

# Into the Twenty-First Century

## Teaching Resources

### Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How did President George W. Bush achieve election in the 2000 presidential race?
2. What kind of domestic policies did President Bush pursue?
3. Why was the United States attacked on September 11, 2001?
4. Why did the United States invade Iraq a second time?
5. How has the administration of President George Bush confronted international security challenges?

### Chapter Annotated Outline

- I. The Advent of George W. Bush
  - A. The Contested Election of 2000
    1. Less than a year before 9/11, Americans lived through a closely contested presidential election. Only in mid-December of 2000, when the Supreme Court intervened, did Republican candidate George W. Bush's victory become certain.
    2. Having lost the popular vote, the new president might have been expected to govern in a moderate, bipartisan fashion. But Bush proceeded as if he had won a popular mandate. In the process, he redefined conservatism.
    3. Traditionally, Republicans stood for limits on federal powers, balanced budgets, and individual rights. Now these principles mostly went by the boards. The Bush administration tried simultaneously to cut taxes, expand entitlements, federalize public education, please the religious right, and expand America's global power.
  4. George Bush's adversary was Al Gore, vice president in the Clinton administration. Both candidates came from privileged backgrounds. After a childhood in Midland, Texas, where his family had moved, Bush attended an elite New England private school and then Yale. Gore went to Harvard. Both men boasted impressive political pedigrees.
  5. Gore's father, a Senator from Tennessee, had long groomed his son for the presidency. Bush's paternal grandfather was a Senator from Connecticut and his father, George H.W. Bush, had recently served as president.
  6. The Democrats immediately challenged the tally in Florida. In the heavily Democratic Miami area, confusing "butterfly" ballots caused elderly Gore supporters mistakenly to vote for Patrick Buchanan, the candidate of the conservative Reform Party.
  7. Elsewhere, election officials had to decide whether to count partially punched ballots registered by antiquated voting machines. These problematic ballots turned the election into partisan brawl.
  8. When Gore's campaign demanded hand recounts in several counties, Florida's Republican secretary of state halted the process and declared Governor Bush the winner.
  9. On appeal by the vice president's lawyers, Florida's Supreme Court ordered the recount to proceed. The Bush campaign immediately went to the U.S. Supreme Court.
  10. On December 12, the court ruled, by a margin of 5 to 4, that recounting ballots

in only selected counties violated the rights of other Floridians under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause.

11. As if acknowledging the fragility of that argument, the Court declared *Bush v. Gore* a one-time ruling, not to be regarded as precedent in any future case.

#### B. The Bush Agenda

1. George W. Bush was the first born-again Christian to be president since Jimmy Carter. But unlike Carter, he was not shy about declaring his faith. As President, he let it be known that a prayer opened cabinet meetings and that a Bible study class met at the White House.
2. As a sign of his commitment, Bush launched his "faith-based initiative" for federal support of church-related social-service programs.
3. He created a special office in the White House for these initiatives, channeled federal money to a new Compassion Capital Fund, and persuaded Congress to authorize a Community-Based Abstinence Education program.
4. Federal money began to flow to religious-based centers, many of them focusing on pregnancy services for unwed mothers and sexual abstinence for teenagers.
5. President Bush was determinedly inclusive. Black speakers and entertainers featured prominently at the Republican convention. Two prominent and highly regarded speakers were General Colin Powell, a former Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who Bush appointed Secretary of State; and Condoleezza Rice, a Stanford foreign-policy expert, who was named national security advisor, and then, after Powell's retirement, Secretary of State.
6. Mexican-Americans also figured prominently, and Bush, on easy terms with Texas's Latino community, was committed to finding a middle ground for resolving the increasingly contentious crisis over illegal immigrants.
7. Fulfilling a campaign pledge, Bush in 2001 proposed the No Child Left Behind Act, which increased federal funding for primary and secondary education and funneled money to schools with a high percentage of students from disadvantaged backgrounds.
8. The domestic issue that most engaged

President Bush, as it did Ronald Reagan, was taxes. Like Reagan, Bush acted immediately on taking office.

