

CHAPTER 20

Political Partisanship and the War on Terrorism

The Democratic President Bill Clinton and his Republican successor, George W. Bush, had different methods of handling a growing ideological split between liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans. Clinton tried to establish common ground between the two parties on issues such as the economy and foreign policy. He tried to avoid direct confrontation with his opponents by compromising with them. Nonetheless, partisanship increasingly damaged his administration. By embracing some of the more conservative values and policies, President George W. Bush widened the split between conservatives and liberals. After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., the country united behind Bush. But this unity began to dissipate with disagreements over Bush's handling of foreign policy issues.

CLINTON, A "NEW DEMOCRAT"

The 1992 presidential election returned the Democrats to the White House. The winner, Bill Clinton, the longtime governor of Arkansas, distanced himself from the image many Americans had of Democrats as "tax-and-spend" liberal politicians who were weak on crime and national defense. As a so-called "New Democrat," Clinton said he favored a balanced budget, welfare reform, tough anticrime measures, and an active foreign policy, most of which had not been considered Democratic policies for decades.

1. A Three-Man Race. In 1992, the first President Bush ran for a second term as the Republican candidate. The Democrats nominated Clinton, who picked another Southerner, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, as his running mate. A third major candidate was H. Ross Perot, a billionaire Texas businessman. Perot ran as an independent who tapped into substantial voter dissatisfaction with both parties and with the performance of the federal government.

The campaign's major issue was the economy. The national debt had increased to almost \$4 trillion, and the budget deficit was continuing to rise as well. The economy was in a *recession* (extreme,

short-term slowdown), and many Americans were unemployed. Clinton emphasized change, portraying the "New Democrats" as a moderate party dedicated to helping people "who work hard and play by the rules." Perot won support from many who distrusted professional politicians.

The biggest election turnout in 30 years resulted in a Clinton victory. He achieved a sizable margin in the Electoral College: 370 to 168 (with no votes for Perot). Clinton narrowly won the popular vote with 43 percent. Bush, meanwhile, got 38 percent; and Perot received 19 percent, which was surprisingly large for an independent.

2. Change at Home. In the 1992 election, the Democrats retained control of Congress, which was now more diverse than ever before. The number of women, African Americans, and Hispanics in Congress almost doubled. Among the six women elected to the Senate was its first African-American one, Carol Moseley-Braun of Illinois. Winners also included the first member of Congress of Korean descent and the first Native-American senator in 60 years.

a. Early initiatives. More liberal on social issues than his Republican predecessors, Clinton used executive orders to make some changes early in his administration. For instance, he lifted a "gag rule" that had prevented abortion counseling by clinics that received federal aid. The president also gained congressional approval for some measures, including a family-leave bill. It required companies with 50 or more employees to give unpaid leave to workers facing family or medical emergencies.

Clinton's 1993 budget, designed to reduce the deficit by almost \$500 billion through 1998, curbed Medicare and Medicaid funding and raised taxes for the wealthy. Congress passed it without a single Republican vote. At the president's urging, Congress approved the Brady Bill, which set up a five-day waiting period for handgun purchases in order to allow for background checks.

By the early 1990s, medical costs were soaring. More than 35 million Americans lacked health insurance. A task force headed by the president's wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, worked several months to draft a *national health insurance* plan that would both contain expenses and broaden coverage. Every American would be covered by some sort of health insurance. This plan, announced by the president in September 1993, aroused strong objections from many private health insurers, doctors, and employers. Unable to win congressional support for his health-care plan, Clinton abandoned it in 1994.

In 1994, Congress passed (and the president signed) a tough new crime-control law. It provided for the hiring of 100,000 additional po-



Because so many people lacked health insurance, President Clinton proposed in 1993 a national health insurance plan. It was not passed by Congress.

lice officers over the next six years. It expanded the number of federal crimes punishable by death and required life sentences for people convicted of three serious felonies (“three strikes and you’re out”).

b. The 1994 congressional elections. As the congressional elections approached late in 1994, Republicans sensed victory. The health-care defeat had hurt Clinton’s popularity. Also plaguing the president were issues dating back to his Arkansas days, specifically allegations of sexual misconduct and financial illegalities.

Led by Congressman Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the House Minority Whip, Republicans in 1994 captured both houses of Congress for the first time since 1954. Most of the new Republican elected officials pledged to carry out their platform, the Contract With America. It called for tax cuts, congressional term limits, a stronger military, and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. Although some Contract provisions became law, a Balanced-Budget Amendment was defeated.

Budget issues divided the president and Congress throughout 1995. The president wanted a balanced budget but argued that cuts in *entitlements* (guaranteed government benefits, such as Social Security) proposed by Republicans were too drastic.

c. The 1996 elections. Clinton’s legislative strategy in the election year of 1996 was to avoid head-on collisions with Republicans.

