



American History:

Welcome to Module 7
..USA in a multi-polar world

The Story So Far

1.
Beginnings
20,000BC -1783

2.
Continental
Empire
1783-1850

3.
World Power
1850-1900

4.
Vacillating
Giant
1900-1941

5.
Leader of
Free World
1941-1968

6
Nation Adrift
1968-1980

7
Master of World
1980-2001

8
US & Multi Polar
World
2001-2024

Navigation

SCU3A



Groups



Interest Groups



Group
Resources
List

Module 7: USA and the Multi Polar World

Talk	Title	Time Period	Date of Talk
51	The Year when the world changed	2000-2001	March 2nd
52	War on Terror US and the world	2001-2009	March 17th
53	From compassion to collapse: Bush Presidency	2001-2009	March 30th
54	US Culture and Society during the “aughts”	2001-2009	April, 20th
55	The politics of Hope: Obama Presidency	2009- 2017	May 18th
56	The rise of MAGA and first Presidency of Trump	2010-2020	May 18th
57	The failed Inter-regnum: Biden Presidency	2020-2025	June 1st
58	The American experiment reconsidered	2025+	

Talk 51: The year when the world changed

- 
- USA and new Millennium
 - Dot com bubble
 - The “disputed” Election of 2000
 - Introducing George W Bush
 - Rise of Islamic Terrorism
 - 9/11

2000: A great time to be American



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Credit: Alan Schein Photography

Optimism everywhere
...millennium bug a no show



America 2000

- Economy strong, budget balanced
- Popular President, competent , rational, future focused
- US dominates the world: culturally, militarily and economically

And most importantly..... invulnerable



The Dot Com Bubble

The Dot com bubble (Talk 50)

- ▶ New trading opportunities enabled by Internet
 - ▶ Instant, Global
 - ▶ Low barriers to entry
- ▶ Financial deregulation and reduced capital gains taxes
- ▶ Declining interest rates (7 ½% to 5% 30 Year Treasuries)
- ▶ Gospel of “New Economy”
 - ...profits/ balance sheets irrelevant, value = future cash flow

Dot Com companies



Triggers for collapse

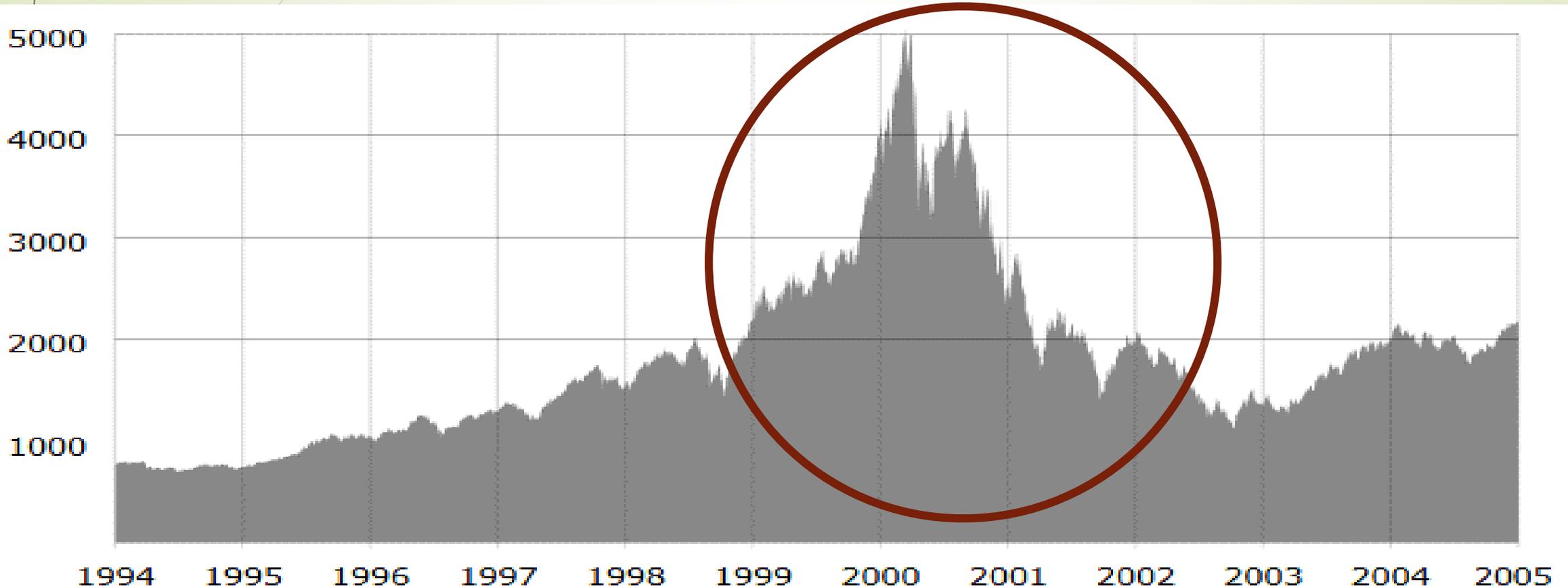
“Millennium bug”multiple scams ... \$m spent, nothing happens