9. His Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act of 2001 had something for everyone. It slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and phased out the estate tax by 2010.
10. A second round of cuts in 2003 targeted dividend income and capital gains. By sheer magnitude, Bush's tax cuts exceeded Ronald Reagan's.

#### II. American Hegemony Challenged

##### A. September 11, 2001

1. On that bright morning, nineteen Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial jets and flew two of them into New York's World Trade Center and a third into the Pentagon; a fourth, intended for the White House, crashed in Pennsylvania.
2. On September 14, President Bush headed for the World Trade Center site's ground zero, embraced rescue workers standing in the rubble, and stirred the nation. As an outburst of patriotism swept the United States, Bush proclaimed a "war on terror" and vowed to carry the battle to Al Qaeda.

##### B. The War on Terror: Iraq

1. Bush declared the terrorist threat too big to be contained by ordinary law-enforcement means. He wanted the government's powers of domestic surveillance placed on a wartime footing.
2. With no hearings and little debate, Congress passed by virtual acclamation the USA PATRIOT ACT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism), and, true to its title, the Patriot Act granted the administration sweeping authority to monitor citizens and apprehend suspected terrorists.
3. On the international front, the War on Terror called forth a policy of preventive war that the Bush administration asserted in September 2002.
4. International law recognized a nation's right to strike first if faced by an imminent threat from another state. The so-called Bush doctrine lowered the bar, declaring that the United States reserved the right to attack dangerous states even absent any imminent threat.
5. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld called it "anticipatory self-defense." In his State of

the Union address in January 2002, President Bush singled out Iran, North Korea, and Iraq—“an axis of evil”—as the states most threatening to the United States.

6. Of the three, Iraq seemed the easiest mark, a pushover for Secretary Rumsfeld’s lean, high-tech military.
  7. Unable to secure a second Security Council resolution, the United States declared previous UN resolutions sufficient, and invaded Iraq in March 2003.
  8. Its one major ally was Great Britain. A handful of other governments joined “the coalition of the willing,” braving popular opposition at home to do so. Relations with France and Germany were strained.
  9. As in Afghanistan, the war began with massive air attacks intended to “shock and awe.”
  10. Within three weeks, the troops had taken Baghdad. The Iraqi regime collapsed and its leaders went into hiding (Saddam Hussein was captured nine months later).
  11. On May 1, President Bush flew onto the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* in a Navy jet dressed in fighter pilot’s togs. Framed by a “Mission Accomplished” banner, Bush declared victory.
- C. The Election of 2004
1. The President had emerged from the 9/11 crisis looking invincible, with an approval rating approaching 80 percent.
  2. For Democrats, the Iraq quandary was a difficult one. How could they criticize the war without appearing unpatriotic?
  3. The man for that job was Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts. Kerry was a Vietnam hero, twice wounded and decorated for bravery—in contrast to the president (who had spent the Vietnam years safely assigned to the Texas Air National Guard).
  4. On Election Day, nearly 60 percent of eligible voters—the highest percentage since 1968—went to the polls. Bush beat Kerry by 286 electoral votes to 252. The crucial state was Ohio, where a gay marriage ban passed by 62 percent, probably drawing enough conservative voters to the polls to give the president a slim margin.
  5. The president also fared well, despite Iraq, on national security. He had won a clear, if narrow, popular majority. In the flush of victory, he spoke confidently of newly won capital that he had plans for expending.
- III. Unfinished Business
- A. The President’s Travails
1. In the 2004 campaign, George W. Bush faced declining public support for the war in Iraq.
  2. By 2006 the Sunnis, Shi’ites, and Kurds were combating, and it became a race between insurgent efforts at fomenting civil war and American efforts at establishing a stable Iraqi government.
  3. In April 2006 half a dozen retired generals broke the military code of silence and called for Secretary Rumsfeld’s resignation.
  4. The political toll on Bush was enormous. His approval rating sank below 40 percent, and his committed base—those “strongly” approving—shrank calamitously to 20 percent.
  5. Increasingly, he came under attack on other matters from his own political base: from Christian conservatives who felt betrayed by Bush’s post-election silence on the gay-marriage amendment, and from right-wingers who, when serious debate began in mid-2006, preferred a punitive solution to the problem of illegal immigrants.
- B. What Kind of America?
1. The Bush administration’s attempt to shape the values of American society could be symbolized by the Terry Schiavo case, the euthanasia of a woman in a vegetative state.
  2. Controversies over stem cell research illustrated the neoconservative attempt to redefine the abortion debate.
  3. The battle between science and faith once again raged over the controversy of Darwinism. In place of creationism, anti-evolutionists advanced a new theory, “intelligent design,” which argued that some biological phenomena were too complex to be explained by random natural selection.
  4. The battle over reproductive rights, despite the appointment of two new Supreme Court justices, remained unsettled.
  5. Among the constitutional challenges facing the new Court, none was likely to be more consequential than adjudicating the limits on presidential powers in post-9/11 America. After the attack, Attorney General John Ashcroft advanced the proposition that fighting terrorism at home required a new “paradigm of prevention.”

