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CHAPTER

33

1992-Present

# Into the Twenty-Fire Century

THE BIG PICTURE Americans faced the twenty-first century with hope, determination, and a

readiness to embrace challenges at home and abroad. While always remembering and learning from the past, they looked forward to a future of change and opportunity.



#### E A HISTORIAN

Tens of thousands of runners race across the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge during the annual New York City Marathon. Some 2 million spectators cheer them on, and 260 million television viewers tune in across the globe.

Interpreting Visuals How do you think the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, affected interest in this event?

See Skills Handbook, p. H30



Bill Clinton becomes president.



World

1993 Israel and the PLO sign the Oslo Accords. 1994 UN forces Sand in Hart to restore democracy April 1995 A terrorist bo Federal Buildi City, killing 1

Slobo

1076







## BEFORE YOU READ

#### MAIN IDEA

Bill Clinton was a new type of Democrat, and his administration faced challenges for a new millennium and scandals as old as politics.

#### READING FOCUS

- What were the key events in the political rise of Bill Clinton?
- 2. What were some major domesticpolicy questions facing Clinton?
- What were some major foreignpolicy challenges facing Clinton?
- 4. What events led to scandal and impeachment proceedings during the Clinton presidency?

#### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Bill Clinton Hillary Rodham Clinton Al Gore Contract with America terrorism NAFTA TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes

on the major events of the Clinton presidency, Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here

Clinton Presidence

Domestic	Foreign	Scanes
		-

# Shaking History by the Hand

▼ Sixteen-year-old Bill Clinton, a future president, shakes hands with President Kennedy.

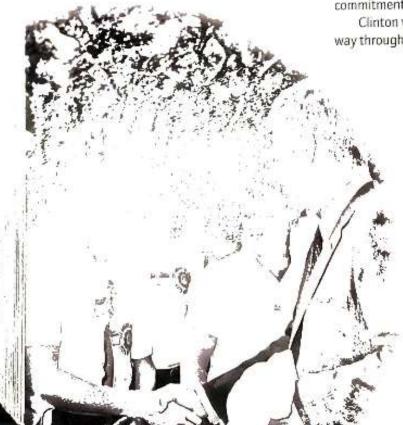
# THE INSIDE STORY

Can one handshake change someone's life? Yes, it can, according to Bill Clinton. Clinton was a high school senior in Arkansas when he had the opportunity to travel

to Washington, D.C., for a youth leadership conference. A highlight of the trip was a visit to the White House, where participants lined up to meet President John F. Kennedy. Among the first to shake the president's hand was Bill Clinton. Nobody at the time knew it, but the handshake, captured by photographers, linked two men who would one day be viewed as key figures in the second half of the twentieth century.

The young Clinton realized it was a central moment in his life. That handshake, he later recalled, changed him. He had long been interested in leadership and politics. But meeting John F. Kennedy in person instilled in him a new commitment; to serve the nation by leading it as president.

Clinton wasted little time in reaching for his dream. After working his way through college and law school, he began a career of public service.



## **Bill Clinton's Political Rise**

Bill Clinton did become a successful politician, rising to the highest positions in state government as a very young man. When he was just 30 years old, he became attorney general of Arkansas. Two years later, at the age of 32, he became the nation's youngest governor. Politically, Clinton represented a new kind of Democrat. He was not as conservative as many Republicans but not as liberal as many other Democrats. In other words, he was a centrist.

Clinton's reputation grew steadily. In the late 1980s, he chaired the National Governors Association. There he focused on issues such as improving public education and reforming the welfare system. He also chaired the Democratic Leadership Council, an organization of centrists. Clearly, Clinton was a Democrat on the rise.

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Clinton the candidate It was no surprise, when Clinton sought the Democratic then, when Clinton sought the Democratic plants of the presidency in 1992. Durnomination for the presidency in 1992, Durnomination for the presidency in 1992, Durnomination for the presidency in 1992, Durnomination of the presidency in 1992, Durnomination and middle-class patients. He also skillfully deflected questions tax cuts. These included charges that he about his past. These included charges that he had evaded the draft during the Vietnam War.

Clinton's campaign also featured a major role for his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton. She was regarded as one of the country's top lawyers. Clinton made it clear that his administration would rely on her skill and guidance.

The 1992 election Clinton won the Democratic nomination and ran against President George H.W. Bush. Clinton named a fellow southerner, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, as his running mate. The race also featured independent candidate H. Ross Perot.

In the campaign, Clinton presented himself as the protector of the middle class. His message helped produce a solid victory. He won 370 electoral votes to Bush's 168, although Clinton received less than 50 percent of the popular vote. Although Perot received 19 percent of the popular vote, he carried no state.

Effect What were some of the key factors in Clinton's rise to the presidency?

# Domestic Policy Issues

During his campaign, Bill Clinton made a number of promises about domestic matters. His record in fulfilling those promises was mixed.

Deficit reduction As you have read, Clinton proposed cutting taxes for middle class Americans during the 1992 campaign. Soon after taking office, however, he changed his plan. Citing budget deficits, which continued to rise sharply, he pushed through a major increase in taxes.

Clinton's move was criticized by some Republicans. They predicted the tax increase would hurt the economy. "The deficit four years from now will be higher than it is today, not lower," claimed Senator Phil Gramm of Texas.

This prediction turned out to be false. In fact, the United States in 1993 was entering a time of prosperity. As the decade continued, the nation experienced a long period of low unemployment and interest rates. Other features of the booming 1990s economy are shown in the graphs on the next page.

Health-care reform Reform of the nation's health-care system was another major 1992 campaign issue for Clinton. In 1992 health-care costs were rising sharply. Meanwhite, Clinton observed, tens of millions of Americans.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

administration the larrying out or management of government



Bill Clinton's warmth and charm made him an effective candidate. He won both the 1992 and 1996 presidential elections. In his State of the Union address at the start of his second term (inset), Clinton stated that the country had recovered not only its economic strength but also its optimism.

had little or no health insurance. The public, it seemed, was anxious for change.

To explore solutions to these problems, Clinton named a special task force headed by First Lady Hillary Clinton. After months of study, the group proposed a government-sponsored program of health care. Response to the proposal was mixed. The plan offered coverage to all Americans, but many people were unwilling to risk major changes to the health-care system. The plan was defeated after months of debate.

The 1994 elections The defeat of Clinton's health-care plan reflected a discontent with Clinton's leadership. The new president had failed to deliver on several campaign promises. The tax hike of 1993 was also unpopular.

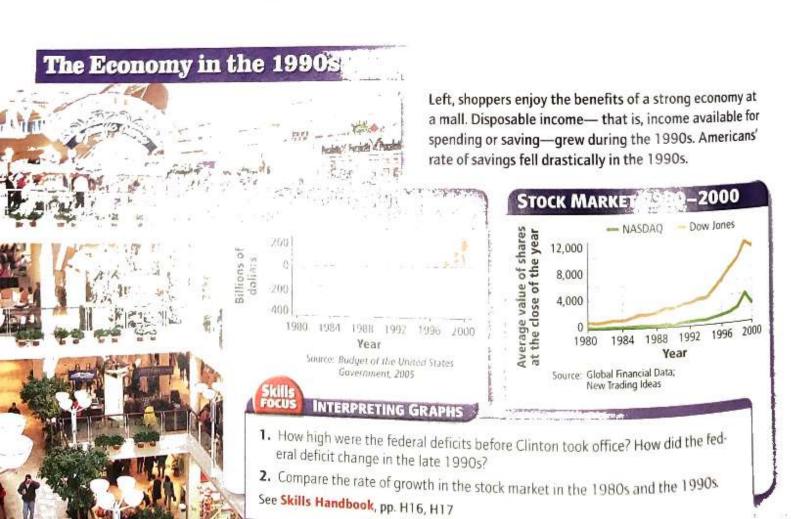
The discontent helped contribute to a major Republican victory in the 1994 midterm elections. Many Republicans, led by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, campaigned with a document they called the Contract with America. The Contract included plans to balance the budget, fight crime, and provide tax cuts for many Americans. The Contract with America appealed to many

voters. Republicans gained 54 seats in the House and 8 seats in the Senate. They took control of both houses of Congress for the first time in 40 years.

Welfare reform In spite of this defeat, Clinton bounced back. He did this by addressing several issues the Republicans had raised, including reform of the welfare system. Since the Great Depression, welfare programs had paid cash to poor families. Many people, however, had come to believe that this system was often misused. The Contract with America included plans for welfare reform. Democrats, including Clinton, opposed the plan proposed by the Contract with America.

In 1996, however, Clinton proposed his own welfare-reform plan. It limited the time people could receive benefits and required most recipients to find work within two years of getting benefits. Congress approved this plan.

Other challenges During the 1990s, the Internet emerged as a major means of communication and commerce. It also presented challenges, however. For example, many adults were concerned that children would be exposed



prinappropriate material on the Internet The white House beloed push a 1996 law to limit white House of the Internet for transmitting certain the use of the Internet for transmitting certain be use to explicit material. In Reno v. ACLU, however, the Supreme Court struck down this howered violation of the freedom of speech.

Clinton also faced the task of belping the nation cope with tragedy. In 1995 terrorists exploded a bomb in the Murrah Federal Buildexploration of the control of the co the use of violence by individuals or groups to advance political goals.

The Oklahoma City blast killed 168 people, including many children. More than 500 people were injured. Two Americans, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, were convicted for their roles in the crime. (McVeigh was executed in 2001. Nichols was sentenced to life in prison.)

Another challenge facing Clinton was reelection. In 1996 he defeated Republican senator Bob Dole of Kansas. H. Ross Perot again ran, this time on the Reform Party ticket.

READING CHECK Summarizing In what sense was Clinton's success in domestic policy 'mixed'?

# Foreign Pol - allenges

When Bill Clinton came into office, the United States was still struggling to understand the post-Cold War world. With the threat of communism gone, Clinton had to determine where American interests lay and how to protect them. The new environment would present its share of challenges to the new president.

# Early success in the Middle East In

September 1993, Clinton hosted a ceremony for the signing of a major peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. The agreement was known as the Oslo Accords. Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian chairman Yasser Arafat agreed to self-rule for the Palestinians in certain areas. The Palestinians agreed to recognize Israel's right to exist. The agreement also set the stage for ongoing negotiations in the Middle East.

Much of the promise of the Oslo Accords was never realized. Yitzhak Rabin died at the hands of an assassin in 1995. Still, the signing was a historic high point in President Clinton's first term.