- Concerns growing about absence of profits, levels of cash consumption:
“Barons” prediction of imminent bankruptcies
- Federal reserve speech “Irrational Exuberance”
- Marginal interest rate increase from 5% to 6.4% to calm markets
- Microsoft vs US 2001monopoly broken up...negative reaction

Sell off starts March 2000

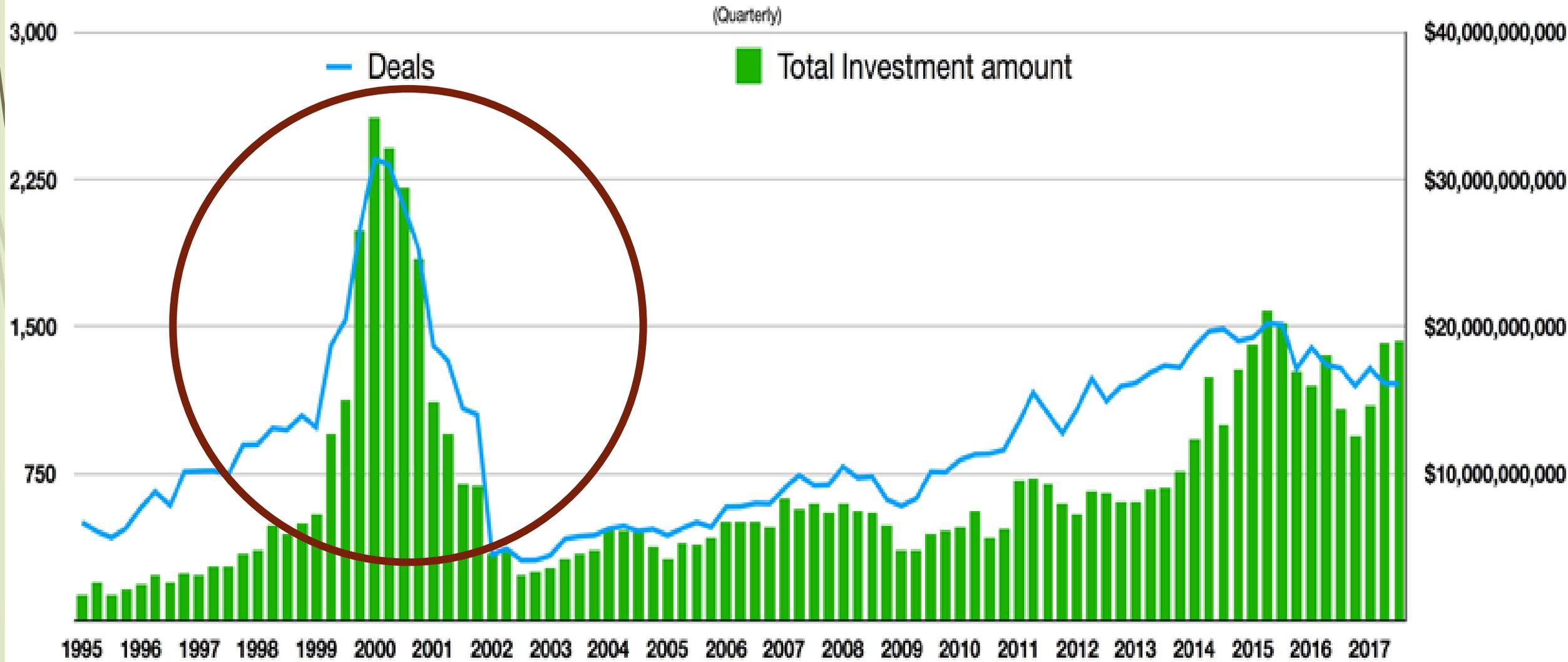
The crash of Nasdaq

...\$2 Trillion lost value by 2002..50% dot coms bankrupted within 12 months



Venture Capital Market collapses

Total U.S. Venture Capital Investments



Economic Impact Dot com “Bust”