6. In those first frantic months, a dragnet swept through Muslim communities, requiring 80,000 immigrants to register and be fingerprinted and 8,000 to undergo FBI interviews. About 5,000 foreign nationals were imprisoned, held in a kind of preventive detention on minor charges or, failing that, as material witnesses.
  7. Despite growing disquiet, Congress reauthorized the Patriot Act in early 2006 with only cosmetic changes.
  8. As time passed, concern over the rise of an imperial presidency became more palpable and bipartisan.
  9. In the early summer of 2006, the defining issue involved the treatment of Al Qaeda and Taliban detainees at Guantanamo and other overseas sites.
- C. What Kind of World?
1. The United States and Iranian relations deteriorated in 2002 after secret nuclear sites were discovered.
  2. As with North Korea, the Bush administration took a tough line, including, until it became entangled in Iraq, a credible military threat.
  3. North Korea, a desperately poor, Stalinist country, focused on nuclear-weapons development, which it used variously as blackmail to extract aid and as insurance against real and imagined enemies.
  4. In 1994 the Clinton administration had struck a deal, offering food, oil, and an advanced nuclear-power plant for an end to North Korea's atomic weapons program.
  5. In the late 1990s the agreement broke down, amid bitter recriminations and well-founded charges of North Korean cheating.
  6. Meanwhile Iran, a signatory of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, took the position that, while it did not want nuclear weapons, it intended to exercise its rights under the treaty to develop the technology for peaceful nuclear energy. Learning how to enrich plant-grade uranium, however, opens the path to producing weapon-grade uranium.
  7. In 2002 dissidents alerted the International Atomic Energy Agency to secret nuclear sites and, though Iranians adamantly denied it, many nations in the international community concluded that they were intent on developing atomic bombs. As with North Korea, the Bush administration took a tough stance, including, until the United States became entangled with Iraq, a credible military threat.
  8. After 9/11 the global manhunt largely dismantled the Al Qaeda network. Thereafter, Osama bin Ladin served far more as a symbolic than as an operational figure. But as a symbolic figure, he inspired the Muslim world.
  9. In its terrorist incarnation, Al Qaeda metastasized into amorphous cells. Al Qaeda-inspired suicide bombings have taken a heavy toll in Madrid, London, Bali, and, increasingly, in Muslim countries.
  10. In his second inaugural address, President Bush signaled a major policy shift. The United States, he proclaimed, was committed to ending tyranny around the world. Convinced that democracy was the answer to Islamic radicalism, Bush pressed for political reform in the Middle East.
  11. But when, as a result, Egypt's regime eased up in the 2005 elections, the militant Muslim Brotherhood gained strength, prompting another government crackdown. More shocking, early in 2006 Palestinians voted for the hard-line Hamas, designated by the United States as a terrorist organization and dedicated by its charter to Israel's destruction.
  12. In these elections, of course, the administration was just an anxious bystander. Iraq, however, was Bush's democratic project. Under American prodding, Iraqis held two national elections, wrote a constitution, established a parliament, and in May 2006, after much wrangling, installed a prime minister. Beneath these structural formalities, however, chaos reigned.
  13. The secular leaders favored by the United States had been marginalized. Iraqi politics ran strictly along ethnic and sectarian lines. The dominant Shi'ite parties answered to their respective mullahs and, to some degree, to their Iranian sponsors.
  14. Incessant insurgent attacks, capped by the bombing of a revered Samarra mosque in February 2006, finally pushed the Shi'ites to their limit. They began in earnest to retaliate against Sunnis.

