectations,” he championed the No Child Left Behind Act (An education bill created and signed by the **George W. Bush** administration. Designed to increase accountability standards for primary and secondary schools, the law authorized several federal programs to monitor those standards and increased choices for parents in selecting schools for their children. The program was highly controversial, in large part because it linked results on standardized to federal funding for schools and school districts.) of 2002, which mandated sanctions against schools that failed to meet federal performance standards. He played to cultural conservatives in opposing stem cell research and called for a constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage. But most of all, he promoted himself as a stalwart leader in wartime, warning the country not to “change horses midstream.”

After a bruising round of primary elections, the embattled Democrats chose lanky and long-jawed Massachusetts senator John Kerry to represent their ticket. Kerry pushed progressive visions of government and counted on his Vietnam War record to counter charges that he would be weak in the face of terrorism. But that plan backfired as Kerry fell under attack for his very public opposition to Vietnam once he had returned from battle in the early 1970s. In spite of increased public misgivings about the war in Iraq, Bush nailed down a decisive victory in November 2004. He received the first popular vote majority by a presidential candidate in more than a decade—60,639,281 to 57,355,978—and won the Electoral College, 286 to 252, if by only one state (this time Ohio). This time his victory was clear, constitutional, and uncontested.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-13 Bush's Second Term

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-13 Bush's Second Term

Reelection, **George W. Bush** announced, gave him “political capital,” which he intended to spend on an aggressive domestic agenda. The appointment of two new conservative Supreme Court justices (**John G. Roberts** and **Samuel A. Alito, Jr.**) upon the retirement of **Sandra Day O'Connor** and the death of Chief Justice William Rehnquist seemed to bode well for his ambitions. But Bush soon overplayed his hand. Attacking the core of New Deal liberalism, he proposed a radical program to privatize much of Social Security. A massive outcry led by the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) and other liberal groups reminded Americans how much they loved Social Security, warts and all. Bush's proposal faded away within six months of his reelection. The same fate befell a proposed constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage, which had been a major “values” issue in the 2004 campaign.

The president also took (faulty) aim at the contentious issue of immigration reform. Here he parted company with the conservative wing of his party, many of whom wanted to deport the nearly 12 million undocumented people in the United States. His compromise plan to establish a guest-worker program and a “path to citizenship” for the undocumented ended up pleasing no one. Congress rejected it in the summer of 2007, and the issue was dead for the rest of Bush's term.

Every second-term president since the 1960s had seen scandal mar his later years in office. Nixon had Watergate, Reagan had Iran-contra, and Clinton had Lewinsky. The Bush White House was no exception, but this time the accusations were political, not personal. In the fall of 2005, Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff was convicted of perjury in an investigation into the source of a leak that had exposed the identity of an undercover CIA agent as political retaliation against her antiwar husband. Then in December of that year, journalists discovered that the government was conducting illegal wiretap surveillance on American citizens inside the United States in violation of federal law. Perhaps the most tragic and avoidable of Bush's missteps came in the botched response to the deadly **Hurricane Katrina** (The costliest and one of the deadliest hurricanes in the history of the United States, killing nearly 2000 Americans. The storm ravaged the Gulf Coast, especially

the city of New Orleans, in late August of 2005. In New Orleans, high winds and rain caused the city's levees to break, leading to catastrophic flooding, particularly centered on the city's most impoverished wards. A tardy and feeble response by local and federal authorities exacerbated the damage and led to widespread criticism of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)., which devastated New Orleans and much of the Gulf Coast in late August 2005, flooding 80 percent of the historic city and causing over 1,300 deaths and \$150 billion in damages. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) proved pathetically inept in New Orleans, and Bush came in for still more criticism. A consensus began to build that Bush was a genial personality but an impetuous, unreflective, and frequently feckless leader, a president in over his head in a sea of complex problems that he seemed incapable of mastering.

Thinking Globally

America Through Foreign Eyes: Hyperpower or Hapless Power?

When the Soviet Union disintegrated in 1991, the Cold War concluded at last. So did an era in the history of American foreign policy, and in the history of the international order. For nearly half a century following World War II, the confrontation with the Soviets had deeply shaped Americans' conception of themselves—their national identity—as well as their role and reputation in the wider world. In the long twilight struggle against Soviet communism, they had accumulated unprecedented economic, military, and cultural might, and had taken virtuous pride in themselves as the global champions of democracy, justice, and human rights. Now, as the sole surviving “superpower,” they faced no counterbalancing regime and, apparently, no check on their national ambitions. The United States seemed to wield all but limitless power to mold the international environment as it wished. Not since the days of ancient Rome did any people bestride the world so unopposed.

Not everyone welcomed the emergence of this international colossus. Australians grumbled that the United States was a “tall poppy” that needed to be cut down to size. French foreign minister Hubert Védrine coined a new term when he described the United States in 1999 not merely as a super-power but as a “hyper power,” one “that is dominant or predominant in all categories,” including not only the traditional domains of politics, economics, and the military, but even including “attitudes, concepts, languages, and modes of life.” he called upon Europeans to create an alternative to the American “steamroller,” to “work in favor of real multilateralism against unilateralism, for balanced multipolarism against unipolarism, for cultural diversity against uniformity.” In the parlance of international relations, Védrine was promoting a “balancing” strategy to cope with U.S. power, rather than the “bandwagon” strategy of simply submitting to American hegemony and making the most of it. Notably, he was not proposing outright opposition.

