

Chapter 59

U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post–Cold War Era

How well did U.S. foreign policy decisions meet the challenges of the post–Cold War era?

59.1 Introduction

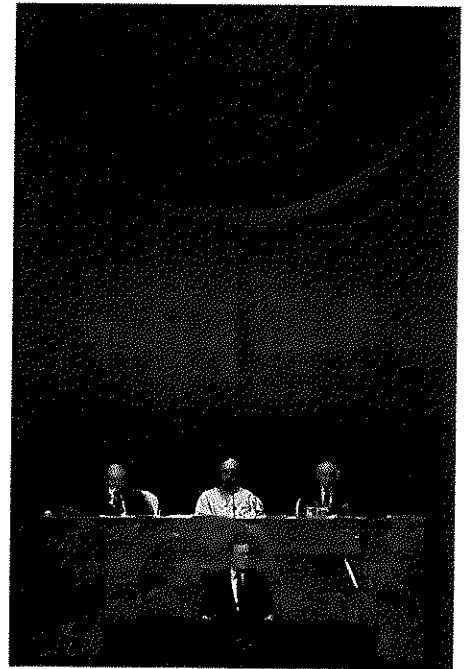
In 1998, 16 nations—including the United States and Russia—began a joint project to build and operate the International Space Station (ISS). The ISS is a space research facility that orbits Earth at an altitude of about 220 miles. Since 2000, a rotating crew of both Russian and American astronauts has occupied the space station on a permanent basis.

The creation of the ISS was a striking example of international cooperation in the post–Cold War era. Prior to the 1990s, when the United States and the Soviet Union were still bitter enemies, such a venture would have been far less likely. But in 1991, the situation changed. The Soviet Union collapsed, and a new era in international relations began. With the Cold War over, many people heralded the beginning of a new world order based on peace and cooperation. In early 1991, President George H. W. Bush declared,

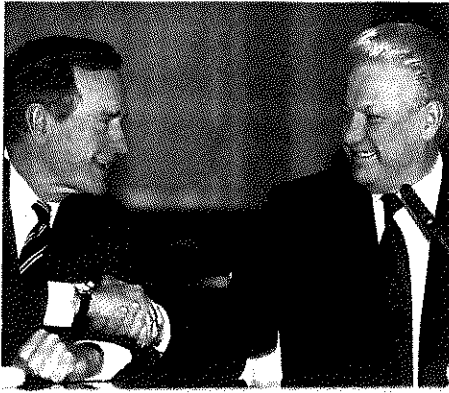
Now, we can see a new world coming into view. A world in which there is the very real prospect of a new world order. In the words of Winston Churchill, a world order in which “the principles of justice and fair play protect the weak against the strong.” A world where the United Nations, freed from Cold War stalemate, is poised to fulfill the historic vision of its founders. A world in which freedom and respect for human rights find a home among all nations.

—Speech to Congress, March 6, 1991

However, the prospects for a new world order were by no means certain. Freed from the constraints of Cold War politics, the three presidents of the post–Cold War period—George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush—still faced many challenges. Their policy decisions and actions, which reflected elements of both realism and idealism in foreign affairs, fueled an ongoing debate over the course of U.S. foreign policy.



As part of his theme of international collaboration, President George H. W. Bush addressed the UN General Assembly in 1989, saying, “Openness is the enemy of mistrust, and every step toward a more open world is a step toward the new world we seek.”



On January 3, 1993, President Bush and President Yeltsin of Russia signed a protocol that reaffirmed their countries' commitment to further reductions in strategic nuclear weapons.

59.2 Forging New Relations After the Cold War

Although people around the world welcomed the end of the Cold War, the sense of celebration was short lived. Although the close of the Cold War brought new freedom, it also raised many difficult questions about the future. This was especially true in Europe and the former Soviet Union, where political changes called for the building of new relationships among countries.

Negotiating with the Former Soviet Union Despite the tensions and dangers of the Cold War, a certain, predictable order had marked the post-World War II era. The United States and the Soviet Union had dominated affairs, setting most of the rules in a bilateral, or two-sided, world. When the Cold War ended, so did that predictability. Instead of confronting one major adversary—the Soviet Union—the United States now faced a host of potential challenges in a more multilateral, or many-sided, world.

An immediate set of problems concerned nuclear weapons in the former Soviet empire. In mid-1991, before the Soviet collapse, the United States and the USSR had signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, or START. This agreement called for both countries to reduce their nuclear stockpiles. Two years later, President Bush and Russia's new president, Boris Yeltsin, signed START II, which called for further reductions.

In the meantime, the various Soviet republics had declared independence. Some of these countries also possessed Soviet nuclear weapons. The United States formally recognized the independence of the new republics. It then tried to persuade them to place their nuclear weapons under Russian control. This action would help protect the weapons, which the United States feared potential terrorists might otherwise buy or steal. Eventually, all the republics agreed. However, the security of the Russian arsenal remained in doubt.

Economic problems also challenged peace and democracy in the former Soviet Union. Several republics had formed democratic governments. However, economic difficulties threatened to undermine their political stability. President Bush urged Congress to provide foreign aid and assistance to these republics. He argued that it was in the best interest of the United States to help them:

A victory for democracy and freedom in the former USSR creates the possibility of a new world of peace for our children and grandchildren. But if this democratic revolution is defeated, it could plunge us into a world more dangerous, in some respects, than the dark years of the Cold War.

Many legislators balked at Bush's request. Some wanted to spend more on domestic needs. Others opposed foreign aid to the former Soviet Union on principle. In the end, however, Congress approved the aid package. Over the next decade, the United States provided billions of dollars to help stimulate economic growth and support democracy in Russia and the other new republics.

In 1999, Vladimir Putin succeeded Yeltsin as president of Russia. Putin's strong leadership brought stability, but the nation continued to suffer from economic woes and political corruption. Putin also restricted rights and freedoms in Russia and tried to exert control over the former Soviet republics. Still, the United States and Russia maintained a cooperative relationship.

