

A New Century Begins

2000–Present

SECTION 1 America Enters A New Century

SECTION 2 The War on Terrorism Begins

SECTION 3 The Invasion of Iraq

SECTION 4 A Challenging Time

On September 11, 2006, the Tribute in Light commemorated the fifth anniversary of the attack on the World Trade Center.



November 2000

- A close vote in Florida causes a contested election

G. W. Bush
2001–



Sept. 11, 2001

- Terrorists attack World Trade Center and Pentagon

October 2001

- U.S. begins bombing Afghanistan
- Patriot Act enacted

January 2002

- President Bush signs No Child Left Behind Act



March 2003

- U.S. invades Iraq

U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

2001

2002

2003

2004

2001

- Terrorists attack the Indian Parliament

2003

- Israel and PLO sign a cease fire

2004

- Tsunami in Indian Ocean devastates Indonesia and surrounding regions
- Terrorists bomb trains in Spain



MAKING CONNECTIONS

How Does the Passage of Time Affect the Way Events Are Understood?

As the United States entered the twenty-first century, combating terrorism at home and abroad became a national priority. The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon resulted in wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The wars as well as new security policies led to great controversy in American politics.

- *What previous events in American history have forced the nation to dramatically change its policies and actions?*
- *How should the United States respond to terrorism to prevent it from happening again?*

November 2004
• George W. Bush defeats John Kerry in the election

August 2005
• Hurricane Katrina devastates Louisiana and Mississippi; levees fail and New Orleans flooded

January 2007
• Nancy Pelosi becomes first female Speaker of the House

2005

2005
• Terrorists bomb London subway system

2006

2006
• Israel invades Lebanon to attack Hezbollah
• Over 1 billion people worldwide use the Internet

2007

FOLDABLES

Organizing Information Compile facts about the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Then, make a Four-Door Book Foldable that explains what, where, when, and why these events occurred.



History  **ONLINE Chapter Overview**
Visit glencoe.com to preview Chapter 31.

Section 1

America Enters a New Century

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Government and Society A very close presidential election saw a shift in power in the White House, as George W. Bush became the forty-third President of the United States.

Content Vocabulary

- chad (p. 1033)
- strategic defense (p. 1035)

Academic Vocabulary

- priority (p. 1035)
- controversial (p. 1035)

People and Events to Identify

- Al Gore (p. 1032)
- George W. Bush (p. 1032)
- Ralph Nader (p. 1033)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by charting the key post-election events culminating in George W. Bush's victory.



In the election of 2000, Democrat Al Gore faced Republican George W. Bush. After a dispute over the outcome in Florida, Bush became president. Bush then focused on cutting taxes and introducing health care and education reforms.

The Election of 2000

MAIN Idea In one of the closest presidential races in history, involving vote recounts and the Supreme Court, George W. Bush became president.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think the Electoral College should be modified or eliminated? Read on to learn how the 2000 election ultimately came down to a decision about Florida's disputed electoral votes.

As he prepared to leave office, President Clinton's legacy was uncertain. He had balanced the budget and presided over a period of rapid economic growth. His presidency was marred, however, by the impeachment trial, which had divided the nation and widened the divide between liberals and conservatives. In the election of 2000, that division led to one of the closest elections in American history.

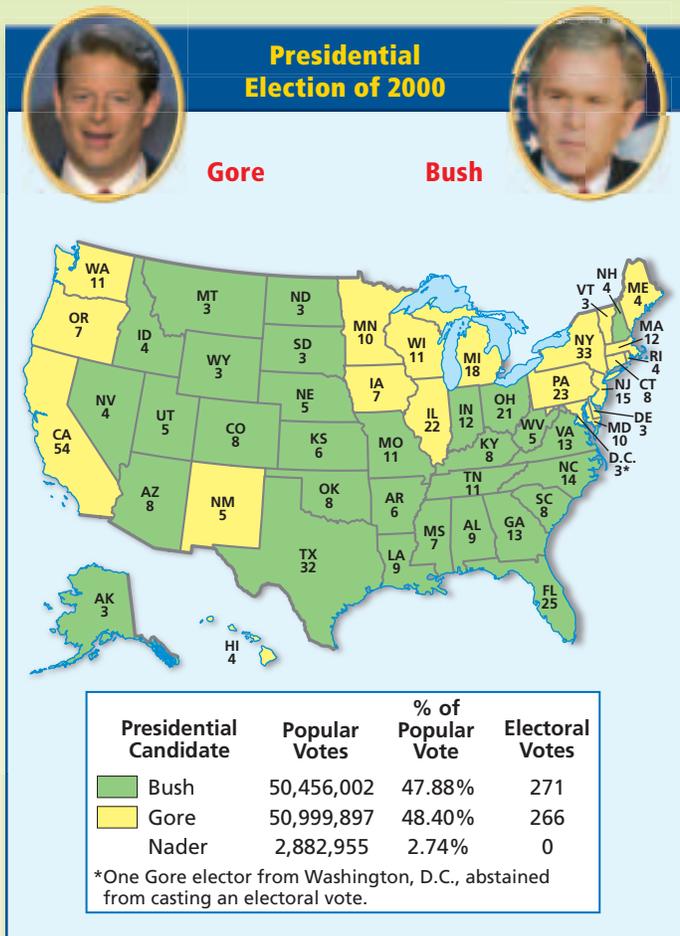
The Candidates Campaign

The Democrats nominated Vice President **Al Gore** for president in 2000. Gore, a former senator from Tennessee, was regarded as a moderate and his Southern roots were expected to help him win votes in the South. For his running mate, Gore chose Senator Joseph Lieberman from Connecticut, the first Jewish American ever to run for vice president on a major party ticket.

The Republican contest for the presidential nomination came down to two men: Governor **George W. Bush** of Texas, son of former president George H.W. Bush, and Senator John McCain of Arizona, a former navy pilot and prisoner of war in North Vietnam. Most Republican leaders endorsed Bush, who was especially popular with conservatives. He easily won the nomination, despite some early McCain victories in the primaries. Bush chose Richard "Dick" Cheney as his vice presidential running mate. Cheney had served as President George H.W. Bush's Secretary of Defense.

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

The Election of 2000



▲ The recount of the vote in Florida meant vote counters had to examine ballots individually to determine the intention of the voter.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Making Generalizations** What characteristics do the states that voted for Bush share? What characteristics do the states that voted for Gore share?
- 2. Assessing** Do you think the Florida ballot was easy to understand or confusing? Why?

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

A Close Vote

The 2000 election was one of the closest in American history. No candidate won a majority of the votes cast, but Gore received the most votes, winning 48.4 percent of the popular vote compared to 47.9 percent for Bush. (Nader won about 3 percent of the vote.) To win the presidency, however, candidates must win 270 electoral votes—not lead in the popular vote.

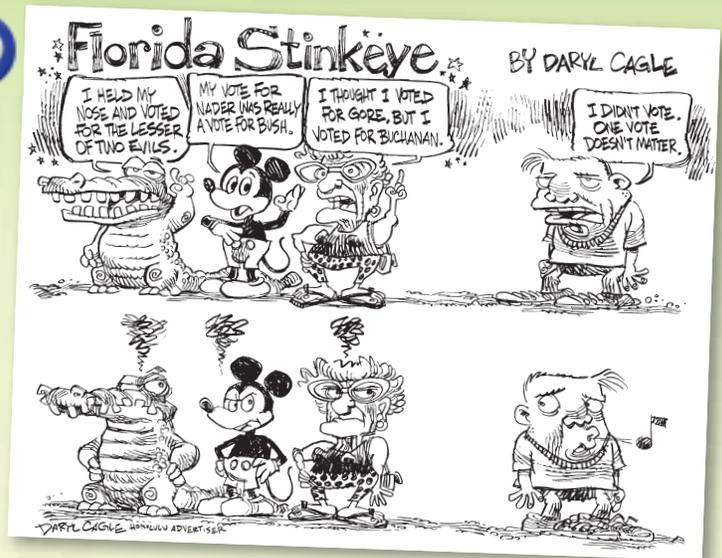
The election came down to the Florida vote—both men needed its 25 electoral votes to win. The results in Florida were so close that state law required a recount of the ballots using vote-counting machines. There were, however, thousands of ballots that had been thrown out because the counting machines could not read the voting cards. Gore then asked for a hand recount of ballots in several strongly Democratic counties. After the machine recount showed Bush still ahead, a battle began over the manual recounts.

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

The Election of 2000



▲ The candidates are presented as two turkeys arguing over the results with closed captioning provided to translate what they are saying into what they really mean.



▲ The close presidential election of 2000 illustrated clearly how important it is for everyone to exercise the right to vote.

Analyzing VISUALS



- Evaluating** Based on the cartoon on the left, do you think the cartoonist supported Bush or Gore?
- Analyzing** Why are the three characters in the cartoon above angry at the man on the right?

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

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

ordered all Florida counties to begin a hand recount of ballots rejected by the counting machines. As counting began, the United States Supreme Court ordered the recount to stop until it had issued its ruling.

On December 12, in *Bush v. Gore*, the United States Supreme Court ruled 7–2 that the hand recounts in Florida violated the equal protection clause of the Constitution. The Court argued that because different vote counters used different standards, the recount did not treat all voters equally.

Both federal law and the Constitution require the electoral votes for president to be cast on a certain day. If Florida missed that deadline, its electoral votes would not count. The Court ruled 5–4 that there was not enough time left to conduct a manual recount that would pass constitutional standards. This ruling left Bush the certified winner in Florida. The next day, Gore conceded the election.

