

## Guide to Reading

## Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the election of George W. Bush. In this section, you will discover how a terrorist attack changed the United States.

## Main Idea

- Terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon changed American life. (p. 955)
- Support for the victims of the terrorist attacks showed American heroism and patriotism. (p. 957)
- The war on terrorism included cutting terrorists' access to funding, creating the Department of Homeland Security, and launching a war in Afghanistan. (p. 958)

- Doubting the effectiveness of UN resolutions, the United States went to war with Iraq. (p. 959)
- Despite obstacles in the war with Iraq, a divided nation reelected President Bush. (p. 960)

## Content Vocabulary

terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, anthrax

## Academic Vocabulary

contrary, editor, inspector

## People and Terms to Identify

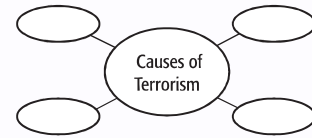
Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda

## Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the development of Middle East terrorism.
- **Explain** the response of the United States to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

## Reading Strategy

As you read about America's war on terrorism, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below to show the different reasons terrorists attack Americans.



## Preview of Events

♦ 1990

1988

Al-Qaeda is organized

♦ 1995

1998

Bombs explode at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania

♦ 2000

2001

Attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Center

♦ 2005

2003

War in Iraq begins

The following are the main History-Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.9.6** Describe U.S. Middle East policy and its strategic, political, and economic interests, including those related to the Gulf War.

## The Big Idea

**The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events.** On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The attacks were traced to al-Qaeda, a Muslim terrorist organization under the leadership of Osama bin Laden. The administration responded by declaring a war on terrorism, creating a new Department of Homeland Security, and attacking targets in Afghanistan. A coalition led by the United States invaded Iraq over concerns about weapons of mass destruction. While U.S. troops fought terrorists in Iraq, the country remained politically divided in the 2004 presidential election. Voters chose to stay the course and reelected George W. Bush over his challenger Senator John Kerry.

## September 11, 2001

**Main Idea** Terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon changed American life.

**Reading Connection** What was the significance of the two sites chosen for the attacks? Read on to learn more about the events of September 11.

On September 11, 2001, the United States was faced with an event it had never before experienced. Terrorists attacked major buildings on the East Coast.

### ★ *An American Story* ★

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

The airplanes did not crash accidentally. Hijackers deliberately crashed them into the buildings. Hijackers also seized a fourth airplane, United Airlines Flight 93, probably hoping to crash it into the White House or the Capitol. Many passengers on Flight 93 had cell phones. After hearing about the World Trade Center, four passengers—Todd Beamer, Thomas Burnett, Jeremy Glick, and Mark Bingham—decided to do something. An operator listening over a cell phone heard Todd Beamer's voice: "Are you ready, guys? Let's roll." Soon afterward, Flight 93 crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. At that moment, Vice President Dick Cheney was in a bunker under the White House. After hearing that Flight 93 had crashed, he said, "I think an act of heroism just took place on that plane."

—adapted from *Let's Roll: Ordinary People, Extraordinary Courage*

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

attacks on September 11, 2001, killed all 266 passengers and crewmembers on the four hijacked planes. Another 125 people died in the Pentagon. In New York City, nearly 3,000 people died. More Americans were killed in the attacks than died at Pearl Harbor or on D-Day in World War II.

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

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

The rise of the oil industry increased the Middle East's contact with Western society. As Western ideas spread through the region, many Muslims—followers of the region's dominant religion—feared that their traditional values and beliefs were being weakened. New movements arose calling for a strict interpretation of the Quran—the Muslim holy book—and a return to traditional Muslim religious laws.

These Muslim movements wanted to overthrow pro-Western governments in the Middle East and create a pure Islamic society. Muslims who support

Todd Beamer ▼





these movements are referred to as fundamentalist militants. Although the vast majority of Muslims believe terrorism is **contrary** to their faith, militants began using terrorism to achieve their goals.