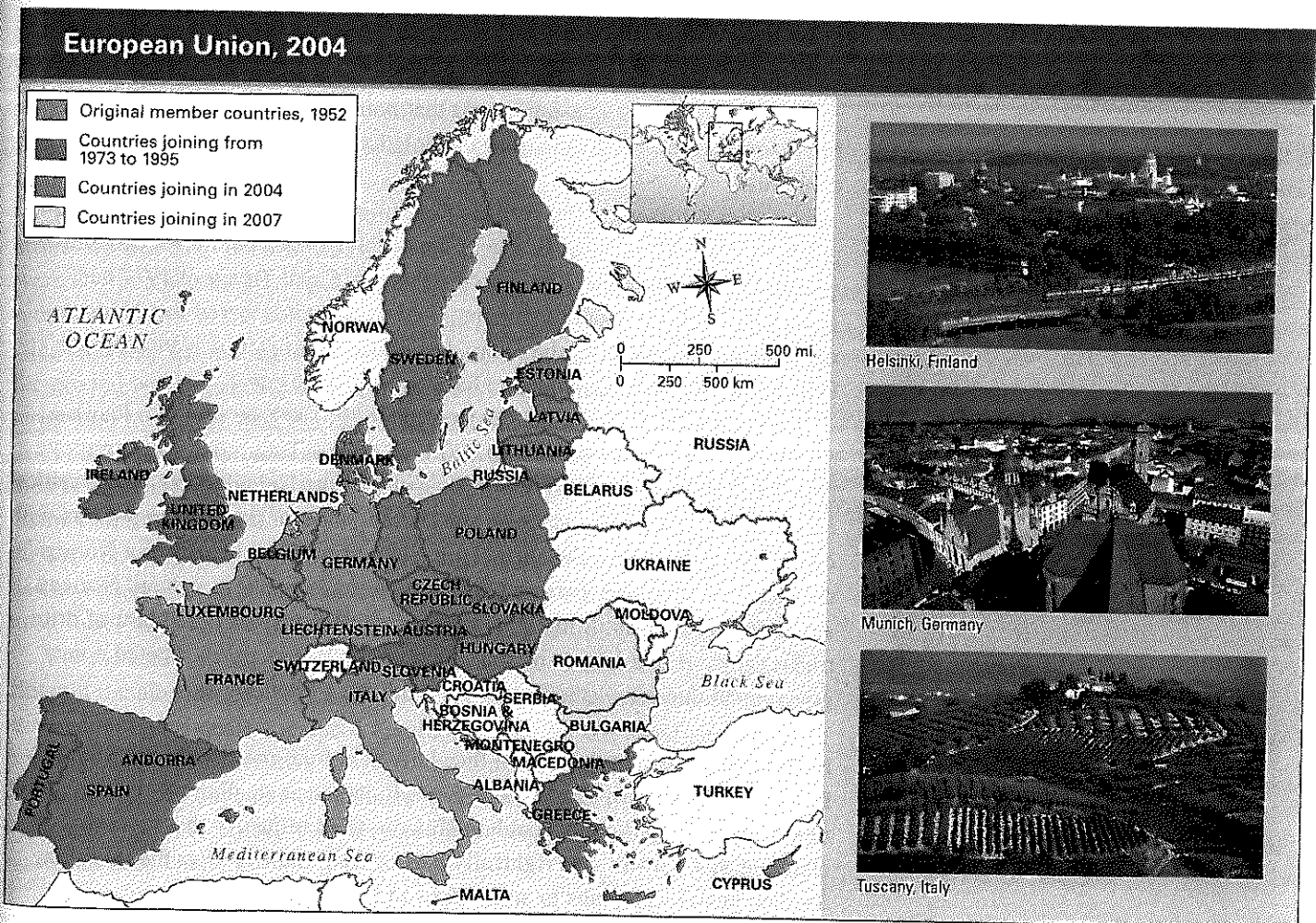
Building New Ties in Europe During the Cold War, the Iron Curtain divided Europe in many ways. After the Cold War ended, however, new political, military, and economic alliances developed in Europe.

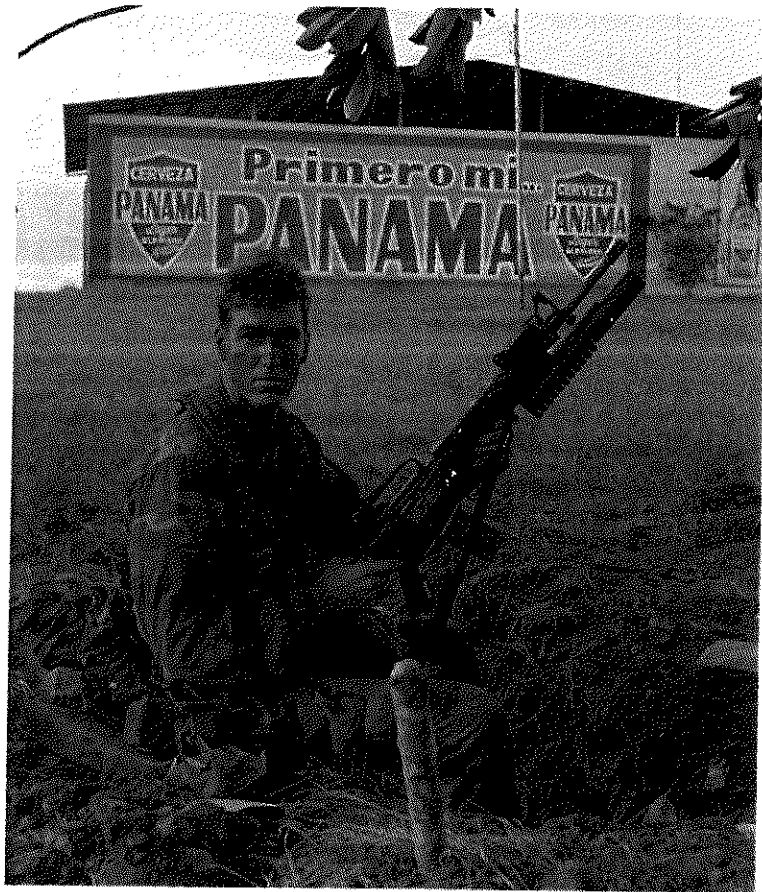
One set of changes revolved around the collapse of the Soviet military alliance—the Warsaw Pact—and the coinciding expansion of NATO. Several former Warsaw Pact nations hoped to join NATO as a way to develop closer ties to Western Europe and the United States. After careful consideration, NATO agreed to enlarge its membership.

First, however, NATO leaders had to address opposition from Russia, which feared that an expansion of NATO might isolate it and threaten its interests. Eventually, the two sides reached a compromise. NATO would admit former Soviet bloc countries first as “junior partners” rather than as full members. It would also give Russia a voice in NATO policy.

Europe changed in political and economic terms as well. In 1992, 12 countries in Western Europe agreed to form the **European Union (EU)**. The EU was an expanded version of the Common Market, established 40 years earlier. The EU was designed to advance Europe’s economic integration and unify European laws and foreign policies. In 1999, as part of this goal, most of the EU countries adopted a shared currency, the euro. In 2004, 10 new member states joined the EU, including nations from the former Soviet bloc.

The European Union brought together the original members of the Common Market, formed in 1952, with other European nations. In 2004, the EU admitted 10 new members. Most of these countries came from the former Soviet bloc.





In 1989, the United States invaded Panama to remove General Manuel Noriega from power. Noriega was a dictator who threatened U.S. interests in the hemisphere. The invasion took place as the Cold War was coming to an end.

59.3 Confronting Dictators

As the Cold War wound down, the United States carried out several military actions against foreign dictators. In the past, fear of either provoking a superpower conflict or losing an anticommunist ally might have inhibited such actions. But with the Cold War ending, the United States had more freedom to act. It also had a greater opportunity to forge international coalitions to deal with foreign crises.

Removing a Dictator in Panama The United States acted alone in its first military intervention. This action took place in Panama, which General Manuel Noriega had ruled since 1983. Although Noriega was a ruthless dictator, he had close ties to the United States. He had helped the Reagan administration by aiding the Contras in their battle against the Nicaraguan government.

U.S. relations with Noriega soured under the first President Bush. In 1988, before Bush took office, the United States had indicted Noriega on drug trafficking charges. The following year, Panamanians began protesting against Noriega after he voided national elections. At that point, Bush withdrew U.S. support

from Noriega, emphasizing Noriega's violations of human rights and democratic rule.

Another key factor—the Panama Canal—influenced the change of U.S. policy toward Panama. As the site of the canal, Panama held great economic and strategic importance. Although the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977 had given control of the canal to Panama, the United States feared that Noriega might violate the terms of the treaty. For trade purposes, it was vital for the United States and other nations to have access to the canal.

Bush decided to intervene. On December 20, 1989, he sent into Panama an invasion force of more than 20,000 U.S. troops. Their goal was to remove Noriega from power and bring him to justice in the United States. Some critics objected to the invasion, accusing the United States of trying to impose its will on the hemisphere. Despite such claims, U.S. forces quickly overran Noriega's defenses and occupied Panama City. Two weeks later, they captured Noriega and took him to Miami. In 1992, a U.S. federal court convicted him of drug trafficking and sent him to prison. Meanwhile, Panamanians elected a new government that established better ties with the United States.