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



For more on *Bush v. Gore* read the case summary on page R58 in **Supreme Court Case Summaries.**

Bush v. Gore

Although Bush had been declared the winner in Florida, Gore's lawyers headed back to court arguing that thousands of ballots were still uncounted. The Florida Supreme Court

Bush Becomes President

MAIN Idea George W. Bush supported the enactment of a tax cut, the No Child Left Behind program, and a strategic defense system.

HISTORY AND YOU Have new education policies affected the testing process at your school? Read on to learn more about No Child Left Behind.

On January 20, 2001, George W. Bush became the forty-third president of the United States. In his Inaugural Address, Bush promised to improve the public schools, to cut taxes, to reform Social Security and Medicare, and to build up the nation's defenses.

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

Soon after Congress passed the tax cut plan, President Bush proposed two major reforms in education. He wanted public schools to hold annual standardized tests, and he wanted to allow parents to use federal funds to pay for private schools if their public schools were doing a poor job. Although Congress refused to give federal funds to private schools, it did vote in favor of annual reading and math tests in public schools for grades 3–8. This law became known as the No Child Left Behind Act.

President Bush also focused on Medicare reform. By the summer of 2002, Congress had introduced a bill adding prescription drug benefits to Medicare. The bill was **controversial**. Some opponents feared it would cost too much, while others argued that it did not go far enough. The program finally became law in November 2003.

Congress also reacted to a rash of corporate scandals—the most famous taking place at a large energy trading company called Enron. Corporate leaders there cost investors and employees billions of dollars before the company went bankrupt. Congress passed a new law—the Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act—also known as the Sarbanes-Oxley Act, after the members of Congress who introduced it. The law tightened accounting rules and toughened penalties for dishonest executives.

Shortly after taking office, President Bush also pushed for new military programs designed to meet the needs of the post-Cold War world. One program Bush strongly favored was **strategic defense**—the effort to develop missiles and other devices that could shoot down nuclear missiles. Bush argued that missile defense was needed because many hostile nations were developing long-range missiles.

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

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

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

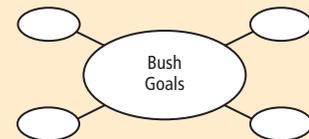
1. **Explain** the significance of: Al Gore, George W. Bush, Ralph Nader, chad, strategic defense.

Main Ideas

2. **Paraphrasing** What did the U.S. Supreme Court decide in *Bush v. Gore*?
3. **Describing** What did the No Child Left Behind Act mandate?

Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** What caused the vote-count controversy in Florida in the 2000 election?
5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing President Bush's goals when he took office.



6. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the photos on page 1033. Explain how you would change the voting process following the controversy of the 2000 election.

Writing About History

7. **Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a Supreme Court justice. Write a statement explaining how you voted in *Bush v. Gore* and why you took this position.



Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 2

The War on Terrorism Begins

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Government and Society Acts of terrorism against the United States prompted George W. Bush to declare “War on Terror.”

Content Vocabulary

- terrorism (p. 1038)
- state-sponsored terrorism (p. 1039)
- anthrax (p. 1041)

Academic Vocabulary

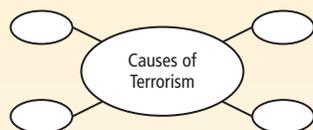
- resolve (p. 1037)
- interpretation (p. 1038)
- obtain (p. 1040)

People and Events to Identify

- Osama bin Laden (p. 1037)
- al-Qaeda (p. 1037)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to show causes of terrorism.



On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the United States killing over 3,000 people. The attacks united the nation as Americans worked to help the survivors. President George W. Bush and Congress launched a war on terrorism to prevent such attacks in the future.

September 11, 2001

MAIN Idea The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon shocked and alarmed Americans; almost immediately, combating terrorism became the nation’s top priority.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you recall learning about the 1919 bombings that triggered government raids and roundups of foreigners? Read on to learn how the United States reacted to the more deadly attacks of 2001.

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

The airplanes did not crash accidentally. Hijackers deliberately crashed them into the buildings. Hijackers also seized a fourth airplane, United Airlines Flight 93, probably hoping to crash it into the White House or the Capitol. Many passengers on Flight 93 had cell phones. After hearing about the World Trade Center, four passengers—Todd Beamer, Thomas Burnett, Jeremy Glick, and Mark Bingham—decided to do something. An operator listening over a cell phone heard Todd Beamer’s voice: “Are you ready guys? Let’s roll.”

Soon afterward, Flight 93 crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. At that moment, Vice President Dick Cheney was in a bunker under the White House. After hearing Flight 93 had crashed, he turned to the others in the room, and said: “I think an act of heroism just took place on that plane.”

A National Emergency

The attacks of 9/11, as the day came to be called, killed all 266 passengers and crewmembers on the four hijacked planes. Another 125 people died in the Pentagon. In New York City, nearly 3,000 people died. More Americans were killed in the attacks of September 11,

Turning Point

The Attacks of September 11, 2001

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, altered the lives of millions of Americans and shifted the priorities of the federal government. At home the United States launched a new war against terrorists and their supporters. Globally, the United States took aggressive and pre-emptive steps to stop terrorism. At home, the balance between civil liberties and national security shifted, with passage of the USA Patriot Act which gave broad new powers to the federal government.

MAKING CONNECTIONS How are the terrorist attacks and their aftermath still affecting American society and foreign policy?



Above, the South Tower of the World Trade Center bursts into flames after being struck by an airliner while the North Tower burns from an attack a few minutes earlier. At left, one side of the Pentagon was badly damaged. Part of the building later collapsed. At right, after the World Trade Center towers collapsed, the resulting debris coated the city with dust.



2001, than died at Pearl Harbor or on D-Day in World War II.

The attacks shocked Americans, but they responded rapidly to the crisis. Medical workers and firefighters from other cities raced to New York to help. Across the nation, Americans donated blood and collected food, blankets, and other supplies. Within weeks, Americans also donated over \$1 billion. From around the world came sympathy. "We are all Americans!" wrote one French journalist.

Everywhere across the nation, Americans put up flags to show their unity and **resolve**. They held candlelight vigils and prayer services as they searched for ways to help. If the terrorists had hoped to divide Americans, they failed. As the Reverend Billy Graham noted at a memorial service, "A tragedy like this could

have torn our country apart. But instead it has united us and we have become a family."

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

On September 14, President Bush declared a national emergency. Congress authorized the use of force to fight whoever had attacked the United States. Intelligence sources and the FBI quickly identified the attacks as the work of a man named **Osama bin Laden** and his organization, **al-Qaeda** (al KY~duh).



- 1** 1993 Bomb at the World Trade Center kills 6
- 2** 1995 Bombs at a U.S.-Saudi facility in Riyadh kill 7
- 3** 1996 Bombing of Khobar Towers barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, kills 19 Americans
- 4** 1998 Bombings at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania kill more than 200
- 5** 2000 Attack on the USS *Cole* Kills 17 American sailors
- 6** 2001 Hijacked airliners crash into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a field in Pennsylvania killing nearly 3,000
- 7** 2002 Bombing in Bali, Indonesia kills more than 200
- 8** 2004 Bombing of commuter trains in Madrid, Spain kills 191
- 9** 2004 Attack on the U.S. Consulate in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia kills 5
- 10** 2005 Bombs on the London subway kill 52
- 11** 2002–present Ongoing attacks against coalition troops and civilians in Afghanistan
- 12** 2003–present Ongoing attacks against coalition troops and civilians in Iraq



Middle East Terrorism and the United States

The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were acts of terrorism. **Terrorism** is the use of violence by nongovernmental groups against civilians to achieve a political goal. Terrorist acts are intended to instill fear in people and to force governments into changing their policies.

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

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

became angry at the United States for supporting the wealthy kingdoms and families.

The rise of the oil industry also led to the spread of Western ideas in the region, and many Muslims feared that their traditional values were being weakened. New movements arose calling for a strict **interpretation** of the Quran—the Muslim holy book—and a return to traditional Muslim religious laws. These Muslim movements wanted to overthrow pro-Western governments in the Middle East and create a pure Islamic society. Muslims who support these movements are referred to as fundamentalist militants. Some militants began using terrorism to achieve their goals.

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

the 1950s, Palestinians began staging guerrilla raids and terrorist attacks against Israel. Since the United States gave aid to Israel, it became the target of Muslim hostility. In the 1970s, several Middle East nations realized they could fight Israel and the United States by providing terrorists with money, weapons, and training. This is called **state-sponsored terrorism**. The governments of Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Iran have all sponsored terrorists.

The Rise of Al-Qaeda

In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, Muslims from across the world headed to Afghanistan to help fight the Soviets. Among them was a 22-year-old named Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden came from one of Saudi Arabia's wealthiest families. He used his wealth to support the Afghan resistance. In 1988 he founded an organization called al-Qaeda or "the Base." Al-Qaeda recruited Muslims and channeled money and arms to the Afghan resistance.

