America Confronts the Post-Cold War Era

1992 – 2004
America’s Place in the Post-Cold War Era

- Culture wars and bitter partisan battles kept US from defining its place in world after the Cold War
Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

• 1992 election: the Democrats
  – Governor William Jefferson Clinton (Arkansas) won nomination in spite of accusations of womanizing and draft dodging
  – Clinton picked Albert Gore, fellow southern white male moderate as running mate
Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

- Clinton’s campaign
  - Claimed to be a “new” Democrat
    - Formed Democratic Leadership Council
    - Pulled party away from anti-business, antiwar, common man roots
    -Pushed toward pro-growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies
  - Promised to stimulate the economy, reform the welfare system, and overhaul the health care system
• 1992 election: the Republicans
  – Renominated Bush and Vice President J. Danforth Quayle
  – Emphasized “family values”
  – Bush ran weak campaign
  • Emphasized foreign policy – ending the Cold War and Iraq
George Bush and Dan Quayle
Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

• “It’s the economy, stupid.”
  - Weak economy during Bush’s first term
    • Worker’s had actually lost purchasing power
  - Economy was more important to voters than foreign policy in 1992
    • 20% of voters cast ballots for H. Ross Perot, political outsider who attacked Republicans for deficits and Democrats for overspending, and both for free trade
Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

• 1992 election: the results
  – Record turnout – 55% of eligible voters
  – Clinton won with 370 electoral votes and 44 million popular votes
  – Bush got 168 electoral votes and 39 million popular votes
  – Perot received no electoral votes but got 19 million popular votes
  – Democrats got large majorities in both houses of Congress, seating high numbers of minorities and women
The Election of 1992

1992

ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL: 538

POPULAR VOTE TOTAL: 104,600,366

Democratic (Clinton)

Republican (G.H.W. Bush)
Bill Clinton: the First Baby-Boomer President

- Clinton’s diverse cabinet (that “looked like America”):
  - First female attorney general, Janet Reno
  - Secretary of health and human services, Donna Shalala
  - Housing and Urban Development – Henry Cisneros
  - Secretary of commerce Ron Brown

- Clinton nominated Ruth Bader Ginsburg to Supreme Court
Ron Brown
A False Start for Reform

- Clinton came into office overestimating support for liberal reform
- Clinton advocated end to ban on gays in the military
  - Fierce opposition led to “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy – quiet acceptance without official acknowledgement
A False Start for Reform

• Clinton attempted to reform health care system
  – Appointed his wife, Hillary Clinton, as director of task force
  – October 1993 – complicated plan presented to Congress with little chance of passing
  – Hillary Clinton bitterly attacked by conservatives
Bill and Hillary Clinton
“Go Fool, Fetch Me a Taxpayer!!!”
Hillary Clinton’s Health Care Plan

THIS MODERN WORLD by TOM TOMORROW

RECENT PROPAGANDISTIC TV ADS SPONSORED BY A COALITION OF MID-SIZED INSURERS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE IMPRESSION THAT ALL INSURERS ARE OPPOSED TO THE CLINTON HEALTH CARE PLAN...

-- IF WE GET SICK, WE HAVE TO ALLOW GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRATS TO BLEED US WITH LEECHES!
-- AND IF WE TRY TO SEE A DOCTOR, THEY'LL THROW US IN PRISON!

Hmm...

IN REALITY, THE NATION’S FIVE LARGEST INSURERS—AETNA, CIGNA, PRUDENTIAL, MET LIFE AND TRAVELLERS—ACTUALLY HELPED WRITE THE CLINTON PLAN...

... AND IF YOU DIDN’T ALREADY KNOW THAT, ISN’T IT ABSURD THAT YOU HAD TO LEARN IT FROM A COMIC STRIP?

-- WHICH MAY EXPLAIN WHY A CANADIAN-STYLE SYSTEM—WHICH WOULD ELIMINATE ALL PRIVATE HEALTH INSURERS—ISN’T EVEN BEING CONSIDERED...

INTERESTINGLY, ONE OF THE CANADIANS’ BIGGEST PROBLEMS IS THE NUMBER OF AMERICANS SNEAKING INTO THEIR HOSPITALS FOR FREE CARE.

I WAS, UM, PLAYING HOCKEY... AND I, UM, SLIPPED IN SOME MAPLE SYRUP...

HEH, HOW 'BOUT THOSE BLUE JAYS, EH DOC?

-- WE SWEAR WE'RE NOT MAKING THIS UP...

ADDING SOME LEVITY TO ALL THIS CONFUSION ARE THOSE WACKY REPUBLICANS... WHOSE CURRENT ARGUMENTS SEEM TO BE PATTERNED AFTER GEORGE BUSH’S FAMOUS “RECESSION? WHAT RECESSION?” STRATEGY...

THERE’S NO HEALTH CARE CRISIS!

EVERYTHING IS JUST FINE!