### Key Term

**habeas corpus** Latin for "bring forth the body," a legal writ forcing government authorities to justify their

arrest and detention of an individual. Rooted in English common law, habeas corpus was given the status of a formal privilege in the U.S. Constitution (Article 1, Section 9), which also allows its suspension in cases of invasion or insurrection. During the Civil War, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus to stop protests against the draft and other anti-union activities. The USA PATRIOT Act (2001) likewise suspends this privilege in cases of suspected terrorism, but the constitutional legitimacy of this and other provisions of the act has yet to be decided by the courts. (1012)

5. Examine the post–September 11, 2001, security environment confronting U.S. policymakers. American citizens are familiar with a view of the international community that supposes a state is either at war or at peace. But other nations and groups do not share this bifurcated view. How must the United States react to this challenge? How should America deploy military, diplomatic, and economic tools in order to defeat external threats? Why have terrorists targeted the United States? Do they object to American power, ideals, or both? Is the “war on terror” a battle of ideas? If so, what ideas are at stake?

### Lecture Strategies

1. Write a lecture that provides the context for a discussion of the ethical and constitutional issues surrounding the presidential election of 2000, especially the subject of the contested votes in the state of Florida. Examine how Americans treat elections and how elections relate to American popular culture. Explain the Electoral College, and assess the future of elections with and without the Electoral College.
2. Create a lecture that explores the domestic agenda and policies of the Bush White House. Examine the following issues, each with a separate outline point: faith-based politics, the politics of inclusiveness, the No Child Left Behind Act, health care, embracing business, and cutting taxes. Compare and contrast how the Bush administration created these policies with what critics had to say about his domestic agenda.
3. Write a lecture answering the question, “Why was the United States attacked on September 11, 2001?” Students are very interested in the question, in part because they lived through the era when the attack took place. Be sure to call attention to the credibility gap regarding initial White House implications that Saddam Hussein had a major role to play in the attacks, the controversial issue of weapons of mass destruction, and recent discussions of the reasons for the attack.
4. Write a lecture answering the question, “Why did the United States invade Iraq a second time?” The goal is for students to arrive at a logical and historical portrait of presidential decision making to discern why Iraq and not Afghanistan became the focal point of U.S. invasion. For background, use Seymour Hersh’s book *Chain of Command*. Focus on Colin Powell and his UN speech, weapons inspectors and the issue of weapons of mass destruction, and the reports of government insiders such as Richard Clarke.

### Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

#### *The Advent of George W. Bush (pp. 990–996)*

1. Explain why, if Bush lost the popular vote in 2000, he nevertheless became president.
  - Bush won the Electoral College vote, which the Democrats immediately challenged in Florida due to problems with voting machines. These problematic ballots turned the election into a partisan brawl. When Gore’s campaign demanded hand recounts in several counties, Florida’s Republican secretary of state halted the process and declared Governor Bush the winner.
  - On appeal by the vice president’s lawyers, Florida’s Supreme Court ordered the recount to proceed. The Bush campaign immediately went to the U.S. Supreme Court. On December 12, the court ruled, by a margin of 5 to 4, that recounting ballots in only selected counties violated the rights of other Floridians under the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause. The Court declared *Bush v. Gore* to be a one-time ruling, not to be regarded as precedent in any future case.
2. In what ways did Bush’s policies depart from traditional conservatism?
  - Rove and Cheney pulled Bush from the moderate center to the extreme right, emphasizing his born-again Christian outlook that would contrast with a more traditional fiscal conservatism learned from his father. The results were economic programs based on traditional conservative values but framed by Christian Right principles.