One compromise was a welfare-reform act that ended federal income guarantees to the poor. They were replaced by a work-orientated, time-limited system run by the states. After a certain amount of time had lapsed, recipients of state income programs were expected to look for a job and go to work.

The Democrats renominated Clinton for the presidency in the 1996 election. The Republicans chose a longtime senator from Kansas, Robert Dole, as their candidate. Dole ran on a conservative platform that called for a 15-percent tax cut. He also made thinly-veiled references to Clinton's ethical troubles. Perot ran once again as an independent.

Clinton benefited from a strong economy and low unemployment. His 379-to-159 margin in the electoral college (with Perot receiving no votes) made him the first Democrat to be re-elected for a second full term since Franklin Roosevelt. In a three-way race, Clinton won 49 percent of the vote. The Republicans retained their hold on Congress.

3. Impeachment and Acquittal. Many scandals dogged Clinton during his presidency. During Clinton's first term, he and his wife had been subjects of a federal investigation into questionable financial dealings while he had been governor of Arkansas. In addition, Paula Jones, a former Arkansas state employee, charged Bill Clinton with sexual harassment.

As the Jones lawsuit proceeded, a former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, was called to testify about an alleged affair with Clinton. She denied having such an affair. But Linda Tripp, a former coworker of Lewinsky's, had secretly recorded telephone conversations with her in which Lewinsky discussed having an affair with the president. Clinton denied under oath that he had an affair with Lewinsky. Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor appointed to look into the Clintons' financial dealings, also probed the Lewinsky matter and obtained the recordings.

Jones withdrew her lawsuit after Clinton agreed to settle her claim for \$850,000, but with no admission of wrongdoing or any apology on his part. Starr believed that Clinton had abused his power as president, committed perjury, and obstructed justice in an attempt to keep his affair with Lewinsky secret. Starr turned over his evidence to the House of Representatives for possible impeachment proceedings.

In December 1998, the House voted to impeach the president for perjury and obstructing justice. The issue was not only whether there was substantive evidence that Clinton had broken the law, but also whether such conduct was serious enough to remove him from

office. In early 1999, the Senate tried the president on the impeachment charges. He was acquitted by the Senate.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: national health insurance, family leave, entitlements, welfare reform, “three strikes and you’re out.”

CRITICAL THINKING: In what sense could Bill Clinton be considered a “New Democrat”?

4. Relations With Other Countries. During his two terms in office, Clinton conducted a very active foreign policy.

a. NAFTA. Early in his first term, Clinton voiced support for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which had originated in the Bush administration. This pact called for a huge *free-trade zone* comprising the United States, Mexico, and Canada. Many Democrats opposed NAFTA, fearing major losses of U.S. jobs to Mexico. When Congress passed the legislation in 1993, it did so only because of widespread Republican support.

b. Haiti. In the Caribbean region, the United States acted to restore order to Haiti. In 1990, Jean-Bertrand Aristide had been elected president of the country. But he was later expelled by a military coup and took refuge in the United States. Intervention by the UN and the United States restored Aristide to power in 1994.

c. Former Yugoslavia. U.S. leaders had long been concerned about violence in the former Yugoslavia. This Communist country had broken up as various nationalities agitated to form their own national governments. Beginning in the early 1990s, clashes among Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims led to widespread death and devastation. In 1995, the United States sponsored cease-fire negotiations among the warring factions in Bosnia. Americans then formed part of a NATO multinational force stationed in the Balkans to supervise a return to peaceful relations.

Meanwhile, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic sent forces into the Serbian province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanians were the majority and wanted independence. Because Milosevic refused to join peace talks on Kosovo, NATO in 1999 launched an air offensive against Serbia. Soon Serbia withdrew its forces from Kosovo. Milosevic and his political party lost the 2000 election. He was then turned over to stand trial before the International War Crimes Tribunal for his alleged role in the atrocities committed during the conflict in Bosnia. (He died in 2006 while still on trial.)

d. Russia. Under Vladimir Putin, Russia was making a difficult transition to democratic rule and a capitalist economy. The United States supported a multibillion-dollar loan proposed by the international financial community to keep the Russian government and the economy afloat. But the task was complicated by the war for independence waged in Chechnya, a small, mostly Muslim region of Russia to the west of the Caspian Sea.

e. Asia. The Clinton administration made some progress with Communist countries of Asia. It negotiated with North Korea to limit the latter's nuclear capability. And it resumed diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

Bill Clinton visited China in 1998, but relations between China and the United States remained uneasy. The United States continued to condemn human rights abuses in China. Then, too, Clinton threatened to use sanctions to force a crackdown on the black market sale in China of American computer programs, films, and music recordings.

f. Middle East. Clinton continued to play a personal role in finding a diplomatic solution to the conflict in the Middle East. At the White House in 1993, he welcomed Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The two Middle East leaders signed an unprecedented peace agreement. In 2000, Clinton sponsored a Mid-



President Clinton, Yitzhak Rabin, and Yasir Arafat at the White House in 1993.

dle East summit meeting between the Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Arafat. In the end, these talks collapsed. Then Palestinian militants resumed their suicide bombing attacks, which the Israelis answered with harsh reprisals.