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town University and Yale Law School. From the time he was in high school. Clinton dreamed of entering politics. In 1975 he won soare for Arkansas Attorney General, in 1978 at the age of 12, conton won the governorship. He won the seat again in 1982

Clinton went on to win the presidency in 1992. As gresident, no achieved the first balanced budget since the 1960s. Ainming is election in 1996, he became the first Democratising Frankin T Roosevelt to win a second term

Summarize What were some of President Clinton's major achievements?

Somalia Early in his term, Clinton fixed a difficult challenge in the African country of Somalia, Before Clinton took office, President Bush had sent American forces there to help a UN program distribute food to starving Sumuli victims of a civil war within their country.

By 1993 the UN's mission had grown. Now UN forces were working to end the fighting itself. A number of American forces died in the violence. The worst incident occurred in Octuber 1993. In a bloody battle in the Somali caprtal of Mogadishu, 18 Americans were killed and 84 were wounded. Many Somalis also died. Clinton chose to withdraw American forces. The bitter experience helped discourage Clinton from sending forces to the African country of Rwanda in 1994 to stop a terrible genocide that claimed hundreds of thousands of lives.

Haiti In 1994 the UN acted to settle a violent dispute in the Caribbean nation of Haiti. The goad was to remove a military dictator who had taken over Haiti's government by force. Chnton pledged the use of American troops to lead the UN effort. In September, the force landed in Haiti. Their presence helped bring about a generally peaceful change in government

The former Yugoslavia Yugoslavia was a country that had formed after World War L Within its borders lived several ethnic groups that were historical enemies and that had dreams of their own independence. During the

# TODAY

#### Covernment

One tops, ert for nuture negotiation under the Oslo ALLUNCS WHO THE presence of mraiely settlements in the occupied terntones in 2005 havel removed the settlements, which had long caused conflict with the Palestinians.

# Views on Frag Trade

In the early days of his administration, President Clinton worked hard to persuade Congress and the American people to support the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Business leader H. Ross Perot opposed NAFTA and free trade during his independent campaign for the presidency in 1992.

[U]nder NAFTA more jobs will stay home here in America and more American exports will head to Mexico . . . If you want to create more American jobs, if you want to lower the differences in cost of production in America and Mexico, if you want to take down barriers in Mexico to exports, then you should want NAFTA.

NAFTA, the Mexican trade agreement, where they pay people a dollar an hour, have no health care, no retirement, no pollution controls . . . and you're going to hear a giant sucking sound of jobs being pulled out of this country.

H. Ross Perot, 1992

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Analyzing Primary Sources Why does Clinton think NAFTA will create American jobs? Why does Perot expect the opposite?

See Skills Handbook, p. H28-H29

President Clinton, 1993

> Cold War, the country was held together by its leader, Josip Broz Tito. Soon after Tito's death in 1980, however, the country began to unravel. By the 1990s Yugoslavia no longer existed. In its place were several smaller countries. Within and between these countries, violence raged.

> Clinton was deeply involved in efforts to end the bloodshed. In 1995 he helped bring about the Dayton Accords, an agreement aimed at ending fighting in the new country of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1999 he urged NATO to act against Serbia, another country formed from the former Yugoslavia. His goal was to stop the Serb army's attempt to force ethnic Albanians from the Serbian region of Kosovo. NATO forces conducted a bombing campaign that forced Serb troops to leave Kosovo.

Promoting international trade Another issue awaiting Bill Clinton when he took office was the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA. Under this agreement, the

United States, Mexico, and Canada became one large free-trade zone. This meant that most products could be said across the borders of these countries without tariffs or trade barriers. President Bushfund completed negotiations on the agreement became be left office. It became Clinton's job to are congressional approval. Facing stiff oppositions the fall of 1993.

American jobs. They argued that because Mexican factories prod lower wages, they could make and sell goods at a lower cost than American-made goods. Without tariffs to make Mexican goods more expensive, many feared American factories would go out of business.

Clinton and supporters of NAFTA believed the agreement would increase trade, which would help the economy. Indeed, increasing trade was a major Clinton goal. During his presidency, the United States took part in the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Agreement, or CASTA DR.
The agreement is designed to break down trade barriers between the United States and several Latin American neighbors.

The WTO replaced the General Agreement on fariffs and Trade (GATT). It was meant as a means of settling trade disputes and forming rules for global trade. Clinton pushed for other trade agreements as well. For example, he flught for permanent normal trade status for China, the world's most populous country.

READING CHECK Identifying Supporting Details How did the end of the Cold War affect clinton's foreign policy?

# Scandal and Impeachment

Clinton had won the presidency in spite of questions about his past. His election, however, did not end the controversy. Soon came even more scandal.

Throughout his first term, Clinton faced investigation about an investment he and his wife had made in a failed real estate project in the 1970s. The project was known as Whitewater Among several legal questions related to Whitewater, observers wondered whether the Clintons and their business partners had acted improperly in getting and using loans-

Special prosecutor Kenneth Starr led the Whitewater investigation, Though he never filed any Whitewater-related charges against Clinton, three former Clinton business associates were found guilty of various crimes.

Clinton also faced charges that while he was governor of Arkansas, he had sexually harassed a female state employee. That woman, named Paula Jones, brought a lawsuit against the president. In the course of this case, information emerged suggesting that the president had conducted an improper relationship with a 21-year-old White House intern named Monica Lewinsky. Starr then extended the scope of his investigation to include Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky.

Eventually, Clinton was accused of lying under oath about his relationship with Lewinsky. He was also accused of trying to influence Lewinsky's testimony Clinton later admitted he had conducted an improper relationship. but he said he did not lie under oath.

The House of Representatives responded by approving two articles of impeachment against Clinton in November 1998, Clinton was the first president to face a Senate impeachment trial since Andrew Johnson in 1868.

In order to remove a president from office, a two-thirds majority in the Senate must vote to convict. In early 1999 the Scnate voted 55-45 against conviction on the first article of impeachment and voted 50-50 on the second article. Clinton remained in office to complete

READING CHECK Sequencing What fole did scandal play in Bill Clinton's presidency?

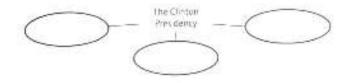
#### SECTION ASSESSMENT

# Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- 1. a. Recall Who were the key figures in the election of 1992? b. Make Inferences What can you infer from the perfor marice of H. Ross Perot in the 1992 election?
- 2. a. Define Write a brief definition of the following term:
  - Contract with America b. Summarize What do you think were Clinton's greatest successes and his greatest failures during his time in office?
- 3. a. Identify What were the major foreign policy issues facing
- b. Make Ceneralizations Toward what goals did the United States use military force during Clinton's time in office?
- a. Identify identify and briefly describe the significance of
  - b. Explain On what grounds did the House of Representatives approve articles of impeachment against Clinton?

## Critical Thinking

5. Identifying the Main Idea Copy the chart below and use information from the section to record details that support the main idea of the section



# **FOCUS ON WRITING**

6. Narrative President Clinton was known for overcoming setbacks to achieve political success. Write a brief paragraph teiling of some of the setbacks and recoveries of the Clinton administration



# Vernonia School District v. Acton (1995)

Why It Matters The Fourth Amendment prevents the government from making unreasonable searches. In this case, the Supreme Court found it reasonable to "search" student athletes by making them submit to drug testing.

## **Background of the Case**

Officials in the Vernonia School District in Oregon were concerned about the extent of drug use by students. The school district adopted a rule requiring student athletes to submit to random drug testing. When James Acton signed up to play seventh-grade football, he and his parents refused to sign the consent form for drug testing. The school did not let him play, so Acton sued, arguing that the drug testing violated the search and seizure clause of the Fourth Amendment. The trial court ruled that he had no valid constitutional claim and dismissed his case, but the court of appeals reinstated the case. The school district then appealed to the Supreme Court.

#### The Decision

The Supreme Court ruled that random drug testing of student athletes is not a violation of the Fourth Amendment a search and seizure clause. First, the Court held that drug testing is a "search" under the Fourth Amendment. The question was whether the search was reasonable. The Court decided that the school district had a legitimate concern about student drug use and that the testing program was designed to have a minimal impact on students' privacy. Finally, the Court held that students were not required to go out for sports, and those who did should expect some intrusions on their privacy. The manner and extent of the search were reasonable, the Court held, so the drug testing was lawful under the Constitution.



Public high schools can now require student athletes to submit to drug testing as a condition of playing sports. The Supreme Court's decision gives schools more power to detect and discourage drug abuse by student athletes.

#### CRITICAL THINKING

search Online

- Analyze the Impact. Using the keyword above, find and read the text of the Fourth Amendment. Could the Supreme Court have found that the school drug testing was not a search within the meaning of the Constitution?
- 2. You Be the Judge Based on the Vernonia School District decision, should a school be allowed to require drug testing for students who participate in nonsports activities, such as the yearbook or chess club? Explain your answer in a short paragraph.

# George w. Busn's Presidency

# BEFORE YOU READ

#### MAIN IDEA

Following a troubled election, Republican George W. Bush won the White House and strangly promoted his agenda.

#### READING FOCUS

- 1. What were the unusual circumstances of the election of 2000?
- 2. What were key components of George W. Bush's domestic policy?
- 3. What were the key components and figures in Bush's foreign policy?

#### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

George W. Bush budget surplus Bush v. Gore dat-com dividend Condoleezza Rico Donald Rumsfeld



read rake

notes about the events surrounding the election of George W. Bush and his policies once in office. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

Bush Takes Office

2000 Election	DameSIK Folice	Poticy
Filtren	71000	-



## What happened on the night of the 2000 presidential election?

For George W. Bush, it had been a night

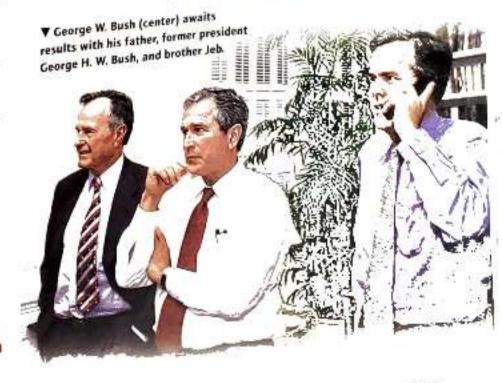
of great tension. At the end or a hard-fought campaign for president, the Republican candidate sat down with his family to watch the election returns on TV.