RICH GUYS WITH PLENTY OF INSURANCE...
A False Start for Reform

• Managing the federal deficit
  – 1993 – Clinton proposed increased taxes and lower spending
  – Strong economy helped erase deficits and give government surpluses for first time in decades
Deficits into Surpluses, 1992 - 2000

Billions of dollars

- $290
- $0
- $100
- $200
- $300


$236

SURPLUSES

DEFICITS
A False Start for Reform

• Gun control
  – 1993 - the “Brady Bill”
    • Named for James Brady, Reagan aide who was wounded and disabled during the 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan
  – 1994 - $30 billion anticrime bill
    • Banned several types of assault weapons
The Reagan Assassination, in which James Brady, Reagan’s Press Secretary, Was Severely Wounded, 1981
James Brady at the 1996 Democratic National Convention
A False Start for Reform

- **1993 – Waco, Texas standoff**
  - Between federal agents and fundamentalist sect called the Branch Davidians
  - Ended in destruction of the compound and deaths of many sect members, including women and children

- **1995 – Oklahoma City bombing**
  - Huge explosion destroyed federal office building
  - 168 people killed

- Exposed existence of private “militias”
  - Alienated citizens, large amounts of arms, and deep distrust of government
David Koresh
The Branch Davidians' Compound Outside of Waco, Texas During the Standoff
The Burning Compound in Waco Texas Where Branch Davidian Cultists Had Been Surrounded by Federal Agents, April 1993
Nothing but Rubble Remains of the Front Side of the Destroyed Federal Building in the Oklahoma City Bombing Aftermath
Timothy McVeigh, Who Was Sentenced to Death for the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing
A False Start for Reform

• Antigovernment feelings strong among many Americans, not just militia fanatics
  – Disillusionment after Vietnam and Watergate
  – Term limits passed for many officeholders, but ruled inapplicable to federal office holders by Supreme Court in 1995
A False Start for Reform

• 1999 – Columbine
  – 2 students at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado killed 12 students and a teacher before killing themselves
  – Debate over origins of school violence
    • Video games, failing parents
    • Biggest target was easy availability of guns
Columbine High School on April 20, 2000, the One-Year Anniversary of the Worst School Shooting in US History
Kids and Guns

...No, Dick isn’t running for cover...
A False Start for Reform

• Antigun rallies after Columbine
  – Clinton engaged in bitter debate with National Rifle Association (NRA) over need to toughen gun laws
  – May 2000 – “Million Mom March”
    • Antigun march by women in Washington, DC
  – 2002 – Bowling for Columbine
    • Antigun movie by Michael Moore
Guns Don’t Kill, People Do
Michael Moore Talks with Mark Taylor, a Survivor of the Columbine High School Shooting
The Politics of Distrust

- **1994 elections**
  - Republicans, led by Newt Gingrich, representative of Georgia, took advantage of antigovernment feelings and Clinton’s mistakes
  - “Contract with America”
    - Promised to end deficits and welfare programs
  - All incumbent Republican governors, senators, and representatives reelected
  - Republicans picked up 11 new governorships, 8 new seats in Senate, and 53 seats in House
  - Republicans had control of both chambers of Congress for first time in 40 years
Newt Gingrich
The Politics of Distrust

• Conservatives in Congress
  – Restricted “unfunded mandates”
    • Federal obligations on state and local governments without paying for them
  – 1996 – conservatives forced Clinton to sign Welfare Reform Bill
    • Deep cuts in grants
    • Required able-bodied to find jobs
    • Clinton saw conservative mood of country and moved to the right
    • Angered liberals because of Clinton’s betrayal of Democratic heritage
Welfare Reform

Give a man a fish and he eats for a day.

Teach a man to fish and he eats for a lifetime.

Of course, he may not eat that well.
The Politics of Distrust

- Conservatives in Congress went too far after winning in 1994
  - Gingrich frequently made offensive remarks
    - Proposed sending children of welfare recipients to orphanages
  - End of 1995 – government shut down because of fight between Clinton and Republicans
    - Generally blamed on Republicans
The Politics of Distrust

• 1996 election: the Republicans
  – Nominated Kansas senator Bob Dole
  – Dole ran a weak campaign
The Politics of Distrust

• 1996 election: the Democrats
  – Bill Clinton renominated
  – Clinton benefited from strong economy and his move to conservativism
The Politics of Distrust

• 1996 election: the results
  – Clinton won an easy victory over Dole
    • 47.4 million to 39.2 million popular votes
    • 379 to 159 electoral votes
  – Republicans kept control of Congress
The Election of 1996

1996

ELECTORAL VOTE TOTAL: 538
70.4% 379
29.6% 159

POPULAR VOTE TOTAL: 96,277,634
49.2% 47,402,357
40.7% 39,198,755
8.4% 8,085,402

Democratic (Clinton)
Republican (Dole)
Clinton Again

- Clinton first Democrat to be reelected since FDR
  - Faced Republican Congress
  - Proposed modest legislative goals, not liberal reforms of his 1st term
Clinton Again