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

The Palestinians wanted their own nation. In the 1950s, they began staging guerrilla raids and terrorist attacks against Israel. Since the United States gave military and economic aid to Israel, it became the target of Muslim hostility. In the 1970s, several Middle Eastern nations realized they could fight Israel and the United States by providing terrorist groups with money, weapons, and training. When a government secretly supports terrorism, this is called **state-sponsored terrorism**. The governments of Libya, Syria, Iraq, and Iran have all sponsored terrorism.

**A New Terrorist Threat** In 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. In response, Muslims from across the Middle East headed to Afghanistan to join the struggle against the Soviets. Among them was 22-year-old **Osama bin Laden**. Bin Laden came from one of Saudi Arabia's wealthiest families. He used his wealth to support the Afghan resistance. In 1988 he founded an organization called **al-Qaeda** (al KY·duh), or "the Base." Al-Qaeda recruited Muslims and channeled money and arms to the Afghan resistance.

Bin Laden's experience in Afghanistan convinced him that superpowers could be beaten. He also believed that Western ideas had contaminated Muslim society. He was outraged when Saudi Arabia allowed American troops on Saudi soil after Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991.

Operating first from Sudan and then from Afghanistan—then under the control of Muslim fundamentalists known as the Taliban—bin Laden dedicated himself and al-Qaeda to driving Westerners, and especially Americans, out of the Middle East. In 1998 he called on Muslims to kill Americans. Soon afterward, bin Laden's followers set off bombs at the

American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Over 200 people died in the attacks, including 12 Americans, and more than 5,400 were injured.

Shortly after these bombings, President Clinton ordered cruise missiles launched at terrorist facilities in Afghanistan and Sudan. The attacks did not deter bin Laden. In 1999 al-Qaeda terrorists were arrested while trying to smuggle explosives into the United States in an attempt to bomb Seattle. In October 2000, al-Qaeda terrorists crashed a boat loaded with explosives into the USS *Cole* while it was docked in Yemen.

**Reading Check Explaining** What are the three main reasons some Muslims became angry with the United States?

## America Unites

**Main Idea** Support for the victims of the terrorist attacks showed American heroism and patriotism.

**Reading Connection** Have you or anyone you know donated blood? Read on to learn how Americans responded to the tragedy after September 11.

The attack on the *Cole* and the attempted bombing of Seattle were overshadowed by the close presidential election of 2000. The new president, George W.

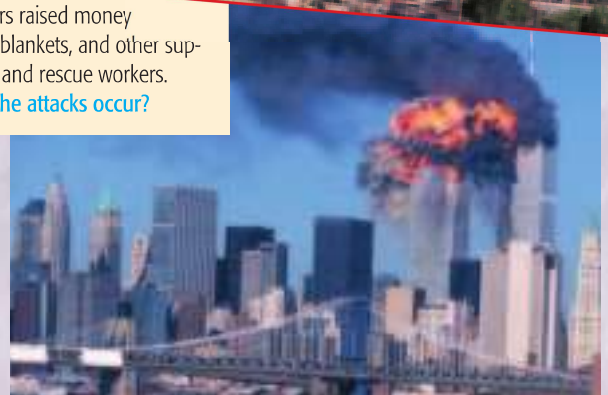
Bush, did not consider terrorism an imminent threat, although there were troubling signs of possible al-Qaeda activity within the United States. "The system was blinking red during the summer of 2001," CIA Director George Tenet later testified. Then, on September 11, 2001, terrorists struck again, hijacking four American passenger planes and executing the most devastating terrorist attack in history.

**Citizens Respond to the Crisis** The attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon shocked Americans, but people responded rapidly to the crisis. Firefighters and medical workers from other cities headed to New York to help. Across the nation, Americans donated blood, raised money, and collected food, blankets, and other supplies. Americans did everything they could to help victims. Within weeks, they had donated over one billion dollars. From around the world came sympathy. "We are all Americans!" wrote one French journalist.

Across the nation, Americans put up flags to show their unity and resolve. They held candlelight vigils and prayer services as they searched for ways to help. If the terrorists had hoped to divide Americans, they failed. As the Reverend Billy Graham noted at a memorial service: "A tragedy like this could have torn our country apart. But instead it has united us and we have become a family."