Torture at Abu Ghraib Prison, Baghdad, 2003

Revelations that American soldiers had brutally tortured Iraqi prisoners

contributed to condemnation of the nation's disregard for human rights and growing disquiet about America's unilateral policing of the world.



AP Images

As the last days of the twentieth century slipped through the hourglass, American power surely looked formidable. The United States was the world's third most populous nation (after China and India), enjoyed the world's largest economy (more than three times larger than second-ranked Japan), was the acknowledged global leader in high-tech information and biomedical innovations, and spent more on its armed forces than the rest of the world *combined*. Yet the realities of American power were somewhat less imposing. Uncle Sam struggled to find solid footing in the post-Cold War international arena. Washington in the 1990s badly botched a peacekeeping mission in lawless Somalia; stood by helplessly as genocidal militias murdered nearly a million Rwandans; dithered over how to stabilize chaotic haiti; fumbled indecisively as nationalist and sectarian violence convulsed the former Balkan nation of Yugoslavia; found no effective response to terrorist attacks on New York City's World trade Center, the destroyer USS *Cole*, and American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; and notoriously failed to bring any conclusion to the decades-old confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians, who erupted in a bloody intifada (rebellion) against the Jewish state in 2000.

The barbarous Al Qaeda assault that finally toppled the twin towers of the World trade Center on September 11, 2001, momentarily brought an out-pouring of sympathy from an astonished and outraged world—and also brought a dramatic shift in American foreign policy. Even *Le Monde*, France's leading newspaper, declared that in this dangerous hour “Nous sommes tous Américains” (We are all Americans). For the first time in history, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) invoked the treaty's Article Five, confirming that an attack on one member was an attack on all members.

But such sentiments proved short-lived. When President **George W. Bush** in 2002 asserted a new right of preemptive war and then proceeded to invade Iraq for what looked to many observers like the most dubious of reasons, anti-American sentiment swelled the world over. In February 2002 some 10 million people in sixty

countries demonstrated against the impending U.S. invasion of Iraq. Exacerbated by Washington's rejection of the Kyoto Treaty dealing with global warming, and by several American states' continuing embrace of the death penalty (which had largely disappeared in Europe and elsewhere), America's standing deteriorated even among its traditional allies and sank to rock-bottom lows in Islamic countries. Simmering resentment over the detention of hundreds of captured Afghans at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba; revelations about human rights abuses inflicted by American troops on Iraqi prisoners at Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison; and "rendition" by American agents of suspected terrorists to the notoriously cruel security services of other countries further drained the depleted reservoirs of America's moral and political capital. The election of Barack Obama in 2008 briefly burnished the American image once more, but in the eyes of many global citizens, America was no longer a "City on a Hill" to be admired and emulated.

Once a moral beacon and political inspiration to a suffering world, the United States in the early twenty-first century had come to be regarded by millions of people the world over as a moral scourge and a political and military danger (see Table 41.1). Recapturing its stature as a legitimate world leader, rebuilding its alliances, restructuring the myriad multilateral institutions it had worked so hard to build in the Cold War era, and recapturing a sense of itself as a just and humane society were tasks that urgently confronted the Republic as the new century advanced.

Table 41.1

World Public Opinion of the United States

Question: Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the United States? (percent favorable)

	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Britain	83%	75%	70%	58%	55%	56%	51%	53%	69%	65%
France	62	63	43	37	43	39	39	42	75	73
Germany	78	61	45	38	41	37	30	31	64	63
Spain	50	—	38	—	41	23	34	33	58	61
Russia	37	61	36	47	52	43	41	46	44	57
Indonesia	75	61	15	—	38	30	29	37	63	59
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15	19	16	17
Jordan	—	25	1	5	21	15	20	19	25	21
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12	14	17
Nigeria	46	—	61	—	—	62	70	64	79	81

Japan	77	72	—	—	—	63	61	50	59	66
India	—	54	—	—	71	56	59	66	76	66
China	—	—	—	—	42	47	34	41	47	58

(Source: From **Pew Global Attitudes Report 2010**, "Obama More Popular Abroad Than at Home, Global Image of U.S. Continues to Benefit." Reprinted by permission of Pew Research Center.)

After the Levees Broke in New Orleans, August 2005

When ferocious Hurricane Katrina hammered the Gulf Coast, it overtaxed a deficient levee system and unleashed floodwaters into New Orleans, submerging 80 percent of the city and destroying more than a quarter-million of its homes. Many families unable or unwilling to flee the city sought refuge in the Superdome, where water, food, and other supplies were soon in very short supply. Experts predicted that it would be years before the city fully recovered, if ever.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-14 Midterm Elections of 2006
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

41-14 Midterm Elections of 2006

As charges of dictatorial power-grabbing, cronyism, and incompetence mounted during Bush's second term, Republicans fell victim in the midterm elections of 2006 to the same anti-incumbency sentiment they had ridden to power twelve years earlier. Democrats

narrowly regained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since they had lost them to the Gingrich revolution in 1994. California Democrat Nancy Pelosi became the first woman to serve as Speaker of the House.

European Disapproval of the Iraq War, 2007



Pismestrovic, Klene Zeitung, Cartoon Arts International, Inc.