Bin Laden's experience in Afghanistan convinced him that superpowers could be beaten. He also believed that Western ideas had contaminated Muslim society and was outraged by Saudi Arabia's decision to allow American troops to be based on Saudi soil after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

At first, bin Laden ran al-Qaeda from camps in Sudan, but in 1996, he moved back to Afghanistan after the Taliban, a militant Muslim fundamentalist group, took power there. Bin Laden dedicated himself to driving Westerners out of the Middle East. In 1998 he called on Muslims to kill Americans. Soon afterward, his followers set off bombs at the American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

After these bombings, President Clinton ordered cruise missiles fired at terrorist camps in Afghanistan and Sudan, but bin Laden was not deterred. In 1999, al-Qaeda terrorists were arrested while trying to smuggle explosives into the United States in an attempt to bomb Seattle. In October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the *USS Cole*, an American warship, while it was docked in Yemen. Then, on September 11, 2001, al-Qaeda struck again, hijacking four American passenger planes and executing the most devastating terrorist attack in history.

 **Explaining** Why was Osama bin Laden able to create a terrorist organization?

A New War Begins

MAIN Idea The war on terrorism involved halting terrorists' access to funding and launching a war in Afghanistan.

HISTORY AND YOU Does your school have plans for coping with an emergency? Read on to learn about the national response to the terrorist attacks.

In an address to Congress on September 20, 2001, President Bush demanded the Taliban regime in Afghanistan turn over bin Laden and his supporters and shut down all terrorist camps. The president then made it clear that although the war on terrorism would start by targeting al-Qaeda, it would not stop there. "It will not end," the president announced, "until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated." While Secretary of State Colin Powell began building an international coalition to support the United States, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld began deploying troops, aircraft, and warships to the Middle East.

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

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. . . . Our Nation—this generation—will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future."

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

In a letter to the *New York Times*, Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld warned Americans that "this will be a war like none other our nation has faced." The enemy, he explained, "is a global network of terrorist organizations and their state sponsors, committed to denying free people the opportunity to live as they choose." Fighting terrorism would not be easy. Military force would be used, but terrorism had to be fought by other means as well.



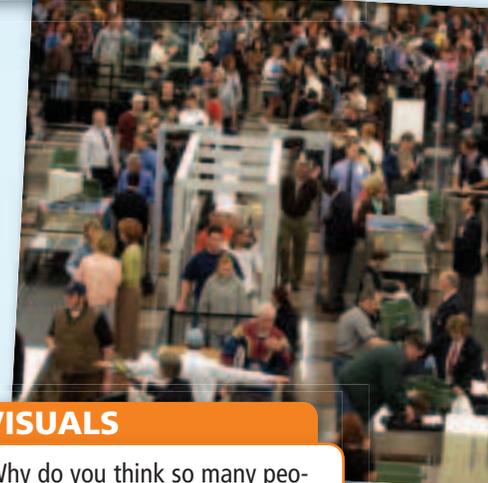
For a longer excerpt from this speech read, "President Bush's Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001" on page R57 of **Documents in American History**.

Responding to 9/11

After the attacks, Americans held vigils and prayer services to remember and honor those who had died. For months after the attacks, Americans closely followed the efforts of firefighters and rescue workers. Despite increased airport security, the attacks left some Americans wary of air travel.



At left, Alana Milawski, waves an American flag during a candlelight vigil in Las Vegas on September 12, 2001. Above, firefighters work in the rubble of the World Trade Center. The attacks led to an increase in airline security (right) resulting in long lines at airports while passengers waited to be screened.



Analyzing VISUALS

- Theorizing** Why do you think so many people participated in group vigils and memorials after the attacks?
- Evaluating** In what ways were Americans most immediately affected by the attacks of September 11, 2001?

Cutting Terrorist Funding One effective way to fight terrorist groups is to cut off their funding. On September 24, President Bush issued an executive order freezing the financial assets of several individuals and groups suspected of terrorism. As information about terrorist groups increased, more names and organizations were added to the list. President Bush asked other nations to help, and within weeks, some 80 nations had issued orders freezing the assets of the organizations and individuals on the American list.

Homeland Security and the Patriot Act As part of the effort to protect the American people from further terrorist attacks, President Bush created a new federal agency—the Office of Homeland Security—to coordinate the dozens of federal agencies and departments working to prevent terrorism. He then appointed Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge to serve as the agency’s director.

The president also asked Congress to pass legislation to help law enforcement agencies track down terrorist suspects. Drafting the legislation took time. Congress had to balance Americans’ Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable search and seizure with the need to increase security. President Bush signed the antiterrorist bill—known as the USA Patriot Act—into law in October 2001. In cases involving terrorism, the law permitted secret searches to avoid tipping off suspects and allowed authorities to **obtain** a nationwide search warrant useable in any jurisdiction. The law also made it easier to wiretap suspects and allowed authorities to track Internet communications and seize voice mail.

In the months following the attack, the Office of Homeland Security struggled to coordinate all of the federal agencies fighting terrorism. In June 2002, President Bush asked Congress to combine all of the agencies responsible for the public’s safety into a new

History ONLINE
Student Web Activity Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on the war on terrorism.

Section 2 REVIEW

department called the Department of Homeland Security. The plan called for the largest reorganization of the federal government since 1947, when Congress created the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, and the CIA.

The president's proposal led to an intense debate in Congress, and it did not pass until after the midterm elections in November 2002. The new Department of Homeland Security controls the Coast Guard, the Border Patrol, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Customs Service, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, and many other agencies. It also analyzes information collected by the FBI, the CIA, and other intelligence agencies.

Bioterrorism Strikes the United States As the nation struggled to cope with the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center, another terrorist attack began. On October 5, 2001, a newspaper editor in Florida died from an anthrax infection. **Anthrax** is a type of bacteria. Several nations, including the United States, Russia, and Iraq, have used anthrax to create biological weapons. Antibiotics can cure anthrax, but if left untreated, it can quickly become lethal.

Soon after its appearance in Florida, anthrax was found at the offices of news organizations in New York City. In Washington, D.C., a letter containing anthrax arrived at Senator Tom Daschle's office. It was now clear that terrorists were using the mail to spread anthrax. Traces of anthrax were found at several government buildings. Several postal workers who had handled letters containing anthrax contracted the disease, and two workers died. The FBI began investigating the attack, but no suspects were arrested.

The War in Afghanistan Begins

On October 7, 2001, the United States began bombing al-Qaeda's camps and the Taliban's military forces in Afghanistan. In an address to the nation, President Bush explained that Islam and the Afghan people were not the enemy, and that the United States would send food, medicine, and other supplies to Afghan refugees. The president also explained that the attack on the Taliban was only the beginning. The war on terrorism would continue until victory was achieved:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Today we focus on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader. Every nation has a choice to make. In this conflict, there is no neutral ground. If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves. And they will take that lonely path at their own peril. . . . The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire; we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail. Thank you. May God continue to bless America."

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

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

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda, terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, anthrax.

Main Ideas

2. **Describing** What factors have contributed to the rise of Middle Eastern terrorist groups?
3. **Listing** What major actions marked the beginning of the United States' war on terrorism?

Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** Why do Islamic fundamentalists in the Middle East disagree with U.S. foreign policy?
5. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the responses of individual Americans and the federal government to the attacks on September 11, 2001.



6. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the map of terrorist attacks on page 1038. How would you describe the scope of al-Qaeda's operation?

Writing About History

7. **Persuasive Writing** The Patriot Act gave law enforcement new ways to fight terrorism. Write a letter to a newspaper explaining why you are either for or against giving up some freedoms in exchange for increased security.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 3

The Invasion of Iraq

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Trade, War, and Migration In an effort to fight terrorism, the United States launched attacks in both Afghanistan and Iraq.

Content Vocabulary

- weapons of mass destruction (WMD) (p. 1044)

Academic Vocabulary

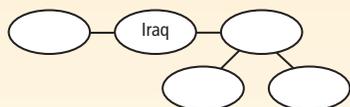
- inspector (p. 1045)
- significantly (p. 1046)
- eliminate (p. 1047)

People and Events to Identify

- Northern Alliance (p. 1042)
- Khalid Shaikh Mohammed (p. 1043)
- "axis of evil" (p. 1044)
- Saddam Hussein (p. 1045)

Reading Strategy

As you read this section on the Invasion of Iraq, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to show the different groups in Iraq.



After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States invaded Afghanistan, the Central Asian nation that had sheltered many al-Qaeda members. In March 2003, the United States invaded Iraq and toppled the regime of Saddam Hussein.

The War on Terror Continues

MAIN Idea After forcing Taliban leaders in Afghanistan to flee, the United States and its allies sent more troops as peacekeepers and worked to create a stable and democratic government.

HISTORY AND YOU Can you think of a nation or region today where peacekeepers are stationed while a new government is established? Read on to learn about the role of peacekeepers in Afghanistan.

Less than a month after the September 11 attacks, the United States launched a war in Afghanistan with the goal of bringing down the Taliban regime that had sheltered Osama bin Laden and other members of al-Qaeda. Americans also hoped that bin Laden would be captured and brought back for trial in the United States.

While American warplanes bombed the Taliban's forces, the United States began sending military aid to the **Northern Alliance**, a coalition of Afghan groups that had been fighting the Taliban for several years. U.S. Special Forces also entered Afghanistan to advise the Northern Alliance and identify targets for American aircraft. The American bombing campaign quickly shattered the Taliban's defenses. The Northern Alliance then launched a massive attack. In December 2001, the Taliban government collapsed, and surviving Taliban fled to the mountains of Afghanistan.

Rebuilding Afghanistan

After the Taliban fled, the United States and its allies helped local Afghan leaders create a new government. Meanwhile, thousands of American and allied troops arrived to act as peacekeepers. In 2003 NATO took command of peacekeeping in Afghanistan.