- Clinton put Republicans on defensive by claiming middle ground
  - Embraced Welfare Reform Bill of 1996 that he had not supported before
  - On affirmative action, promised to “mend it, not end it”
    - 1996 – proposition 209 in California banned affirmative action in government and higher education
    - Hopwood v. Texas – federal appeals court decision that banned affirmative action in Texas
    - Clinton criticized these broad assaults on affirmative action, but did not try to reverse them because of opposition to affirmative action, especially among whites
Clinton Again

• Strong economy was Clinton’s biggest advantage
  – By 2000 was longest period of economic growth in US history
  – Driven by new Internet (“dot.com”) and other high tech businesses
  – Unemployment reached 4%, businesses couldn’t find workers to fill jobs
  – Inflation remained low
Larry Page and Sergey Brin,
Co-Founders of google.com
Clinton Again

- **Clinton and free trade**
  - 1993 – supported North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
    - Free-trade zone among US, Canada, and Mexico
    - Reversal of 1992 campaign pledge and betrayal of protectionists in Democratic party
  - 1994 – supported World Trade Organization (WTO)
    - Organization to promote worldwide free trade
  - 1999 – WTO protests in Seattle
    - City streets filled with protestors against human and environmental costs of globalization
The Signing of NAFTA
Effects of Free Trade and NAFTA
Anti-NAFTA Cartoon

THIS MODERN WORLD

IN THE FINAL WEEKS BEFORE THE HOUSE VOTE ON NAFTA, THE ADMINISTRATION CLEVERLY MANAGED TO TURN MUCH OF THE DEBATE OVER THE TREATY INTO A DEBATE OVER ROSS PEROT...

SO, GENTLEMEN—SHOULD NAFTA PASS?

ABSOLUTELY! AFTER ALL, ROSS PEROT IS A KOOK!

I'D HAVE TO AGREE! HE'S REALLY A LUNATIC!

THEY WERE ALSO LARGELY SUCCESSFUL IN VILIFYING LABOR UNIONS...ACTING AS THOUGH NEVER BEFORE IN THE HISTORY OF WASHINGTON HAD ANYONE EVER ATTEMPTED TO SWAY A POLITICIAN...

I AM SHOCKED—SHOCKED—TO FIND THAT LOBBYING IS GOING ON HERE!

THESE EFFORTS, OF COURSE, WERE HELPED ENORMOUSLY BY THE LARGEST OUTPOURING OF MEDIA SYCOHANCY SINCE THE GULF WAR...

--AND TODAY THE WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCED THAT NAFTA WILL CURE CANCER AND REVERSE THE DAMAGE TO THE OZONE LAYER!

HEY, THAT'S TERRIFIC! BOY, ANYONE OPPOSED TO THIS TREATY WOULD HAVE TO BE SOME KIND OF MORON!

--THE PASSAGE OF A REPUBLICAN-NEGOTIATED TRADE TREATY WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY JUST A REPACKAGING OF TRICKLE-DOWN ECONOMICS...

ULTIMATELY IT ALL PAID OFF FOR CLINTON, IN ONE OF THE GREATEST VICTORIES OF HIS YOUNG PRESIDENCY--

WHAT A TRIUMPH FOR THE CANDIDATE OF CHANGE...
Made in Honduras
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999

THINK THE WTO IS BAD?
...WAIT UNTIL YOU HEAR ABOUT
CAPITALISM!
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999

Sweatshops: Free Trade or Corporate Slavery?

www.globalexchange.org
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Anti-WTO Protests in Seattle, Washington, December 1999
Clinton Again

• Campaign finance reform
  – Investigations into 1996 race revealed Clinton received money from many improper sources
    • Contributors allowed to stay overnight in the White House; foreigners who are legally prohibited from making donations
  – Both parties had become heavily dependent on huge sums to pay for TV ads for candidates
    • Except for a few mavericks, both parties only paid lip service to campaign finance reform
Problems Abroad

• End of Cold War meant US had to find new rationale for foreign policy
  – Clinton at first seemed amateurish and followed lead of Bush
Problems Abroad

- Somalia
  - Clinton sent US troops as part of peacekeeping mission
  - Late 1993 – rebels killed Americans
    - Clinton reinforced US units
  - March 1994 – Clinton withdrew US troops
    - No clearly defined goal accomplished
Problems Abroad

• Rwanda
  – Clinton did nothing while genocide resulted in 500,000 people being killed
Corpses of Victims of the Genocide in Rwanda
Skulls Left Over from Rwanda's 1994 Genocide
Problems Abroad

• Haiti
  - 1991 – democratically-elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide forced from office in military coup
  - 1994 – Clinton sent 20,000 US troops to return Aristide to power
    • After thousands of Haitians had sought asylum in US
  - 2004 – Aristide again removed by coup and exiled to Africa
Jean-Bertrand Aristide
Problems Abroad