Halting Iraqi Aggression Bush faced his next foreign crisis in the Middle East. In August 1990, Iraq invaded Kuwait, its much smaller, oil-rich neighbor to the south. Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein tried to justify this invasion by claiming that Kuwait was rightfully part of Iraq. Shortly after the invasion, Saddam announced plans to annex Kuwait.

Saddam's aggressive action alarmed the United States for a number of reasons. First, Iraq controlled a large military in a region prone to instability and conflict. Second, the United States and other developed nations relied on oil from the Persian Gulf. Saddam's actions threatened the oil supply and could wreak havoc on Western economies. Third, if Saddam's invasion of Kuwait succeeded, he might decide to invade other countries in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia, a U.S. ally and major oil producer, was especially vulnerable.

President Bush condemned the invasion and called for an international coalition to force Saddam out of Kuwait. Thirty-four countries, including most of the Arab nations, joined the UN-sponsored coalition. The Soviet Union, which had not yet dissolved, also agreed to collaborate with the coalition, despite the USSR's previously friendly relations with Iraq.

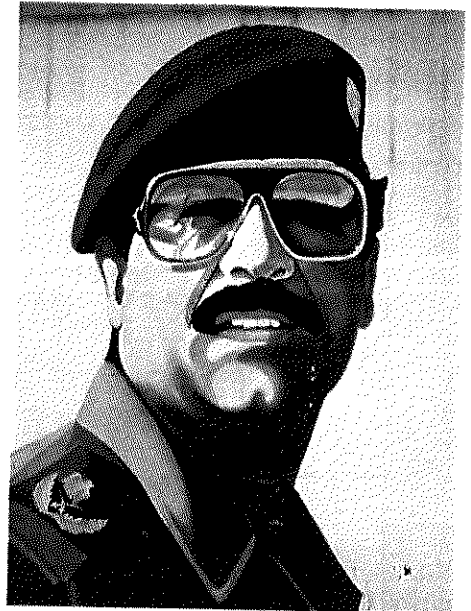
As a first step, the coalition sent nearly 700,000 troops to Saudi Arabia's border with Kuwait. This force, which included more than 400,000 U.S. soldiers, stood ready to defend the Saudi kingdom from invasion. The United Nations also imposed economic sanctions on Iraq in hopes of forcing Saddam's withdrawal without going to war.

The United Nations then issued an ultimatum. It gave Iraq until January 15, 1991, to pull its troops out of Kuwait. If Iraq did not comply, the United Nations would authorize coalition forces to drive the Iraqis out. The U.S. Congress, however, was divided over whether to support a war. Some legislators believed that Saddam must be removed by force. Others wanted to allow more time for economic sanctions to take effect. Some critics also questioned the reasons for taking military action. They argued that it was the desire to control oil supplies—not to punish aggression—that motivated calls for war in the Middle East. Nevertheless, on January 12, Congress approved the use of "all necessary means" to free Kuwait from Iraqi occupation.

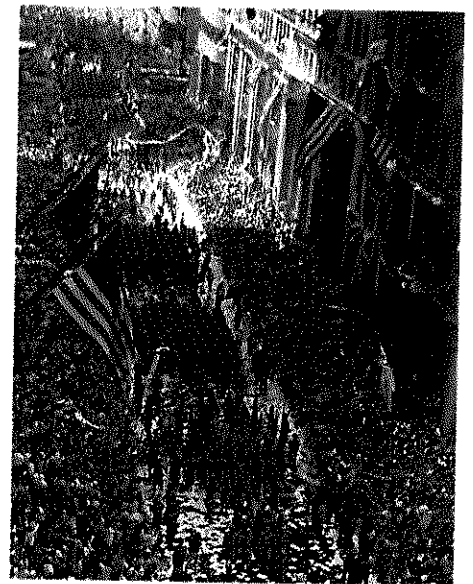
Four days later, the **Persian Gulf War** began. The first phase consisted of air strikes against Iraq. For six weeks, coalition aircraft bombed Iraqi troops that were dug in along the Iraq-Kuwait border. They also struck key military and industrial centers in the Iraqi heartland. Still, Saddam remained defiant, promising to wage "the mother of all battles" against his attackers. On February 24, the ground war began. But as coalition forces moved into Iraq, they encountered little resistance. Just four days later, Iraq agreed to a cease-fire.

The war had lasted less than two months, but it had devastating effects on the Persian Gulf region. As Saddam's troops fled Kuwait, they set fire to the country's oil fields. These fires burned out of control, causing an environmental disaster in much of the area. The war also had a severe impact on Iraq. It destroyed key infrastructure and left as many as 100,000 people dead. In contrast, fewer than 300 coalition soldiers had died in battle.

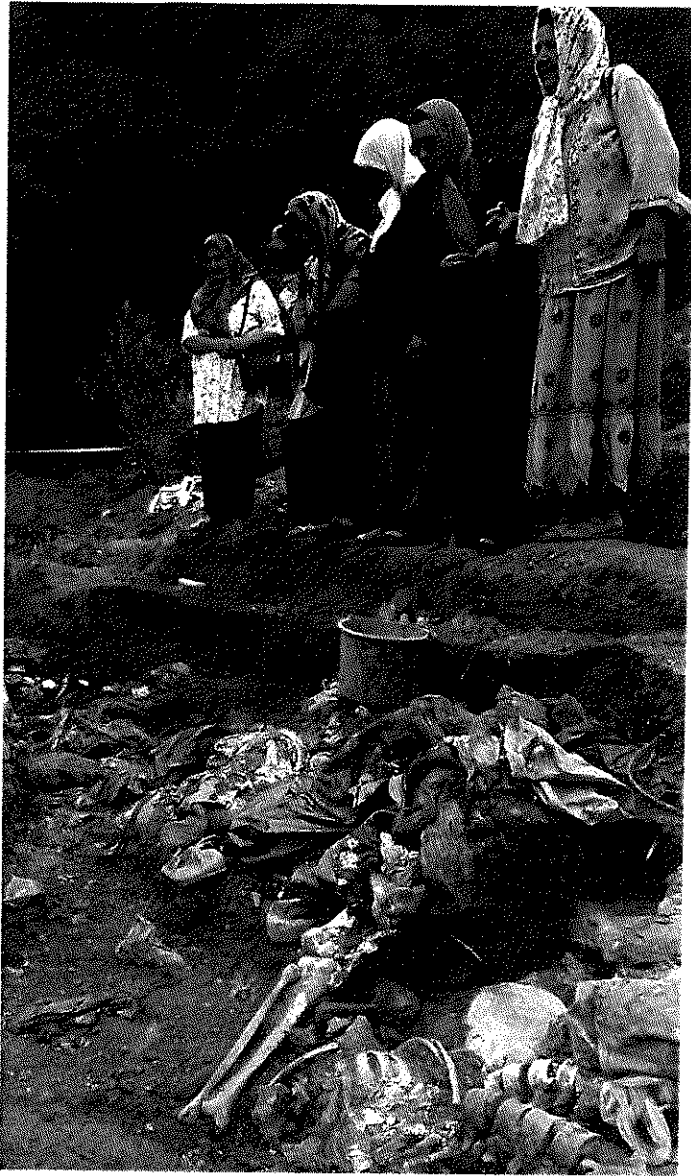
For the coalition, the Persian Gulf War was a success. Although Saddam Hussein remained in power, the coalition had shown that international cooperation could be marshaled against a common enemy for the common purpose of opposing aggression. The war also convinced many Americans that the United States had moved beyond the "Vietnam syndrome." That is, U.S. leaders had overcome their reluctance to get involved in a foreign war for fear of ending up in "another Vietnam."



Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein built one of the most powerful armies in the Middle East. After he invaded Kuwait in 1990, the United States formed an international coalition to force Saddam to withdraw. Iraq suffered defeat in the Persian Gulf War, but Saddam remained in power.