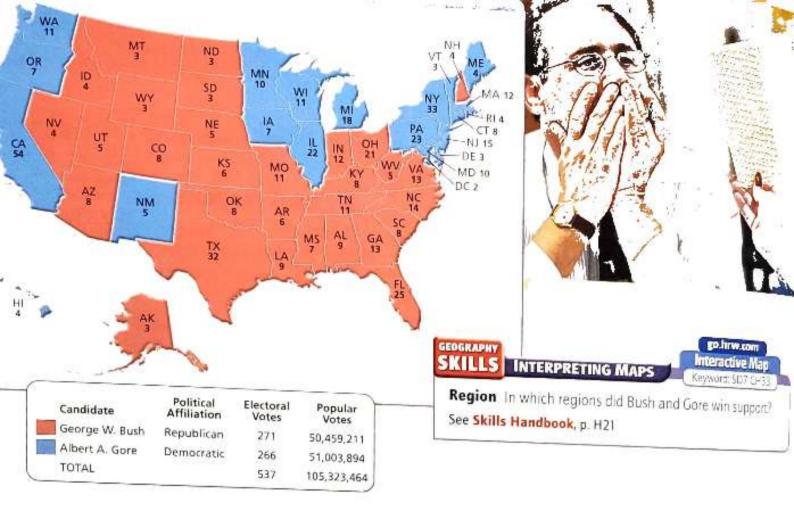
First came news that Democratic candidate. Al Gore had apparently won the popular vote in Florida—a state that was key to the outcome of the election. Two hours later.

the news organizations that had made this report took an extraordinary stepthey retracted their announcement and declared the winner in Florida uncertain. Then at around 2 a.m., these same news Organizations announced that Bush had Won Florida—and with it the presidency. Core, following the election-night custom, called Bush to acknowledge Bush's victory and congratulate the new president-elect.

But the drama was not yet over An hour after Gore's telephone call, the news organizations switched their call again I Florida was once more consideted too close to call. Gore called his Opponent once again -- this time taking back his admission of defeat. The election in Florida was over, but who had Won the presidency? It would take more than a month to determine the answer.

# **An Election** Night to Remember





# The Election of 2000

With President Clinton finishing his second term, both parties knew the 2000 race was wide open. It turned out to be one of the closest, most controversial elections in U.S. history.

The nominees During Clinton's presidency, the American economy prospered. The federal government had a budget surplus, which meant that its income exceeded its spending. Although the country's future looked bright, some Democrats were uncomfortable with Clinton's image.

Nobody understood the situation better than Clinton's vice president, Al Gore. As the Democratic nominee in the 2000 presidential race, Gore wanted to claim credit for the success of the past. He also needed to set himself apart from Clinton. "We're entering a new time," he declared as he accepted his party's nomination. "We're electing a new president. And I stand here tonight as my own man." For his running mate, Gore made a historic choice: Connecticut senator Joe Lieberman, who became the first Jewish American to seek that high office.

The Republicans chose George W. Bush as their candidate. The son of former president George H.W. Bush, he had served six years as governor of Texas. Bush's running mate was Dick Cheney of Wyoming. Cheney had a long record that included service in Congress and in several previous indiministrations.

The 2000 electron also featured the thirdparty candidacy of the lph Nader. A longtime advocate for Anne to exposumers, Nader ran as the leader of the town Party, a liberal party that supported en examinantal causes.

A troubled electron. As election day 2000 approached, polls indicated a tight race. The polls were correct. Election-night returns showed a close popular and electoral vote. It soon became clear that the race hinged on the outcome in a single state—Florida. Whoever won there would win the election.

As you have read, election returns in Florida were amazingly close. The result was confusion, with news organizations changing their reports several times about who had won the state. The matter remained unresolved through the night and into the next morning.

Apair of reporters examine an incorrectly punched ballot during a manual election recount in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in early December 2000. Controversy over incorrectly gunched ballots and so-called butterfly ballots stalled election results. How was the outcome

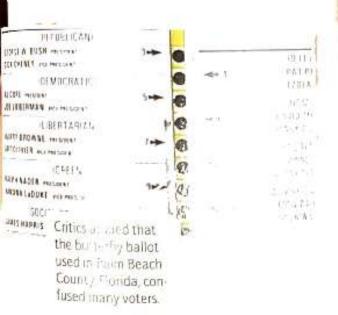
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Recounts and legal wrangling Florida election officials quickly performed a recount of the ballots. As with the original vote count, this was performed by machine. The recount gave Bush a lead of just over 300 votes out of a total of nearly 6 million Florida ballots cast.

Meanwhile, Democrats were raising questions about the Florida balloting. One concern was that thousands of ballots had gone uncounted by vote-counting machines. Many ballots had been rejected because voters had made mistakes in marking them. For example, some ballots required voters to make their choices by punching a hole in the ballot. In some cases, the hole was not clean or complete enough for the counting machine to read. Democrats argued that in many cases, the choice of the voters was obvious even though the ballot-counting equipment did not count the ballot. Because the race was so close, they said, it made sense to recount all ballots by hand. They hoped that among the uncounted ballots they would gain enough votes to win the state. Another type of punch-card ballot used in

Florida was the butterfly ballot shown above.

Some observers argued that the butterfly ballot's design led some voters to mistakenly select someone other than their intended choice.

Republicans were generally opposed to hand recounts of ballots. One reason was that hand counting introduced the role of human error and individual judgment. They also objected to Democratic plans to recount only in areas that were thought to be heavily Democratic.

Over the next few days, Democrats and Republicans took turns filing lawsuits aimed at forcing or preventing recounts. In some counties, recounts were completed. Absentee ballots were also tallied, some of which were challenged by Democrats.

Bush v. Gore On December 8, Gore won what seemed like a key legal victory. The Florida Supreme Court ordered that hand recounts had to take place in certain Florida counties.

The Bush campaign appealed the ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court issued its decision in Bush v. Gore on December 12, 2000. The ruling held that the Florida Supreme Court's recount order was unconstitutional because it failed to provide clear standards by which the ballots were to be counted. Further, the Court held, there was no time to create standards for use statewide.

The day after the decision, Gore publicly accepted his defeat in the race. That evening, George W. Bush addressed the nation on television as the president-elect. He urged Americans to unite for the future.

# HISTORY'S VOICES

661 was not elected to serve one party, but to

The president of the United States is the president of every single American, of every race and every

Whether you voted for me or not, I will do my best to serve your interests and I will work to earn your -George W. Bush, December 13, 2000 respect. 99

On January 20, 2001, Bush was sworn in as president. He became only the fourth person in American history to have won the presidency in spite of having received fewer popular votes than his opponent.

READING CHECK Sequencing What was the sequence of key events in the election of 2000?



Covernment

In 2002 President Bush signed into law the Help America Vote Act, which provided funds to help states replace punch-card voting machines with electronic voting systems. The law required states to have the new voting systems in place by 2006.

# **Bush's Domestic Policy**

The 1990s had been a prosperous time. By the time Bush took office, however, the picture was beginning to change. For example, even before the election, the once booming stock market had begun to fall. This was due in large part to the collapse in the price of many Internet-related stocks.

In the 1990s the Internet represented a whole new way of doing business. Many investors had hoped to make big money buying shares of Internet pioneers. These companies were known as dot-coms, after the .com that appears in many Internet addresses. Investors gambled billions on dot-coms. They paid high prices for the stock of companies that had never earned a profit. They expected the companies to make money one day. When the profits failed to appear, however, investors began to sell their stocks. As a result, prices dropped.

Stock prices were also hurt by a series of scandals that hit several large corporations in the early 2000s. The scandals involved dishonest accounting methods designed to make the companies more attractive to investors.

In addition to the drop in the stock market, the overall economy began to slow. Shortly after Bush took office, the United States was officially entering a recession. Though Bush was not responsible for this development, it did affect his domestic policies.

Tax cuts During the campaign, Bush had promised to cut taxes. At that time, the country enjoyed a budget surplus. When he took office, he quickly urged Congress to take action.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

66 You see, the growing surplus exists because taxes are too high and government is charging more than it needs. The people of America have been overcharged and on their behalf, I'm here asking for a refund.

-George W. Bush, February 27, 2001

Bush also argued that cutting taxes would help spur the now slumping economy. By lowering taxes and letting Americans keep more of their income to spend, Bush reasoned, business would improve. He believed this would provide more jobs and higher incomes.

By June, the Republican-controlled Congress had delivered on Bush's request. In addition to cutting tax rates, the new law addressed some long-standing complaints about the tax code. For example, it helped reduce the so-called marriage penalty. This is a part of the tax code that causes many married people to pay higher taxes than they would if they were single. The new law also lowered the estate tax, a tax on property inherited after a person's death.

Making steet were wo

Despite Bush's tax cuts, however, the economy did not improve. Instead, it went into recession. This recession was made worse by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which you will read about in the next section.

By 2003 Bush was again looking to cut taxes in hopes of promoting economic growth. Congress again passed a tax cut, which included the elimination of taxes on dividends. A dividend is a portion of a company's profits paid to its shareholders.

#### Education, health care, and more

Shortly after taking office, Bush announced a major plan for improving education. The plan became the basis for a 2001 law, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. A key part of NCLB was a requirement that states develop academic standards and test students annually to ensure that those standards are met.

Another early Bush program was the White House Office of Faith-Based Initiatives. This office helps religious community-service organizations of all faiths develop greater access to federal funding. Bush viewed religious groups as effective tools for delivering services to needy groups such as the homeless, troubled youth, and former prison inmates. Critics, however, worried that the program might cross the constitutional line separating church and state.

In 2003 Bush signed into law a major update to the Medicare program. Included in this update was a new benefit to help Medicare recipients pay for prescription medicines.

Bush's second term In 2004 Bush ran for a second term in office. The Democrats noninated Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. In addition to attacking Bush's foreign policy. Kerry criticized Bush's handling of the economy. He noted that the government was again running large deficits—that is, spending more than it takes in. In spite of these attacks, Bush won re-election in another close contest.

THE IMPACT TODAY

Daily Life

States also create initiatives to improve public education. For example, California issued a new Master Plan for Education in 2002. The purpose of the Master Plan is to provide all students with access to "the educational components that are essential to a high quality education system and that foster the attainment of the educational expectations set My the - Helpe

# No Child Left Behind

In 2001 Congress passed an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Known as No Child Left Behind (NCLB), the law is intended to improve education across the United States.