- No Impact “real economy”...economic growth continues
- Biggest financial “shock” since 1929: Nasdaq loses 80% value, S&P 50%
- Weak 500,000 job losses as 380 gone, “day traders” wiped out
- Strong technology sector emerges (Google, Amazon, Nvidia) based on real business plans and profits

Long Term impact dot com bust

- Widespread frauds uncovered as books reviewed
 - Enron, World.com, Anderson Consulting
- Sarbanes Oxley Act 2002 passed to improve Corporate Governance
- Interest rates reduced to prevent recession
- Speculators shift to property and new “unregulated financial instruments....rise of “shadow banks”, “derivatives”, sub prime loans

Money moves into real estate....no matter where, who, ability to pay



The “never ending election”

“ It's not the people who vote that count, it's the people who count the votes.”

.....Joseph Stalin

US Presidential Election System

- US elections decided by Electoral College...not popular vote
 - 538 electoral votes at stake allocated to states based on last census
 - Popular vote within each state , “Winner takes all”
 - Winner candidate with 270 “electoral votes”
- The rural conservative bias
 - Each State guaranteed 3 electoral votes
 - Wyoming 1 vote per 190,000/ California 1 per 700,000
- States decide voting method
 - Voting eligibility (subject to Federal law vs over discrimination)
 - Means of voting, counting rules, district boundaries (Gerrymandering)
 - Technology...machines, mail,

Reform requires changing Constitution and 70% Congress/ States

The 2000 Presidential election Democrat Nomination

- ▶ Clinton marginalised by Party due to scandals
 - ▶ Ineligible to run for 3rd term, 60% popularity rating
 - ▶ Considered toxic by Evangelicals due to scandals impeachment
- ▶ Nomination of Vice President Al Gore
 - ▶ No serious opposition
 - ▶ High name recognition and trust
 - ▶ Technocratic, serious, qualified
 - ▶ Centralist policies... "Democrat Conservatism"
- ▶ Gore Wins nomination easily

Al Gore (1941....)



Tennessee born
...father US Senator, Harvard

Serves in Vietnam
...avoids draft dodging but vs war
...returns to US, reject law school
...Divinity school/ journalist

Congressional career
...Rep 1976-1983
...Senator 1984-1992
..Vice President to Clinton