Victory in the Gulf War prompted celebrations across the United States. President Bush's approval ratings soared after the war, but he still lost the 1992 election.



A decade after the civil war took place in Bosnia, human-rights workers uncovered mass graves holding the victims of ethnic cleansing. Families sometimes searched these graves to identify relatives who had been murdered.

59.4 Responding to Ethnic Conflict and Genocide

In the post–Cold War era, the rise of ethnic conflict posed a challenge to U.S. presidents. In parts of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, ethnic and national tensions that communist rulers had suppressed for decades were suddenly unleashed. Some of the worst violence occurred in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, brutal tensions flared in Africa.

Ending Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia During the Cold War, Yugoslavia consisted of six republics held together under communist rule. Diverse ethnic and religious groups peopled these republics. Most Serbs were Orthodox Christians. Most Slovenes and Croats were Catholics. And most Bosnians and ethnic Albanians were Muslims. Tensions simmered among these groups, but the communist system kept the situation from boiling over.

When communism collapsed in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia also fell apart. Four of its republics declared independence, and civil war broke out in Bosnia. The fighting pitted Bosnian Serbs against the majority Muslim population. The conflict was stoked by neighboring Serbia, whose president, Slobodan Milosevic, hoped to hold Yugoslavia together under Serbian leadership.

Bosnian Serbs carried out a policy that they called **ethnic cleansing**—the forced removal and murder of ethnic groups. They rounded up Muslims, Croats, and ethnic Albanians and forced them from their homes. The Serbs burned villages, tortured and raped their victims, and committed other atrocities. They killed at least 200,000 people and caused some 2 million Bosnians to flee. Serbian troops also surrounded and bombed the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo.

During the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign, candidate Bill Clinton called for military intervention in Bosnia. He declared that such violence was unacceptable in the post–Cold War world. Once elected, however, Clinton—like Bush before him—hesitated to

commit U.S. forces. He feared getting bogged down in a foreign war. He also felt reluctant to act, because the strife was contained in the Balkan region. It did not immediately threaten the United States or the rest of Europe.

In 1995, however, the conflict expanded. Croats and Muslims began fighting back against the Serbs. NATO decided to support these attacks by bombing Serbian forces and installations. Many Americans opposed this intervention. Some argued that the Bosnian conflict was not an American concern, while others feared that NATO intervention would result in more death and destruction. But under the conditions of a widening conflict, the United States was finally able to bring the three warring factions to the peace table.

The peace negotiations, held in Dayton, Ohio, eventually led to the Dayton Accords. This peace plan called for a cease-fire to begin in 1996. Once that occurred, U.S. troops joined NATO forces in the region. They separated the warring factions, protected civilians, and provided economic aid. The peace-keeping forces remained in place until 2000.

Meanwhile, a similar crisis was developing in Kosovo, a Serbian province bordering Albania. Ethnic Albanians, who made up the majority of the population in Kosovo, sought independence. But the Serbian government opposed this move. Although Serbs constituted only about 10 percent of Kosovo's population, they began another cycle of ethnic cleansing. They rounded up the province's Muslims and executed them, destroying towns and cities in the process. As Albanian rebels fought back, the war broadened.

Eventually, Clinton called for NATO intervention. In March 1999, NATO fighter-bombers attacked the Serbian military in Kosovo. The bombing lasted until June, when Serbian forces began to retreat.

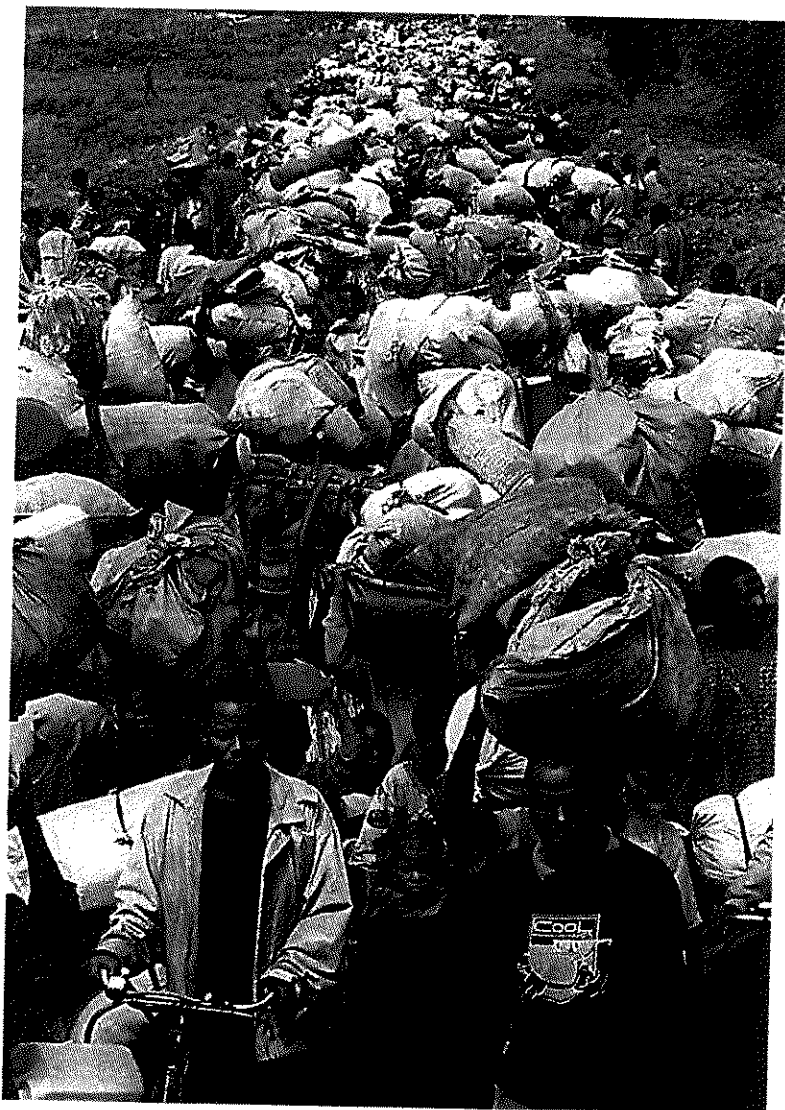
Defeated, Milosevic resigned in 2000. The next year, the new government arrested him, charging him with war crimes and crimes against humanity. Milosevic stood trial at the International Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, but he died in 2006 before a verdict was reached.

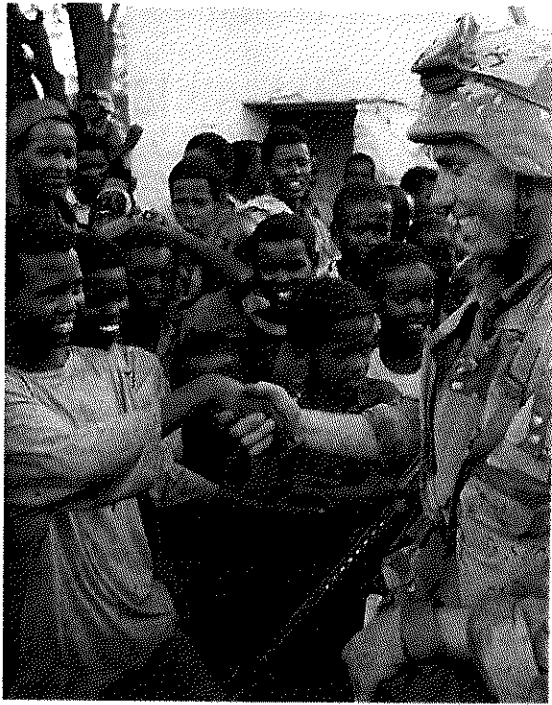
Ignoring Genocide in Rwanda In the 1990s, ethnic violence also took place on a mass scale in Africa. For decades, conflict had brewed in the East African nation of Rwanda. Two rival ethnic groups, the Hutus and the Tutsis, vied for power. In 1994, their struggle erupted in a deadly civil war.