Since 2002 Afghanistan has begun to slowly recover from decades of war. The economy has grown rapidly, although the people remain very poor. The United States and its allies have donated some \$24 billion to help rebuild the country. In December 2004, Afghanistan held its first nationwide democratic election, and Hamid Karzai was elected president. One year later, the Afghan people elected a National Assembly. Despite these successes, Afghanistan continues to suffer from violence. Taliban insurgents have staged guerrilla

The War in Afghanistan

The United States invaded Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban regime. Helping to establish a democratic government was the next step.

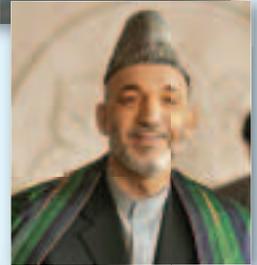


▲ American soldiers were sent to act as peacekeepers while the new Afghan government tried to establish order in the mountainous country.



▲ The new Afghan constitution granted equal rights to women, including the right to vote.

▶ Hamid Karzai was elected president in 2004.



Analyzing VISUALS

- Speculating** What part of their duties do you think these soldiers find most difficult?
- Predicting** How may voting rights for women affect the development of the new Afghan government?

attacks and suicide bombings. The Afghan government has little control over the mountainous regions of southern Afghanistan and fighting continues between NATO and Taliban forces in the south.

Bin Laden Goes Into Hiding

According to news reports, American intelligence agencies believe Osama bin Laden crossed into Pakistan to hide in the mountainous region of Warizistan where the local people were friendly to al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Between 2002 and 2006, bin Laden released a number of audiotapes and one videotape urging his followers to continue the fight.

Pakistan has not officially allowed American troops to enter its territory to find bin Laden, although news reports suggest U.S. Special Forces may be operating in the area. Pakistan has itself launched several military operations in Warizistan in search of al-Qaeda and Taliban forces. Although many al-Qaeda operatives have been arrested in Pakistan, Osama bin Laden remains at large.

Tracking Down Al-Qaeda

Since 2001, the United States and its allies have continued their worldwide hunt for al-Qaeda members. Hundreds of people have been captured or killed, including several top leaders of al-Qaeda. In November 2002, the CIA used an unmanned remote-controlled flying drone to fire a missile at a car in Yemen killing everyone in the vehicle. The car had been carrying top al-Qaeda leaders who had planned the attack on the USS *Cole* in 1998.

In 2003, Pakistan and the United States captured **Khalid Shaikh Mohammed**—one of the highest ranking members of al-Qaeda, and the man suspected of planning the September 11 attacks. Between 2002 and 2006, the American government believes that at least 10 major attacks by al-Qaeda, including at least three attacks on the United States and two on Great Britain, have been prevented.

Reading Check **Describing** What strategy has the United States used to prevent the Taliban from regaining power?

Iraq and Weapons of Mass Destruction

MAIN Idea Concern that Iraq might be producing WMDs that could be given to terrorists led to an ultimatum.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think the UN is an effective mediator of world affairs? Read on to learn about UN actions before the Iraq War.

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

During the Cold War, very few nations had weapons of mass destruction, and the United States relied upon a policy of deterrence to prevent their use. The United States announced that if any nation used weapons of mass

destruction against the United States, the United States would counterattack with its own weapons of mass destruction. Deterrence worked during the Cold War, but the rise of state-sponsored terrorism created a new problem. If a nation secretly gave weapons of mass destruction to terrorists who then used them against the United States, the American military might not know where the weapons came from, or whom to attack in response.

The “Axis of Evil”

In his State of the Union speech in 2002, President Bush warned that an **“axis of evil”** made up of Iraq, Iran, and North Korea posed a grave threat to the world. Each of these nations had been known to sponsor terrorism, and was suspected of developing weapons of mass destruction. The president warned that “The United States of America will not permit the world’s most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world’s most destructive weapons.”

Of the three nations in the “axis of evil,” the president and his advisers believed Iraq to be the most immediate danger. It had used chem-

THE Global War ON Terror, 2001–2007

2001



Sept. 11, 2001
Terrorists hijack four planes and attack the World Trade Center and the Pentagon

2002

Nov. 2002
UN Resolution warns Iraq to allow weapons inspectors to return

2003

March 1, 2003
Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, suspected of planning the 9/11 attacks, is captured

Sept. 2003
Eleven countries form the Proliferation Security Initiative to intercept shipments of materials used to make weapons of mass destruction



March 20, 2003
American and coalition forces begin the invasion of Iraq

ical weapons against the Kurds, an ethnic group in northern Iraq, and after the 1991 Gulf War, UN **inspectors** had also found evidence that Iraq had developed biological weapons and had been working on a nuclear bomb.

Between 1991 and 1998, Iraq appeared to be hiding its weapons of mass destruction from UN inspectors. In 1998 the Iraqi government ordered the inspectors to leave the country. In response, President Clinton ordered a massive bombing attack on Iraq to destroy its ability to make such weapons. Despite the attack, intelligence agencies continued to believe Iraq was hiding weapons of mass destruction.

An Ultimatum to Iraq

In 2002 President Bush decided the time had come to deal with Iraq. On September 12, he delivered a speech to the United Nations asking for a new resolution against Iraq. If Iraq's dictator, **Saddam Hussein**, wanted peace he would have to give up Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, readmit the UN weapons inspectors, stop supporting terrorism, and stop

oppressing his people. Although he was asking the UN to pass a resolution, the president made it clear that the United States would act with or without UN support.

While the UN Security Council debated a new resolution, President Bush asked Congress to authorize the use of force against Iraq, which it did. With the midterm elections only weeks away, Democrats wanted to focus on the nation's high unemployment rate and the slow economy. Instead, President Bush successfully kept the focus on national security issues. In 2002 Republicans picked up seats in the House of Representatives and regained control of the Senate.

Soon after the American elections, the UN approved a new resolution setting a deadline for Iraq to readmit weapons inspectors. It also required Iraq to declare its weapons of mass destruction, to stop supporting terrorism, and to stop oppressing its people. It threatened "serious consequences" if Iraq did not comply.

Reading Check Analyzing Why did the United States think stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction was linked to the war on terror?



Oct. 29, 2004

Osama bin Laden releases a video warning Americans that they will never have security if they continue their attacks



Oct. 2005

American deaths in the war in Iraq surpass 2,000

June 2006

Al-Zarqawi, the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq is killed in a U.S. attack

Jan. 2007

President Bush announces he will send 20,000 more troops to Iraq to restore order in Baghdad

2004

2005

2006

2007

Oct., 2004

Iraq Survey Group issues its final report concluding Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction at the time the war began

Jan. 31, 2005

Iraqis go to the polls in their first free election



Analyzing TIME LINES

- Sequencing** Which happened first—the U.S. attack on Afghanistan or the invasion of Iraq?
- Specifying** When did Iraqis hold their first free election?

Confronting Iraq

MAIN Idea Coalition forces defeated the Iraqi military, but then factions in Iraq took up arms against coalition forces and each other.

HISTORY AND YOU In retrospect, do you believe the invasion of Iraq was justified? Read on to learn more about the different stages of the war.

In November 2002, Iraq agreed to readmit UN weapons inspectors. It then submitted a statement admitting it had weapons of mass destruction before the Gulf War, but denying it currently had weapons of mass destruction. Secretary of State Colin Powell declared that Iraq's declaration contained lies and was in "material breach" of the UN resolution.

As the United States and a coalition of some 30 nations prepared for war with Iraq, others at the UN Security Council argued that the inspectors should be given more time to find evidence of Iraq's WMD programs. By March 2003, the inspectors still had found nothing, and the United States began pressing the UN to authorize the use of force against Iraq.

France and Russia, two Security Council members with veto power, refused to back

such a resolution. As war became imminent, world opinion divided between those who supported the United States and those who opposed an attack on Iraq. Around the world antiwar protestors staged rallies and marches. Several nations that had supported the United States in its war on terror, and had sent troops to Afghanistan, including France, Germany, and Canada, refused to join the coalition against Iraq. Saudi Arabia and Turkey—both American allies—refused to allow the United States to attack Iraq from their territories. The only nation bordering Iraq that granted permission to use its territory was Kuwait.

The Invasion Begins

On March 20, 2003, the U.S.-led coalition forces attacked Iraq. Over 150,000 American troops, some 45,000 British troops, as well as a few hundred special forces from Australia and Poland took part in the invasion.

Much of the Iraqi army dissolved as soldiers refused to risk their lives for Hussein. A few fierce battles took place, but the Iraqis were unable to slow the coalition advance **significantly**. On May 1, President Bush declared

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Invasion of Iraq

Overthrowing Saddam Hussein to ensure he could not give WMDs to terrorists was the primary objective of the invasion. Ousting his regime, however, proved easier than establishing a new government.



▲ U.S. and Iraqi soldiers face the difficult challenge of urban warfare in Iraq where the enemy can be very close, hiding behind walls or in buildings.



▲ After decades of sham elections, Iraqi voters get to make real choices when they vote during Iraq's 2005 elections.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Speculating** What do you suppose these soldiers hope to accomplish in fulfilling their duties?
2. **Predicting** Will regularly-scheduled elections lead to a more stable national government?

that the major combat was over. About 140 Americans and several thousand Iraqis had died. Saddam Hussein was captured in late 2003. After a prolonged trial, an Iraqi court found him guilty of ordering mass executions. He was executed in 2006.