- Despite hand-wringing by fiscal conservatives, the president did little to contain Medicare and Medicaid costs for health care.
  - In its solicitude for private business, market competition, and individual responsibility, Bush's drug program was soundly conservative, but, to the horror of traditional conservatives, the government was paying most of the costs.
  - By 2006 federal expenditures had jumped 33 percent, a rate faster than under any president since Lyndon Johnson.
3. What were the main issues in the debate over tax cuts?
- The tax cut debate centered on the idea of fairness—that Bush's extensive tax cuts benefited corporations and the wealthy, and not the average American citizen.
  - The increase in the national debt resulting from tax cuts created debate about the financial legacy left for future generations.

### *American Hegemony Challenged (pp. 996–1005)*

1. What is the connection between 9/11 and the war in Iraq?
- The Bush administration claimed that Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass destruction that he planned to use against the United States. They also believed that Hussein harbored and assisted Al-Qaeda operatives and would continue to do so in the future if he was not removed from power.
2. Why did the war in Iraq not go according to plan?
- The Iraq war quickly unraveled for several reasons, including the lack of a plan for occupation after the war was over, the lack of enough troops and equipment to fight the war (the result of a Pentagon belief that modern wars would be won by special forces units), and the determination of radical Islamic fighters to stop U.S. invasions of the Middle East.
3. Can you explain why President Bush was reelected in 2004?
- Bush achieved reelection in 2004 in part because of the fear of terrorism among Americans, which was partially encouraged by President Bush's re-election campaign. The administration used the war in Iraq and its impact on American troops to argue that ideological support of the president also meant actual support of the troops, and vice versa. The American economy had stabilized by 2004, giving Bush the ability to champion his tax cuts and deficit spending to the American public. The Democrats also failed to field an alternative antiwar candidate that would keep the nation out of war.

### **Class Discussion Starters**

#### **1. What were the major issues of importance to Bush's domestic reform agenda?**

*Possible answers*

- a. Faith-based politics
- b. The politics of inclusiveness
- c. No Child Left Behind Act
- d. Health care
- e. Embracing business
- f. Cutting taxes

#### **2. What were the responses of the Bush administration to the events of September 11?**

*Possible answers*

- a. Bush proclaimed a war on terrorism and successfully called on a multinational force to support military strikes against Osama bin Laden and the Taliban in Afghanistan.
- b. Bush signaled his intention to carry the war against terrorism to nations that harbor terrorists or develop weapons of mass destruction—hence his characterization of Iran, Iraq, and North Korea as “an axis of evil.”
- c. After failing to obtain UN-sanctioned support for a preemptive strike, the United States and Britain launched an armed attack against Iraq without it.
- d. The Bush administration, working with Russia, the European Union, and the United Nations, sought to create a Middle East “roadmap,” which set out a plan to bring a halt to the violence there and create an independent Palestine state.
- e. The USA PATRIOT Act of 2002 was passed, giving unparalleled powers to the federal government to investigate and detain immigrants suspected of terrorist activity, and the Office of Homeland Security was created.

3. Why did U.S. military plans in Iraq fail to achieve early success in 2003 and 2004?

*Possible answers*

- Following the initial invasion, the United States did not have a plan of occupation of Iraq.
- There was no meaningful international support by the United Nations to reinforce American troops.
- The Iraqi army and police forces were disbanded.
- There were not enough troops or equipment to fight the war, as the Pentagon believed that modern wars would be won rapidly by special forces units.
- Radical Islamic fighters were determined to stop U.S. invasions of the Middle East.

### Classroom Activity

- Photocopy a series of political cartoons addressing the George W. Bush presidency. Distribute them so that each student has his or her own copy of one or more cartoons. Divide the class into small groups and instruct each group to focus on a particular cartoon. Ask them to answer the question, How does the cartoon reveal certain assumptions about the Bush presidency and the policies pursued by the White House? Reassemble the group and generate a larger discussion about this, about what critics and supporters said about the policies, and about the ability of cartoons to reveal aspects of U.S. history. You may also wish to create overheads of particularly revealing cartoons to show to the class as an exercise in visual analysis.

### Oral History Exercise

- Ask the students to create a comparative oral history exercise for which they interview several people about a particular theme in recent U.S. history. First, ask the students to brainstorm to create a list of themes discussed in the chapter. Then ask each student to select a particular theme, such as the election of 2000 or the war in Iraq, and interview several adults regarding it. The students can select their parents or other family members for the project. The assignment works well as either a discussion-oriented project or a research paper. The goal is for students to more fully understand the concepts discussed in the chapter, and also to understand the insights and limitations in doing oral history.