The biggest factor in the Democratic sweep was the perceived mishandling of the war in Iraq. Prewar claims about WMD and Iraq's connections to Al Qaeda and 9/11 had all proved false. By late 2005 polls revealed that a majority of Americans considered the war a mistake. Even more felt that the Bush administration, particularly the Defense Department under Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, had badly mismanaged events on the ground. Rumsfeld resigned after the Republicans' "thumping" in the 2006 midterm elections. But Iraq still knew no peace, and the death toll, Iraqi and American alike, continued to rise. The Bush administration attempted to assert greater control in early 2007 with a "surge" of twenty thousand additional troops. The surge brought a modest measure of stability to Iraq, but as the 2008 election cycle got under way, public opinion nevertheless solidified even more strongly against the war. President Bush's approval ratings sank below 30 percent. Candidate Barack Obama's promise to conclude the war in timely fashion gave him a powerful lift in the upcoming presidential election.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992-2009: 41-15 The Presidential Election of 2008

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-15 The Presidential Election of 2008

With neither the sitting president nor vice president running, the 2008 election was truly "open" for the first time in eighty years. The Democratic race soon tightened into a fiercely fought contest between the forty-six-year-old, first-term Illinois senator Barack Obama and the precampaign favorite, former First Lady and sitting New York senator Hillary Rodham Clinton. Obama narrowly prevailed, surviving Clinton's attacks on his inexperience. Son of a black Kenyan father and a white Kansan mother and raised in Hawaii and Indonesia, Obama had a cosmopolitan background well suited to the age of globalization. He promised gridlock-weary voters a "postpartisan" politics that would end the divisive battles of the Bush years. To strengthen his national security credentials, he picked foreign-policy-savvy Delaware senator Joseph Biden as his running mate.

In keeping with the country's anti-Bush mood, Republicans nominated long-time Arizona senator John McCain, aged seventy-two, a self-styled “maverick” and a Vietnam War hero who had endured years of torture as a prisoner of war. He had a record of supporting bipartisan legislation on such issues as normalizing relations with North Vietnam, campaign finance, and immigration reform. McCain picked Sarah Palin as his running mate. The former beauty queen, small-town mayor, self-proclaimed “hockey-mom,” and staunch abortion rights opponent had served only twenty-one months as Alaska's governor. As McCain hoped, the telegenic Palin galvanized the conservative Republican base. But when interview gaffes exposed her weak grasp of the issues, Palin became fodder for late-night television comedians and, polls showed, at least as much a liability as an asset to the Republican ticket.

Armed with an unprecedented war chest of nearly \$700 million, mostly raised from small donors via the Internet, Obama seized the advantage in both the “air war” (television) and the “ground war” (door-to-door campaigning by his legions of volunteers). His poise and gravitas in televised debates favorably impressed many voters, and his campaign slogan, “Yes we can,” excited widespread hope and enthusiasm. Then, just six weeks before election day, a sudden economic maelstrom gave his campaign a buoyant boost.

The New First Family

President-elect **Barack Obama**, wife **Michelle**, and daughters **Sasha** and **Malia**, on election night 2008 in Chicago's Grant Park.



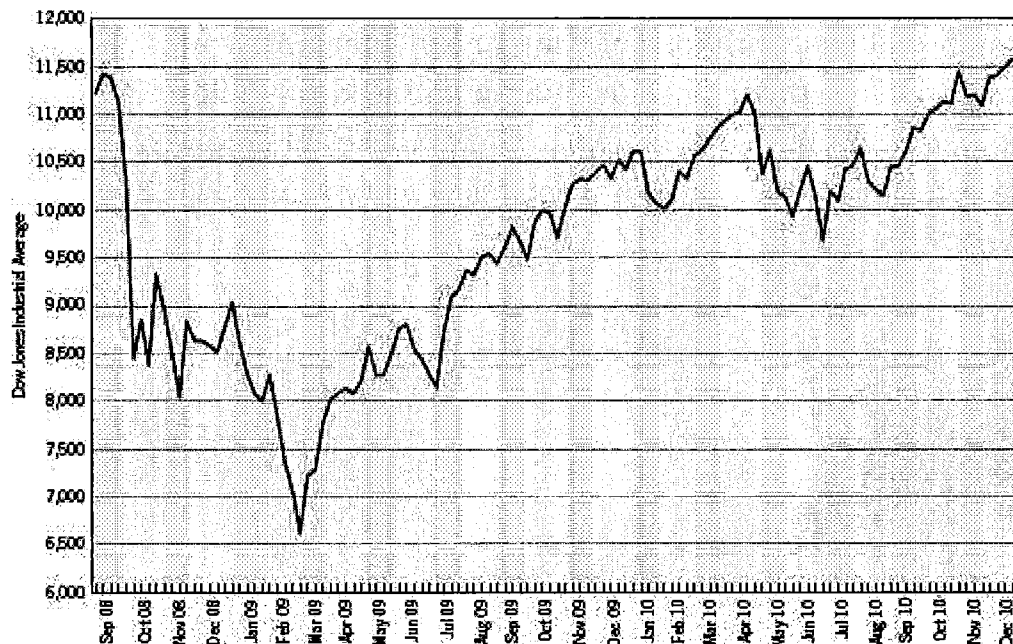
© JIM BOURG/Reuters/Corbis

The American housing price bubble, fed by years of the Federal Reserve System's easy-money policies and the private banking system's lax lending practices, burst at last. The long era of cheap and abundant credit, when bankers had stuffed their balance sheets with complex and highly risky loans, shivered to an alarmingly abrupt halt. By 2008 the collapse in real estate values was generating a tsunami of mortgage defaults, especially among “subprime” borrowers whose escalating mortgage payments stretched them to the breaking point. Bankers and other lenders watched in horror as countless homeowners defaulted and the worth of mortgage-backed securities sank precipitously. Aggressive

“deleveraging (The inverse of “leveraging,” whereby businesses increase their financial power by borrowing money (debt) in addition to their own assets (equity). In times of uncertainty or credit tightening, the same businesses seek to improve their debt-to-equity ratios by shedding debt through the sale of assets purchased with borrowed money.)” set in worldwide, as financial institutions from Tokyo to New York to London scrambled to reduce their debt loads by selling assets (at ever-declining prices). But some debts could not be unloaded at any price, and credit markets soon froze everywhere. Following the collapse of the venerable Wall Street firm of Lehman Brothers in September 2008, stocks fell into a deep swoon. The gravest financial hurricane since the Great Depression of the 1930s was gathering ever-increasing force (see Figure 41.2).