The conflict began when the Hutu-led government lashed out at the Tutsi minority. In about three months, Hutu forces slaughtered more than 800,000 Rwandans, most of them Tutsis. This brutal massacre shocked the world and prompted charges of genocide. But most countries, including the United States, refused to become involved. France eventually intervened—but too late. When the French troops arrived in Rwanda, they found thousands of bodies littering the countryside. Many had been hacked to death with machetes. Not long afterward, Tutsi rebels took power. Two million Hutus fled Rwanda for neighboring countries.

The United States failed to take action in Rwanda for a number of reasons. As you will read in the next section, a previous intervention in another African nation, Somalia, had gone badly. Clinton and other U.S. leaders were reluctant to take a similar risk in Rwanda. Some leaders also viewed the conflict as an internal matter for Rwandans to resolve. They felt that the United States could not afford to get involved in every civil war around the world. But many observers suggested another reason for the inaction of the United States and other powerful nations. They claimed that world leaders did not take the fate of Rwanda seriously or did not regard any small African nation as crucial to their interests.

In 1994, ethnic conflict and genocide forced millions of Rwandans to flee from their homes. Many ended up in refugee camps in neighboring nations. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan later apologized for the world's failure to act. "The world must deeply repent this failure," he remarked. "Rwanda's tragedy was the world's tragedy."





In the early 1990s, during Somalia's civil war and drought, U.S. troops delivered food aid to the country. This aid amounted to 70 percent of all the food eaten in Somalia during the war. It saved many Somalis from starvation.

59.5 Trying to Ease Human Suffering

Although the United States did not halt the genocide in Rwanda, it did provide **humanitarian aid** to Rwanda and other countries during the post-Cold War era. Humanitarian aid includes money, food, and other forms of assistance given to people who are suffering and in need. During the Cold War, humanitarian aid had often been tied to politics. Both the United States and the Soviet Union had used aid to support their allies in the superpower struggle. Once the Cold War ended, however, the United States had greater freedom to offer help where it was most needed. At the same time, however, Americans found that providing humanitarian aid came with complications.

Sending Relief Aid to Somalia One of the countries the United States tried to help was Somalia, a desperately poor nation in East Africa. Somalia had been a U.S. ally during the final years of the Cold War, even though it was ruled by a harsh dictator. Once the Cold War ended, the Somali people overthrew their leader. The country soon descended into civil war. Various factions battled for power, giving rise to chaos and crippling the nation's economy. As a result of this chaos and the effects of a severe drought, the people of Somalia faced widespread starvation. By late 1992, some 300,000 Somalis had died of hunger, and some 2 million more were in danger of starvation.

In response, the United Nations organized a humanitarian relief mission mostly made up of U.S. soldiers. It charged these troops with restoring order and distributing food. But the United Nations soon realized that humanitarian aid would not be enough to solve Somalia's problems. The United Nations then shifted its focus to **nation building**, or constructing political institutions and a stable government. But Somalia's rival factions refused to cooperate, and the conflict grew even deadlier.

As the fighting spread, combatants attacked and killed U.S. soldiers. After Somalis dragged a U.S. soldier's body through the streets of Mogadishu, Somalia's capital, the American public demanded the withdrawal of troops. Clinton pulled the soldiers out, and the UN mission ended shortly thereafter.

Although the humanitarian effort in Somalia had been well intentioned, it had failed to address the nation's underlying problems. The experience in Somalia taught the United States a strong lesson in the difficulties of supplying aid to countries in conflict.

Countering Famine in North Korea North Korea also experienced a food crisis in the 1990s. During the Cold War, North Korea had relied on the Soviet Union for trade and aid, including food shipments and farm equipment. After the Soviet Union collapsed, North Korea was no longer capable of feeding its population. Within a few years, famine gripped the country.

Natural disasters made the situation worse. In 1995 and 1996, severe floods hit North Korea, damaging the nation's crops. Droughts followed, with devastating results. Between 1995 and 1998, as many as 3 million people died of starvation in North Korea. In contemplating a response to the North Korean crisis, the United States faced a dilemma. North Korea was one of the last hard-line, or rigidly, communist regimes in the world. It was hostile to the United

States and posed a military threat to South Korea, a staunch U.S. ally. North Korea was also pursuing a nuclear weapons program that violated global non-proliferation agreements. To complicate matters further, North Korea's government was reluctant to admit aid workers. It wanted to keep the country closed to the outside world.

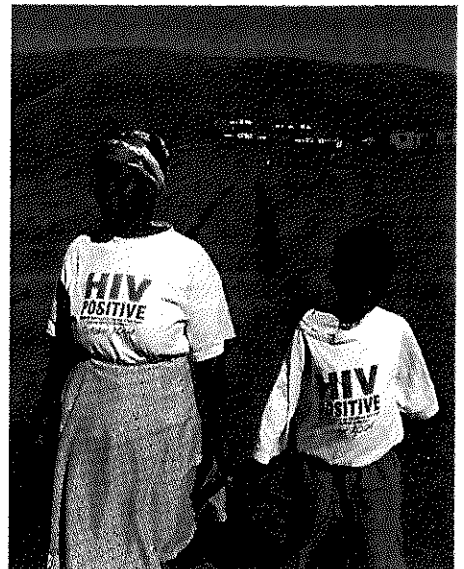
But the deepening famine left North Korea with little choice. In 1995, it began to accept aid from the World Food Program (WFP), a branch of the United Nations. Over the next few years, the WFP oversaw the delivery of millions of tons of food to North Korea, including large shipments from the United States.

U.S. contributions to this effort aroused controversy at home. Critics said that helping a communist state like North Korea violated U.S. interests. They believed that food aid helped prop up the North Korean regime. They further charged that much of the food went to the North Korean army, never reaching the starving peasants it was meant to help. Supporters of the policy contended that aid would help undermine the communist regime by showing North Koreans that the United States was not their enemy. They also argued that aid was a humanitarian gesture that represented the best of American ideals.

Dealing with AIDS in Africa In the 1990s, another humanitarian crisis emerged in Africa: the HIV/AIDS epidemic. By the end of the decade, 24 million Africans were infected with HIV/AIDS, and several million were dying every year. The United States responded slowly to the crisis. Although President Clinton offered sympathy, his administration did little to combat the AIDS epidemic.