In 1993, a month into Clinton's first term, followers of radical Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman exploded a truck bomb in the World Trade Center in New York City. This group's goal was to force the United States to end its support of Israel and Egypt. In 1998, Islamist fundamentalist groups launched terrorist attacks against U.S. embassies in Africa. It was believed that the Saudi Arabian religious extremist Osama bin Laden orchestrated the attacks. He operated out of Sudan first and then Afghanistan. Clinton ordered missile strikes on targets in Sudan suspected of being connected to bin Laden.

Following the Persian Gulf War, Iraq's leader Saddam Hussein had been forced to allow the UN to inspect and destroy Iraq's *weapons of mass destruction* (chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons). The process dragged on for years, with Hussein alternating between defiance and cooperation. After Iraq in 1998 refused to give the UN inspectors documents related to its weapons, Clinton launched four days of air strikes on Iraq in an effort to force compliance.

g. Africa. A civil war has long raged in Somalia. In 1994, efforts at peacekeeping in this East African nation resulted in the deaths of 26 U.S. soldiers. As a result, Clinton pulled all U.S. forces out of that country.

In this same year, a civil war in Rwanda between the two major ethnic groups of Hutus and Tutsis resulted in the genocide of over half a million people, mostly Tutsis. Haunted by the failure of the U.S. mission in Somalia, U.S. leaders hesitated and then abandoned any plans to intervene in Rwanda. In 1998, Clinton made a tour of Africa in an effort to mend the tattered U.S. relations with that continent.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Kosovo, Vladimir Putin, Chechnya, Sudan, Somalia.

CRITICAL THINKING: Do you think that the United States should have helped restore Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power in Haiti in 1994? Why or why not?

THE 2000 AND 2004 ELECTIONS

Vice President Al Gore was the Democratic candidate for president in 2000, while Connecticut Senator Joseph Lieberman was the vice

presidential candidate. George W. Bush, the two-term governor of Texas and the son of former President George H.W. Bush, won the Republican nomination. Dick Cheney, the former secretary of defense and Wyoming congressman, was picked as his running mate.

The major policy issues of the 2000 campaign were financing Social Security and prescription drug coverage. Issues of personality and personal integrity, however, played a large role in the campaign. Bush highlighted his "outsider" status and attempted to link Gore to scandals of the Clinton presidency. Gore stressed his political experience and vast knowledge of public policy issues. He also criticized Bush for his lack of experience.

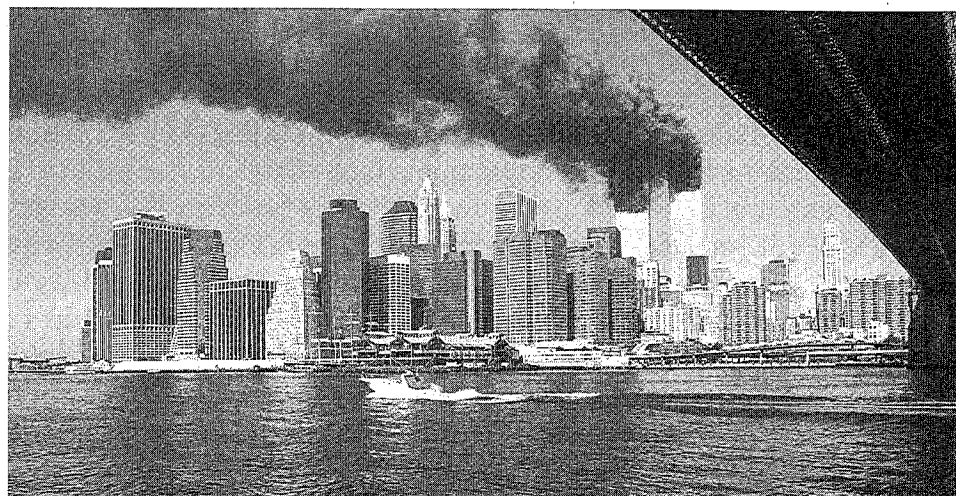
The 2000 election, in which Bush and Gore ran neck and neck up to Election Day, was perhaps the most controversial in U.S. history. In Florida, the extremely close count, faulty voting machines, and voter registration problems made George W. Bush's victory seem questionable. Both candidates insisted on recounts and made legal challenges right up to the Supreme Court. It was not until mid-December that Bush was officially declared the winner in Florida. This gave him enough votes in the electoral college to win the election, even though he had fewer popular votes than Gore.