• China
  – Clinton had criticized Bush during 1992 campaign for not imposing sanctions for human rights abuses
  – Clinton learned as president China’s importance to US economy
  – Clinton sought improved trade relations with China
    • Cheap production and huge market
  – May 2000 – trade bill made China full trading partner with US
Made in China
Problems Abroad

- Balkans
  - Widespread ethnic conflict in Balkans
    - Late 1995 – Clinton sent US troops with NATO peacekeeping unit
    - NATO forces only ones capable of preventing outbreak of more violence
  - 1999 – Slobodan Milosević launched ethnic cleansing against Albanians in Kosovo
    - US-led NATO forces launched air war against Serbia
    - Milosević forced to accept NATO ground troops in Kosovo
    - 2001 – Milosević arrested and put on trial for war crimes
Slobodan Milosević
A Kosovo Liberation Army Gunman Looks at Graves of Ethnic Albanians Executed by Serb Troops
Body Bags with Remains of Kosovo Albanians Who Were Buried in Mass Graves
Problems Abroad

• Middle East
  – 1993 – Clinton presided over historic meeting between Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasir Arafat
    • Agreed in principle on self-rule for Palestinians within Israel
    • Agreement scrapped when Rabin killed by assassin in 1995
  – Clinton and Madeline Albright (secretary of state) failed to achieve peace between Israel and Palestine
Madeline Albright
Problems Abroad

• Peacemaking at the end of Clinton’s term
  – Northern Ireland between Catholics and Protestants
  – Korea between North and South Korea
  – India and Pakistan – both nuclear powers
Scandal and Impeachment

• Scandal had dogged Clinton since the 1992 campaign
  – Marital infidelity
  – Use of marijuana
I Didn’t Inhale
Scandal and Impeachment

• Whitewater
  – Investigation into failed real estate deal by Whitewater Land Corporation
  – No indictment for Whitewater ever came
Scandal and Impeachment

• January 1998 – Monica Lewinsky
  – Public found out Clinton had an affair with intern Lewinsky and then lied about it when he testified under oath in another woman’s civil lawsuit accusing him of sexual harassment
  – Clinton made repeated denials to prevent charge of perjury
  – Clinton finally forced to admit he had an “inappropriate relationship” with Lewinsky
Monica Lewinsky
Clinton Hugs Lewinsky on TV, November 1996
Clinton Denies Having Had Sexual Relations with Monica Lewinsky
The Clinton Leash
Scandal and Impeachment

• September 1998 – Starr Report
  – By special prosecutor Kenneth Starr
  – Stinging attack on Clinton, including sexual details
  – Charged Clinton with 11 possible grounds for impeachment
    • All related to Lewinsky affair
Scandal and Impeachment

• December 1998 – House of Representatives passed 2 articles of impeachment against Clinton
  – Perjury before a grand jury
  – Obstruction of justice

• Democrats defended Clinton
  – No matter how bad his personal conduct, sex did not rise to the level of “high crimes and misdemeanors”

• Republicans replied
  – Perjury and obstruction were real crimes, not sex; rule of law itself was at stake
American public generally agreed that Clinton’s mistakes were not impeachable
- 1998 midterm elections – House Republican majority reduced
  - Speaker Newt Gingrich forced to resign his post
- Most wanted Clinton to stay in office because of his political and economic policies
Scandal and Impeachment

• Impeachment
  – Early 1999 – impeachment proceedings began in US Senate
    • First time in 130 years (since Andrew Johnson)
  – Obstruction of justice
    • 5 northeastern Republicans joined all 45 Democrats to vote not guilty
  – Perjury
    • 55 votes not guilty; 45 guilty
  – Both votes fell far below required 2/3 needed to convict
Impeachment Blows up in Gingrich’s Face
Clinton’s Legacy

- Clinton worked to secure legacy as a moderate reformer
- Major sections of undeveloped land as protected wilderness
- “Patients’ bill of rights” healthcare improvements
- Hiring of 100,000 more teachers and 50,000 more police officers
- Fight over budget surpluses foreshadowed 2000 election
  - Republicans pushed for tax cuts
  - Clinton pushed to strengthen Social Security and Medicare
Clinton’s Legacy

• Succeeded at economic growth
  – In part due to global expansion outside his control
  – Made good appointment and kept budget under control
  – By 2000 – US achieved near full employment, poverty rates lowered, median income increased
Clinton’s Legacy

• Consolidation of Reagan-Bush revolution against New Deal liberalism
  – Clinton spoke for social justice and racial harmony, but discouraged people from looking to government for solutions

• Low standard of personal conduct renewed public cynicism about government
Poll on Morals in America, March 2001

Moral compass

America isn’t getting any better, ethically speaking – or so many of those polled say. Older people, in particular, are worried about what they see as a collapse of morality.

Generally speaking, how satisfied are you with the direction things are going in the country at this time in terms of morals and ethics?