### Working with Documents

#### COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

#### The Stem Cell Research Controversy (p. 1010)

- How would you characterize President Bush's stand on embryonic stem cell research?
  - A born-again Christian who argues for the sanctity of life, Bush has ethical problems with damaging the life-giving capacity of stem cells. He believes we need to preserve the sanctity of life within the cells but also use them to help people suffering from diseases. Ultimately he favored a compromise measure, allowing federal tax money to fund research on existing private stem cell lines but not new stem cell lines yet to be produced.
- Why is two-year-old Mikayla Tesdall an important example for the opponents of embryonic stem cell research? How about Michael Chorost? Is he the equivalent for the proponents?
  - Mikayla Tedall was once a frozen embryo stored in a freezer awaiting destruction, until a Christian Right organization created an adoption agency that allowed infertile couples to adopt an embryo and implant it into a woman's womb. For the right-to-life group she is an example of the reason not to advocate stem cell research.
  - Even though Michael Chorost did not benefit directly from embryonic stem cell research, he argues that his deafness, along with other similar conditions or degenerative illnesses, may one day be cured using the medical technology developed through this type of research. Chorost's experience highlights the benefits that can result from using embryonic stem cells for medical research.
- When many of his Republican allies in Congress changed their minds and voted in 2006 to lift the funding restrictions on stem cell research, President Bush vetoed the measure. Can his veto—the very first of his administration—be explained by the documents you have read?
  - His veto is explained by his religious and political motivations. President Bush expresses his own personal moral convictions about preserving human life. The decision to veto also implies that his base of support, Christian conservatives, must be appeased by domestic policy decisions that favor the antiabortion movement.

## VOICES FROM ABROAD

## Abu Musab al-Zarqawi: A Strategy for the Iraq Insurgency (p. 1003)

1. According to al-Zarqawi, the Americans invaded Iraq “to create the State of Greater Israel from the Nile to the Euphrates.” Why would he make a fantastic claim like that?
  - Al-Zarqawi is influenced by a radical and militant form of Islam, and argues that Israel is the greatest threat politically and religiously to the expansion of fundamental Islam. Massive U.S. funding of Israel since World War II has angered radical militant Muslims, in part because of the Israeli state’s oppression of Palestinians.
2. If the Americans are the occupiers, why is his letter mostly about the Shi’ites? Why are they his primary target?
  - Shi’ites are his primary target because he is Sunni, and his radical interpretation of Islam leads him to the conclusion that Shi’ites are the heretical enemy of a Sunni fundamentalist agenda.
3. Al-Zarqawi wrote this letter in early 2004. By mid-2006, at the time he was killed, how successful, based on your reading of the text, do you think he was in fulfilling the letter’s aims?
  - Despite his death early in the conflict, he achieved spectacular results between 2004 and 2006. The United States has the strongest military in the world. In Iraq Al-Zarqawi’s forces successfully mounted a counterinsurgency operation that has led to a stalemate. He was also successful at fomenting a civil war between the two religious factions of Islam.

## Reading American Pictures

## Conservatism at a Crossroads (p. 997)

1. What does the first cartoon, published in the *St. Louis Dispatch*, suggest are the causes of Uncle Sam’s expanding waistline?
  - It suggests that the causes are tax cuts, the rise of the national debt, the highway bill, the Hurricane Katrina disaster, and the Iraq war.
2. In what ways does the second cartoon, from the *National Review*, offer a different explanation for

the government’s spending spree? Hint: the word “pork” for Washington insiders means spending bills favoring special interests or the pet projects of individual congressmen or senators.

- Bush and the GOP spend taxpayer dollars on special interest groups who want the administration to fund their pet projects.
3. The *National Review* is a leading conservative journal, while the *St. Louis Dispatch* is generally regarded as a liberal newspaper. Can you tell from these cartoons that one paper is conservative and the other liberal? How?
    - The *National Review* disdains government spending and special interest groups, according to the cartoon.
    - The *St. Louis Dispatch* is critical of Bush’s specific domestic and foreign policies, such as the Iraq invasion, tax cuts, and the mishandling of the Hurricane Katrina disaster.