### Picturing History

**Transcending Tragedy** Although the destruction of the World Trade Center (lower right) and the attack on the Pentagon (right) shocked Americans, people responded rapidly to the crisis. Across the nation, images such as that of firefighters raising a flag in the ruins of the World Trade Center (left) inspired Americans. Many lined up to donate blood. Others raised money and collected food, blankets, and other supplies for the victims and rescue workers.  
**On what date did the attacks occur?**



**A National Emergency** The American government reacted quickly by grounding civilian airliners and alerting the armed forces. On September 14, President Bush declared a national emergency. Congress voted to authorize the use of force to fight the terrorists. Intelligence sources and the FBI quickly identified the attacks as the work of Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda network.

President Bush decided the time had come to end the threat of terrorism in the world. He issued an ultimatum to the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, demanding they turn over bin Laden and his supporters and close all terrorist camps. He also declared that although the war on terrorism would start by targeting al-Qaeda, it would not stop there. “It will not end,” he announced, “until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.”

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

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

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

**Reading Check** **Explaining** How did American citizens respond to the terrorist attacks?

**Airport Security** Airline passengers, such as these at Denver International Airport, had to wait in long lines to go through checkpoints when American airports increased security measures after the terrorist attacks of 9/11.



## A New War Begins

**Main Idea** The war on terrorism included cutting terrorists' access to funding, creating the Department of Homeland Security, and launching a war in Afghanistan.

**Reading Connection** Has your school or community made any plans for a response to bioterrorism or other attacks? Read on to learn of the national response to September 11.

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld warned Americans that “this will be a war like none other our nation has faced.” The enemy, he explained, “is a global network of terrorist organizations and their state sponsors, committed to denying free people the opportunity to live as they choose.” Military force would be used to fight terrorism, but other means would be used as well.

**Fighting Terrorism at Home** In an effort to protect the American people from further terrorist attacks, President Bush called on Congress to create the Department of Homeland Security to merge the dozens of federal agencies working to prevent terrorism. Among the organizations that the new department controls are the Coast Guard, the Border Patrol, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Customs Service, and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

President Bush also asked Congress to pass legislation to help law enforcement agencies track down terrorist suspects. Congress acted with unusual speed, and the president signed the antiterrorism bill—known as the USA Patriot Act—into law in October 2001. The new law allows secret searches to avoid tipping off suspects in terrorism cases. It also allows authorities to obtain a single nationwide search warrant that can be used anywhere. The law also makes it easier to wiretap

suspects, and it allows authorities to track e-mail and seize voice mail. Although Congress has sought to balance Americans' rights with the need to increase security, civil libertarians worry that the new law erodes the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable search and seizure.

**Bioterrorism Strikes America** As the nation tried to cope with the events of September 11, a new terrorist attack began. On October 5, 2001, a Florida newspaper editor died from anthrax. **Anthrax** is a type of bacteria. Several nations, including the United States, Russia, and Iraq, have used it to create biological weapons. Antibiotics can cure anthrax, but if left untreated, it can kill quickly.

Soon after appearing in Florida, anthrax was found at several news organizations in New York City. In Washington, D.C., a letter filled with anthrax arrived at Senator Tom Daschle's office. It became clear that terrorists were using the mail to spread anthrax. Several postal workers contracted anthrax, and two died. The FBI investigated the anthrax attacks, but no suspects were publicly identified.

**War in Afghanistan** On October 7, 2001, the United States began bombing targets in Afghanistan to attack al-Qaeda's camps and the Taliban's military forces. President Bush explained that Islam and the Afghan people were not the enemy, and he pledged food, medicine, and other supplies to Afghan refugees. The United States also sent aid to a coalition of Afghan groups known as the Northern Alliance, which had been fighting the Taliban.

The American bombing campaign quickly shattered the Taliban's defenses. The Northern Alliance then launched a massive attack on Taliban lines. By early December, the Taliban regime had collapsed. The United States and its allies then helped Afghan leaders create a new government. Meanwhile, thousands of American and allied troops began arriving in Afghanistan to act as peacekeepers and to hunt for bin Laden and other al-Qaeda terrorists.