Pioneers technology
Clean energy initiatives
Climate change #1 issue

Serious, scandal free, detail driven
.....dull

Republican Nomination 3 way fight

“Reaganites vs Progressives vs Evangelicals

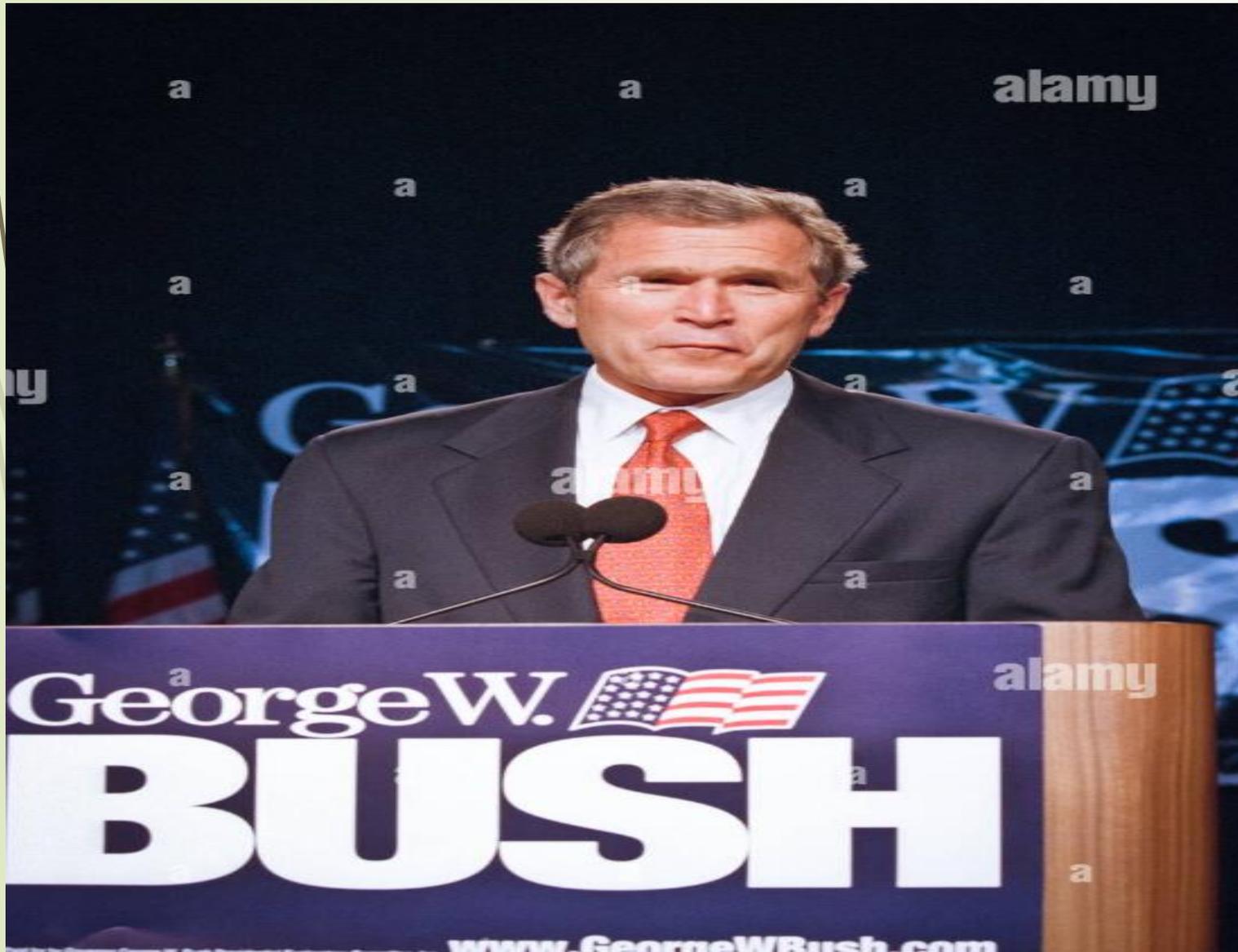
- George Bush, (Reaganite): Son of HW Bush , Establishment
 - Tax Cuts, De-regulation,
 - “Born Again” Christian...”Compassionate Conservative”
- John McCain: (Progressive): Senator, Vietnam war hero
 - Regulation, Secular,
- Pat Buchanan: Isolationist, “cultural wars”drops out to create “Reform Party”

McCain campaign wrecked by “smear” (adopted daughter child of black prostitute)

GW Bush wins nomination

George W Bush (1946....)

GW Bush 2000



Son of President HW Bush
...affluent, influential family

Harvard Law School
...average grades

Oil industry

...hard drinking life, DUI

..."Born Again 1986..Billy Graham

...Abstains....daily bible reader

Governor of Texas 1995-2000

The 2000 Election Campaign

Increasingly polarized by geography

- ▶ “Red States”: Middle/ South Conservative, evangelist,

- ▶ “Blue States”: West and East Coast: Liberal, secular,

- ▶ And ideology

- ▶ “Red states”: Against abortion, civil rights, prayer in schools, national health care, regulation , and “science”. Pro “individual freedom” and guns

- ▶ “Blue States: For everything Red States against, against everything they are for

- ▶ Each party within its own “information bubble”: “Cable News” & Talk Radio

- ▶ Fox News: “Red States” ... “Emotional, “Non elitist”, conservative

- ▶ CNN: “Blue States”: “Factual, “elitist”. Liberal

Rush Limbaugh (1951-2021):

Rush Limbaugh 2005



- ▶ “Shock Radio” pioneer
.....,ultra conservative
....political focus
-
- ▶ 20 million listeners 1990’s
....ridicules Clinton scandals
...audience > 20 million
- ▶ 2000 election
...Targets Gore “scientific
...Liberals pompous, elitist
....”Un-American”

The trouble with AI

Abandons “base”

-Marginalises Clinton
- ...loses “working class”
- ...Clinton charisma missing

Poor campaign

-robotic delivery
-wrong focus....foreign policy/climate.