Insurgents and Reconstruction

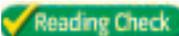
The quick victory did not end the fighting. Soon after the coalition took control of the country, small groups of Iraqis began staging bombings, sniper attacks and sporadic battles against coalition forces. Some of the groups carrying out the attacks were former members of Saddam's Hussein's military. Others were affiliated with al-Qaeda and other radical Muslim groups who believed the invasion offered a chance to build support in the Muslim world by organizing resistance to the Americans.

Some of the attacks were carried out by militias belonging to the different religious and ethnic groups in Iraq. The majority of Iraq's population is Shia Muslim, but there is a large Sunni Muslim minority as well. The Sunni are themselves divided between Sunni Arabs, who ruled the country under Saddam Hussein's leadership, and Sunni Kurds. The collapse of Hussein's dictatorship renewed old hostilities between these groups, forcing coalition troops to protect them from attacks from each other's militias.

Having gone to war in Iraq to overthrow a tyrant and **eliminate** the possibility of weapons of mass destruction being given to terrorists, the United States found itself trying to suppress an insurgency, prevent a civil war, and establish a new Iraqi government. The United States and its allies spent more than \$30 billion to improve Iraq's electrical generating capacity, provide clean water, build schools, and improve health care, but insurgent attacks slowed these efforts. Despite the problems, Iraq's economy began to grow rapidly and a substantial improvement in living standards took place.

Between 2003 and 2006, insurgents killed over 3,000 American soldiers, many more than had died in the initial invasion. Many Americans had expected the war to be over quickly and as the fighting dragged on, support for the war began to decline. The failure to find any weapons of mass destruction also added to the growing controversy as to whether the war was a mistake.

American policymakers now faced a dilemma. If they pulled troops out too soon, Iraq might fall into civil war and provide a safe haven and breeding ground for terrorist groups. At the same time, the longer the United States stayed, the more its presence might stir resentment and support for terrorist groups. The best solution seemed to be to get a functioning and democratic Iraqi government up and running as fast as possible and then train its forces to take over the security of the country. As part of this plan, in January 2005, the Iraqi people went to the polls in huge numbers for the first free elections in their country's history. After much debate, voters then overwhelmingly approved a new constitution in October 2005.

 **Summarizing** Why did it prove so difficult to end the Iraq War quickly?

Section 3 REVIEW

Vocabulary

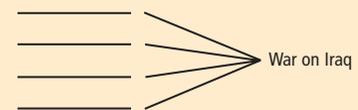
1. **Explain** the significance of: Northern Alliance, Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, weapons of mass destruction, "axis of evil," Saddam Hussein.

Main Ideas

2. **Explaining** Why did the United States send military aid to the Northern Alliance?
3. **Identifying** Why did Bush choose to focus military attention in Iraq?
4. **Summarizing** Why did fighting continue in Iraq after President Bush declared the major combat was over?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** Why did the United States declare war on Afghanistan?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the reasons why President Bush declared war on Iraq.



7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the photos on page 1046. How does the style of warfare in Iraq differ from the fighting in Afghanistan?

Writing About History

8. **Descriptive Writing** Suppose you are an Iraqi who has recently voted in your first election. Write a journal entry that explains how you feel following your vote.



Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 4

A Time of Challenges

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Government and Society During President Bush's second term, the Republicans faced scandal and a national disaster that led to the Democrats gaining control of Congress in 2007.

Content Vocabulary

- "earmark" (p. 1054)

Academic Vocabulary

- monitor (p. 1051)
- procedure (p. 1052)

People and Events to Identify

- Abu Ghraib (p. 1048)
- Guantanamo Bay (p. 1050)
- National Security Agency (NSA) (p. 1051)
- John G. Roberts, Jr. (p. 1052)
- Samuel Alito, Jr. (p. 1052)
- Nancy Pelosi (p. 1055)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about events from the 2004 election to the present-day use the major headings of the section to create an outline.

A Time of Challenges
I. The Election of 2004
II. Security and Liberty
A.
B.

After a close campaign, President Bush won a second term. His administration and the Supreme Court repeatedly clashed over the limits of executive authority in the war on terror. Scandals and frustration over Iraq helped Democrats win control of Congress in 2006.

The Election of 2004

MAIN Idea After a campaign that centered on the war in Iraq and the war on terror, Bush was reelected.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever participated in an election at your school? Read on to learn about the election of 2004 in which more voters turned out than had voted in other recent elections.

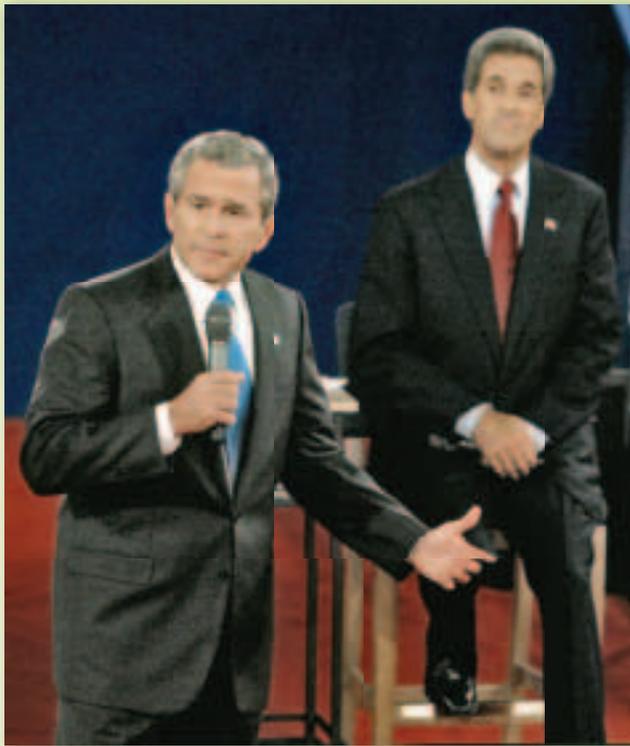
As the end of President Bush's first term neared, his popularity with Americans began to sink. In the months following the attacks of September 11, 2001, opinion polls showed that more than 80 percent of the public approved of the job he was doing. As the war dragged on in Iraq, and Osama bin Laden remained at large, his approval rating began to fall. The failure of inspectors to find any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq further weakened his support, as did the scandal at the Iraqi prison of **Abu Ghraib** where some Iraqi prisoners of war were abused by their American guards and interrogators. These events provided an opportunity for the Democrats to mount a serious challenge in the 2004 presidential election.

The war on terrorism and the war in Iraq dominated the election. President Bush and Vice President Cheney were renominated by the Republicans. The Democrats nominated Massachusetts Senator John Kerry for president and North Carolina Senator John Edwards for vice president.

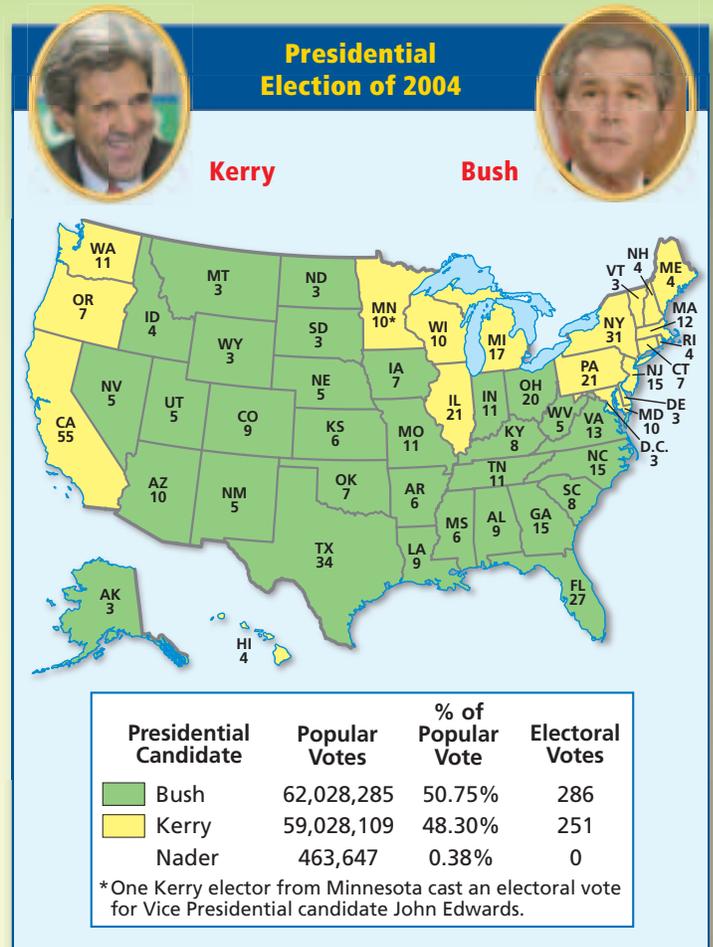
Senator Kerry had fought in Vietnam and been decorated for valor, but he had returned from the war convinced of its futility. He joined Vietnam Veterans Against the War and testified before Congress against the war, a stand that angered many veterans and others who supported the war. Opponents used Kerry's actions in the 1970s against him in the 2004 campaign.

The candidates offered the nation a sharp choice. President Bush pledged to continue cutting taxes while building a strong national defense. He opposed abortion, supported limits on stem cell research, and called for a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriages. In contrast, Senator Kerry pledged to address domestic issues while pursuing the war on terror. He further promised to raise taxes on the wealthy to fund wider health care coverage, and strengthen

The Election of 2004



▲ While the war on terror was the central issue of the campaign, Bush and Kerry differed on many issues, including stem cell research, Social Security, health care, and taxes. The two men held three debates during the 2004 campaign.