Figure 41.2
The Great Recession Takes Hold

The financial turmoil that rocked the world in 2008 sent stock market values plummeting.



(Source: Data from <http://www.nyse.tv/dow-jones-industrial-average-history-djia.htm>.)

In contrast to the infamous 1929 crash that heralded the onset of the Great Depression, it took days, not years, for a terrified Bush administration to intervene on a gigantic scale. The federal government nationalized the country's two biggest mortgage companies, the Federal National Mortgage Association (“Fannie Mae”) and the Federal Home Mortgage Corporation (“Freddie Mac”), and effectively took over the world's biggest insurance company, the American International Group (AIG). Treasury secretary Henry Paulson next persuaded Congress to create the Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP), authorizing a whopping \$700 billion to buy “toxic” assets and inject cash directly into the nation's biggest banks and corporations. (Despite public outrage over TARP's original cost, estimates are that after loans are repaid it will have cost taxpayers about \$30 billion—arguably a bargain price to pay for rescuing the nation's financial and business system and staving off a repeat of the Great Depression.)

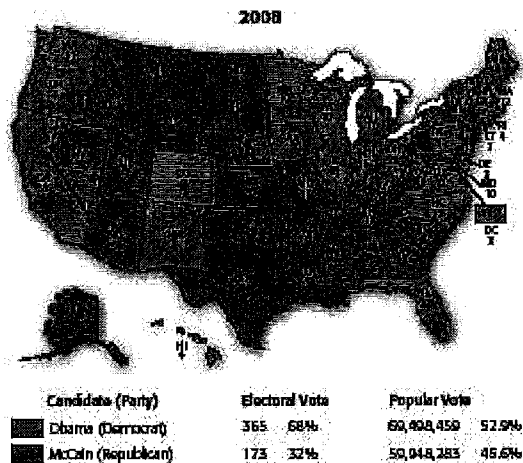
Candidate Obama seized the political opportunity presented by the mounting economic crisis and declared that electing McCain would amount to a “third Bush term” and lead to further financial turmoil. Obama called for reviving the faltering economy with bold public investments in alternative energy and infrastructure repair. McCain derided such ideas as “socialism.”

Unsettled by the galloping economic calamity, voters delivered a historic victory to Barack Obama. He garnered 53 percent of the popular vote, prevailing even in such traditional Republican strongholds as Virginia, Nevada, and Colorado, and won the Electoral College 365 to 173 (see Map 41.6). Democrats also enlarged their majorities in the House and the Senate. In further contrast with the famously rocky transition from depression-era president Herbert Hoover to Franklin Roosevelt, the outgoing Bush and incoming Obama administrations conspicuously cooperated to ensure continuity and consistency in combating the economic crisis.

Map 41.6

Presidential Election of 2008

A record voter turnout, swelled by millions of young new voters, African Americans, and Latinos, gave Senator **Barack Obama** an Electoral College landslide and the Democratic party solid control of both houses of Congress. Obama redrew the electoral map by taking nine states won by **George W. Bush** in 2004.



© Cengage Learning

Obama's election opened a new chapter in the long-vexed history of American race relations. It also confronted the nation's first African American president with the daunting challenge of governing a country embroiled in two wars even as it sank into the deepest economic abyss since the 1930s. “Black Man Given Nation's Worst Job,” jibed the satirical magazine, *The Onion*.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-16 Obama in the White House

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-16 Obama in the White House

Inspired by Barack Obama's vision of “hope,” a vast and exuberant crowd gathered in Washington, D.C., to celebrate his inauguration. Youthful energy was in the air, though in his inaugural address Obama struck a sober note by calling on Americans to “put away childish things” and embrace “a new era of responsibility.”

Obama's solemn tone was fitting. Even as he spoke, home construction was grinding to a halt, mortgage foreclosures were soaring, and countless businesses were shutting their doors. Most alarmingly, the economy was shedding a sickening 700,000 jobs a month. The unemployment rate climbed above 10 percent—the highest level since the early 1980s and perhaps heralding a return to the catastrophic joblessness of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Asked by an interviewer in February 2009, just one month into his presidency, if he felt “burdened” by the welter of problems he faced, President Obama (b. 1961) replied:

I think that we are at an extraordinary moment that is full of peril but full of possibility and I think that's the time you want to be president.... [T]here's something about this country where hard times, big challenges bring out the best in us. This is when the political system starts to move effectively. This is when people start getting out of the petty and the trivial debates. This is when the public starts paying attention.... [W]hen things are going well ... They've got better things to do than to think about public policy... .