**Weapons of Mass Destruction** The United States grew concerned that groups such as al-Qaeda might acquire nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons. These weapons of mass destruction could kill tens of thousands of people all at once.

In his state of the union speech in January 2002, President Bush warned that an "axis of evil," which he identified as Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, posed a grave threat to the world. Each of these countries had been known to sponsor terrorism and was suspected of trying to develop weapons of mass destruction. The president promised to take strong action: "The United States will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

Months later, North Korea announced that it had restarted its nuclear weapons program. The Bush



▲ U.S. soldiers assist a young Afghani girl at a military medical tent.

administration tried to use diplomatic pressure to persuade the North Korean government to stop the program. The North Koreans argued that they needed the weapons to protect themselves from a U.S. attack.

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

## Confronting Iraq

**Main Idea** **Doubting the effectiveness of UN resolutions, the United States went to war with Iraq.**

**Reading Connection** Do you think the UN is effective as a mediator in world affairs? Read on to learn about UN actions before the war with Iraq.

President Bush considered Iraq a more immediate threat than North Korea in developing and distributing weapons of mass destruction. Iraq's dictator, Saddam Hussein, had already used chemical weapons twice, once in Iraq's war against Iran in the 1980s and again in 1988 against the Kurds, an ethnic minority in northern Iraq who had rebelled against Hussein's



**War in Iraq** On April 9, 2003, just three weeks after the war in Iraq began, American troops reached the capital of Baghdad and helped Iraqis tear down a statue of former dictator Saddam Hussein.

regime. After the Gulf War in 1991, UN **inspectors** found evidence that Iraq had developed biological weapons and was working on a nuclear bomb.

**Pressure on Iraq** Also in the summer of 2002, President Bush increased pressure on Iraq, calling for a regime change in the country. In September he asked for a UN resolution demanding that Iraq give up its weapons of mass destruction. He made it clear, though, that the United States would act with or without UN support. He asked Congress to authorize the use of force against Iraq, and Congress granted his request.

During the congressional elections of 2002, Democrats focused on the nation's faltering economy, but Bush made national security his chief theme. His vigorous campaigning helped Republicans add seats in the House of Representatives and regain a slim majority in the Senate.

**War and Its Aftermath** Soon after the elections, the United Nations approved a new resolution that set a deadline for Iraq to readmit weapons inspectors. The inspectors returned to Iraq, but the Bush administration doubted their effectiveness. The administration believed that Saddam Hussein had hidden weapons of mass destruction that were ready or nearly ready for use. Bush also believed that Hussein had ties to al-Qaeda. Many of America's traditional allies in Europe, however, wanted to give the inspectors more time, and President Bush failed to achieve a declaration of war in the UN Security Council. The president argued

that Iraq posed such an imminent threat that it justified a preemptive war—a war launched to prevent rather than respond to an attack. The United States and Great Britain, with the support of about 30 other countries, prepared for war.

On March 20, 2003, the U.S.-led coalition forces attacked Iraq. Over the next six weeks, the Iraqi army dissolved as soldiers refused to risk their lives for Hussein. The coalition forces quickly seized control of the country, and on May 1, President Bush declared that the major combat was over. About 140 Americans, and several thousand Iraqis, had died. American troops captured Saddam Hussein by the end of the year.

Both the controversy over Iraq and the fighting, however, continued. No evidence was found that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, nor was a serious link between Saddam Hussein and al-Qaeda ever uncovered. The United States also did not have sufficient forces in Iraq to stop the widespread looting that broke out after Hussein's government fell. The lawlessness that followed the war encouraged radical religious factions within Iraq and terrorists who entered the country to target American troops and consultants from coalition countries. More Americans died in Iraq after President Bush had declared the end of combat than during the war itself.

As casualties and costs mounted, President Bush sought help from the UN and other countries to stabilize and rebuild Iraq. "Iraqi democracy will succeed," he insisted, "and that success will send forth the news, from Damascus to Tehran, that freedom can be the future of every nation."