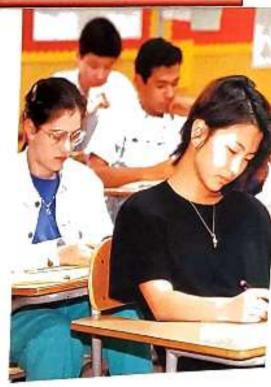
No Child Left Behind says that all students should reach at least minimal proficiency on state academic achievement standards and state academic achievement standards and state academic achievement standards and state academic achievement standardized tests every year to be used to decide whether standards are getting the education they need

Many states already had testing programs in place before NCLB was put into effect. Remaining states had until

the 2005–2006 school year to make sure that their tests addressed their state's academic standards.

Not everyone agrees that NCLB is the solution to improving education. In 2003 the National Education Association, a teachers' union, filed a lawsuit arguing that the federal government was not providing enough money to support the required changes. A lawsuit filed by the state of Connecticut in 2005 also opposed the idea that states should pay for federal education goals.

Making Inferences Why might leaders feel that standardized testing is a useful tool for measuring what students have learned?



High school students take a standardized test.

Bush soon announced a top priority for his second term: reform of Social Security. Recall that this system uses money collected from tax-payers to help fund payments to retired Americans. Bush noted that in the future, taxpayers would be unable to pay all the benefits due to retirees. He proposed reforms that would allow taxpayers to create private accounts to fund their retirement. The plan, however, faced considerable public opposition. By late 2005 Congress had not acted on it.

Bush also faced decisions over Supreme Court vacancies. In 2005, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor aunounced her retirement and Chief Justice William Rehnquist died. To replace Rehnquist as Chief Justice, Bush nominated John Roberts, who won Senate confirmation in September 2005. To replace O'Connor, Bush nominated conservative judge Samuel Alito. On January 31, 2006, Alito won Senate confirmation in a 58-42 vote, one of the tightest margins in recent history.

Solutions What were some of the problems Bush hoped to address with his domestic policies?

# **Bush's Foreign Policy**

Even before taking office in 2001, Bush assembled his foreign-policy staff. He chose Colin Powell as secretary of state. Powell had been a general in the army and chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Persian Gulf War of 1991. Bush named Condoleezza Rice as his national security adviser. Rice had been on the faculty of Stanford University and had served in the administration of George H. W. Bush in the administration of George H. W. Bush.

Soon after the 2004 election, Powell resigned and Rice became secretary of state. For secretary of defense, Bush selected Donald Rumsfeld, who had earlier held this post and other key government posts.

During the 2000 election campaign, Bush had promised to limit the use of American troops for what he termed "nation building." For example, he criticized Clinton's use of troops in Somalia and Haiti. "I think our troops ought to be used to fight and win war," he said.

With this in mind, Bush called for a review of the nation's armed forces early in his presidency. He wanted to ensure that the military was prepared to fight the kinds of conflicts the United States might face in the future.

# Bush's Foreign Policy Team FACTS



#### Colin Powell

Colin Powell, a retired four-star general, served as secretary of state during George W. Bush's first term. Powell was the first African American to hold this position.



#### **Donald Rumsfeld**

As Bush's secretary of defense, Rumsfeld's main challenge was to direct response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

#### Condoleezza Rice

Rice served as Bush's national security adviser during his first term. She replaced Colin Powell as secretary of state during Bush's second term.



Bush also decided to cancel the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. This agreement had been forged with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Bush argued that the nation no longer faced a nuclear threat from Russia. Instead, he believed the danger was from some terrorist state. Therefore, Bush planned to move forward with development of a missile defense system. At the same time, Bush planned steep cuts in the nation's nuclear arsenal. This, he said, signaled his own commitment to reducing the threat to other nations.

The decision on the ABM treaty caused some friction with Russia and China. In general, however, Bush worked to build better relations with both countries. For example, he relied heavily on China's cooperation in putting pressure on North Korea to end its program for building nuclear weapons.

Bush also helped promote the so-called Middle East road map to peace. This historic document established a two-state vision-that is, an independent Palestinian state as well as the Jewish state of Israel.

By far, however, the most important foreign-policy event of the Bush administration occurred on September 11, 2001. This event set in motion a series of events that continue to affect the United States today. You will be reading about September 11 in the next section.

READING CHECK | Contrasting How did Bush's foreign policy differ from Clinton's?

#### Reviews and People

- 1. a. Describe What factors made the 2000 election unusual? b. Contrast How did the positions of the Democrats and Republicans differ in the 2000 election with regard to hand recounting of ballots?
- 2. a. Define Write a brief definition of each of the following terms: budget surplus, dot-com, dividend
  - b. Analyze How did the change in the economic situation in the United States affect George W. Bush's presidency?
- 3. a. Identify Besides the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, what were the major foreign-policy issues facing the Bush administration?
  - b. Make Generalizations How did Bush's foreign policy reflect the realities of a post-Cold War world?

#### Cartal Thinking

4. Identifying the Main Idea Copy the chart below and use information from the section to record details that support the main idea of the section.



#### **FOCUS ON SPEAKING**

5. Narrative Write and deliver a news story about the key events of the 2000 presidential election. The account should tell what made the election so unusual in American points



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p#1 \* an it m John United States, West

# How September 11, 2001, Changed America

# BEFORE YOU READ

#### MAIN IDEA

A horrific attack on September 11, 2001, awakened the nation to the threat of terrorism and changed America's view of the world.

#### READING FOCUS

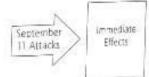
- 1. What happened on September 11, 2001?
- 2. What was the background to the September 11 attacks?
- How did the United States. respond to the attacks?
- 4. How did the 9/11 attacks eventually lead to war with Iraq?

#### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Rudoloh Giuliani Osama bin Laden al Oaeda Taliban Department of Homeland Security USA PATRIOT ACE

As you read, take notes

about the terrorist attacks of September 71, 2001, and their aftermath. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.



# Frack on the **World Trade Center**



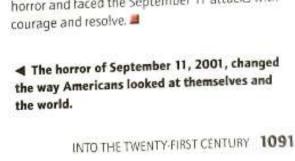
What would you do if terrorists struck your neighborhood? On September 11, 2001, students at Stuyvesant

High School in New York City were not at all prepared for terror to strike their community. Yet that morning, just as school was getting started, an aircraft slammed into one of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center, about five blocks away. A short while later, a second airplane struck the second tower.

The students fled the school in search of safety. Among them was Ethan Moses, the photographer for the Stuyvesant High School newspaper, The Spectator. When he left the school, he took his camera along. As a student journalist, he felt driven to record what was taking place in his neighborhood—even though he was terrified by the tragedy unfolding before him. Before turning to run for his own safety, he snapped the image you see here of one of the Twin Towers collapsing.

Moses knew that he must preserve the images of what took place that day. Like Americans throughout the country, he overcame his horror and faced the September 11 attacks with

◆ The horror of September 11, 2001, changed the way Americans looked at themselves and the world.



# September 11, 2001

Shortly after 8:45 A.M. on September 11, 2001, people around the country began to hear startling reports of a terrible crash in New York City. An airliner had slammed into one of the 110-story-tall Twin Towers of the World Trade Center. This complex housed thousands of offices and businesses.

A deliberate attack Just 17 minutes after the first jet crashed, a second aircraft flew into the second of the Twin Towers. It became clear that the crashes were part of a deliberate attack. President Bush appeared before reporters to issue a brief statement. "Today we've had a national tragedy," he declared. He then assured the public that he had ordered the "full resources of the federal government" to respond to the disaster.

In fact, the attack—and its devastating effects—had just begun. In New York, fire-

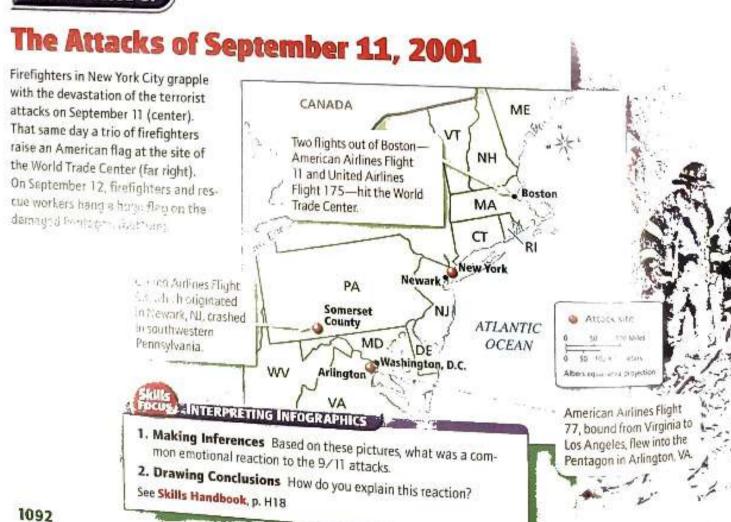
fighters and police officers rushed to the World Trade Center to help get people out of the burning towers. Military officials launched fighter aircraft to guard against any further attack. The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) frantically gathered information about other possible hijackings. Hijacking is a terrorist act in which a plane is forced to go somewhere other than its intended destination. To prevent terrorists from getting control of more planes, the FAA also halted all commercial flights.

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Unfortunately, there was nothing the FAA could do to stop the deadly flight of planes already in the air. Less than an hour after the first plane hit in New York, another slammed into the Pentagon, the mammoth headquarters of the Department of Defense located just outside Washington, D.C.

The Twin Towers collapse By now, millions of people were watching events unfold on television or listening to the news on the

## HISTORY CLOSE-UP



ed States, William Kallpurify moderrking

radio. But the worst was yet to come. Ten minutes after the Pentagon crash came the shocking collapse of the World Trade Center's Southing collapse of the World Trade Center's South Tower. Fires caused by the plane's nearly full fuel tanks had caused a fatal weakening of the building's structure. The horrifying event was captured by TV cameras for viewers everywhere to see. Shortly after that came news of a fourth plane crash, this one in a field in the Pennsylvania countryside. Then at about 10:30 A.M., the North Tower collapsed in a massive cloud of dust and debris.

The stunned nation did not know it yet, but the worst was over. Later in the day, another building that had been damaged when the Twin Towers came down collapsed. But there were no more hijackings or plane crashes.

The death toll The nation next turned to face the horrible reality at what had taken place. To begin with, the four planes had carried 265 people, including passengers and crew. All were dead. In addition, at the Pentagon, 125 people were killed by the plane's impact and

the fires that followed. The number of victims at the World Trade Center was not known, but the estimates were in the thousands. (After several years of investigation, the New York death toll stood at 2,749.) It was clear that the attacks of 9/11 would surpass Pearl Harbor and other great disasters of American history in terms of lives lost.