Analyzing VISUALS

- Formulating Questions** If you had been the moderator of the debate, what questions would you have asked Bush and Kerry? Why?
- Theorizing** Why was Kerry more popular than Bush on the West Coast?

Social Security. He took the opposite stand from Bush on most social issues. Bush's campaign portrayed Kerry as an irresolute "flip-flopper" who could not be trusted with the nation's security. Kerry's campaign portrayed Bush as too stubborn and accused him of refusing to admit mistakes or change course when events required it.

Although the events of September 11, 2001, had united the nation emotionally, the country remained as divided politically as it had been in 2000. Bush's support was strongest in the South and on the Great Plains, as well as in rural areas and the outer suburbs of major cities. Kerry's base was in the Northeast and on the West Coast, as well as in cities and inner suburbs. Both candidates focused their efforts on a few key battleground states in the Midwest where voters were narrowly divided.

Both parties saw voter turnout as the key to victory. Election Day witnessed the highest voter turnout since 1968—nearly 61% of eligible voters went to the polls. Democrats won 8 million more votes than in 2000, but the Republicans gained 11.5 million. The election was decided in Ohio whose electoral votes both candidates needed to win. The vote was close enough that Bush was not declared the winner until the following day, having won the state by a little more than 100,000 votes. Nationwide, President Bush won a majority of the popular vote. His victory helped increase the Republican majorities in Congress as well. Despite the problems in Iraq, voters felt it safer to stay the course.

 **Reading Check** Analyzing Why did President Bush's popularity decline in the year before the 2004 election?

Security vs. Liberty

MAIN Idea The Supreme Court rejected President Bush's interpretation of the rights and legal status of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you believe all prisoners deserve a right to a trial? Read about the unusual status of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay.

The war on terror heightened the tension between America's national security and its civil liberties. In order to prevent another major terrorist attack, was the government justified in limiting the rights of citizens? Did captured terrorists have any rights at all?

Prisoners at Guantanamo

As American forces captured members of al-Qaeda, a decision had to be made as to what to do with them. In 2004 President Bush decided to hold them at the American military base in **Guantanamo Bay**, Cuba, where they could be interrogated. Establishing detention facilities at Guantanamo proved controversial. Some people argued that the prisoners should

have the same rights as Americans taken into custody in the United States, including the right to a lawyer, formal charges, and eventually a proper trial.

Rather than ask Congress for a law setting the rules for handling the detainees, the administration concluded that the president had the right as commander in chief to decide how detainees captured in combat should be treated. The administration insisted that the prisoners were illegal enemy combatants, not suspects charged with a crime, and as such, they did not have the right to appeal their detentions to an American court. The administration also declared that the rules regarding the treatment of prisoners, as specified in the Geneva Conventions, did not apply to terrorists since they were not part of any nation's armed forces.

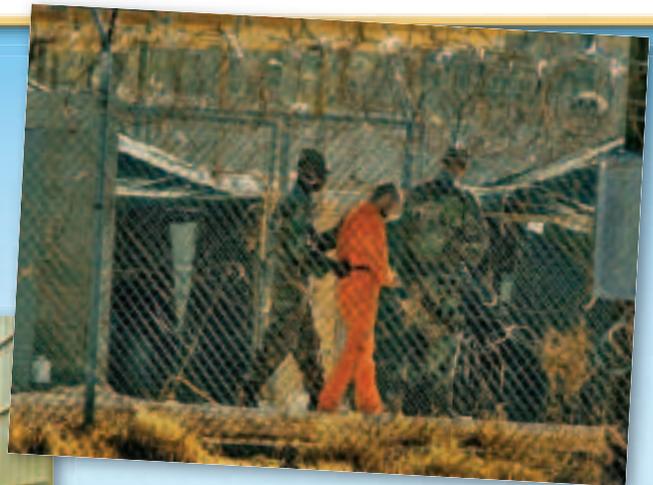
Hamdan v. Rumsfeld

The Supreme Court disagreed with the administration. In 2004, in the case of *Rasul v. Bush*, the Court ruled that foreign prisoners who claimed they were being unlawfully

PRIMARY SOURCE

Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay

The revelation that some American troops had mistreated prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq shocked many people. Photographs of prisoners being abused and humiliated diminished the international image of the United States. Similarly, the lack of judicial proceedings and the secrecy surrounding the detainees at Guantanamo Bay prompted international criticism.



▲ Soldiers escort a detainee at Camp X-Ray at the military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.



▲ A U.S. soldier points to prison cells where high risk detainees are held.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Interpreting** What might make a detainee "high risk"?
2. **Analyzing** In the photograph above, what elements show the level of security at the detention center?

imprisoned had the right to have their cases heard in court. The Bush administration responded by creating military tribunals to hear each detainee's case. In 2006 the Supreme Court struck this plan down in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, arguing that the military tribunals at Guantanamo Bay violated both the Uniform Code of Military Justice and the Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners of war.

President Bush then asked Congress to pass legislation establishing tribunals that met the Court's objections. In negotiations with Congress, the president agreed that prisoners would have the right to see the evidence against them, and any evidence obtained by torture would be inadmissible. The president also agreed to uphold the Geneva Conventions. Congress then responded with legislation that stated that non-citizens captured as enemy combatants would have no right to file writs of habeas corpus. This meant that as long as the tribunal had determined they were being lawfully held, they could be held indefinitely without trial.

Domestic Surveillance

As part of the war on terror, the **National Security Agency** (NSA) expanded its practice of **monitoring** overseas telephone calls. The NSA began wiretapping domestic calls made to overseas locations in those instances where they had good reason to believe that one party in the call was a member of al-Qaeda or affiliated with al-Qaeda.

When the *New York Times* broke the story of the wiretapping program in late 2005, it created a controversy. Civil rights groups feared the program would be abused and used to violate the privacy and Fourth Amendment rights of American citizens. Congress had created special courts to issue warrants in highly-classified security cases, but President Bush argued the courts were too slow and that he had the authority to expand wiretapping without warrants to help fight the war on terror. In August 2006, a federal judge declared the warrantless wiretapping to be unconstitutional. The federal government immediately appealed the case.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** Why did the Bush administration believe detainees at Guantanamo had no right to take their case to a U.S. court?

A Stormy Second Term

MAIN Idea Bush appointed two new Supreme Court justices; his second term was marred by a hurricane, the ongoing war, and scandals.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you remember Hurricane Katrina? Read on to learn how the handling of the crisis hurt the Bush administration.

Having won a second term with a majority of the popular vote, President Bush concluded the American people had given him a mandate to continue his policies. He began his second term by announcing plans to overhaul the Social Security system and to create a prescription drug program for senior citizens.

Debating Social Security

To build support for Social Security reform, President Bush pointed out that the baby boom generation would begin receiving Social Security in 2011. For decades, Congress had been warned that when baby boomers began retiring, the Social Security system would be in danger of collapse. The government would need to raise taxes dramatically, or greatly increase the deficit by borrowing money.

To fix Social Security, President Bush proposed that workers be allowed to put 4 percent of their income in private accounts rather than in Social Security. This money could then be invested in stocks and bonds. The president believed that private accounts would grow rapidly and help cover the expected shortfall in Social Security accounts. Bush's plan generated little enthusiasm in Congress. Democrats argued that the danger to Social Security was overstated and that privatizing any part of Social Security was dangerous. With the American public unenthusiastic, the plan was never brought to a vote in Congress.

Although his plan to reform Social Security failed, President Bush did convince Congress to enact a new prescription drug program for seniors. A major issue during the campaign had been the cost of prescription drugs for retirees living on a fixed income. Under the new program, provided by Medicare, people 65 and older can sign up for insurance that helps cover the cost of prescription drugs.

Conservatives worried that the plan would represent an enormous expansion of Medicare that the government could not afford. Democrats worried that the plan was too complex and did not go far enough in helping poor seniors. Despite the controversy, Congress enacted the plan.

New Supreme Court Judges

Although Republicans had gained four Senate seats in 2004, their majority of 55 still fell short of the 60 votes needed to end Democratic filibusters of President Bush's judicial nominees. Frustrated, Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist developed a plan to ban filibusters of presidential nominees. His plan called for Vice President Cheney, as the presiding officer of the Senate, to rule excessive debate on a nomination out of order. A simple majority of senators could then vote to uphold the vice president's ruling, rather than the 60 votes needed to stop a filibuster.

Worried that the plan would change Senate **procedures** too much, a bipartisan group of senators—the “Gang of 14”—forged a compromise. Under the plan, the seven Democratic members of the group agreed not to support a filibuster of the president's nominees solely because of their conservative ideology. They would support a filibuster only in extraordinary circumstances. In return the seven Republicans agreed not to support Frist if he tried to ban filibusters.

Early in Bush's second term, two vacancies occurred on the United States Supreme Court, enabling him to move the Court in a more conservative direction. First, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor announced her retirement. Although she had been appointed by President Reagan, Justice O'Connor had been a pivotal swing vote on the Court, sometimes siding with conservatives, sometimes with liberals. As her replacement, Bush nominated federal judge **John G. Roberts, Jr.**, who was well regarded in the Senate. Before the Senate could act, however, Chief Justice William Rehnquist died, and the president named Roberts to replace him. Roberts easily won Senate confirmation as chief justice.