Obama strongly counterpunched against the deepening crisis. In his first hundred days he pushed through a series of major initiatives that included a new round of help for troubled banks, tax and mortgage relief, and a huge “stimulus” bill—the **American Relief and Recovery Act** (Among the earliest initiatives of the Obama Administration to combat the Great Recession. It was based on the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes that called for increased government spending to offset decreased private spending in times of economic downturn. The Act was controversial from the outset, passing with no Republican votes in the House, and only three in the Senate, and helping to foster the “Tea Party” movement to curb government deficits, even while critics on the Left argued that the Act's \$787 billion appropriation was not enough to turn the economy around.) —that contained nearly a trillion dollars of tax cuts, as well as new spending for jobs, infrastructure projects, and relief to state and local governments. The government also shored up bankrupt automakers General Motors and Chrysler, as well as threatened banks and insurance companies. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office later estimated that those measures saved up to 3 million jobs, helping substantially to arrest the economy's freefall.

By the summer of 2009, the worst of the panic was over and the economy began to expand once more. Economists tempered their comparisons with the Great Depression and gave

the less frightening label “Great Recession” to the turmoil. But the economy had been badly wounded and continued to suffer. Hopes for a rapid recovery proved false, and the first steps toward growth were feeble and faltering. The unemployment rate stayed stuck above 9 percent. As millions of Americans lost jobs and homes, and many more succumbed to anxiety and fear, the effects of the Great Recession wormed their way deeply into the American psyche, and would not be quickly dislodged. Psychology and economics intersected, as newly anxious consumers cut back on spending, further burdening an already sluggish recovery.

Even while pursuing economic recovery, President Obama also sought to achieve the long-sought liberal goal of health-care reform. When attempts to enlist Republican support bogged down in congressional haggling, he had to rely on Democrats alone to pass a landmark health bill, the **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act** (Also known, somewhat derisively, as “Obamacare,” the Act extended health care insurance to some 30 million Americans, marking a major step toward achieving the century-old goal of universal health care coverage for all citizens.), in March 2010. The new health-care law (derided by critics as “Obamacare”) mandated all Americans to purchase health insurance starting in 2014, required states to establish “exchanges” whereby individuals and small businesses could purchase health-care insurance at competitive rates, prohibited insurers from denying coverage to anyone with a preexisting medical condition, and allowed children up to the age of twenty-six to remain covered by their parent's health plans. The price of the bill was estimated at \$940 billion over ten years, but experts also predicted that the bill's cost-cutting measures would reduce the federal deficit by more than \$1 trillion over twenty years.

Scarcely pausing, Obama soon followed his health-care success with the 2010 **Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act** (Also known as the Dodd-Frank Act, after its Democratic sponsors, Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd and Massachusetts Representative Barney Frank. In an effort to avoid another financial crisis like the Great Recession, the Act updated many federal regulations affecting the financial and banking systems, and created some new agencies such as the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.), which pointed the way to a major overhaul of the nation's financial regulatory system. The act aimed to curb the risky, high-flying practices that had contributed to the debacle of 2008 with new controls on banks, investment houses, and stock markets, and with new truth-in-lending rules to protect consumers.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-17 A Sea of Troubles
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-17 A Sea of Troubles

Yet Obama had unusual difficulty reaping the political rewards of these legislative achievements. He seemed caught between an anvil and a boulder. Because his measures only halted, but did not reverse, the economy's decline, critics on the left condemned him as too timid. Because federal budget deficits ballooned dramatically on his watch (thanks not only to his own initiatives but also to the Bush-era tax cuts combined with declining tax

revenues in the midst of the downturn), critics on the right excoriated him as a big-government spendthrift. The conjunction of expanding federal programs and mounting deficits tapped into a deep vein of American wariness of “big government.” Starting with vehement attacks on the health-care bill in the summer of 2009, angry protesters accused the Obama administration of promoting “socialism” and “unconstitutional” controls over individual lives. Calling themselves the “Tea party” after the American Revolutionary Patriots, these noisy citizens combined a knack for street-theater demonstrations with nonstop Internet and media fulminations against the president and his policies. Some critics grouched that the “Tea party” was not a genuine grassroots movement but an “astro-turf” phenomenon—a fake populist uprising shrewdly manipulated by the usual behind-the-scenes bigshots.

Heartened by the Tea party's mobilization, Republicans determined to fight the administration tooth and nail, steadfastly repudiating Obama's promise of a post-partisan politics. The president did succeed in appointing two new Supreme Court Justices, Sonia Sotomayor (the Court's first Hispanic) in 2009 and Elena Kagan in 2010, bringing the number of female justices to three. But other efforts, like a “cap-and-trade” bill to curb greenhouse gases and reduce global warming, fell victim to the fervent minority's opposition, and gridlock returned to Washington.

As the Great Recession continued to weigh heavily upon the land, Obama's approval ratings steadily slipped, and his party slid downhill with him. In the midterm elections of 2010, Republicans gained six seats in the Senate and a whopping sixty-three seats in the House, enough to give them majority control of the lower chamber when the new Congress convened in 2011. President Obama glumly acknowledged his party's “shellacking,” but then surprisingly proceeded to wring several major accomplishments out of the postelection “lame-duck” session in December 2010, including an \$858 billion package that extended unemployment benefits as well as the Bush-era tax cuts, the repeal of “Don't Ask Don't Tell,” and a renewed nuclear arms reduction treaty (New START, or Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) with Russia. But he fell short of passing the DREAM Act (Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors Act), which would have created a path to citizenship for undocumented youths who either graduated from college or served in the U.S. armed forces. The vexed issue of immigration reform, especially with respect to the nation's 12 million “illegals,” also waited for resolution another day.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-18 Wars, Oil Spills, and Political Backlash

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-18 Wars, Oil Spills, and Political Backlash

Along with economic problems, Obama also inherited America's wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as a raft of other headaches. The new president sought to wind down the Iraq War while leaving behind a reasonably stable country. Shortly after taking office, Obama announced that American combat operations in Iraq would end in summer 2010 and that all American combat troops would be withdrawn by 2011. Despite continuing violence and the agonizingly slow birth of a viable Iraqi government, the deadline for

ending American-led operations was met. Still, about 50,000 American troops remained in the country to protect U.S. bases and support Iraqi security efforts.