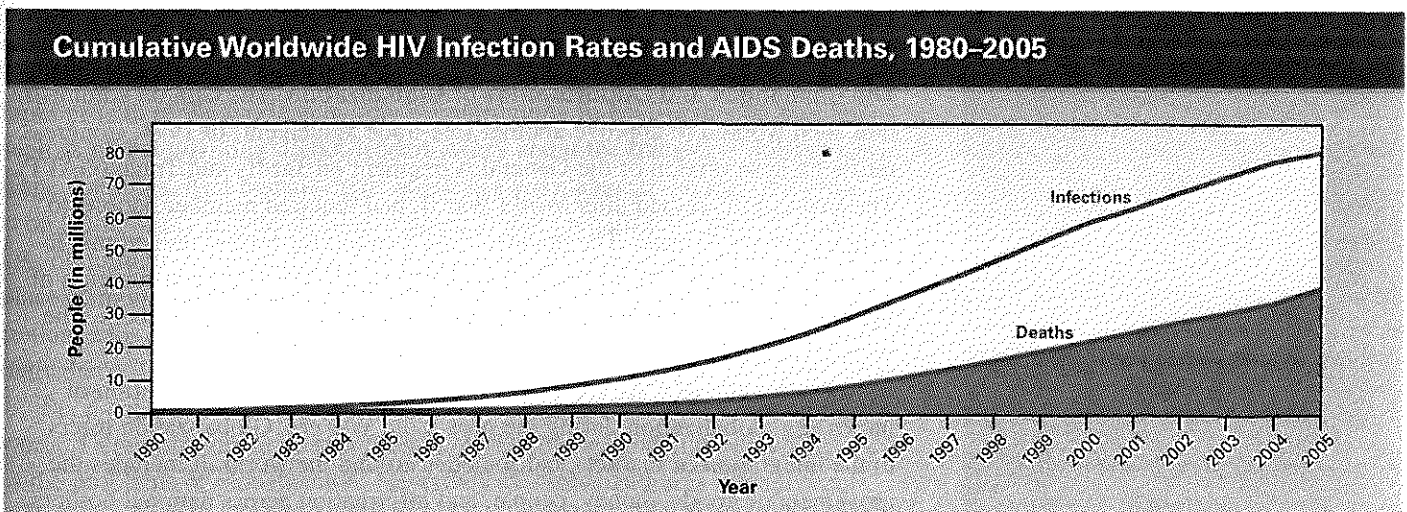
In 2003, President George W. Bush signed a bill allocating \$15 billion to combat AIDS in Africa and the Caribbean. At the signing ceremony, Bush declared that the United States had a moral duty to take action and urged other rich nations to do the same. "I will remind them that time is not on our side," he stated. "Every day of delay means 8,000 more AIDS deaths in Africa and 14,000 more infections."

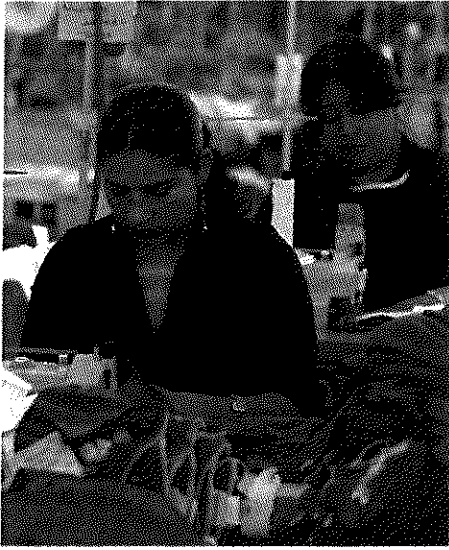
Bush's AIDS-fighting package was the most ambitious plan attempted by any country up to that time. But critics asserted that U.S. assistance was too little and too late to stem the crisis.



Drug treatments can help those infected with HIV live longer, more active lives, but there is no cure. Infected or not, thousands of Africans wear "HIV positive" shirts to show their support for the millions of people living with HIV or AIDS.

The numbers of worldwide HIV infections and deaths due to AIDS have steadily increased since 1980. This graph shows the total number of infections and deaths up to any given year. Africa has been particularly hard-hit.





Free trade agreements like NAFTA have promoted industrial growth in developing countries. However, many labor leaders resent free trade. They complain that it causes American workers to lose jobs to workers overseas.

59.6 Managing Global Trade

The United States confronted new economic challenges in the post-Cold War era. At the height of the Cold War, the world had been divided into two main trading blocs—communist and capitalist. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the world moved quickly toward a more diverse, global economy. As a result, the United States had to find new ways to compete in the global marketplace.

Promoting Free Trade in North America At the end of the Cold War, the United States had the most powerful economy in the world. However, it ran a high **trade deficit** with economic powers such as China, Japan, and the European Union. A trade deficit occurs when the value of a country's imports exceeds the value of its exports. One way U.S. leaders hoped to correct the trade imbalance was through free trade.

In the early 1990s, President George H. W. Bush began to work for passage of the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**. NAFTA would create a **free-trade zone** among the United States, Mexico, and Canada. A free-trade zone is a defined geographic area in which governments lower or eliminate tariffs and other barriers to international trade. Supporters of NAFTA claimed that it would benefit the United States by increasing the market for American exports. They also asserted that it would create new, high-wage jobs for American workers. In addition, they claimed that NAFTA would boost Mexico's economy and help limit illegal immigration from Mexico.

But NAFTA provoked opposition in the United States. Labor leaders argued that NAFTA would encourage American factories to move to Mexico, where labor costs were lower. This, they said, would cost jobs and harm workers in the United States. Critics also worried that NAFTA would promote environmental damage, since pollution controls in Mexico were less stringent than in the United States. Ultimately, NAFTA's supporters, including President Clinton, prevailed. Congress passed the bill, and Clinton signed it into law in 1993.

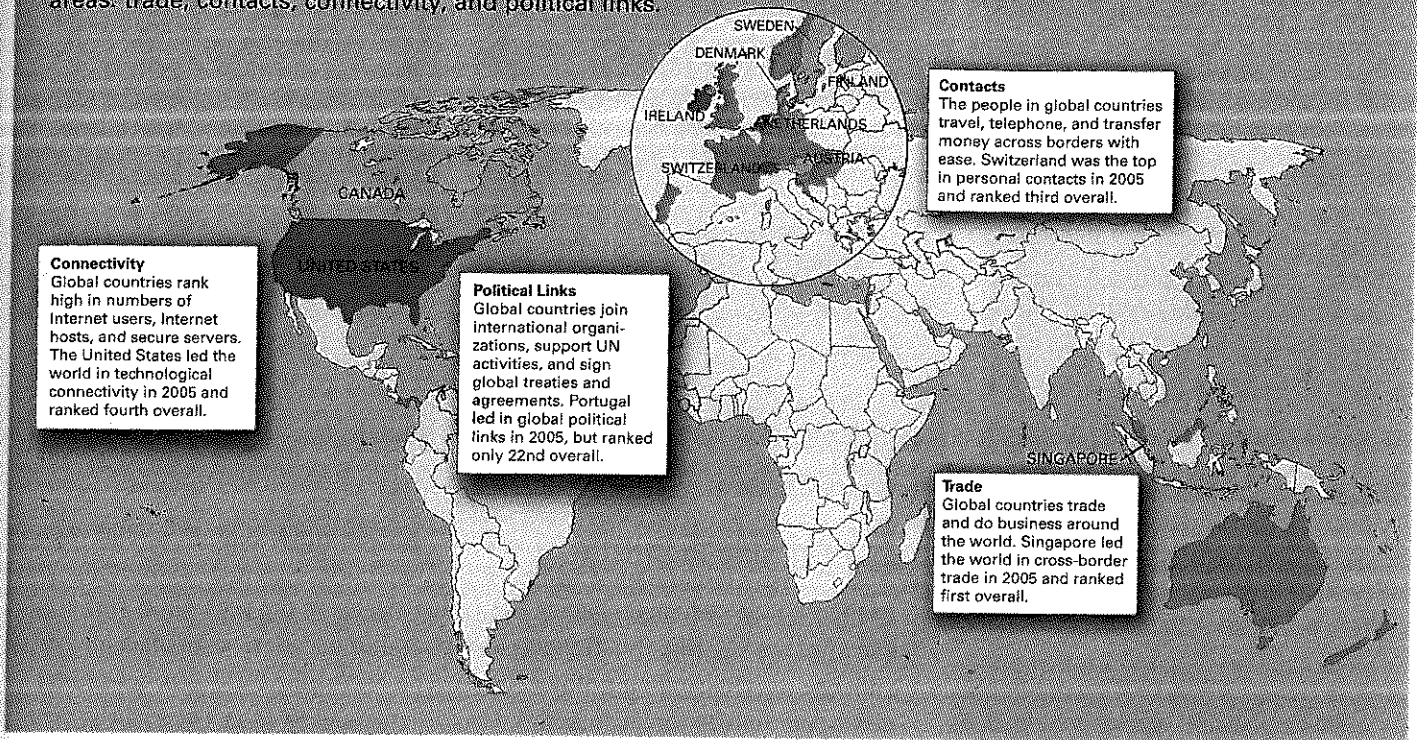
NAFTA has had mixed results. Although trade among the United States, Canada, and Mexico has increased, the U.S. trade deficit has continued to grow. Although many U.S. factories have moved overseas, taking jobs with them, U.S. employment has grown. Overall, Americans differ about whether NAFTA has fundamentally helped or hurt the American economy.