Campaign gaffe

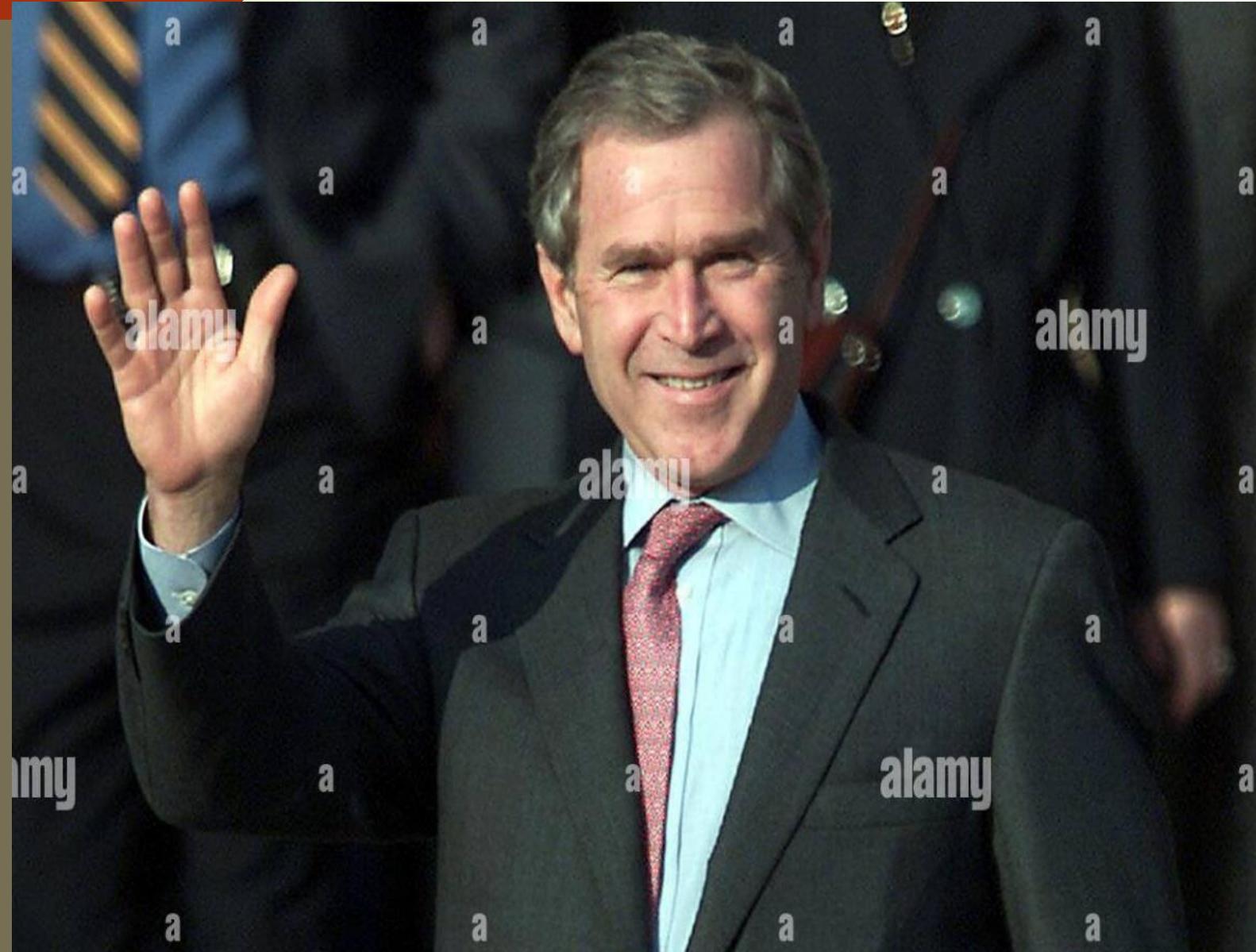
- ...”invented internet” claim
- ...Climate change focus