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** Why did President Bush decide to confront Iraq?

## The 2004 Elections

**Now Info** **Despite obstacles in the war with Iraq, a divided nation reelected President Bush.**

**Reading Connection** Have you ever participated in a school, local, or national election? Read on to learn about the 2004 presidential election.

The war on terrorism and the war in Iraq dominated the election of 2004. In the wake of the terrorist attacks, President Bush won widespread support for his firm determination to wage war on terrorism.

**The Kerry Challenge** President Bush and Vice President Cheney won nomination for a second term without challenge. After primary campaigns that

focused largely on the war in Iraq, Democrats nominated Massachusetts senator John Kerry and North Carolina senator John Edwards.

Kerry's nomination revived the Vietnam War as a campaign issue. Unlike President Bush, who served at home in the National Guard, and Vice President Cheney, whose student deferments had kept him from military service, John Kerry had enlisted in the navy. He fought in Vietnam, where he was decorated for valor. Kerry returned from Vietnam convinced of the futility of the war and became an outspoken critic.

Kerry's Vietnam experiences made him leery of sending American troops into combat. As a senator he opposed the first Gulf War, but he voted to authorize President Bush to use military force in Iraq. When no weapons of mass destruction were found in Iraq, Kerry called the war a "diversion" from the hunt for al-Qaeda.

**A Choice for a Divided Nation** In policies and personalities, Bush and Kerry offered the nation a sharp choice. As a conservative, President Bush pledged to continue cutting taxes and building a strong national defense. He opposed abortion and endorsed a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriages. His supporters saw him as someone who operated on fixed moral and religious principles, trusted his instincts, and steadfastly followed a course of action once he made a decision.

Senator Kerry criticized what he considered Bush's single-mindedness, insisting that a president must be able to focus on more than one issue at a time. He pledged to address domestic economic problems while pursuing the war on terrorism. As a liberal, Kerry promised to strengthen Social Security and to

raise taxes on the wealthiest individuals in order to fund health-care insurance for the millions of Americans who lacked health coverage. Although a Catholic, Kerry differed with church leaders on many social issues, including abortion.

While the events of September 11, 2001, had united the nation emotionally, the country remained as divided politically as it had been during the 2000 election. President Bush drew his strength from the Southeast and Southwest, as well as from rural areas and outer suburbs. Senator Kerry's base was in the Northeast and on the West Coast, along with cities and inner suburbs. Both candidates devoted most of their campaigning to a few "battleground" states in the Midwest and in Florida, where voters' opinions were the most narrowly divided.

**Bush Wins a Second Term** Both parties saw voter turnout as the key to the victory. On election day the Republicans best succeeded in mobilizing their core supporters. President Bush took the lead in the popular vote and a majority in the Electoral College. His victory helped preserve the Republican majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives. Despite serious concerns about both foreign and domestic policy, voters felt safer in staying the course and asking President Bush to pursue the war on terrorism.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** Which issues divided the country during the 2004 presidential election?

## SECTION 5 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

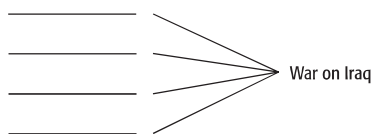
- Vocabulary** Define: terrorism, contrary, state-sponsored terrorism, editor, anthrax, inspector.
- People and Terms** Identify: Osama bin Laden, al-Qaeda.
- Explain** how the United States responded to the attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C.

### Reviewing Big Ideas

- Making Inferences** Why does American foreign policy anger Islamic fundamentalists in the Middle East?

### Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Interpreting** What factors have contributed to the rise of Middle Eastern terrorist groups?  
**CA HR4; HI2**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the reasons why President Bush declared war on Iraq.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Examining Maps** Study the map on page 956 of terrorist attacks. In what region of the world did most of the attacks take place?

### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** The attacks on New York City and Washington, D.C., convinced many Americans that more security was needed, even if it meant giving up some freedoms. Write a letter to a newspaper explaining why you are for or against increased security.

**CA 11WA2.1a; 11WA2.1b**

## HISTORY Study Central **Online**

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