- Very satisfied: 6%
- Somewhat satisfied: 28%
- Not very satisfied: 39%
- Not at all satisfied: 25%
- Not sure or refused: 2%

Source: The Christian Science Monitor/TIPP poll; TechnoMetrica Market Intelligence. Based on a nationwide telephone poll March 8-12 of 909 Americans aged 18 and older. Margin of error is plus or minus 3.3 percentage points.
Opening Ceremonies at the Clinton Library

MOST OPENING CEREMONIES INVOLVE A SCISSOR AND A RIBBON...
Clinton’s Legacy

- Final actions as president
  - Clinton negotiated deal with Starr to prevent further legal proceedings by agreeing to fine and 5-year suspension of his law license
  - Clinton made several pardons to powerful political donors in 2000
Cartoon About Clinton’s Controversial Pardons During the Last Months of His Presidency
The Bush-Gore Presidential Battle

- Democrats
  - Nominated Albert Gore, Clinton’s vice president
  - Some Americans didn’t like stiff manner, especially compared to Clinton
  - Gore had to associate himself with Clinton-era prosperity while distancing himself from Clinton’s mistakes
  - Chose Joseph Lieberman, senator from Connecticut, as running mate
    - Harsh critic of Clinton during Lewinsky scandal
Al Gore and Joe Lieberman
The Bush-Gore Presidential Battle

- Green Party
  - Nominated consumer advocate Ralph Nader
  - Threatened to take votes from Democrats, even though Gore had been longtime environmentalist
The Bush-Gore Presidential Battle

- Republicans
  - Nominated George W. Bush
    - Eldest son of George H.W. Bush
    - Popular 2-term governor of Texas
  - Promised to “restore dignity to the White House”
    - Thinly veiled attack on Clinton’s ethics
  - Bush chose Richard Cheney as running mate
    - Former secretary of defense under first Bush
    - Gave ticket much-needed experience
  - “compassionate conservative”
  - “uniter not a divider” – promised to end partisan warfare of 1990s
Bush’s Booster Seat
The Bush-Gore Presidential Battle

- The campaign focused on domestic issues, not foreign policy
  - Estimates called for $2 trillion in surpluses over next decade
  - Bush called for 2/3 of the surplus to be made a huge tax cut and less government
    - School vouchers, “faith-based” institutions to serve poor, partial privatization of Social Security
  - Gore replied with smaller tax cut, reduction or elimination of national debt, and strengthen Social Security and Medicare
Privatized Social Security
The Controversial Election of 2000

- Closest and most controversial race since 1876 Hayes-Tilden
- Florida
  - Bush’s brother, Jeb, served as governor
  - Close vote compelled a recount; gave Bush extremely close win
  - Democrats demanded hand recounts in several counties where confusing ballots and faulty voting machines may have taken away Gore votes
  - Republicans used courts to block any more recounts
  - Democratic and Republican lawyers battled over Florida’s election procedures
Confusing Florida Election Ballot, 2000
(Voters Punch the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Hole Down to Vote for Gore, Not the 2\textsuperscript{nd}, So Many Voters Mistakenly Voted for Buchanan)
Election Workers Hand-Check Ballots for Hanging, Pregnant or Dimpled Chads at the Miami Dade County Government Center November 20, 2000
Inspection of Ballots During the 2000 Election Recount in Florida
Republican Operatives Protesting a Hand Recount in Florida (Dubbed the “Preppy Riot”)

4. Kevin Smith, former house republican Conference analyst
5. Steven Brody, Former aide to Sen. Fred D. Thompson (R-Tenn)
6. Matt Schlapp, Bush Campaign Staff, Austin
7. Roger Morse, Aide to Rep. Van Hilleary (R-Tenn)
8. Duane Gibson, Aide to Chairman Don Young (R-Alaska)

3. Rory Cooper, staff member, National Republican Congressional Committee

2. Garry Malphrus, Majority Chief Council

1. Tom Pyle, office of House Majority Whip Tom Delay (R-Tex)


10. Layna McConkey, Former legislative assistant to former Rep. Jim Ross Lightfoot (R-Iowa)
The Controversial Election of 2000

- Florida Supreme Court ordered a hand recount of 60,000 ballots the machines had not read.
- Republican-dominated legislature moved to name pro-Bush electors, regardless of vote counting.
The Controversial Election of 2000

- Bush took his case to US Supreme Court
  - 5 conservative justices ruled for Bush
    - Since the Florida legislature or its courts had established a uniform standard, the hand counts were unconstitutional, violating 14th amendment’s equal protection clause
    - The only one “harmed” by the recount was Bush (not the voters who might have their votes not counted because of differing standards), who stood to lose the election if the votes were recounted by hand
  - 4 other justices and many observers charged that Court had “stolen” election
Protestors Meet Outside the Supreme Court During the Election Controversy of 2000
The Controversial Election of 2000