The Challenges and Opportunities of Globalization The Clinton administration soon worked to approve another free-trade agreement. In 1994, Congress ratified a new version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The first GATT, signed after World War II, had required member nations to reduce barriers to trade. The updated GATT called for further reductions. It also established the **World Trade Organization (WTO)**. The main function of the WTO is to set trade policies and mediate disputes among members. The organization includes the member nations of GATT.

The creation of NAFTA, GATT, and the WTO was one indication of increasing globalization during the post-Cold War era. Globalization refers to the integration of markets and societies around the world. It includes the movement of goods, money, people, and information across national borders.

How Global Is Globalization?

According to the Globalization Index, some countries are far more global in their outlook than others. The Globalization Index ranks countries in terms of their interactions with the rest of the world in four broad areas: trade, contacts, connectivity, and political links.



Several factors have contributed to globalization. Trade policies like GATT and NAFTA have certainly spurred the growth of the global marketplace. But advances in transportation and communications technology have been just as important. The Internet, for example, has helped to “shrink” the globe, making it possible for people in distant parts of the world to communicate and work together almost instantaneously.

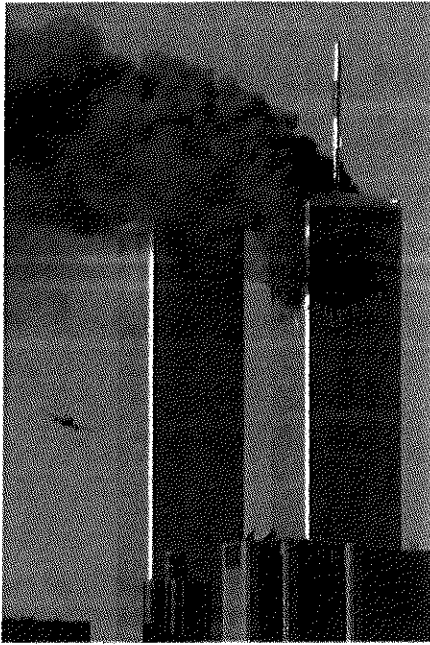
Globalization has had many benefits. It has given more people access to goods and services from around the world. It has helped promote economic development and create new opportunities in poor countries. It has also stimulated cultural diffusion, or the sharing of ideas and customs among nations.

But globalization has also raised concerns. Environmentalists fear that the rapid growth of the world economy is contributing to environmental problems such as global warming. Labor leaders worry about the transfer of jobs to low-wage countries. And human-rights advocates warn against the rise of sweatshop labor. Many people are also concerned that globalization may result in a loss of cultural diversity. They fear that modern, Western values will take the place of more traditional customs. In addition, some critics argue that globalization helps concentrate wealth in the hands of large corporations and wealthy individuals. They argue that globalization amounts to a new type of colonialism.

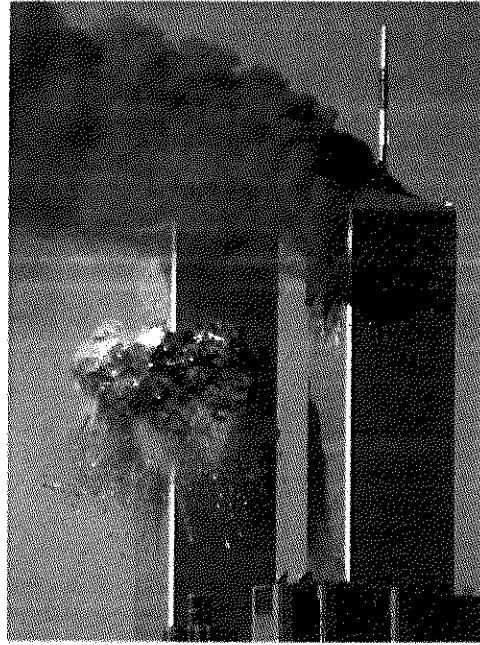
Such objections have led to major protests at WTO meetings around the world. Demonstrators hope to influence WTO policies and curb what they see as the problems of globalization. Nevertheless, globalization is a reality that will continue to pose challenges and create opportunities for the modern world.

The Global Top 25 in 2005

1. Singapore
2. Ireland
3. Switzerland
4. United States
5. Netherlands
6. Canada
7. Denmark
8. Sweden
9. Austria
10. Finland
11. New Zealand
12. United Kingdom
13. Australia
14. Norway
15. Czech Republic
16. Croatia
17. Israel
18. France
19. Malaysia
20. Slovenia
21. Germany
22. Portugal
23. Hungary
24. Panama
25. Slovakia



On September 11, 2001, al Qaeda terrorists hijacked two airplanes and flew them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Other hijacked planes crashed in Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania. It was the biggest terror attack ever to take place on U.S. soil.



59.7 Fighting Terrorism

Among all the challenges facing the United States in the post-Cold War era, one of the most critical is fighting terrorism. For decades, terrorists had used violence to achieve their political goals. The end of the Cold War opened up new opportunities for such tactics. Groups emerged to carry out terrorist acts in previously unaffected parts of the world, including the United States.

Terror Strikes the United States A wave of terrorist attacks took place during Clinton's presidency. In 1993, Muslim terrorists set off a bomb beneath the World Trade Center in New York City. In 1998, the U.S. embassies in the East African nations of Kenya and Tanzania were bombed. Then in 2000, terrorists attacked the USS *Cole*, a Navy destroyer anchored off the coast of the Arab nation of Yemen. In response, the United States launched missile strikes against terrorist camps overseas. It also arrested and prosecuted suspects.

Such actions did not deter terrorists. The next attack occurred in the first year of George W. Bush's presidency. It was by far the worst. On September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked four airplanes. They smashed three of the planes into buildings in New York City and Washington, D.C. Two slammed into the Twin Towers of New York's World Trade Center, causing both towers to collapse. The third hit the Pentagon, the Defense Department's headquarters just outside of Washington, D.C. The fourth airplane crashed in a Pennsylvania field after passengers fought with the hijackers. This last plane had been heading for either the White House or the Capitol building. Altogether, about 3,000 people died in the terrorist acts of 9/11.

In the days that followed, Americans learned that an international terrorist network called al Qaeda had carried out the 9/11 attacks. The organization's leader was Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian and Muslim extremist who sought to rid Muslim countries of Western influence and to establish fundamentalist Islamic rule. Bin Laden ran al Qaeda from Afghanistan, but local

al Qaeda groups operated all over the world. Al Qaeda had also carried out the U.S. embassy attacks in Africa and the assault on the USS *Cole*.

In 1998, bin Laden declared that all Muslims had a duty “to kill the Americans and their allies—civilian or military.” He was not representing the feelings of the vast majority of Muslims, who reject terrorism as being counter to Islamic values. But he did speak to a general feeling among some Muslims that the United States did not respect Islam or support Muslim interests. These Muslims resented having thousands of U.S. soldiers stationed in Saudi Arabia—the holy land of Islam—years after the Persian Gulf War’s end. They also resented U.S. support for Israel in its struggle with the Palestinians. Bin Laden used these bitter feelings to promote his cause and to recruit terrorists.