The 2004 election was not as close as the 2000 one. Massachusetts Senator and Vietnam War veteran John Kerry won the Democratic nomination for president. Kerry picked Senator John Edwards of North Carolina as his running mate. President George W. Bush and Vice President Dick Cheney were renominated by the Republican Party. With a high voter turnout, Bush received 51 percent of the popular vote and 286 out of a possible 538 electoral votes.

ANOTHER BUSH IN THE WHITE HOUSE

After George W. Bush took the oath of office for the first time as president in January 2001, he faced significant challenges at home and abroad. At home were the issues of maintaining a robust economy and dealing with the changes that an aging population brings. On the world scene, an increase in terrorist attacks and the threat of nuclear conflict in the Korean Peninsula and India/Pakistan also demanded attention.

1. The Tragedy of September 11, 2001. On September 11, 2001, terrorists belonging to the al Qaeda network established by Osama bin Laden hijacked four jetliners. They flew two into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center and one into the Pentagon near Wash-



Smoke billowed from the towers of the World Trade Center in New York on September 11, 2001, in the most horrifying terrorist attack against the United States.

ington, D.C. The fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Some 3,000 people lost their lives.

In response to the September 11 attacks, Congress passed the Patriot Act of 2001. Its purpose was to make it easier to fight terrorism. Critics claimed that the act dangerously expanded law enforcement's surveillance and investigative powers. Moreover, they claimed, it denied hundreds of individuals jailed under the act access to lawyers or family. In response to lawsuits, U.S. courts declared only some provisions of the law unconstitutional. To coordinate all government agencies in the fight against terrorism, President Bush set up a Cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, which officially began operations in January 2003.

In January 2006, it was learned that Bush had authorized the National Security Agency (NSA) to *wiretap* U.S. citizens and groups without a warrant. The president defended himself by saying that these people were believed to have terrorist connections. He argued that the Constitution and the emergency powers passed by Congress after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center legalized this action.

2. Foreign Affairs. During his two terms of office, President Bush took measures to root out al Qaeda havens around the world and to work to resolve international conflicts, some of which (it was feared) could spark new acts of terrorism.

a. Afghanistan. Almost immediately after September 11, the Bush administration demanded that the Taliban, a fanatical group of Islamic clerics ruling Afghanistan, turn over Osama bin Laden.

The Taliban's refusal resulted in their downfall as anti-Taliban Afghan forces and U.S. troops launched attacks. Bin Laden, however, managed to escape capture.

In January 2004, delegates to the newly installed Afghan grand council approved a charter that set up a presidential system and a national assembly, and granted equal rights to women. Despite ongoing turmoil in the country, Hamid Karzai in October won Afghanistan's first-ever presidential election. The Taliban still have rebel forces in the country's southern provinces. NATO forces are slowly taking over the U.S. military role in Afghanistan.

b. Iraq. Suspecting Iraq of aiding al Qaeda in attacking the World Trade Center, some U.S. leaders wanted to invade Iraq. Another reason they gave was their suspicion that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction (WMDs). Iraqi officials had been uncooperative with the UN inspectors who were looking for these weapons. Then diplomatic efforts obtained a resumption of UN inspections for WMDs in that country. Despite opposition from a number of countries (including France, Germany, and Russia), the United States and its allies attacked Iraq in March of 2003. They overthrew Saddam Hussein in a matter of weeks.

The war was not over, however. Insurgents hostile to the U.S. presence in Iraq turned to terror and violence to try to force the



United States and its allies to leave Iraq. Ambush attacks and continuing military operations have resulted in increasing numbers of U.S. soldiers dead and wounded. Insurgents have also kidnapped and killed Iraqis and foreigners sympathetic to the U.S. presence.

Meanwhile, a scandal increased the already considerable resentment of the U.S. presence in Iraq. In April 2004, disturbing accounts of abuse in Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison surfaced. Preliminary reports stated that U.S. soldiers had beaten, terrorized, and humiliated Iraqi prisoners of war. President Bush ordered an investigation of the abuses and promised to demolish the prison as soon as replacement facilities become available.

In December 2003, Saddam Hussein was captured. But neither his trial nor the January 2005 Iraqi legislative elections brought about immediate peace and stability. In April 2006, Iraqi government leaders chose Shiite Nuri Kamal al-Maliki as prime minister. Since some Kurdish and Sunni factions supported this choice, it generated hope that Iraq was moving toward an effective and cohesive government.