The nation reacts The nation was overcome by a wave of grief and anger. At the same
time, recognition of the bravery of those who
responded to the disaster gave people comfort and strength. Americans were awestruck
by the heroism of New York's rescue workers.
Several hundred firefighters and police officers had run willingly into the burning towers,
only to perish when they collapsed. Many also
admired the steady leadership of New York's
mayor, Rudolph Giuliani.

There were also reports that the plane that crashed in Pennsylvania may have been forced down by the heroic actions of its passengers. Telephone calls from passengers aboard the



## A Nation Pulls Together

A Michigan rally bursts into cheer after the playing of "God Bless America" (right). Below, New Yorkers memorialize the victims of the attack with a candlelight vigil.



**Background to the Attacks** 

Investigators, meanwhile, were trying to determine who was responsible for the attacks. One rational theory focused on Osama bin Laden. A member of a wealthy Saudi Arabian family, bin Laden had gone to Afghanistan in the 1980s to help fight Soviet invaders. During this time, he adopted the goal of promoting a worldwide Islamic revolution. Islam is one of the world's major religions, and it is based on the teachings of the prophet Muhammad, who lived about AD 570-632. Achieving an Islamic revolution, bin Laden claimed, required the destruction of the United States. Bin Laden had also been angered by the presence of American military forces in Saudi Arabia during the Persian Gulf War. This he saw as an insult to Islam.

To carry out his campaign against his enemies, bin Laden developed a terrorist network.

This was known as al Qaeda, or "the base."

known to American officials. During the 1990s, these terrorists had made a number of threats against the United States and announced the goal of killing Americans. Bin Laden had links to a 1993 bombing at the World Trade Center that killed six people, He was also accused of helping to train some of the attackers who killed 18 American soldiers in Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1993. In August 1998 bombings at the U.S. embassies in the African countries of Kenya and Tanzania killed 224. After establishing a link between the bombings and bin

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

rational based on reason

plane indicated they knew about the other attacks and had decided to stop the terrorists on board from hitting their next target.

Inspired by these stories, Americans reached out to the victims of 9/11. Blood collection centers received two-and-a-half times the normal donations in the days after 9/11. Millions of dollars poured into charities. Rescue workers from around the country traveled to New York to help with the recovery efforts at Ground Zero, the site where the Twin Towers had stood.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

The camaraderie among the workers in the zone reminds me of the stories we've heard about the Worlo War, where men and women are thrown tegether by a common cause, share tragedies and victories, and are forever bound to one another by their effort.

—Joel Meyerowitz, artist's statement to the exhibit "Images from Ground Zero"

Americans also strengthened their resolve to face the challenge ahead. Patriotic feelings soared, and millions of people displayed American flags. It was clear that the United States was now engaged in a new kind of war: a war on terrorism.

READING CHECK Sequencing What were the key events of September 11, 2001?

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Laden's network, President Clinton launched a missile attack into a suspected al Qaeda training camp in Afghanistan. Bin Laden and his organization survived. In 2000 they carried out a bomb attack on an American naval vessel, the USS Cole, which was visiting a port in the Middle Eastern country of Yemen. Seventeen Americans died in the blast.

Meanwhile, investigators later learned, al Qaeda was busy planning the 9/11 attacks. As part of this plan, terrorists began entering the United States in early 2000. They enrolled in American flight schools, where they learned the basics of flying airliners.

By September 11 they were ready to act. In the morning hours, they boarded flights at several East Coast airports. They chose long, cross-country routes so that the planes would be fully loaded with fuel. Once in the air, the hijackers—19 in total—seized control of the aircrafts. To do so, they used ordinary box cutters as weapons. It was a complicated plan that used simple methods. Tragically, it worked just as they had planned.

READ to CHEC Identifying the Main Idea
What is Osama bin Laden's background and his reasons
for using terrorism?

# The United States Responds

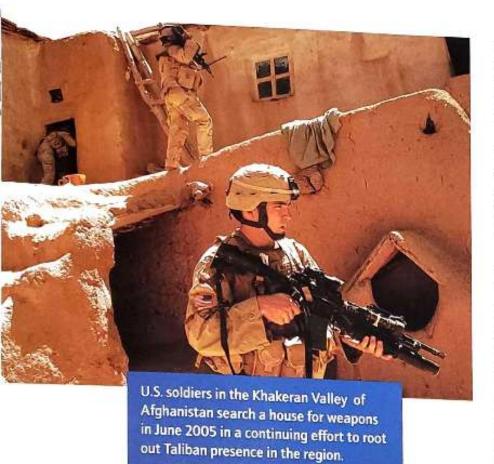
Fires were still burning in New York and at the Pentagon when President Bush issued a clear warning to the world. "We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them," he declared. With suspicion quickly focusing on Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda network, Bush's warning seemed especially directed toward the nation of Afghanistan.

War in Afghanistan Afghanistan had endured terrible suffering in the late 1909s. The 1979 invasion by the Soviet Union had been followed by years of bloody fighting and civil war. Out of this chaos, a group known as the Taliban had gained control over most of the country. The Taliban governed according to a strict application of Islamir law, For example, women were required to wear clothing that covered nearly every inch of their bodies. They were forbidden from attending school or leaving home without a male relative. Punishment for offenses was swift and harsh.

The Taliban also enjoyed a close relationship with Osama bin Laden, Recall that bin Laden operated at Qaeda training camps in







TODAY

#### Government

The creation of the Department of Homeland Security marked one of the Afghanistan. This was done with the cooperation of the Taliban. For his part, bin Laden provided support to the Taliban in its struggle to control Afghanistan.

When it became clear that bin Laden and al Qaeda were likely responsible for the 9/11 attacks, Bush put pressure on the Taliban. He insisted that Taliban leaders seize bin Laden and hand him over to the United States.

In spite of this pressure, the Taliban remained defiant. By the end of September, it was clear they would not give in to American demands. So, on October 7, 2001, the United States, along with ally Great Britain, launched a military attack on Taliban strongholds throughout Afghanistan.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

66 We're a peaceful nation. Yet, as we have learned, so suddenly and so tragically, there can be no peace in a world of sudden terror. In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it.

-George W. Bush, October 7, 2001

In fighting the Taliban, the United States relied heavily on fighters of Afghanistan's Northern Alliance. This armed group that opposed the Taliban and controlled a small part of Afghanistan. Within weeks, anti-Taliban forces captured the capital of Kabul. By early December, the Taliban was defeated.

Less successful was the hunt for Osama bin Laden. American and Northern Alliance forces at one point thought they had him trapped in the mountainous Tora Bora region of Afghanistan. The site was bombed heavily. Bin Laden, however, managed to avoid capture.

In spite of this setback, the American operation in Afghanistan was considered a success. At the end of December, representatives of several major groups in Afghanistan met to select a new interim leader for the country. They made plans to create a new constitution and government. Presidential elections took place in 2004, and parliamentary elections went forward in 2005. Afghanistan would continue to face serious problems. These included continued fighting by surviving members of the Taliban. However, the country's role as a terrorist base was greatly reduced.

Fighting terrorism at home While American troops were fighting in Afghanistan, President Bush and Congress were working to fight terrorism at home. To coordinate these efforts, Bush and Congress began work on what would become the Department of Homeland Security. This cabinet-level organization combined 22 government agencies and 180,000 employees. Its functions included maintaining a colorcoded warning system for terrorist threats.

Also in the days after 9/11, the nation experienced a frightening introduction to another kind of terrorist threat, biological agents. In several locations in the nastern United States, 18 people came down with a rare but deadly infection caused by the authors bacteria. Five people died. The anticas had apparently been sent through the man to adeliberate attempt to infect people. For soveral anxious weeks, Americans wondered how wisespread the anthrax attacks had been. It some became clear that the crisis was limited to a handful of specific locations. For a nation still recovering from 9/11, however, the incident was alarming.

In Congress, lawmakers took up the question of how to prevent future terrorist attacks. One solution proposed by the White House was to strengthen the powers of law-enforcement to

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investigate possible terrorists. These proposals became the basis of the USA PATRIOT Act. This low made it easier for law enforcement to genetly collect information about suspected terrorists. Indeed, some critics complained that the USA PATRIOT Act gave law enforcement too much power and posed a threat to basic freedoms. To address these concerns, Congress agreed to let some provisions of the law expire after a certain period of time.

The start -

READING CHECK Identifying Problems and Solutions How did the U.S. government respond to the threat of terrorism after 9/11?

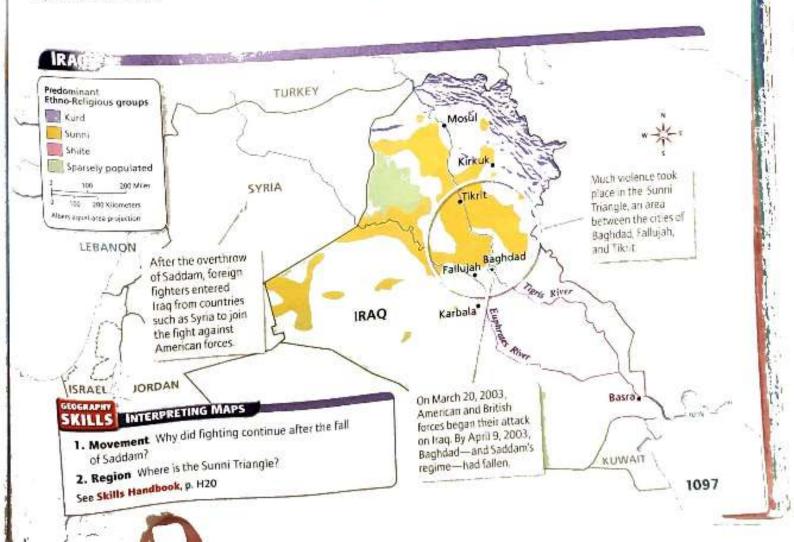
## War in Iraq

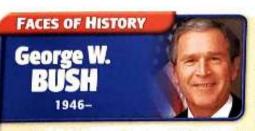
Following the success in Afghanistan, President Bush delivered his State of the Union address in January 2002. "What we have found in Afghanistan," he said, "confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning," Further, he identified Iraq as a possible future foe.

Following the Persian Gulf War in 1991. Iraq had agreed to destroy its weapons of mass destruction. To ensure that Iraq's leader, Saddam Hussein, was living up to this agreement, the UN placed weapons inspectors inside the country. With each passing year, however, the Iraqi leader grew more and more uncooperative with these inspection efforts. In response, the UN removed its inspectors entirely in 1998.