President Bush reacted to al Qaeda’s attacks on September 11, 2001, by declaring a **war on terrorism**. In a speech to Congress, he declared, “Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.” This war would be waged not only against the terrorists themselves, Bush explained, but also against any governments that sponsored them.

Ending Taliban Rule in Afghanistan The war on terrorism began in Afghanistan, al Qaeda’s main base of operations. A radical Muslim group called the **Taliban** ruled the nation. The ultraconservative Taliban were known for their harsh punishments and their rules barring women from working, receiving an education, or enjoying other basic rights. The Taliban also approved of al Qaeda’s terrorist training camps.

After 9/11, President Bush asked the Taliban to turn bin Laden over to the United States. The Afghan leaders refused. The United States formed an international coalition to overthrow the Taliban and capture bin Laden. In early October 2001, U.S. and British forces began bombing al Qaeda camps and Taliban military sites. Anti-Taliban Afghan militias also joined the fighting. Soon Afghanistan’s capital, Kabul, and other major cities fell. In November, U.S. Marines landed in the country to subdue the remaining Taliban forces. The U.S. forces then began to hunt for bin Laden, who had gone into hiding.

Toppling the Iraqi Regime After the victory in Afghanistan, President Bush turned his attention to another Middle Eastern country—Iraq. In his State of the Union address in January 2002, Bush referred to Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an “axis of evil.” These nations, he said, all had **weapons of mass destruction (WMD)**. WMD include chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. Bush feared that Iraq, in particular, might provide such weapons to terrorists.

Since taking power in 1979, Iraq’s dictator, Saddam Hussein, had compiled a horrific human-rights record. He brutally tortured and killed his opponents. In the late 1980s, he had used chemical weapons against the Kurds, an ethnic group in northern Iraq. At least 50,000 Kurds had died. After the Persian Gulf War, Saddam—a Sunni Muslim—crushed a rebellion by Shi’a Muslims in southern Iraq. The Sunni and Shi’a branches of Islam have a long-standing rivalry in the Muslim world. In putting down the rebellion, Saddam murdered many thousands of Shi’ites and other Iraqis. He also blocked UN inspectors in their search for WMD, which were banned in Iraq after the Gulf War.



In 2001, a U.S.-led coalition invaded Afghanistan. It intended to oust the Taliban and find al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden. Taliban fighters pledged to fight a holy war against the invaders. Although the Taliban lost power, they continued to wage a guerrilla war against the invading forces.



After the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, Iraqis tore down this statue of Saddam Hussein in Baghdad. Most Iraqis welcomed the fall of Saddam. However, the country soon lapsed into political violence. Insurgents battled to oust U.S. forces, and rival factions fought one another for power and influence.

Some Americans called for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime. Foremost among them were **neoconservatives**. These "new conservatives" favor using U.S. military power to confront hostile dictatorships and to promote democracy around the world. President Bush shared these views. After 9/11, he accused Saddam of aiding terrorists and hiding WMD. Bush thus urged extending the war on terrorism to Iraq. Persuaded by Bush's arguments, Congress authorized the president to send troops to Iraq if necessary.

In March 2003, an international coalition led by the United States launched an invasion of Iraq. Several European allies, including France and Germany, opposed the invasion. But in a speech at the time, President Bush contended that the action was justified and had widespread support:

Our coalition is broad, more than 40 countries from across the globe. Our cause is just, the security of the nations we serve and the peace of the world. And our mission is clear, to disarm Iraq of weapons of mass destruction, to end Saddam Hussein's support for terrorism, and to free the Iraqi people.

—President George W. Bush, address to the nation, March 22, 2003

Within a month, coalition forces had seized Iraq's capital, Baghdad, and toppled the government. Saddam escaped, only to be captured eight months later, tried in court, and sentenced to death. Meanwhile, U.S. inspection teams began the search for banned weapons. However, they would later find that Iraq had no WMD.

After its quick victory, the United States struggled to bring peace and democracy to Iraq. Although most of the population welcomed the end of Saddam's regime, some Iraqis resented having foreign troops in their country. An armed resistance, including insurgent forces from both inside and outside Iraq, soon rose up to battle the coalition forces.

In 2005, Iraqis took advantage of their new democratic rights to elect a national assembly. Many proudly showed off their ink-stained fingers—proof that they had voted in the election.



Building Democracy in Afghanistan and Iraq In Afghanistan, with the Taliban ousted from power, the United States and the United Nations worked with Afghan opposition groups to establish a democratically elected government. By 2005, the nation had a new president and a constitution. The constitution included rights and freedoms found in many Western democracies. It made Afghanistan an Islamic republic, but it also guaranteed freedom of religion. In addition, it ensured that women would have the same rights as men—a system far different from the oppressive rules enforced by the Taliban.

The United States also helped bring democracy to Iraq. In October 2005, Iraqis voted by a large majority to approve a new constitution. As in Afghanistan, Islam would play a role in the nation's laws, but Iraqis would enjoy most of the rights and freedoms of other democracies. Two months later, in a spectacular display of civic participation, more than 50 percent of Iraq's registered voters cast ballots to elect a national assembly.

But despite progress toward democracy, both Iraq and Afghanistan continued to suffer from political violence. In Afghanistan, the Taliban resurfaced as an armed force, launching attacks on the Afghan army and coalition forces. In Iraq, the insurgency forged on. Attempting to destabilize the new government, insurgents used guerrilla warfare and terror tactics, such as the assassination of

Iraqi leaders. Meanwhile, armed conflicts between rival Sunni and Shi'a militias increased, especially in Baghdad. Many analysts began calling the Iraq conflict a civil war.

U.S. forces remained a prime target of the violence. By early 2007, more than 3,000 U.S. soldiers had died in the Iraq War. At home, many Americans opposed the U.S. policy in Iraq. Although President Bush asserted that the U.S. presence in Iraq was necessary to fight terrorism and spread democracy, critics disputed the president's claims. They argued that the Iraq War was actually inciting terrorism by fueling Muslim anger toward the United States and serving as a breeding ground for terrorists. Some critics also questioned the value of nation building in Iraq. They wondered whether the attempt to build democracy was worth the cost in money and lives. However, the Bush administration stood behind its policy that U.S. forces should remain in Iraq until the Iraqi government was stable and the country could defend itself.



Four years after the invasion of Iraq, U.S. forces remained in the country to combat violence and to support the new government. Here, U.S. soldiers patrol the streets of Baghdad.

Summary

The end of the Cold War brought hopes for a new era of peace and cooperation in the world. Nevertheless, the United States faced many challenges in the post-Cold War era.

New relations and alliances The collapse of the Soviet Union led the United States to build new relations with Russia and the other former Soviet republics. Several of the republics joined NATO and the newly formed European Union.

Confronting dictators The United States worked to oust an aggressive dictator in Panama. In the Persian Gulf War, it fought alongside other nations to force Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait.

Ethnic cleansing and genocide Ethnic conflicts in various countries prompted mixed responses from the United States. In the former Yugoslavia, the United States backed NATO military actions against ethnic cleansing. However, it failed to stop genocide in Rwanda.

Humanitarian aid The United States offered humanitarian aid to ease suffering in Somalia and North Korea, but with mixed results. The HIV/AIDS crisis in Africa prompted concern but little action.

NAFTA and the WTO U.S. presidents promoted free trade as part of a growing trend toward globalization. The North American Free Trade Agreement linked Mexico, Canada, and the United States. The World Trade Organization represented a more global effort.

Fighting a war on terrorism The al Qaeda terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, prompted the United States to declare a war on terrorism. It invaded Afghanistan to oust the Taliban regime. Then it moved to Iraq to topple Saddam Hussein. However, efforts to build stable democracies in these countries proved difficult.