Many Americans began to express doubts that the protracted war in Iraq would have a successful outcome. By the beginning of 2006, Iraq seemed on the brink of a civil war between the Shiites and Sunnis (the two major sects of the Islamic religion). Ordinary Iraqis live in constant fear of violence.

c. Africa. Beginning in the mid-1950s, rebels in southern Sudan waged civil wars against their government. Although the country is rich in oil reserves, its civil wars caused Sudan to become poor and destabilized. Beginning in 2003, the government and rebel leaders held peace talks. In 2005, they signed a peace agreement.

In early 2003, a new rebellion broke out in Sudan, in its western part (Darfur). Rebels there hoped to secede from Sudan. Both government forces and the rebels committed atrocities against the civilian inhabitants of Darfur. Moreover, observers claimed that Arab militias hired by the government were engaging in ethnic cleansing against the indigenous population. Because of the fierce fighting in this area, it has been difficult to extend aid to the victims. Hundreds of thousands of people have fled from Darfur to neighboring Chad.

At first, President Bush relied on peace talks and long-term solutions to deal with the Darfur conflict. In early 2006, however, he called for increasing the number of UN and NATO troops in Darfur. He also proposed sending \$500 million in aid to the ravaged country.

d. Latin America. Venezuela possesses rich reserves of oil and gas. The United States is one of the major buyers of these natural resources. In 2002, Venezuela's leftist president Hugo Chávez

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accused the United States of having sponsored an unsuccessful coup d'état against him. As a member of OPEC, he has joined other members of that group in raising oil prices. But he has agreed to provide 198,000 barrels a day of oil to 13 Caribbean countries at comparatively low prices. And he has joined with other left-leaning countries in Latin America in an anti-United States stance.

Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to power in Haiti in 1994 did not bring about the economic and social reforms that the Haitian people—and the United States—had hoped for. His reelection as president in 2000 was met with charges of fraud and corruption. As opposition to his government steadily increased, so did the level of violence in the streets. Under U.S. pressure, Aristide left Haiti in February 2004. But once in exile, he maintained that he was still the legitimate president and that U.S. forces had kidnapped him. U.S. troops remain in Haiti as part of a UN peacekeeping force.

e. Fear of nuclear proliferation. In May 2002, the United States and Russia reached a historic arms agreement to cut their nuclear arsenals by up to two-thirds over a ten-year period. But at the same time, other countries were preparing to acquire nuclear weapons. In October 2002, for example, North Korea admitted to developing nuclear arms. The United States, Russia, and China have since been negotiating with North Korea to try to convince that country to give up its nuclear ambitions. A bright spot came in December 2003 when Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi announced that he would dismantle Libya's nuclear weapons program. This task was accomplished with U.S. help, and U.S.-Libyan relations have improved.

In February 2004, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) discovered that Iran had been concealing nuclear activities and possibly building nuclear weapons. The EU and the United States pressed Iran to give up its nuclear ambitions. In spite of Western disapproval, Iran has defiantly refused. Some U.S. commentators warned that Bush might seize the occasion to attack Iran. But Bush declared that these warnings were wild speculation. He said that he planned to use all diplomatic means to deal with Iran—although military force would remain an option as a last resort.

f. Middle East. In 2002, the United States joined Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations in proposing a "road map" for peace to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In signing on to the "road map" process, President Bush became the first U.S. president to call for the creation of an independent Palestinian state. But he refused to work with Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. Bush claimed that Arafat had failed to stop Palestinian attacks against Israel.

Continued violence, however, has kept the peace process from becoming a reality. Yasser Arafat's death in November 2004 (and the subsequent election of Mahmoud Abbas as the new Palestinian president) inserted new factors in the equation of peace talks. The 2006 parliamentary election victory of Hamas, an anti-Israel party that grew out of a fighting organization, sparked outrage in Israel and among the nations that support both Israel and the idea of a Palestinian state. Hamas leaders continued to deny Israel's right to exist.

In July 2006, the situation in the Middle East worsened when hostilities between Israel and Hezbollah, a militant Arab guerilla organization that controls southern Lebanon, escalated into war. During a cross-border attack, Hezbollah captured two Israeli soldiers. Calling the attack an "act of war," Israel responded with air strikes on Hezbollah targets in southern Lebanon. Hezbollah then began launching rocket attacks in Israel, striking the port city of Haifa and other towns. It was widely believed that Syria and Iran, which are hostile to Israel, supplied Hezbollah with advanced weapons.