- Bush took office with air of illegitimacy
  - Won Florida with only 537 votes (out of 6 million cast)
  - Lost popular vote to Gore (50.4 million to 50.99 million)
  - Won close victory in electoral college (271 to 266)
  - Faced evenly divided Senate (50-50) and majority in House of only 10 votes
Most Likely the President
The Controversial Election of 2000

• Despite bitter election, US democracy remained
  – No rioting or protests took place in streets
• 2000 election made it clear US needed updated voting machines and rules
• Some called for (unlikely) abolition of Electoral College
Bush Begins

- Bush was born into New England privilege, but took on persona of self-made good ol’ boy
- Proved to be a divider, not a uniter
  - Crusading ideologue, not a “compassionate conservative”
- Angered liberals, but supported by strong base of religious conservatives
Bush Begins

- WITHDRAW SUPPORT FROM INTERNATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAMS THAT SANCTIONED ABORTION
- PUSHED FOR FEDERALLY-FINANCED FAITH-BASED SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS
- LIMITED RESEARCH INTO EMBRYONIC STEM CELLS
Division over Stem Cell Research

Life begins at the petri dish!

Even the human embryos are divided...

Cloning for research!
Bush Begins

- Challenged scientific findings on ground-water contamination and global warming
  - Blocked Kyoto Treaty limiting greenhouse gas emissions, negotiated by Clinton but never ratified by US Senate
- Pushed for oil exploration in Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska
- Allowed Cheney to write energy policy in secret meetings with energy executives
- Pushed for huge $1.3 trillion tax cut
  - US budget went from surpluses to huge ($400 billion) deficits
The Greenhouse Effect

Some solar radiation is reflected by the Earth and the atmosphere.

Some of the infrared radiation passes through the atmosphere, and some is absorbed and re-emitted in all directions by greenhouse gas molecules. The effect of this is to warm the Earth's surface and the lower atmosphere.

Solar radiation passes through the clear atmosphere.

Most radiation is absorbed by the Earth's surface and warms it.

Infrared radiation is emitted from the Earth's surface.
Map of Alaska, Showing the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
Bush Record Budget Deficit

HISTORY OF U.S. BUDGET SURPLUS/DEFICIT

US$ billion
200 100 0 -100 -200 -300

Surplus

Deficit

2000 236.4
1986 -221.2
1992 -290.4

1963-69
Lyndon Johnson
1969-74
Richard Nixon
1974-77
G. Ford
1977-81
Jimmy Carter
1981-89
Ronald Reagan
1989-93
George Bush
1993-01
Bill Clinton
2001-present
George W. Bush

2003 -304.0

Source: Congressional Budget Office
Sinking in Debt
Bush Begins

- Bush further polarized already divided America ("red" vs. "blue")
- 2001 – Vermont Senator James Jeffords severed connections with Republicans and became an independent
  - Gave Democrats brief control of US Senate
Terrorism Comes to America

- September 11, 2001 – terrorists slammed 2 airliners into World Trade Center buildings
  - 3rd plane hit Pentagon, killing 189 people
  - 4th plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania by heroic passengers, killing all 44 aboard
  - Approximately 3,000 people killed in all
Terrorists Fly United Airlines Flight 175 into the South Tower of the World Trade Center
Smoke Engulfs Neighboring Buildings as the South Tower of the World Trade Center Collapses, While the North Tower Burns
Firefighters During September 11th Terrorist Attacks, Approaching the World Trade Center
You Guys Want MY Autograph?

'You guys want MY autograph?'
Terrorism Comes to America

- September 20 – Bush made stirring speech to Congress
  - Dissipated cloud of illegitimacy over his presidency
  - Emphasized his respect for Islam religion and Muslim people
  - Identified Osama bin Laden, head of Al Qaeda ("the base") as chief culprit
Terrorism Comes to America

• Background on Osama bin Laden
  – Wealthy extremist from Saudi Arabia
  – Associated with earlier attacks on US embassy in East Africa and US Navy ship in Yemen
  – Hiding out in Afghanistan, ruled by Islamic fundamentalists (the Taliban)
    • US had helped bring Taliban to power by supporting religious rebels resisting Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1980s
  – Why bin Laden hated US
    • Sanctions against Iraq had killed 500,000
    • US military presence in Middle East, especially sacred Arabian peninsula
    • Support for Israel and hostility toward Palestinians
Osama bin Laden
Terrorism Comes to America

- Taliban refused to hand bin Laden over
- Bush ordered massive military attack on Afghanistan
  - In 3 months, US overthrew Taliban but had not found bin Laden
• New antiterrorism tactics – “asymmetrical warfare”
  – Traditional military force with intelligence gathering, economic sanctions, infiltration of suspected groups, and targeted assassinations
Terrorism Comes to America

- Recession made worse by terrorist attacks
  - Had begun before September
  - After attacks, people did not travel and tourism industry hurt
Terrorism Comes to America

- Anthrax attacks
  - Fall 2001 – a few Americans died after receiving letters contaminated with anthrax (a deadly respiratory disease)
  - Gnawing fear spread that biological attacks might be next
  - Sender of anthrax-laced letters never found
One of Several Letters Laced with Anthrax Sent to Prominent People

TOM BROKAW
NBC TV
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK NY 10112
Terrorism Comes to America

• USA Patriot Act of 2001
  – October 2001 – rammed through during fear and paranoia right after terrorist attacks
  – Allowed extensive telephone and e-mail surveillance
  – Allowed detention and deportation of immigrants suspected of terrorism without hearings
The Cost of Security
Another One of Those Trick Questions

Another one of those trick questions.