The End of Osama bin Laden

President **Barack Obama** and his national security team huddle in the White House Situation Room to watch live updates on the mission to kill **Osama bin Laden**, May 2, 2011. Nearly ten years after the murderous attacks of September 11, 2001, rough justice was meted out to the terrorist mastermind. Much commentary on this photograph has focused on the presence of women in the room and on the President's lack of macho swagger, even as American forces closed in on the nation's most hated foe.



Pete Souza/The White House via Getty Images

Afghanistan was a thornier nettle to grasp. Obama had declared the Afghan war necessary to defeat Al Qaeda and prevent future terrorism. But Afghan *jihadi* (militant Islamic) fighters grew stronger against an Afghan government plagued by incompetence and corruption. More ominously, the Taliban and Al Qaeda found refuge across the border in unstable but nuclear-armed Pakistan, posing the danger of an expanded conflict there as well.

Pressed by some to deepen the American commitment, and by others to seek a way out of the increasingly costly conflict, Obama chose to do both. In December 2009 he declared that American troops would begin withdrawing by 2011—but that in order to achieve that goal he was deploying an additional thirty thousand U.S. soldiers to combat the insurgency. He ordered changes in strategy and appointed a new U.S. commander, General David Petraeus. But casualties increased and frustration with the nearly decade-long conflict grew, with no satisfactory exit in sight.

Obama soon faced an unprecedented environmental calamity as well. On April 20, 2010,

the BP (formerly British Petroleum) energy corporation's Deepwater Horizon oil platform in the Gulf of Mexico exploded, killing seventeen workers and spewing oil from its deep well nearly two miles below the ocean floor. Over the next four months the American public watched helplessly as nearly 5 billion gallons of oil poured into the Gulf of Mexico, fouling beaches and killing wildlife from Louisiana to Florida. For four months BP futilely attempted to stop the gusher of oil, as anger mounted against both the oil giant's and the federal government's inability to contain the disaster. By the time the well was finally capped in August 2010, it had become the worst oil disaster in U.S. history.

When American forces dramatically concluded a ten-year manhunt and killed Osama bin Laden in May 2011, the president's poll ratings got a brief upward bump. But the lift proved vanishingly brief. As the accumulated federal debt approached its legal limit of \$14.3 trillion in the summer of 2011, the Republican Tea Party faction seized the occasion to play a game of fiscal "chicken" with the White House. Raising the debt ceiling had historically been a routine matter, but led by the eighty-five freshmen elected in 2010, House Republicans stubbornly refused to lift the debt limit until the president agreed to a long-term deficit-reduction plan that called for huge spending cuts and few if any tax increases. Heartened by their triumph, Republicans looked to the upcoming 2012 presidential election with increasing hope for victory—though the spectacle of protracted wrangling and partisan intransigence while the nation's credit rating, and the health of the global economy, hung in the balance deeply disillusioned many Americans of both parties. Some critics began to question the soundness of the American political system itself.

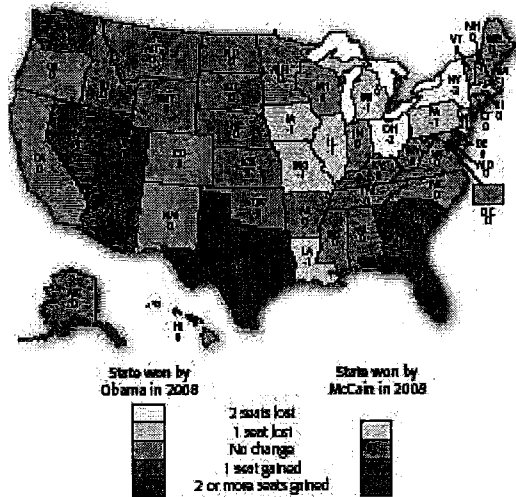
Meanwhile, dramatic demographic changes were altering the political landscape, with consequences that both parties struggled to understand (see Map 41.7). And as so often in the past, economic anxieties stoked anti-immigrant sentiment. In April 2010 Arizona enacted a harsh statute requiring state and local police to help enforce federal immigration laws. Although a federal judge put the statute on hold, Arizona's action was applauded in many other places, especially those with substantial Latino immigrant populations. As Latinos replaced African Americans as the country's largest minority, much of the nation's political future hinged on their sense of belonging and their stake in the future of the republic.

Map 41.7

Demography Is (Political) Destiny

The United States is one of the few nations with a constitutionally mandated census, a provision reflecting the Founders' expectation that the country's population would grow and spread out, and their commitment to maintaining fair and proportional representation in the federal electoral system. Thus, every ten years congressional districts are redrawn; some states gain and some states lose representation in the House and the Electoral College. This map, showing the reapportionment resulting from the 2010 census, clearly shows the continuing shift of the nation's population and political center of gravity southward and westward. Note that Texas is the biggest gainer from the 2010 census, and that for the first time since becoming a state in 1850, California will gain no congressional seats or

electoral college votes.