Since that time, observers believed the Iraqis had been busy building banned weapons. Given the events of 9/11, this greatly concerned President Bush. "The United States will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons," he declared.

Throughout the fall of 2002 and the winter of 2003, Bush sought to build support for forceful action against Saddam Hussein. Under this pressure, Iraq allowed a new round of UN weapons inspections. This turned up no weapons of mass destruction. Bush, however, insisted that Iraq had failed to account for weapons it was known to have possessed after





George W. Bush did not initially seek a life in politics. Though his father, George H. W. Bush, had served as a member of Congress

and in other government posts, Bush decided to pursue a business career. A failed bid for Congress in 1978 did nothing to change his mind. Then following his father's term as president, Bush won the race for governor of Texas and was re-elected in 1998. His campaign for the presidency followed two years later. Bush was re-elected to a second term in 2004. After 9/11, Bush's primary focus as president became protecting the nation against the threat of terrorism. His administration will forever be defined by his leadership in the wake of the 9/11 attacks.

Explain How did the 9/11 attacks change Bush's presidency?

the Persian Gulf War. Members of his administration also claimed to have information about new Iraqi weapons systems. Many of America's longtime allies argued against going to war. Still, Bush insisted the Iraqi threat must be countered. With the support of Great Britain and several other countries, American forces stormed into Iraq in March 2003.

The United States and its allies made quick work of Iraq's military. By early April, Saddam Hussein's regime had fallen. Saddam was captured in late 2003. The United States then moved to establish a new Iraqi government. In June 2004 American officials handed control over to an interim Iraqi government. American forces remained to help keep order and train a new Iraqi security force.

...king steel

Elections in early 2005 began the process by which Iraqis would create a new constitution. Conflict between rival religious and ethnic groups complicated the process. In October 2005, voters approved a new constitution.

Iraq, however, continued to experience serious problems. Terrorists, who included former Saddam loyalists and religious extremists, continued to take a terrible toll on American soldiers and on Iraqi civilians and those who joined the new police and security forces.

The ongoing violence created political problems for Bush. He also faced criticism when it became clear that Saddam Hussein had apparently not possessed weapons of mass destruction at the start of the war.

The president overcame these questions to win re-election in 2004. He reminded voters that Saddam had been a brutal dictator and that his removal from power made the world a safer place. He assured Americans that progress was being made toward a more peaceful, democratic Iraq. He also made clear that US forces would remain in Iraq for as long as necessary to ensure peace and order there.

READING CHECK Sequencing Describe the events leading up to and following the war in Iraq:



#### ASSESSMENT

Online Quiz Keyward: SD7 HP33

#### Revinoring Meas, Terms, and People

- a. Describe What is the significance of 9/11?
   b. Summarize How would you summarize the reaction of the American people to the attacks of 9/11?
- 2. a. Identify Who or what are the following: Osama bin Laden, al Qaeda
  - b. Make Inferences Why do you think Osama bin Laden decided to try to destroy the United States?
- 3. a. Describe Why did the United States attack Afghanistan in 2001?
  - b. Make Inferences What can you infer from the fact that the United States received wide support for its attack on Afghanistan?
- 4. a. Recall Why did the United States attack Iraq in 2003?

b. Explain Why did Bush think that removing Saddam Hussein was important?

#### Critical Thinking

 Identifying Cause and Effect states the chart below and use information from the section to record the effects of the cause given.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

 Narrative Write a brief narrative that recounts the major events of September 11, 2001, and its aftermath.

# **Looking Ahead**

# BEFORE YOU READ

#### MAIN IDEA

The dawn of a new century found the United States facing a new era of opportunity and challenge.

#### READING FOCUS

- 1. How is the face of the American population changing?
- 2. What promise does new technology hold for the United States?
- 3. What challenges confront the United States in the future?

#### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Antonio Villaraigosa genetic engineering



AKING As you read. take notes

on the major questions and concerns facing the United States in the coming decades. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

Looking Ahead

Population	
Tection opical	



What can a mayoral election tell us about the future of America? The last

time Los Angeles had a Hispanic American mayor, the "city" was actually a small frontier community of 6,000 people. The year was 1872.

Since that time, Los Angeles has grown into the second-largest city in the United States. A significant part of that growth was the result of immigration from Mexico and other countries of Central and South America. The growing number of Latino residents and voters—in Los Angeles formed an increasingly powerful voice in local politics. Yet before 2005 and the election of Antonio Villaraigosa (vee-uh-ry-60H suh), Hispanics in Los Angeles had never been able to muster the political strength necessary to elect one of their own to the mayor's office In the 2005 election, Villaraigosa drew support from voters of many backgrounds. His victory, however, was especially significant to the city's 1.7 million Latinos, who make up slightly less than half the city's population.

Villaraigosa's election was a landmark to people all across the country. As you will read, the forces that made California's population so diverse are also at Work throughout the rest of the country. The minority Groups of yesterday and today are growing, and they
will at will play a leading role in the nation's future. ■

► Antonio Villaraigosa takes the oath of office as the mayor of

Los Angeles.

# **A Latino Mayor** for Los Angeles



# America's Changing Face

Throughout American history, migration, immigration, and even slavery brought new groups to America. Such changes have sometimes led to conflict between different groups. In general, however, history shows that the nation has grown richer and stronger as it has grown more diverse.

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

diverse including great variety Tomorrow's population The makeup of America's population is continually changing. The U.S. census measures these changes. The most recent census was held in 2000. By looking back just 20 years, you can see significant population trends. (See the graphs below.)

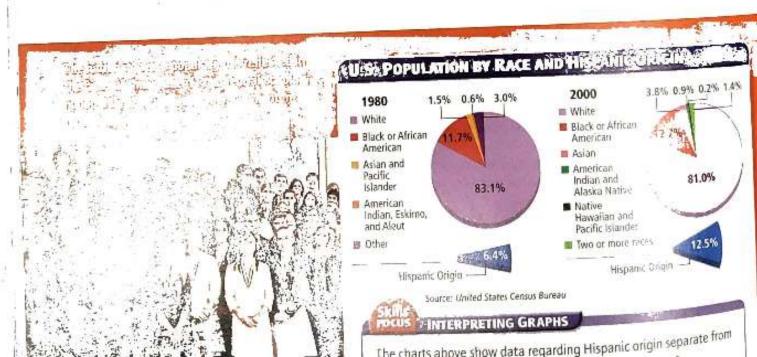
Census officials also look into the future. Minority groups today, including African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans, make up about 30 percent of the population. By 2050 they will make up about 50 percent of the population. The Asian American population is expected to more than triple. The Hispanic American population is predicted to grow by nearly 190 percent and make up nearly one-fourth of the population.

The changing population has already caused a reaction in the United States. You have read about growing resistance, mainly among white Americans, to affirmative action

programs. Such programs were designed to help minority groups overcome discrimination. In California voters approved Proposition 209 in 1996. This amendment to the state constitution outlawed the use of racial preferences in decisions such as university admissions. Under Proposition 209, public institutions in California can no longer consider a job or school applicant's race, gender, or ethnic background.

Regional changes Many Americans will also be changing where they live. The warmer regions of the South and the West are expected to grow at a faster rate than the colder Northeast and Midwest. The warmer climate attracts people and businesses, in part because of lower energy costs. Labor costs have tended to be lower in the South and West, another factor that attracts businesses to the area.

Census projections predict that between 2000 and 2030, the populations of the South and West will rise about 45 percent, compared to a 30 percent growth of the total U.S. population. Nevada and Arizona may double their populations. Texas, Florida, and California could each gain 9 million residents. Meanwhile, the Northeast will gain a mere 7.6 percent in population. The Midwest will gain only 10 percent. West Virginia and North Dakota may actually see their populations decrease.



# **Immigration and Religion**

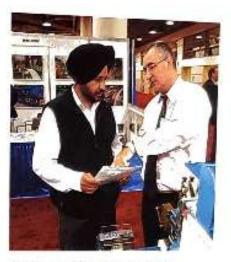
Immigrants coming to the United States have always brought their cultures, languages, and traditions with them. They also bring their religious beliefs. Most settlers in the original English colonies were Protestants, Later immigration increased the numbers of Catholics Jews, and other groups. Recently, new immigrants have brought even greater religious diversity. As more immigrants come from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, new cultures and religions have been introduced to the United States.

Today about 80 percent of people in the United States identify themselves as Christians. Among organized religious the next largest is Judaism, with almost

2 percent of the population, Religions such as Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism are growing, although members of each faith still make up less than 1 percent of the total population.

The First Amendment of the Constitution guarantees the "free exercise" of religion, which means that anyone may practice his or her beliefs. By guaranteeing freedom of religion, the Constitu-Lion has allowed the United States to become increasingly diverse in terms of religion.

Drawing Conclusions How is the Constitution connected to growing religious diversity?



The Constitution quarantees this convention attendee the right to openly practice his Sikh religion.

A gray- g population Americans are also getting older. People over age 64 are the country's fastest-growing age group. Between 2000 and 2050, the overall U.S. population is expected to increase some 50 percent. The number of people ages 65 to 84, however, could double. Meanwhile, the 20 to 40 age group may grow by just 25 percent.

Who are these soon-to-be older Americans? Many are baby boomers born between 1946 and 1964. The baby boom was followed by a sharp drop in birthrates in the mid-1960s and 1970s. This "baby bust" helps explain why younger age groups are growing at a slower rate today.

The growing proportion of retirees to working people will affect programs such as Social Security. Benefits paid to retirees come from the taxes on the wages of working people. Experts Predict that in the future, payouts from the system will exceed taxes collected. As you read in Section 2, President Bush sought to address this problem in 2005 by proposing changes to Social Security. The debate over Social Security will likely continue for some time.

READING CHECK Summarizing How would You describe the changing face of America?

# The Promise of Technology

As it has throughout history, technological change will help shape the nation's future. New ideas and new ways of working will keep the nation strong, prosperous, healthy, and secure.

Computers Computer use continues to expand rapidly. In 1980 less than 1 percent of the American population owned a computer. Today the figure is over 60 percent. Most computers are also connected to the Internet. The infrastructure that supports these connections has now covered nearly the entire country. Many people who do not have access to the Internet at home may access it at libraries or schools. In addition, computer technology is working its way into our lives in countless ways. Cars, household appliances, and many other objects contain tiny computers.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

ff This is the decade where computing technology will go from being an add-on, overlaid on our normal activities, to becoming part of the fabric of our everyday lives . . . This technology is moving forward faster today than ever before . . . ??