The Patriot Act lets the government check all the websites you've looked at, even if you're not suspected of anything. Okay?

☐ Yes, I don't care about my freedoms.
☐ No, I must be a terrorist who hates freedom.

Your call to tech support will be monitored.
Terrorism Comes to America

- 2002 – Department of Homeland Security created
  - Consolidated competing agencies to more effectively protect borders and investigate possible terrorists
- Justice Department held hundreds of immigrants without habeas corpus (formal charges in open court)
- Bush called for trying terrorism before military tribunals, where usual rules and procedures did not apply
  - Hundreds of Taliban fighters captured in Afghanistan brought to Guantanamo, Cuba in legal limbo
  - Public opinion divided over whether Bush’s drastic action was warranted
Terrorism Comes to America

• Long-lasting impact of September 11 on US society
  – Had been 200 years since last attack on US soil
  – US society emphasized openness and individual freedom
  – Open question whether these values would survive attack on US soil
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- UN inspectors mandated to be in Iraq after 1991 Gulf War
- 1998 – Hussein expelled UN and International Atomic Energy Agency weapons inspectors and
  - President Clinton (with congressional approval) made “regime change” in Iraq official policy of US
  - Military action by Clinton did not follow – instead focused on economic sanctions
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- 2001 – Bush focused on Iraq immediately upon taking office
  - Us would not tolerate Hussein’s continued defiance of UN weapons inspections
- January 2002 – Bush called Iraq, Iran, and North Korea the “axis of evil” and a threat to US security
  - North Korea and Iran pursued nuclear weapons programs
  - Iran also sponsored terrorism in Middle East
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- Bush focused on Iraq
  - Elder Bush had assembled broad coalition of countries to fight 1991 Gulf War
  - Bush 2 was determined to invade Iraq no matter what
    - Broke with longstanding US tradition and waged a “preemptive war” against Iraq
    - Was willing to go in without a coalition if necessary
    - Halfhearted diplomacy pursued
    - Encouraged by hawk Cheney and other neoconservative ideologues
Bush’s Foreign Policy
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- Bush’s accusations against Iraq
  - Oppressed his own people
  - Stopping weapons inspectors
  - Developing nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD)
  - Supporting terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda

- Bush promised that Iraq would quickly democratize and become an example to the rest of the Middle East
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

• Caution in face of Bush’s pronouncements
  – Europeans widely did not believe Bush’s accusations against Iraq
  – Even in coalition countries that fought with US, public opinion was deeply against the invasion
  – Secretary of State Colin Powell warned caution
    • Potter Barn rule: “You break it, you own it.”
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- October 2002 – heavy majorities in both houses of Congress authorized Bush’s war
- November 2002 – UN Security Council voted to give Iraq “a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations.”
  - UN weapons inspectors returned to Iraq
  - Hussein harassed and blocked them
  - No WMD were found
  - UN inspectors asked for more time
  - UN declined to authorize use of force to compel Iraq’s compliance
Bush Takes the Offensive Against Iraq

- March 19, 2003 – US and Britain launched the invasion of Iraq
  - Iraq’s military collapsed almost immediately
  - In less than 1 month, Baghdad had fallen and Hussein was in hiding

- May 1, 2003 – Bush, on board an aircraft carrier, beneath “Mission Accomplished” banner, announced that “major combat operations in Iraq have ended.”
Bush on the Flight Deck, Before the Mission Accomplished Speech
Mission Accomplished
Owning Iraq

• Neocons around Bush had predicted Iraq would welcome US as liberators and democracy would blossom
• Instead, Iraqi insurgents began cycle of endless violence
  – Insurgents repeatedly attacked US troops
    • More killed by insurgents (1,200 by 2004) than during invasion (139)
  – 15,000 Iraqi civilians killed (by 2004)
  – April 2004 – revelations of brutal prisoner abuse by US soldier at Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad inflamed anti-American sentiment
• US had once been a model of freedom; now reviled as arrogant imperialist power
A Fuel Tanker Burns after a Suicide Car Bombing Set it on Fire
Aftermath of the Explosion of a Road Side Bomb in Central Baghdad
Staff Sgt. Michael Mills Recovering from Injuries Suffered When an Improvised Explosive Device Detonated and Destroyed the Vehicle He was Commanding
Master Sergeant Daniel R. Robles was injured in improvised explosive devices explosion and lost both his legs below the knee.
Iraqi Prisoner Abuse at Abu Ghraib
Iraqi Prisoner Abuse at Abu Ghraib
Iraqi Prisoner Abuse at Abu Ghraib
Iraqi Prisoner Abuse at Abu Ghraib
Iraqi Prisoner Abuse at Abu Ghraib
LEARNING CURVE

First we learn about the abuses at Abu Ghraib.