## Electronic Media

## Web Sites

- *The September 11 Digital Archive*  
<http://www.911digitalarchive.org>  
This site offers firsthand accounts of the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001. The site includes oral histories, video and still images, and a valuable guide to Web sites on the topic.
- *The Iraqi Insurgency*  
<http://www.pbs.org/frontline/insurgency>  
This site contains interviews with U.S. military commanders and insurgency leaders, analysis by experts, plus access to the *Frontline* documentary “The Insurgency.”
- *Hurricane Katrina*  
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/storm>  
This PBS website offers extended interviews, analysis, readings, and links concerning the Katrina hurricane that devastated New Orleans in 2005, plus access to the relevant *Frontline* documentary “The Storm.”

## Films

- *Fahrenheit 9/11* (2004, IFC Films, 90 minutes)  
Directed by Michael Moore, this controversial documentary traces the decision making behind the 2000 election and the invasion of Iraq.



- *Iraq for Sale: The War Profiteers* (2006, Brave New Films, 60 minutes)  
Produced by Brave New Films and directed by Robert Greenwald, this documentary examines the war-support industry in the United States and its connections to the Bush administration.
- *The Jesus Factor* (2004, PBS, 60 minutes)  
A *Frontline* production, this documentary examines the Christian values of George W. Bush and how those beliefs have shaped his presidency.

## Literature

- Al Gore, *An Inconvenient Truth: The Planetary Emergency of Global Warming and What We Can Do About it* (New York: Rodale Books, 2006)  
The former vice president under Bill Clinton provides personal commentary on the environmental challenges facing the United States in the twenty-first century.
- Richard A. Clarke, *Against All Enemies: Inside America's War on Terror* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004)  
Clarke gives a biographical account of his role in both the Clinton and Bush administrations and the attempt by both administrations to manage national security and antiterrorism, particularly in the wake of the September 11, 2001, attacks.
- Seymour M. Hersh, *Chain of Command: The Road from 9/11 to Abu Ghraib* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004)  
The latest book from one of the most well-known analysts of foreign policy during Vietnam and the post-Vietnam era, Hersh provides an in-depth look at the neoconservative regime of the Bush administration and its decision making in Afghanistan and Iraq following September 11, 2001.

## Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 32

### FOR INSTRUCTORS

#### Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 32 are available as full-color acetates:

- A Poignant Symbol
- Map 32.1 Proposed Oil Development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR)
- Weighing the Return of Big Government
- A National Shopping Spree
- Map 32.2 U.S. Involvement in the Middle East, 1979–2006
- Map 32.3 Ethnoreligious Groups in Iraq, 2006

### Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 32, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 32.1 Proposed Oil Development in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR)
- Map 32.2 U.S. Involvement in the Middle East, 1979–2006
- Map 32.3 Ethnoreligious Groups in Iraq, 2006
- A Poignant Symbol
- Weighing the Return of Big Government
- A National Shopping Spree

### Using the Bedford Series with *America's History, Sixth Edition*

Available online at [bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries](http://bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries), this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 32 include

- *THE 9/11 COMMISSION REPORT With Related Documents*, Abridged with an Introduction by Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

### FOR STUDENTS

#### Documents to Accompany *America's History*

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 32 of the companion reader by Kevin J. Fernlund, *University of Missouri-St. Louis*:

1. *Bush v. Gore* (2000)
2. Stephen Goldsmith, What Compassionate Conservatism Is—and Is Not (2000)
3. Bush on Iraq (2002)
4. U.S. National Security Strategy (2002)
5. Report on Catastrophic Hurricane Evacuation Plan (2006)

**Online Study Guide at  
bedfordstmartins.com/henretta**

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following visual and documents activities are available for Chapter 32:

***Visual Activity***

- Reading American Pictures: *Conservatism at a Crossroads*

***Reading Historical Documents Activities***

- Comparing American Voices: *The Stem Cell Research Controversy*
- Voices from Abroad: Abu Musab al-Zarqawi: *A Strategy for the Iraq Insurgency*