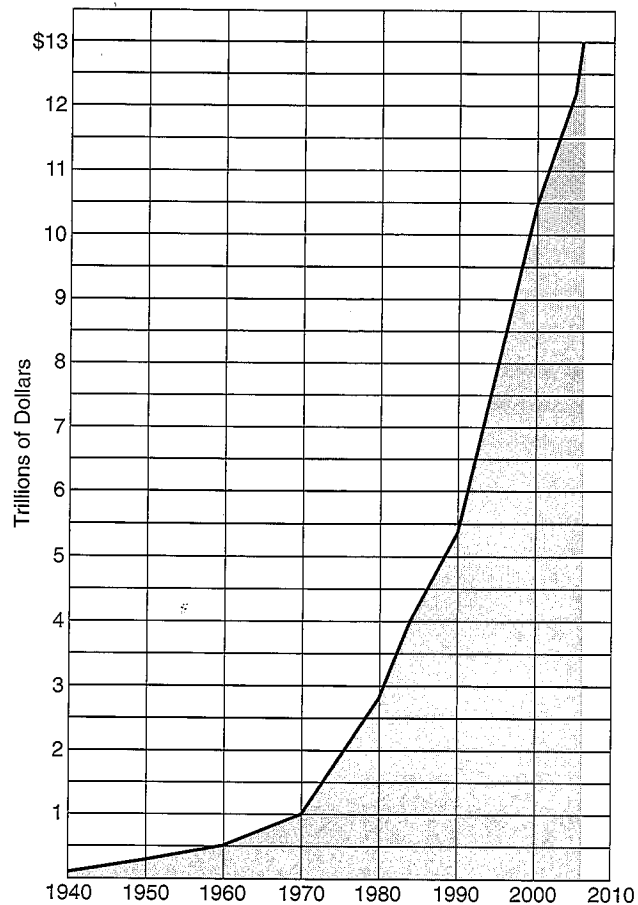
In order to weaken Hezbollah, Israel quickly expanded its military campaign throughout Lebanon, bombing targets in Beirut, Lebanon's capital, and near the Syrian border. On July 30, an Israeli air strike in the Lebanese town of Qana killed dozens of civilians, including many children. Many observers expressed concerns that the crisis could topple Lebanon's democratically elected government and could drag Syria into a war with Israel.

President Bush defended Israel's right to defend itself against Hezbollah attacks but called on Israel to exercise restraint. Israel withdrew from Lebanon after the UN agreed to send its forces there to keep the peace.

3. Domestic Issues. The 2001 inauguration of George W. Bush sparked a new round in the long-running debate over the role of government in people's lives. Liberals continued to urge more government programs to guarantee a "safety net" for the poor, sick, and elderly. President Bush's views were more in line with those of conservatives who continued to be suspicious of large government (and its social programs) but who thought that government had a role in enforcing traditional moral values.

a. The economy. One of the first domestic issues President Bush had to face in 2001 was the sluggish economy. His solution was to propose a \$1.35 trillion, ten-year tax cut program that he believed would stimulate the economy. Critics argued that Bush's tax cuts

Gross Domestic Product Since 1940



would favor the rich. But most Americans favored the plan. Congress passed major tax cut packages in 2001 and 2003.

Did the tax cuts accomplish their goal? More jobs were created, but most did not have the same high salary that the lost jobs had. In 2002, businesses began to have increased sales and profits. But lower tax revenues and the cost of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq increased the budget deficit.

By 2003, the economy was in good shape. The GDP rose from \$12 trillion in October 2004 to almost \$13 trillion in March 2006. In 2006, economists worried that rising oil prices (due to Hurricane Katrina and turmoil in the Middle East) would cause inflation. Many experts also pointed out the uneven distribution of wealth in U.S. society. And they expressed concern about the trade deficit between the United States and China and the high national debt.

INTERPRETING A CARTOON



1. Who is the man on the left and what is he doing?
2. What is the significance that the vehicle is a Hummer?
3. Who do the men on the right represent?
4. What does the man on the left want of the other two men?
5. What is supposed to be funny or ironic about what the man on the left is saying?

b. Social Security. Because of increased life expectancy, more and more elderly people will become beneficiaries of Social Security. At the same time, because of a dropping birthrate, fewer and fewer young people will be making contributions to the system. Democrats say that the system will start running a deficit many decades from now and that the problem can be fixed by higher taxes. By contrast, Republicans claim that the system will collapse much sooner.

Early in his administration, President Bush sought a plan that would permanently strengthen Social Security without raising payroll taxes. One of his proposals was to permit younger workers to put some money into personal investment accounts instead of into the Social Security fund. This method would allow workers to take advantage of (sometimes) rising stock prices. But critics argued that

any diversion of funds to personal accounts would weaken the Social Security System, not help it. A stock market slump in 2003 put talk of Social Security reform on hold. It seems that more people came to believe that putting their retirement savings in the stock market was too risky.

c. Prescription drugs. The new medicines that have enabled Americans to live longer are expensive, especially when a person needs to take several kinds every day. For senior citizens on a limited budget, the high cost of medicine threatens economic ruin.