Fits stereotype “Liberal”

- ...easy target for Limbaugh



GW Bush appeal



Natural campaigner

...enjoys process

...humble, honest

... "born again" ...evangelicals

"Compassionate Conservative"

....middle ground "culture wars"

.....moral responsibility...faith

...focus on economy, jobs, oil

Ignores foreign affairs

Campaign hurt by gaffes

..IQ questioned

George W Bush “Gems”

- *"For every fatal shooting, there were roughly three non-fatal shootings. And, folks, this is unacceptable in America."*
- *I have opinions of my own, strong opinions, but I don't always agree with them."*
- *Too many good docs are getting out of the business. Too many OB-GYNs aren't able to practice their love with women all across this country."*
- *I think we can all agree the past is over*

GW Ridiculed by Media.....polls narrow to tie by election night
.....the “dull” versus the “dim”

2000 election ...the tied result

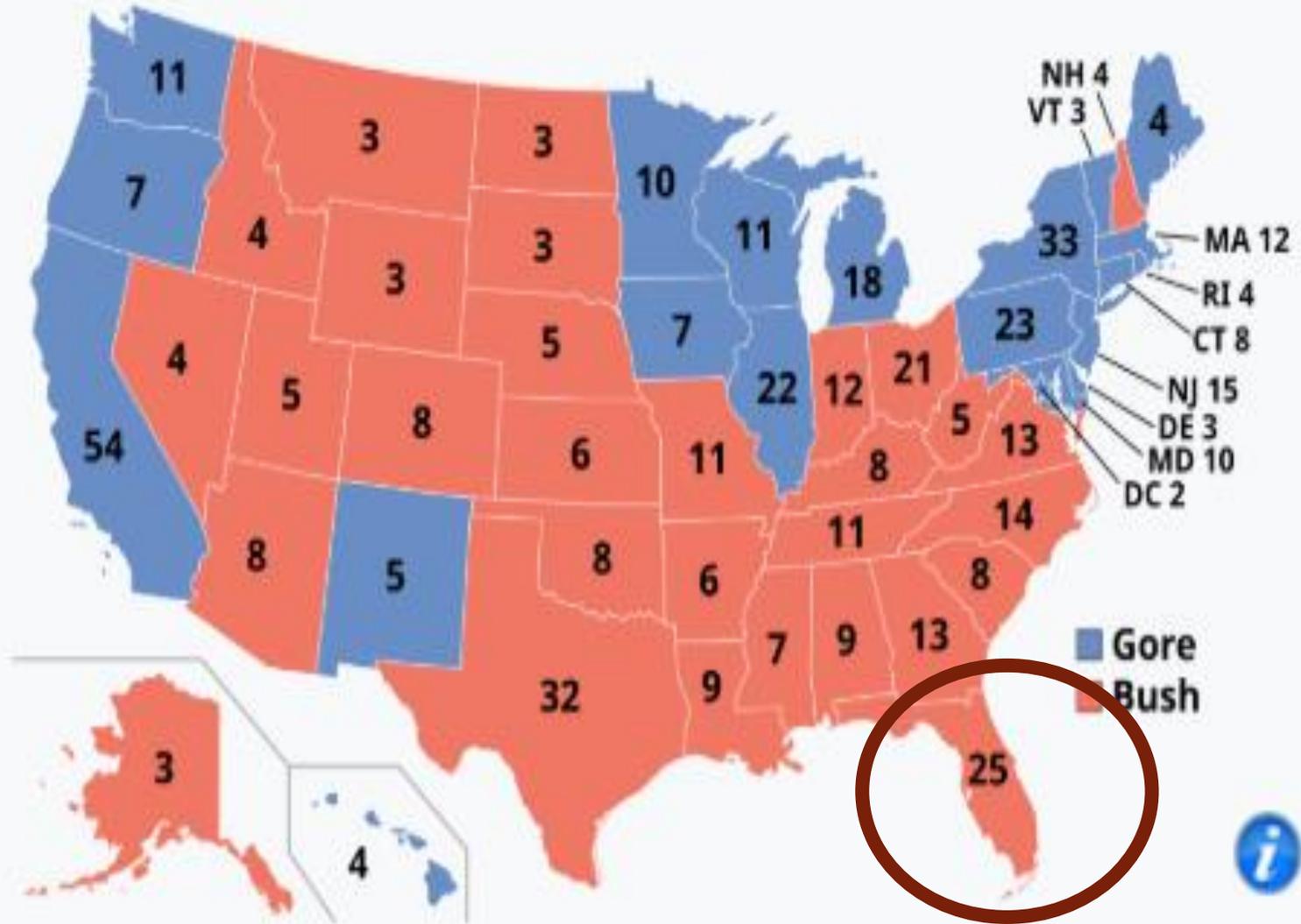
Gore wins popular vote
By 500,000 48,4% vs 47.9%
..Republicans hold Congress