Again attempting to fill Justice O'Connor's vacancy, President Bush nominated his White House counselor Harriet Miers. Although some Democrats regarded Miers favorably, conservative Republicans were unhappy with

PRIMARY SOURCE

Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina was one of the worst natural disasters in the history of the United States. The storm ravaged much of the Gulf Coast region. In New Orleans, the breach of the levies caused even more devastation.



▲ An aerial photograph shows how the flooding in New Orleans ruined entire neighborhoods.

her moderate views and lack of experience as a judge. As Republican opposition mounted, President Bush withdrew Miers' name and nominated federal judge **Samuel Alito, Jr.**, a well-known conservative justice. Democrats worried that Alito's strong views would shift the Court's balance, but the deal crafted by the Gang of 14 meant any filibuster would fail. The Senate voted 58 to 42 to confirm Alito.

Hurricane Katrina

On August 29, 2005, Hurricane Katrina smashed into the Gulf Coast of the United States, spreading devastation from Florida to Louisiana. The hurricane destroyed buildings, roads, and electrical lines, left thousands of people homeless, and cost at least 1,200 lives. Although the news media had given advance warning, many people had not evacuated the storm areas. Some stayed in their homes because they had ridden out previous storms, others because they wanted to protect their property, or because they were elderly and infirm. About 125,000 people in New Orleans had no cars and stayed behind.



▲ A man walks through the flooded Terre area of New Orleans. The breach of the levees left entire neighborhoods under several feet of water.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Explaining** Why did the flood cause so much damage to New Orleans?
2. **Speculating** Do you think this neighborhood can be restored to pre-flood conditions?

New Orleans Floods The fierce winds, rain, high tides, and storm surges leveled vast coastal areas of Mississippi and Alabama, but initially did only minor damage to New Orleans. Then, after the hurricane had passed, rising waters breached the levees that protected the low-lying city. As water flooded the city, those who had stayed behind were forced to flee onto their roofs, to await rescue.

As the water rose 15 feet in some neighborhoods, many people drowned. Thousands more took shelter in the convention center and at the Superdome, a covered football stadium. There they waited for days without much food, clean water, or information from authorities. City officials promised that buses would evacuate them, but days passed before the buses arrived. Some people began looting neighborhood stores.

The Government's Inadequate Response

Television news broadcast scenes of the squalid condition of the survivors, asking why the government was failing to respond more quickly. The mayor of New Orleans was faulted for not issuing a mandatory evacuation until the storm

was less than a day away, and for having failed to provide transportation for those who could not leave on their own. The governor of Louisiana engaged in a dispute with federal officials over who should take charge of the state's National Guard units. The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) seemed unprepared in its response. Only the Coast Guard seemed able to act, as its helicopters and boats began rescuing stranded citizens. Eventually troops and transportation arrived and moved the evacuees to other cities.

As New Orleans remained flooded, President Bush flew over the devastated areas a few days later. Photographs of the president viewing the scene from high above made him appear detached. The public also reacted critically when some members of Congress questioned whether it was worth the expense to rebuild New Orleans at a time when the United States was spending billions to reconstruct Baghdad. With polls showing a sharp drop in public confidence in his administration, President Bush fired the head of FEMA and then traveled to New Orleans to pledge federal funds for rebuilding the city.

Condoleezza Rice

1954–

Born in Birmingham, Alabama, the same year as the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Condoleezza Rice rose to become the first African American female secretary of state.

Before becoming involved in politics, Rice had a distinguished career in academia. She started her college studies at age 15 and went on to earn advanced degrees in economics and international studies. Dr. Rice then became a professor at Stanford University. Due to her expertise in Eastern and Central Europe, Rice served as an adviser on foreign affairs to President Ronald Reagan and President George H.W. Bush. She later returned to her post at Stanford.

When George W. Bush decided to run for president, he asked Rice to be his foreign policy adviser. During his first term, she served as head of the National Security Council and supported the attacks on Afghanistan and the invasion of Iraq. She became secretary of state during Bush's second term.

How did Rice's academic studies prepare her for her future role in politics?



Nancy Pelosi

1940–

Originally from Baltimore, Maryland, Nancy Pelosi's interest in politics began at an early age. Her father was a supporter of Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and held political office.

Pelosi has spent most of her adult life in the San Francisco area. There, she attracted attention as an effective fund-raiser for the Democratic Party. She became the chair of the California State Democratic Party in 1981 and served for two years.

In 1987 she was elected to Congress in a special election to fill a vacancy caused by the death of her predecessor. The following year she was reelected for a full term and has held that office ever since.

In 2002 Pelosi was elected minority whip and tried to forge greater unity among different factions of her party. In that post, she emerged as one of President Bush's toughest critics. When the Democrats regained control of the House of Representatives after the 2006 elections, she became Speaker, the first woman elected to that post.

Why would Pelosi's position give her a platform from which to criticize the president?



Scandals in Congress

In 2005 Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert pledged that the 109th Congress would be "the Reform Congress." Very quickly, however, many voters grew disenchanted with the Republican majority in the Congress. Federal spending rose rapidly, in part because of the ongoing costs of the war in Iraq and partly because both Republicans and Democrats added "earmarks" to spending bills. These earmarks specified spending federal money for particular projects, such as building a bridge, or funding medical research, usually in their sponsors' own states and districts.

Congress also suffered a series of scandals. A prominent lobbyist, Jack Abramoff, pled guilty to bribing members of Congress. House Majority Leader Tom DeLay resigned after being indicted for violating campaign finance laws. California Representative Randy "Duke" Cunningham and Ohio Representative Ralph Ney also resigned after being convicted on corruption charges. Florida Representative Mark Foley gave up his seat after it was revealed that he had sent inappropriate E-mail to former House pages.

As the scandals broke, former Republican majority leader Richard Armey lamented that House Republicans, who had gained the majority in 1994 with big ideas, had descended to what he called "political point-scoring on meaningless wedge issues" such as same-sex marriage and flag burning, rather than getting control of earmarks, government spending, and budget deficits.

The 2006 Midterm Elections

The first two years of President Bush's second term had not gone well for his administration, or for Republicans in Congress. His effort to reform Social Security had failed. The public believed his administration had failed to respond adequately to Hurricane Katrina. Congress seemed awash in corruption scandals and unable to control spending. For many conservatives, Bush's support for a prescription drug plan and his decision to nominate Harriet Miers to the Supreme Court left them disenchanted with his leadership. Some were also angry about his plan to reform the nation's immigration system by creating a guest worker program and a path to citizenship for immigrants who had

Section 4 REVIEW

entered the country illegally. For most Americans, however, the single most important reason for their frustration with the government was the grim news coming daily from Iraq.

Problems in Iraq Ongoing suicide bombings, kidnappings, and attacks on American soldiers made Americans increasingly anxious about the situation in Iraq. A year earlier, many Americans had taken heart when large numbers of Iraqis had turned out to vote in democratic elections. The establishment of an Iraqi government gave some hope that the feuding sides might begin to work together. But while the Sunni Kurds and Iraqi Shia generally supported the new constitution, it had much less support among Sunni Arabs. Rather than bring peace, the number of sectarian attacks continued to rise after the elections. In February 2006, the bombing of the Shia Golden Mosque in Samarra set Sunni and Shia militias against each other. Iraq seemed poised on the edge of civil war.

The mounting violence led a majority of Americans to conclude they no longer approved of the president's handling of the war. Democrats in Congress demanded that the Bush administration set a timetable for withdrawing U.S. troops, a policy that President Bush described as "cut and run." When Republicans rejected a timetable and supported the president, they turned the congressional elections of 2006 into a referendum on the war.

The Democrats Gain Control of Congress Voters expressed their unhappiness with both the president and the Republican Congress in 2006. The Democrats won a majority in both the House and the Senate for the first time since 1992. House Democrats then elected California Representative **Nancy Pelosi** to be the first female Speaker of the House of Representatives.

When Democrats won control of Congress, President Bush acknowledged that his party had taken a "thumping" in the election. The day after the election, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld resigned. Rumsfeld had acknowledged that the administration's strategy in Iraq was not working and a change of course was needed. "In my view it is time for a major adjustment," Rumsfeld wrote. "Clearly what U.S. forces are currently doing in Iraq is not working well enough or fast enough."

President Bush chose Robert Gates to replace Rumsfeld and put a new commander—General David Petraeus—in charge of operations in Iraq. The president then announced a new plan to "surge" some 20,000 more troops to Iraq to restore order in Baghdad where most of the violence was concentrated. Led by Nancy Pelosi, and John Murtha—a Vietnam veteran and long-time opponent of the Iraq war—House Democrats passed a resolution opposing the strategy and began searching for ways to force the president to set a deadline for pulling troops out of Iraq. Whether or not the surge could work was unclear, but by the spring of 2007, what was clear was that Americans remained deeply divided over the war in Iraq and that its ultimate outcome remained uncertain.

 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** What events in the first two years of Bush's second term contributed to the Republicans losing control of Congress?

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo Bay, National Security Agency, John G. Roberts, Jr., Samuel Alito, Jr., "earmarks", Nancy Pelosi.

Main Ideas

2. **Identifying** What issues did President Bush support in his reelection campaign? What did Kerry support?
3. **Explaining** What did the Supreme Court declare unconstitutional with the *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* ruling?
4. **Describing** How did Bush propose to fix Social Security?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** Why did Donald Rumsfeld resign as secretary of defense? Who did Bush choose to replace Rumsfeld?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to list the reasons for Republican losses in the 2006 election.