In December 2003, President Bush signed into law legislation that makes Medicare prescription drug coverage available to 40 million seniors and people with disabilities. Even though the drug plan covers only part of beneficiaries' costs, many Americans welcomed it. Critics charge that the new law still forces beneficiaries to use a large a part of their limited income to buy medicine.

d. Improving education. From the earliest days of his presidency, George W. Bush proposed sweeping reforms in America's schools. His No Child Left Behind Act of 2002 requires states to make all students proficient in reading and math and to close achievement gaps between students of different socioeconomic backgrounds. All states are required to test students in these subjects at several grade levels. Critics of the law claim that it focuses too narrowly on math and reading at the expense of other school subjects. They also claim that teachers have to spend too much time preparing students for the tests instead of using more creative and effective teaching strategies.

e. Scandals in the financial world. On December 2, 2001 a Texas-based energy company named Enron shocked the financial community by filing for bankruptcy. The event rose to the level of a scandal when it was learned that the company had for several years concealed billions of dollars of debt from shareholders through fraudulent accounting and illegal loans. Thousands of Enron workers lost their jobs and their pensions, and thousands of investors in Enron lost billions of dollars.

Other companies soon came under federal investigation for fraud and misleading accounting. In response to these scandals, Congress in 2002 passed a corporate reform bill.

f. Scandals in the Bush administration. Several key Republican leaders were entangled in scandals. In the spring of 2006, for example, House Majority Leader Tom DeLay resigned from Congress when he was indicted for conspiracy to violate election laws. Also in 2006, Vice President Cheney's former chief of staff, Lewis Libby, was officially accused of having leaked the identity of a CIA

agent, Valerie Plame. Critics charged that the leak was an attempt to discredit the agent's husband, Joseph Wilson. Wilson had published an opinion article in *The New York Times* alleging that the Bush administration had manipulated intelligence about the status of Iraq's weapons holdings in order to justify declaring war on Iraq.

g. Hurricane Katrina. Many people lost faith in the Bush administration when Hurricane Katrina struck the coasts of Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi on August 29, 2005. During the storm, the levees that protected the low-lying city of New Orleans were unable to hold back the water. The resulting flood devastated much of the city. More than 1,800 people in several states were confirmed dead, and many remain listed as missing. People were appalled at the slow, incompetent response of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) and other federal agencies. (Louisiana and New Orleans government officials also received criticism.) To help the people in the region, Bush promised \$200 billion in federal aid to rebuild the city and communities in Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.

h. The 2006 elections. Many voters saw the 2006 congressional elections as a plebiscite on the George W. Bush administration, especially in its handling of the war in Iraq. Many candidates of the Democratic party for U.S. House and Senate seats criticized Bush's antiterrorism and war policies. Some called for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq. President Bush countered, saying that some mistakes had been made by the United States in Iraq, but that it would be foolhardy and dangerous to set a timetable for withdrawal of troops.

The results of the elections were that for the first time since 1994 Democrats controlled both the House and the Senate. Democrats did well in many state elections also. Also noteworthy was the post-election selection of Representative Nancy Pelosi of California as the Speaker of the House. This was the first time that a woman has held the top position in the House of Representatives.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Darfur, Enron, Hamas, Hugo Chávez, Katrina.

CRITICAL THINKING: Study the photograph on page 405? How did the event shown change the United States both domestically and internationally?

Chapter Review



MATCHING EXERCISE

Column A

1. Department of Homeland Security
2. IAEA
3. Brady Bill
4. Contract With America
5. NAFTA

Column B

- a. Republican congressional election platform in 1994
- b. a law that mandates five-day waiting period for all handgun purchases
- c. new Cabinet-level agency created to combat domestic terrorism
- d. trade agreement signed by the United States, Mexico, and Canada
- e. international body that investigates nuclear activities of certain countries



MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST

1. The major candidate in the 1992 presidential election who ran as an independent was (a) George Wallace (b) John Anderson (c) H. Ross Perot (d) John Edwards.
2. Bill Clinton's vice president was (a) Al Gore (b) Walter Mondale (c) Kenneth Starr (d) Monica Lewinsky.
3. The first African-American woman elected to the U.S. Senate was (a) Patty Murray (b) Barbara Jordan (c) Carol Moseley-Braun (d) Barbara Boxer.
4. The nation torn apart by civil war among its main ethnic groups during the 1990s was (a) Yugoslavia (b) Albania (c) Greece (d) Italy.
5. President Clinton withdrew U.S. peacekeeping forces from the African nation of (a) Rwanda (b) Somalia (c) South Africa (d) Angola.
6. The architect of the Republicans' successful campaign to recapture control of the House of Representatives in 1994 was (a) Lewis Libby (b) Newt Gingrich (c) Tom DeLay (d) Bob Dole.