-Bill Gates, speech, June 25, 2003

ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

infrastructure the basic facilities of a community for transportation. communication, and more

One example of the melding of computers with everyday devices is the telephone. Computerized wireless phone use is growing rapidly in the United States. In fact, the number of wireless phone lines had surpassed the number of landline phones by 2005.

Computerized information technology, or IT, is also bringing change to American business. IT is a way of allowing businesses to organize and examine information in more productive ways. For example, an IT system can make it possible for a company's sales, manufacturing, and shipping departments to share the exact same information on their computer screens. Customers can use their own computers to check on the status of orders or to shop online. These capabilities help make a business more efficient. Being more efficient helps reduce the costs of doing business and increases profits.

Agriculture Technology continues to bring changes to agriculture. One leading example is genetic engineering. By carefully altering the genes of a species of plant, scientists have been able to produce varieties with certain desirable features. For example, scientists can genetically engineer corn so that the plant is more resistant to herbicides farmers use to control weeds. As a result, farmers can control weeds

more effectively while doing less harm to their crop. Scientists have also engineered crops to resist pests. This means more crops and less use of pesticides. There are many other possible uses for genetic engineering as well.

Like many other technological changes, genetic engineering has created controversy. Some people worry about possible health effects of genetically modified crops, Another concern is that altered genes will get into wild plants. For example, the gene that makes com resistant to herbicide could make its way into weeds. This would make the weeds harder to control and more damaging to crops.

**Exploration** The American people continue to demonstrate a spirit of discovery. President Bush in early 2004 laid out the next goal in the ongoing journey into unexplored places; building a space station on the moon and eventually sending human beings to Mars. This plan is in its early stages. There are huge technical challenges to be overcome. However, it would be unwise to doubt the ability of the American people to solve these problems.

READING CHECK Identifying Supporting

**Details** How do you think developments in technology will affect the United States in the future?





# (hallenges for the Future

The people of the United States have been blessed with great plenty—and with the skill blessed with greate a better future for themand spirit to create a better future for themselves. Throughout American history, they have used these qualities to overcome the many challenges they have faced. The future will also hold challenges—and opportunity.

Health and health care The average American born in 1900 could expect to live 47 years. Today life expectancy is over 77 years an average. By 2025 experts project that that number will be around 80. By 2050 life expectancy may reach into the mid-80s.

There are many reasons for this projected rise in life expectancy. Medical researchers are learning more each day about the causes of and cures for diseases. They are developing powerful new medicines to help combat a variety of once deadly conditions.

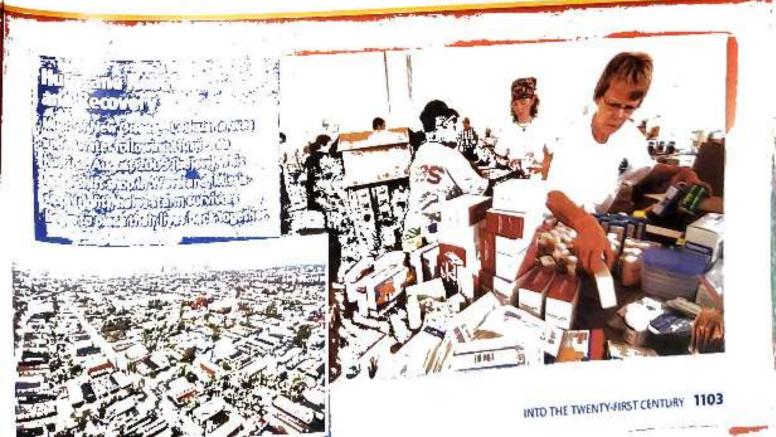
While health care offers great promise for the future, it also presents some of the greatest challenges. One of these is rost. You read in Section 1 about the rising cost of medical care and insurance, including publicly funded programs such as Medicare and Medicaid. Complicating the issue of cost is the rising age of the American population. Older people typically require more medical care than younger people. At the same time, many elderly do not have enough resources with which to pay for it.

You also read about the large number of Americans who lack sufficient health-care coverage. It seems likely that the availability of health care, how to pay for it, and what role the government should play in providing it will be major concerns in American public life for years to come.

The ongoing ravages of diseases such as HIV infection and AIDS are another major health-care challenge. HIV/AIDS continues to spread widely in this country and in the rest of the world. It is estimated that tens of millions of people worldwide will die from HIV/AIDS in coming decades. In Africa in particular, HIV threatens to devastate entire countries. America will be at the forefront of the global fight against this terrible disease.

Energy and the environment The American economy is the largest in the world. To keep this economy growing requires energy. In fact, the United States is by far the world's largest energy consumer.

One challenge with regard to energy is supply. The gap between what the United States uses and what it produces has been widening. To fill this gap, the United States has imported



energy from other countries. By 2005 the country was importing just under a third of its energy. Americans remained heavily dependent on foreign oil. More than half of U.S. supplies came from foreign sources, That number is expected to rise to 70 percent by 2025.

Americans will continue to debate the best way to balance the need for energy and economic growth and the need to minimize the costs of obtaining it. These costs include the risk of pollution and environmental harm in drilling for and using fossil fuels such as petroleum. Another possible cost is the danger of dependence on foreign energy supplies. You have read, for example, about economic problems in the United States resulting from interruptions in Middle Eastern energy supplies.

Meanwhile, the search continues for energy sources that are cleaner and easier to obtain. One promising technology is hydrogen fuel cells. These use plentiful hydrogen to generate power—without producing pollution. Fuel cell technology exists today. In fact, NASA has used fuel cells in its spacecraft for decades. Much work remains in order to make them useful and affordable for ordinary consumers.

Rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina In late August 2005 the United States received a harsh reminder of the vulnerability of its people and economy to natural disaster. Hurricane Katrina devastated a large area along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, including parts of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. The city of New Orleans, much of which lies below sea level, was flooded when levees holding back surrounding waters failed.

The human suffering caused by the storm was immense. More than 1,000 people died, Hundreds of thousands lost their homes and their source of livelihood. Weeks luter, a second hurricane—Hurricane Rita—struck the region, adding to the misery.

The economic impact of Katrina and Rita reached far beyond the Gulf Coast. Interruption of oil production and refining immediately sent fuel prices soaring. In addition, the nation experienced disruption in the supply of many products that enter the country through the busy port of New Orleans. Experts predicted that the cost of the storm would be measured in the hundreds of billions of dollars.

While Katrina and Rita delivered a cruel blow, few Americans doubted that the region and the country would recover. As you have read, the story of the United States is the story of a people who have risen to every challenge. The obstacles before the nation have changed with time. But the spirit of the American people hus remained always steady.

challenges facing the United States today similar to and different from challenges of the past?

# SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

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#### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify: What are two major trends in the make in of the free man respection?
  - b. Explain 301 (i) a national that the more in the makeup of the reservoir of a trade grade a rate of a decay?
- m. Identify after the country of the form to the execution of the form of the form of the form of the form of the execution of the country of the form of the execution of the execu
- a. Recall. As the the operated transport to operall health of the compact and a post-cycle respectance?
  - b. Explain: 36 what ways do the properties of predicting also contribute tection greate a citally right facing the breaktitials updated.
  - c. Evaluate. On what basis is it safe to predict that the United states will need the challenges it Goes in the future?

#### Critical Thinking

 Identifying the Main Idea Copy the chart below and use information from the section to record details that support the main idea of the section.



# FOCUS ON WRITING

Persuasive Write a letter to an elected leader in which you
try to persuade him or her to support or oppose one of the
technological innovations discussed in this section.



# American Literature

AMY TAN (1952-)

About the Reading Amy Tan-drew on the experiences of family members in her 1989 novel, The Joy Luck Clab, which tells the stones of four Chinese women and their Chinese American daughters. In the following excerpt Lindo long, one of the main characters, recalls her first days after are ving in the United States in the 1940s.

AS YOU READ Consider the difficulties involved with moving to a new place.

## Excerpt from



## by Amy Tan

When I arrived, nobody issked me questions. The authorities looked at my papers and stamped me in f decided to go first to a San Francisco address given to me by this girl in Peking. The bus put me down on a wide street with cable cars. This was California Street. I walked up this hill and then I saw a tall building-This was Old St. Mary's. Under the church sign, in handwritten Chinese characters, someone had added A Chinese Ceremony to Save Ghosts from Spiritual Unrest 7 a.m. and 8:30 a.m." I memorized this information in case the authorities asked me where I worshipped my religion . . .

So I kept walking up this hill. I saw two pagodas, one on each side of the street, as though they were the entrance to a great Buddha temple. But when I looked carefully, I saw the pageda was really just a building topped with stacks of tile roofs, no walls, nothing else under its head. I was surprised how they tried to make everything look like an old imperial city or an emperor's tomb. But if you looked on either sule of these pretend-pagodos, you could see the streets became narrow and crowded, dark, and dirty I thought to myself, Why did they choose only the worst Chinese parts for the inside? Why didn't they build gardens



Chinatown in San Francisco durina a Chinese Fiew Year Instituti.

and pends instead? Oh, here and there was the look of a famous ancient cave or a Chinese opera. But inside it was always the same cheap stuff.

So by the time I found the address the girl in Peking gave me, I knew not to expect too much. The address was a large green building, so noisy, children running up and down the outside stairs and hallways. Inside number 402, I found an old woman who tald me right away she had wasted her time waiting for me all week. She quickly wrate down some midresses and gave them to me, keeping her hand out after I took the paper. So I gave her an American dollar and she looked ut it and said, "Synujye" - Miss - "we are in America now. Even a beggar can storve on this dollar," So I gave her another dollar and she said. "Air, you think it is so easy to get information?" So I gave her another and she closed her hand and her mouth

#### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- 1. Summarizing. How would you sharacter varthe we come Lindo long received in the United States?
- 2. Literature as Historical Evidence Frondees from excerpt describe the struggle of immigrants to adapt to a new culture?

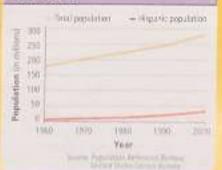
See Skills Handbook, p. H32

## HISTORY (V Geography

# Hispanic Growth and Influence

Hispanics, with a population of 40.4 million at the end of 2004, make up 1.4 percent of the total U.S., population. They are the country's largest and fastest growing minority group. 8y 2020 Hispanics will total an estimated 60.4 million and account for half of the growth of the U.S. labor force. With their ming numbers have come newfound political and economic powers. Many people point to the Hispanic vote as a key factor in recent presidential elections.