Reasons for Republican Losses in 2006
I. The Election of 2004
II. Security and Liberty
A.
B.

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Examine the photo on page 1049. Why do you think so many people voted in the 2004 election? Do you think voter turnout will remain high?

Writing About History

8. **Persuasive Writing** Write a journal entry describing current events that will be read by students fifty years in the future. Be clear and concise with your description of these events.

History  **ONLINE**

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.



You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from glencoe.com.

Causes of the Attacks of 9/11

- The rise of the oil industry in the Middle East makes many elites wealthy but leaves many people poor and resentful.
- The oil trade with Europe and the United States brings Western ideas and culture into the Middle East; many feel their traditional Muslim values are being undermined and militant Muslim movements form.
- The founding of Israel in 1948 angers many Arabs, especially Palestinians. European and American support for Israel angers many in the Middle East.
- The Soviets invade Afghanistan in 1979; Muslims from across the Middle East, including Osama bin Laden, go to fight the Soviet troops.
- Osama bin Laden forms al-Qaeda to help drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan and all Westerners out of the Middle East.
- Iraq invades Kuwait leading to the deployment of American troops in Saudi Arabia, angering Muslim militants, including Osama bin Laden.
- The Soviet pullout from Afghanistan leads to a militant group, the Taliban, taking power and offering aid and shelter to bin Laden.
- Al-Qaeda, based in Afghanistan, stages a series of attacks on Americans, culminating in the attack on September 11, 2001.



The Taliban let al-Qaeda train at camps in Afghanistan (above). Osama bin Laden and his second in command, Ayman al-Zawahiri (right) often sent taped messages to Arab television networks.



American troops fight in rugged Afghan terrain (above) shortly after the 9/11 attacks. On the left, Americans attend a memorial service for the victims of the attacks.

Effects of the Attacks of 9/11

- Initially, the 9/11 attack unifies Americans and leads to an outpouring of support to the people of New York.
- President Bush declares a global war on terror to put an end to terrorist groups that threaten Americans.
- The United States launches attacks on the Taliban and helps local forces overthrow their regime. NATO troops then enter Afghanistan to serve as peacekeepers.
- Congress passes the Patriot Act giving the FBI additional powers to help prevent another attack in the United States.
- Congress creates the Department of Homeland Security.
- The Bush administration decides that preventing terrorist groups from getting weapons of mass destruction is a high priority.
- The United States, backed by a coalition of allies, invades Iraq to destroy its weapons of mass destruction.
- The invasion of Iraq is controversial; many traditional allies do not support it, and it divides the American people.
- An insurgency begins in Iraq that keeps American troops fighting for several years.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

If a question involves a table, skim the table before reading the question. Then, read the question and interpret the information from the table.

Review Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

- _____ ran for the Green Party in the 2000 presidential election.
 - Al Gore
 - Ralph Nader
 - George W. Bush
 - Dick Cheney
- Osama bin Laden heads the terrorist group known as
 - Al Jazeera.
 - guerillas.
 - Hamas.
 - al-Qaeda.
- The majority of Iraq's population is
 - Shia Muslim.
 - Sunni Muslim.
 - Sunni Arabs.
 - Sunni Kurds.
- What military base held captured members of al-Qaeda in 2004?
 - Abu Ghraib
 - Guantanamo Bay
 - Pearl Harbor
 - Geneva

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 1032–1035)

- In the 2000 election, Al Gore won
 - the popular vote.
 - a majority of electoral votes.
 - the state of Florida.
 - a pivotal Supreme Court Case.
- After Bush took office, Congress passed which of the following educational reforms?
 - federal funding to parents to pay for private schools if their public school was performing poorly
 - annual standardized testing in reading and math for grades 3–8
 - prohibiting federally funded schools from discriminating against girls and young women
 - transporting children to schools outside their neighborhood to achieve a greater racial balance

Section 2 (pp. 1036–1041)

- After the bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, President Clinton
 - ordered the invasion of Iraq.
 - created the office of Homeland Security.
 - ordered the bombing of terrorist camps in Afghanistan.
 - signed the Patriot Act into law.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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GO ON 

Chapter 31

8. In the fall of 2001, bioterrorists attacked news organizations and political figures with
- A small pox.
 - B anthrax.
 - C arsenic.
 - D radioactive material.

Section 3 (pp. 1042–1047)

9. President Bush targeted Iraq, one of the three countries in the “axis of evil,” before the other two countries because Iraq
- A was the most vulnerable.
 - B was responsible for the September 11 attacks.
 - C was believed to pose the most imminent danger to the United States.
 - D attacked the United States first.
10. Which country was the only nation bordering Iraq to allow the United States to launch offensives from their territory?
- A Saudi Arabia
 - B Turkey
 - C Iran
 - D Kuwait

Section 4 (pp. 1045–1055)

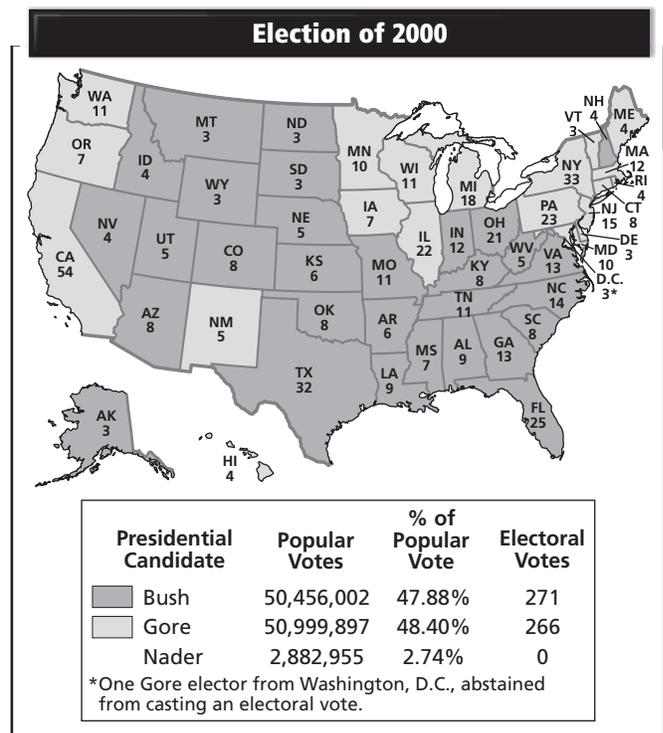
11. During the 2004 presidential election, George W. Bush’s support was strongest in
- A the Northeast.
 - B the South and the Great Plains.
 - C the Midwest and Great Lakes.
 - D all urban areas.
12. In 2005 the National Security Agency (NSA) expanded its practice of monitoring overseas calls to include domestic calls placed to overseas locations. This resulted in
- A overwhelming public support.
 - B the arrest of many terrorists.
 - C the NSA director’s arrest.
 - D a federal court ruling this monitoring unconstitutional.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. Which Supreme Court ruling stated that foreign prisoners who claim they were unlawfully imprisoned had the right to have their cases heard in court?
- A *Rasul v. Bush*
 - B *Bush v. Gore*
 - C *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*
 - D *Gideon v. Wainwright*

Base your answers to question 14 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 31.



14. In the election of 2000, George W. Bush won
- A the popular vote.
 - B fewer states than Al Gore.
 - C a majority of electoral votes.
 - D California and New York.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Go to Page . . .	1041	1044	1046	1049	1051	1050	1033



15. Which the following is under the control of the Department of Homeland Security?
- A Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
 - B Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA)
 - C Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)
 - D Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and your knowledge of Chapter 31.



16. According to the cartoon, what is the artist saying about the 2004 presidential election?
- A The world is excited about another four years with President Bush.
 - B The world is disappointed George Bush was reelected.
 - C The United States made a mistake reelecting Bush.
 - D Kerry was detached from Middle America therefore he lost the election.
17. Why did the United States think stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction was linked to the war on terror?
- A Saddam Hussein declared an allegiance with al-Qaeda.
 - B Bin Laden was believed to be hiding in the mountains of Iraq.
 - C Terrorists might buy or steal weapons of mass destruction and use them against the United States.
 - D Terrorist groups had already stolen weapons of mass destruction from Iraq.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

In October 2001, President Bush signed the highly controversial Patriot Act.

“If we were to take the position, reflected in provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act, that the government can invade our privacy and gather evidence that can be used against us based on no suspicion whatsoever that we’ve done anything wrong, but simply because the government wants to gather evidence as part of some generalized, ‘anti-terrorism’ or ‘foreign intelligence’ investigation, then we will have rendered that Fourth Amendment principle essentially meaningless.”

—Congressman Bob Barr (R-GA),
“Problems with the USA PATRIOT Act”

“Zero. That’s the number of substantiated USA PATRIOT Act civil liberties violations. Extensive congressional oversight found no violations.”

—Congressman James Sensenbrenner (R-WI),
“No rights have been violated”

18. According to Congressman Barr, which constitutional right does the Patriot Act violate and how?
19. What is Congressman Sensenbrenner’s response to the accusation that the Patriot Act violates civil rights?

Extended Response

20. The decision to invade Iraq was controversial. Choose to either support a continued U.S. presence in Iraq or immediate troop withdrawal. Write a persuasive essay that includes an introduction and at least three paragraphs that support your position.

STOP

History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 31 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	15	16	17	18	19	20
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