Harrumph! Clearly the work of a few bad apples!

Certainly no worse than the average fraternity prank!

Then we learn that in January 2002, Rumsfeld approved the use of dogs to intimidate prisoners at Guantanamo—a tactic later used at Abu Ghraib.

Er—would you believe I was referring to Triumph, the insult comic dog?

His clever barbs can be very intimidating, you know!

Then we learn that Donald Rumsfeld requested a report on the legality of torture in March 2003.

Well, that doesn't prove anything!

Maybe he was simply discussing the most recent season of "24" on an internet chat board somewhere.

Learning more and more, all of it clearly indicating that the torture of detainees was an officially sanctioned policy.

Look, everyone stayed within the law!

Of course, the way Rumsfeld and Ashcroft figure it, the law is pretty much what we say it is!

Heh, heh! Maybe I should declare John Kerry an Enemy Combatant!

Oops! Did I say that out loud?

Then we learn of Justice Department memos from 2002 which discuss the degree of suffering allowable during interrogation.

But rest assured, there is no truth to the rumor that detainees have been forced to listen to me singing "Let the Eagle Soar" until they beg to have electrodes attached to their genitals instead.

Because that would be wrong.

And someday, some American P.O.W. somewhere will learn why the administration really should have tried to set a better example.

Today we will strap you to a board and hold you under water until you think you will die!

Do not worry! Your own government says it is not torture!

Think of it as a harmless fraternity prank!

*Actual interrogation technique used at Guantanamo.
Owning Iraq

- Nation-building
  - Bush denounced nation-building during 2000 campaign
  - Now, ironically, US doing that very thing in Iraq
  - June 28, 2004 – US handed over political power (but only limited sovereignty) to Iraqi interim (temporary) government
  - January 2005 – elections scheduled for permanent government
“Ready for the Handover?”
Owning Iraq

• Controversy continued over Bush’s rationales for war
  – No WMD were found
  – Hussein’s nuclear program almost nonexistent
  – No links found between Hussein and Al Qaeda
  – No evidence that “democracy” would spread to rest of Middle East
Doonesbury on the Invasion of Iraq
Owning Iraq

- Questions about Iraq dominated 2004 campaign
  - Whether Bush mislead US into war
  - Continued presence of 100,000 troops in Iraq
  - How US might get out of Iraq
A Country in Conflict

• Divided America
  – 2000 election
  – Patriot Act
  – Iraq War
  – Corporate fraud
  – Abortion
  – Gay marriage
  – Affirmative action
A Country in Conflict

- **Supreme Court and affirmative action**
    - Declared unconstitutional a numerical formula for admitting minority undergraduate students to University of Michigan
    - Allowed to stand a more flexible, individually based minority admissions procedure for Michigan law school
    - “We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary.”
Reelecting George W. Bush

- 2004 election: Republicans
  - Renominated George W. Bush
  - Campaigned on achievements
    - Tax cuts
    - No Child Left Behind Act (2002)
      - Mandated federal performance standards for schools
    - Extremely costly Medicare prescription drug coverage (2003)
    - Cultivated conservative base
      - Gay marriage amendment; resistance of embryonic stem-cell research
    - “war president”
      - Decisive commander-in-chief fighting terrorism
Reelecting George W. Bush

• 2004 election: Democrats
  – John Kerry nominated after hard-fought primaries
  – Stiff, patrician manner; liberal politically
  – Counted on record as Vietnam veteran to counter charges that he would be weak in fighting terrorism
    • Kerry’s prominent role in antiwar movement in 1960s led to some veterans’ vicious and false attacks
  – Democrats tried to capitalize on substantial job losses and continued problems in Iraq
Reelecting George W. Bush

• Kerry’s speaking style
  - Made lengthy and complex speeches on policy
  - Had to explain seemingly contradictory positions during 18-year Senate career
    • Stumbled badly when he said he had actually voted for the Iraq war before he had voted against it
    • Normal procedure during bill-writing process
    • Made Kerry seem like flip-flopper
Reelecting George W. Bush

• 2004 election: results
  – Bush won with 3-pronged strategy of taxes, terror, and moral values
  – 60.6 million to 57.3 million in popular vote
  – 286 to 252 in electoral college
  – Republicans also gained substantially in House and Senate
  – Bush won majority of Democratic-leaning Catholics and won 43% of Hispanic vote
  – Bush won heavy majorities among evangelical Christians
  – Bush won substantial majority of suburban suburban voters (most numerous and fastest growing part of electorate)
The Election of 2004
Each box represents one electoral vote in the 2004 election.