#### HISPANIC POPULATION GROWTH, 1960 - 2000



Catherine Lerror

and Costa Salerter are the field states as serve together in the U.S. Congress They proved 22 office Hispanic Americans serving in the Natural Representatives and over 6,000 Hispanic Americans linking elected office:







# **Spending Power**

Illinois's Hispanic population grew by 650,000 from 1990 to 2000, with most settling in Chicago, Overall Hispanic spending power has grown, too. To attract a larger piece of the Hispanic market, Chicago's Tribune Company turned its Spanish-language weekly, ¡Exito!, into the daily Hox



ME

MA

## College Bound

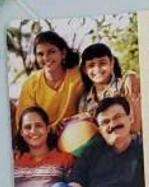
As the number of U.S.educated Hispanics has risen, so has the proportion of those who attend college. To better serve the area's Dominican population, which is larger than the population of the Dominican Republic, the City University of New York offers a degree in Dominican Studies.





# Swing Voters

Mel Martinez immigrated to Florida from Cuba at age 15 in 2004 he became the first Cuban American elected to the U.S. Senate. In 2000 President Bush took Florida by 537 votes, but he wan 80 percent of the Cuban vote.



Houston 37.4%

58.7%

# **Immigration**

After California, Texas has the largest Hispanic population. mostly of Mexican origin. Unlike with earlier European immigrants, Mexican immigration has not come in a single wave, but rather in a continuous flow for over a century.



- KILLS INTERPRETING MAPS 1. Location Leok at some of the major areas of Hispanic American concentration. Why might these areas have been attractive? Why might other areas be unattractive? 2. Movement Why might Mexican immigration be occur
- ring in a continuous flow instead of a single wave.

See Skills Handbook, p. H20

INTO THE TWENTY FIRST CENTURY 1107

# 33

# **DOCUMENT-BASED INVESTIGATION**

# The Global Economy and Society

**Historical Context** The documents below provide different information on the effects of globalization on economics and society.

**Task** Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then write an essay about globalization. Use facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

## DOCUMENT 1

This cartoon comments on the increase in outsourcing—sending local jobs overseas in order to take advantage of lower labor costs in other countries.



"The last step says to dismantle the whole thing and ship all the jobs overseas,"

# DOCUMENT 2

In 2003 the editor in chief of Reason magazine interviewed author Tyler Cowen about his book Creative. Destruction, Harr Citabolization is Changing the World's Colon, and Commission in the supposes that globalization area for most couple area on the couple.

"Remain to a sum of stack that a harmonic results on tall cultural existings" of property and

"Tyler Covien. The first point to make a treat che comples characterize it. The only question is, now reach of it do we already see? Look at a book and ask yourself, where does paper come from, where does printing come from, where do the ideas in the book come from? What's the religious background of the author? You're already talking about the Middle East, China, Europe, the United States. Just about anything you can find reflects a synthetic [not natural; made by humans] culture based on trade....

"Reason: One of the problems with arguments about cultural loss is that they are often advanced for protection at reasons. So, for instance, we have the French decrying [complaining about ] U.S. cultural imperialism and insisting on domestic-content rules and the like. What are the effects of trying to be diback cultural decaying destruction?

"Tyler Cower: The good news is that it cannot easily be held back... Look at the French. For all the noise they make, Paris is remarkably open to African and Middle Eastern cultures—and to Hollywood movies, for that matter... As a whole, the world has been moving toward freer trade for quite a while."

# DOCUMENT (3

Economic changes have affected people all over the world. This Newsweek article, published in 2001, examines the effects of globalization on women in different countries.

"For European women, globalization's fallen trade barriers, blurred national boundaries and new technology have brought the best of times - and the worst. The European Union's freedom of movement created more career opportunities, but increased competition, and with it, stress... Creeping Americanization has shaken up antique boardroom attitudes — but also ushered in a 24/7 work schedule. Leaner company structures make it easier to negotiate part-time work, but harder to get paid maternity leave or a pension. A boom economy thears women have little trouble finding jobs, but with cuts in education and healt it they may have trouble getting trained for good come or finding the larger while they're at them,"

# DOCUMENT (

Mark Rice-Oxley is a reporter for The Christian Science Monitor. In this article, published in 2004, he discusses how the spread of American culture affects societies around the world.

Stick a pin in a map and there you'll find an example of U.S. influence. Hollywood rales the global movie market, with up to 90 percent of audiences in some European countries, Even in Africa, 2 of 3 films shown are American. Few countries have yet to be touched by McDonald's and Coca-Cola

"America's proceminence is hardly surprising. Superpowers throughout the ages sought to percetuate their way of life, from the philosophy and mythology of the ancient Greeks to the law and language of the Romans; from the art and architecture of the Tang dynasty and Renal ssance Italy to the sports and systems of government of the British ....

"So how much good does American culture bring to the world? And how long will it last? Ian Raiston cautions against sweeping dismissars of U.S. unpiculture. British television may be saturated with American sitcoms and movies, but while some are poor, others. are quite good, he says ... Others note that it is not all one-way traffic. America may feast largely on a chet of homegrown culture, but it imports modestly as well: soccet international cuisine, Italian fashion, and, increasingly British television."

Women?

## **READING LIKE A HISTORIAN**

- 1. a. Identify Refer to Document 1. What are the boys in the cartoon building?
  - **b. Interpret** How does this cartoon illustrate changes in employment patterns?
- 2. a. Identify Refer to Occument 2 What example does Cowen use to support his point that glubalization creates
  - b. Interpret Based on this excerpt, what is Cower's opinion about the effects of free trade on culture?
- 3. a. Identify Refer to Document 3. How has the spread of technology affected work habits in foreign countries? b. Analyze Do you think the article would conclude that globalization has benefited or harmed European

- 4. a. Identify Refer to Document 4. How according to the article is the spread of American culture's milar to that of past empires?
  - b. Elaborate How does this article suggest that the spread of culture affects people in the United States and other countries?
- 5. Document-Based Essay Question Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4, deate an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. How does the global economy affect cultures and sec elves around the world?

See Skills Handbook, pp. HZ8-H29, H30



# Visual Summary: Into the Twenty-first Century

## The Clinton Administration

- Welfare reform was achieved, but health-care reform was not.
- The nation became drawn into conflicts in Somalia, Haiti, and the former Yugoslavia.
- Despite impeachment, President Clinton completed his two terms.

#### The Bush Administration

- President Bush won a controversial election in 2000 and re-election in 2004.
- His domestic policy focused on tax cuts, education, and Medicare reform.
- His foreign policy was dominated by response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

#### Terrorism and War

- The attacks of September 11, 2001, shifted national focus to terrorism.
- In the war on terror, the United States attacked Afghanistan and Iraq.
- The United States created the Department of Homeland Security and passed new laws to fight terrorism.

#### **Looking Ahead**

The 1990s

and Beyond

The twenty-first century should bring:

- demographic changes—greater diversity and an aging population.
- technological changes in communication, medicine, agriculture, and space exploration.
- challenges in health care, energy, and the environment.

# Reviewing Key Terms and People

Identify the correct term or person from the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions.

- Law passed in the aftermath of 9/11 aimed at enhancing investigative powers
- 2. Trade agreement involving Mexico and Canada
- 3. Elected mayor of Los Angeles in 2005
- 4. Terrorist believed responsible for 9/11
- Nickname for the type of Internet company that appeared in the 1990s
- Republican package of proposals and legislation from 1994
- New cabinet-level organization created in the aftermath of 9/11
- 8. Payments made by corporations to stockholders
- A technology designed to improve agriculture by altering the genetic material of plants

- Use of computer technology to efficiently use information
- Supreme Court case that finally settled the presidential election of 2000

# Comprehension and Critical Thinking

SECTION 1 (pp. 1078-1083)

- 12. a. Describe How would you describe the basic political beliefs of Bill Clinton?
  - b. Make Inferences What can you infer from the fact that Clinton was able to survive so many political scandals?
  - c. Evaluate Do you think Clinton's willingness to adopt policies of his political opponents was a strength or a weakness?

# SECTION 2 (pp. 1085-1090)

- 13.a. Recall What were President George W. Bush's major goals for domestic policy?
  - b. Summarize What reasons did President Bush give for wanting to cut taxes?
  - c. Elaborate How do you think the circumstances of Bush's election in 2000 affected his ability to govern? Explain your answer.

# SECTION 3 (pp. 1091-1098)

- 14.a. Recall What is the significance of the date September 11, 2001?
  - b. Make Generalizations Describe the emotional reactions of the American people to the catastrophe of September 11th.
  - C. Evaluate How effective do you think the terrorist attacks were in damaging the United States? Explain your answer.

# SECTION 4 (pp. 1099-1104)

- 15. a. Recall How is the American population expected to change in the decades ahead?
  - b. Summarize What are some of the causes and effects of the increase in the population of older Americans?
  - C. Rank Do you think the challenges facing the United States today are more or less significant than the challenges this country has faced in previous eras? Explain your answer.

# Using the Internet

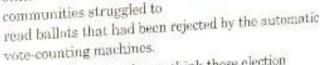
go.hrw.com Practice Online Keyword: 5D7 CH33

16. Choose of one of the following topics: communication, medicine, agriculture, transportation, or industry. Using the keyword above, do research to learn how technology has affected the topic of your choice. Then write a brief report that summarizes your findings. In your report, include at least three ways that technology has an impact on the topic you chose.

# Analyzing **Primary Sources**

## Reading Like a

Historian After the 2000 presidential election. officials in many Florida communities struggled to



- 17. Describe What do you think these election officials are trying to figure out by looking at this hallot?
- 18. Explain Why do you think the hand counting of ballots as shown here was a controversial process?

# Critical Reading

Read the passage in Section 3 that begins with the heading "The United States Responds." Then answer the question that follows.

- 19. Why did the United States invade Afghanistan?
  - A. to take revenge on the people of Afghanistan
  - B. to remove the Taliban regime that had harbored Osama bin Laden
  - C. to use Afghanistan as a military base for the
  - D. to help distract the American public from their problems at home

Descriptive Writing Descriptive writing uses concrete details to help a reader visualize a person, place, or thing. To practice descriptive writing, complete the

Writing Topic The Future of the United States

20. Assignment Based on what you have read in this chapter, write a paragraph that describes the United States 20 years from now.