© Cengage Learning

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-19 Chapter Review

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

41-19 Chapter Review

41-19a Key Terms

- **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)** (Refers to weapons—nuclear, biological, and chemical—that can kill large numbers of people and do great damage to the built and natural environment. The term was used to refer to nuclear weapons during the Cold War. The Bush administration's claim that **Saddam Hussein** had developed WMD provided the rationale for the United States's invasion of Iraq in 2003. These weapons were never found after the invasion.)
- **Democratic Leadership Council** (Non-profit organization of centrist Democrats founded in the mid-1980s. The group attempted to push the Democratic party toward pro-growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies. Among its most influential early members was **Bill Clinton**, whom it held up as an example of “third way” politics.)
- **“Don't Ask, Don't Tell”** (From 1993 to 2010, the policy affecting homosexuals in the military. It emerged as a compromise between the standing prohibition against homosexuals in the armed forces and President Clinton's push to allow all citizens to serve regardless of sexual orientation. Military authorities were forbidden to ask about a service member's orientation, and gay service personnel could be discharged if they publicly revealed their homosexuality. At President Obama's urging, Congress repealed DADT in 2010, permitting gays to serve openly in uniform.)
- **Oklahoma City bombing** (Truck-bomb explosion that killed 168 people in a federal

office building on April 19, 1995. The attack was perpetrated by right-wing and anti-government militant Timothy McVeigh, later executed by the U.S. government for the crime.)

- **Contract with America** (Multi-point program offered by Republican candidates and sitting politicians in the 1994 midterm election. The platform proposed smaller government, Congressional ethics reform, term limits, great emphasis on personal responsibility, and a general repudiation of the Democratic party. This articulation of dissent was a significant blow to the Clinton Administration and led to the Republican party's takeover of both houses of Congress for the first time in half a century.)
- **Welfare Reform Bill** (Legislation that made deep cuts in welfare grants and required able-bodied welfare recipients to find employment. Part of Bill Clinton's campaign platform in 1992, the reforms were widely seen by liberals as an abandonment of key New Deal/Great Society provisions to care for the impoverished.)
- **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** (Free trade zone encompassing Mexico, Canada, and the United States. A symbol of the increased reality of a globalized market place, the treaty passed despite opposition from protectionists and labor leaders.)
- **World Trade Organization (WTO)** (An international body to promote and supervise liberal trade among nations. The successor to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, it marked a key world trade policy achievement of the Clinton Administration.)
- **Whitewater** (A series of scandals during the Clinton Administration that stemmed from a failed real estate investment from which the Clintons were alleged to have illicitly profited. The accusations prompted the appointment of a special federal prosecutor, though no indictments.)
- **Lewinsky affair** (Political sex scandal that resulted in Bill Clinton's impeachment and trial by Congress. In 1998, Clinton gave sworn testimony in a sexual harassment case that he had never engaged in sexual activity with a White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. When prosecutors discovered evidence that the President had lied under oath about the affair, to which Clinton admitted, Republicans in Congress began impeachment proceedings. Although Clinton was ultimately not convicted by the Senate, the scandal put a lasting blemish on his presidential legacy.)
- **Kyoto Treaty** (International treaty to limit greenhouse gas emissions. It was negotiated and opened for signatories in 1997, and took effect in 2005. Although signed by 169 (of 192) countries, the Bush Administration rejected the plan as too costly in 2001.)
- **9/11** (Common shorthand for the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, in which nineteen militant Islamist men hijacked and crashed four commercial

aircraft. Two planes hit the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, causing them to collapse. One plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., and the fourth, overtaken by passengers, crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania. Nearly 3,000 people were killed in the worst case of domestic terrorism in American history.)

- **Al Qaeda** (Arabic for “The Base,” an international alliance of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalist terrorist organizations founded in the late 1980s. Founded by veterans of the Afghan struggle against the Soviet Union, the group was headed by Osama Bin Laden and has taken responsibility for numerous terrorist attacks, especially after the late 1990s. Al Qaeda organized the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States, from its headquarters in Taliban-controlled Afghanistan. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and the launch of the “Global War on Terror,” the group has been weakened, but still poses significant threats around the world.)
- **USA Patriot Act** (Legislation passed shortly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, that granted broad surveillance and detention authority to the government.)
- **Department of Homeland Security** (Cabinet-level agency created in 2003 to unify and coordinate public safety and anti-terrorism operations within the federal government.)
- **Guantánamo Detention Camp** (Controversial prison facility constructed after the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Located on territory occupied by the U.S. military, but not technically part of the United States, the facility serves as an extra-legal holding area for suspected terrorists.)
- **Abu Ghraib prison** (A detention facility near Baghdad, Iraq. Under **Saddam Hussein**, the prison was the site of infamous torturing and execution of political dissidents. In 2004, during the U.S. occupation of Iraq, the prison became the focal point of a prisoner-abuse and torture scandal after photographs surfaced of American soldiers mistreating, torturing, and degrading Iraqi war prisoners and suspected terrorists. The scandal was one of several dark spots on the public image of the Iraq War and led to increased criticism of Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.)
- **No Child Left Behind Act** (An education bill created and signed by the **George W. Bush** administration. Designed to increase accountability standards for primary and secondary schools, the law authorized several federal programs to monitor those standards and increased choices for parents in selecting schools for their children. The program was highly controversial, in large part because it linked results on standardized to federal funding for schools and school districts.)
- **Hurricane Katrina** (The costliest and one of the deadliest hurricanes in the history of the United States, killing nearly 2000 Americans. The storm ravaged the Gulf Coast,

especially the city of New Orleans, in late August of 2005. In New Orleans, high winds and rain caused the city's levees to break, leading to catastrophic flooding, particularly centered on the city's most impoverished wards. A tardy and feeble response by local and federal authorities exacerbated the damage and led to widespread criticism of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA.)