7. The founder of the al Qaeda terrorist network was (a) Osama bin Laden (b) Saddam Hussein (c) Yasser Arafat (d) Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman.
8. In response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, Congress passed the (a) Taft-Hartley Act (b) National Security Act (c) Smith Act (d) Patriot Act.
9. President George W. Bush's vice president is (a) Hillary Clinton (b) Dick Cheney (c) John Edwards (d) Tom DeLay.
10. President Bush's education initiative is called the (a) Head Start Program (b) Patriot Act (c) Tuition Assistance Program (d) No Child Left Behind Act.



ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Why did President Clinton's national health insurance proposal fail? Do you think it was a good idea? Why or why not?
2. How well did President Clinton deal with Somalia, Haiti, and Yugoslavia?
3. Why was President Clinton impeached by the House of Representatives?
4. How well did President Bush respond to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks?
5. Why were President George W. Bush's approval ratings lower in his second term than during his first?

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

This question is based on the accompanying documents (1–5). It will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

Historical Context:

Since 1993, the United States has faced a number of domestic and international problems. The solutions to these problems will affect our society and those of other nations of the world for years to come.

Task:

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

Document 1. Study the photograph on page 402.

What role did President Clinton play in the 1993 peace agreement between Israel and the PLO?

Document 2. Excerpt from President Clinton's *State of the Union Address*, February 17, 1993:

A part of our national economic strategy must be to expand trade on fair terms, including successful completion of the latest round of world trade talks. A North American Free Trade Agreement with appropriate safeguards for workers and the environment. At the same time, we need an aggressive attempt to create the hi-tech jobs of the future; special attention to troubled industries like aerospace and airlines, and special assistance to displaced workers like those in our defense industry.

Later this spring, I will deliver to Congress a comprehensive plan for health care reform that will finally get costs under control. We will provide security to all our families, so that no one will be denied the coverage they need. We will root out fraud and outrageous charges, and make sure that paperwork no longer chokes you or your doctor. And we will maintain American standards—the highest quality medical care in the world and the choices we demand and deserve. The American people expect us to deal with health care. And we must deal with it now.

Later this year, we will offer a plan to end welfare as we know it. No one wants to change the welfare system as much as those who are trapped by the welfare system.

We will offer people on welfare the education, training, child care and health care they need to get back on their feet. Then, after two years, they must get back to work—in private business if possible; in public service, if necessary. It's time to end welfare as a way of life.

Our budget will, by 1997, cut 140 billion dollars from the deficit—one of the greatest real spending cuts by an American president. We are making more than 150 difficult, painful reductions which

will cut federal spending by 246 billion dollars. We are eliminating programs that are no longer needed, such as nuclear power research and development. We are slashing subsidies and canceling wasteful projects. Many of these programs were justified in their time. But if we're going to start new plans, we must eliminate old ones. Government has been good at building programs, now we must show that we can limit them.

Source: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/special/states/docs/sou98.htm>

What did President Clinton plan to do in his first term as president?

Document 3. Excerpt from President George W. Bush's *Address to the Nation* on September 11, 2001:

These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed; our country is strong. . . .

The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business, as well. The search is underway for those who are behind these evil acts. I've directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

Source: http://www.c-span.org/executive/bush_terror.asp?Cat=Current_Event&Code=Bush_Admin

How did President Bush attempt to reassure the American people following the terrorist attacks?

Document 4. Study the cartoon on page 406, published after the United States had led a coalition into Iraq to depose the Saddam Hussein regime.

What was the cartoon's message regarding the aims of the war in Iraq?

Document 5. Excerpt from a speech by President George W. Bush to soldiers and their families at Fort Hood, Texas, April 12, 2005:

From the beginning, our goal in Iraq has been to promote Iraqi independence—by helping the Iraqi people establish a free country that can sustain itself, rule itself, and defend itself. And in the last two years, Iraqis have made enormous progress toward that

goal. Iraqis have laid the foundations of a free society, with hundreds of independent newspapers and dozens of political parties and associations, and schools that teach Iraqi children how to read and write, instead of the propaganda of Saddam Hussein. Iraqis have laid the foundation of a free economy, with a new currency and independent central bank, new laws to encourage foreign investment, and thousands of small businesses established since liberation.

Source: www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/04/20050412.html

What did President Bush say has been the goals of U.S. policy in Iraq?

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY

Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain the goals that Presidents Clinton and George W. Bush had during their terms in office.
- Evaluate how well each president achieved his goals.