- **deleveraging** (The inverse of “leveraging,” whereby businesses increase their financial power by borrowing money (debt) in addition to their own assets (equity). In times of uncertainty or credit tightening, the same businesses seek to improve their debt-to-equity ratios by shedding debt through the sale of assets purchased with borrowed money.)
- **American Relief and Recovery Act** (Among the earliest initiatives of the Obama Administration to combat the Great Recession. It was based on the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes that called for increased government spending to offset decreased private spending in times of economic downturn. The Act was controversial from the outset, passing with no Republican votes in the House, and only three in the Senate, and helping to foster the “Tea Party” movement to curb government deficits, even while critics on the Left argued that the Act's \$787 billion appropriation was not enough to turn the economy around.)
- **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act** (Also known, somewhat derisively, as “Obamacare,” the Act extended health care insurance to some 30 million Americans, marking a major step toward achieving the century-old goal of universal health care coverage for all citizens.)
- **Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act** (Also known as the Dodd-Frank Act, after its Democratic sponsors, Connecticut Senator Christopher Dodd and Massachusetts Representative Barney Frank. In an effort to avoid another financial crisis like the Great Recession, the Act updated many federal regulations affecting the financial and banking systems, and created some new agencies such as the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.)

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-19b People to Know
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Review

41-19b People to Know

**William Jefferson (“Bill”) Clinton H. Ross Perot Hillary Rodham Clinton Newt Gingrich
 Robert Dole John McCain Sarah Palin Monica Lewinsky George W. Bush Richard
 Cheney John Kerry Nancy Pelosi Barack Obama Joseph R. (“Joe”) Biden**

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-19c To Learn More

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Review

41-19c To Learn More

A complete, annotated bibliography for this chapter—along with brief descriptions of the People to Know—may be found on the American Pageant website. The Key Terms are defined in a Glossary at the end of the text.

John Cassidy, *How Markets Fail: The Logic of Economic Calamities* (2009)

Alan Dershowitz, *Supreme Injustice: How the High Court Hijacked Election 2000* (2001)

Elizabeth Drew, *Showdown: The Struggle Between the Gingrich Congress and the Clinton White House* (1997)

Dave Eggers, *Zeitoun* (2009)

Lloyd C. Gardner, *The Long Road to Baghdad: A History of U.S. Foreign Policy from the 1970s to the Present* (2010)

Joe Klein, *The Natural* (2002)

George Packer, *The Assassins' Gate: America in Iraq* (2005)

Richard Posner, *An Affair of State: The Investigation, Impeachment, and Trial of President Clinton* (1999)

Jack Rakove, *The Unfinished Election of 2000* (2001)

Thomas Ricks, *Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq* (2006)

James Stewart, *Blood Sport* (1996)

Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (2002); *Plan of Attack* (2004); *State of Denial: Bush at War, Part III* (2006)

Bob Woodward, *The Choice* (1996)

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-19d Chronology

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Review

41-19d Chronology

- 1992 Clinton defeats Bush and Perot for presidency
-
- 1993 NAFTA signed
-
- 1994 Republicans win majorities in both houses of Congress
-
- 1996 Welfare Reform Bill becomes law
Clinton defeats Dole for presidency
-
- 1998 Clinton-Lewinsky scandal
U.S. and Britain launch military strikes against Iraq
House of Representatives impeaches Clinton
-
- 1999 Senate acquits Clinton on impeachment charges
Kosovo crisis; NATO warfare with Serbia
Protest in Seattle against World Trade Organization
-
- 2000 2000 U.S. normalizes trade relations with China
George W. Bush wins presidency in Electoral College; Albert Gore takes popular vote
-
- 2001 Terrorists attack New York City and Washington, D.C., on September 11
U.S. Invades Afghanistan
Congress passes USA Patriot Act
-
- 2002 Congress passes No Child Left Behind Act
Bush labels Iraq, Iran, and North Korea “axis of evil”
Congress authorizes use of force against Iraq
-
- 2002 U.N. Security Council demands that Iraq comply with weapons inspections
Republicans regain Senate
-
- 2003 U.S. invades Iraq
Saddam Hussein captured in Iraq
Supreme Court narrowly approves affirmative action
-

- 2004** Gay marriage controversy erupts
Iraqi interim government installed
Bush defeats Kerry for presidency
-
- 2005** Iraq elects permanent government but quickly descends into sectarian conflict
-
- 2006** **Saddam Hussein** executed
-
- 2007** U.S. troop surge in Iraq
-
- 2008** Barack Obama elected 44th president of the United States
-
- 2009** American Relief and Recovery Act passed
-
- 2010** BP Deepwater Horizon oil platform explodes in Gulf of Mexico
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act passed
Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act passed
“Don't Ask, Don't Tell” policy repealed
New START treaty approved
-

Go to the CourseMate website at www.cengagebrain.com for additional study tools and review materials—including audio and video clips—for this chapter.

Chapter 41: America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era 1992–2009: 41-19d Chronology

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

© 2016 Cengage Learning Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means - graphic, electronic, or mechanical, or in any other manner - without the written permission of the copyright holder.