Media “calls” Florida for Gore
Then reverse as count “finalized”
Bush “wins” 271 vs 266

Gore concedes election night

Florida “finalized: ½% margin
in Florida:recount,irregularities

Gore withdraws concession
...Election “frozen” Chaos



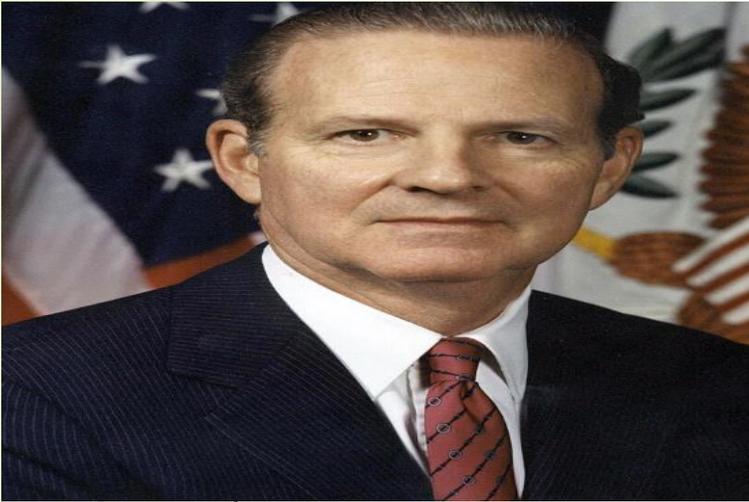
Florida and 2000 Election

- ▶ Re-count a political process: no neutral election oversight authority
 - ▶ Governor of Florida GW Bushes brother....coordinated “recount”
 - ▶ Officer in charge of recounting operations GW Bush Campaign Manager
- ▶ Multiple systems/ procedures in place to count votes across 25 Districts
 - ▶ Machine Counts and Punch Cards...each district a different method
 - ▶ “Purged voters”: 10,000 African Americans purged by false criminality check
- ▶ Fixed Timeline: Votes to be “certified” December 5th, take office Jan 5th

No agreement on where and how to count!

Enter the lawyers...plus their teams

Republicans: James Baker



- ▶ Republican Establishment
 - ▶ Sec of State Reagan/ Chief of Staff HW Bush
 - ▶ Deal maker/ Businessman
 - ▶ Goal is to “win” by “running out the clock or stopping re-counts

Warren Christopher



- ▶ Democrat Progressive
 - ▶ Sec of State Clinton, Deputy Attorney General
 - ▶ Intellectual/ academic
 - ▶ Goal “systematic recounts”
 - ▶ Abandons re-count entire state
 - ▶ Focus on 4 dubious districts

The Great Recount

- Election November 9th....Bush “majority 538
- November 11th Mandatory Machine re-count ...Bush “majority” reduced to 323...Democrats appeal to Florida Supreme Court for manual count
- November 17th Florida Court orders manual recount...Republican demand account stopped...case to Florida Supreme Court
- November 17th
.....Christopher (Democrat) appeals to Florida Supreme Court (Democrat controlled)wins....manual count continues
Baker (Republican) appeals to US Supreme Court (Republican majority)
,,,recount continues while Court “deliberates”election in doubt

The “hanging chads”:...how to pick a President
...each chad counted, checked by Democrat &
Republican...overseen by monitor (Republican)



The Nation waits for Court to decide
.....Pro Gore & recount demonstrations



Pro Bush...Anti "Re-count" demonstration



Tensions mount as Court deliberates
...November 17th to December 12th



Supreme Court votes 5/4 to stop all recounts and rules election valid (5 Republicans on Court)

AL Gore concedes defeat (and prevents escalation)



Aftermath

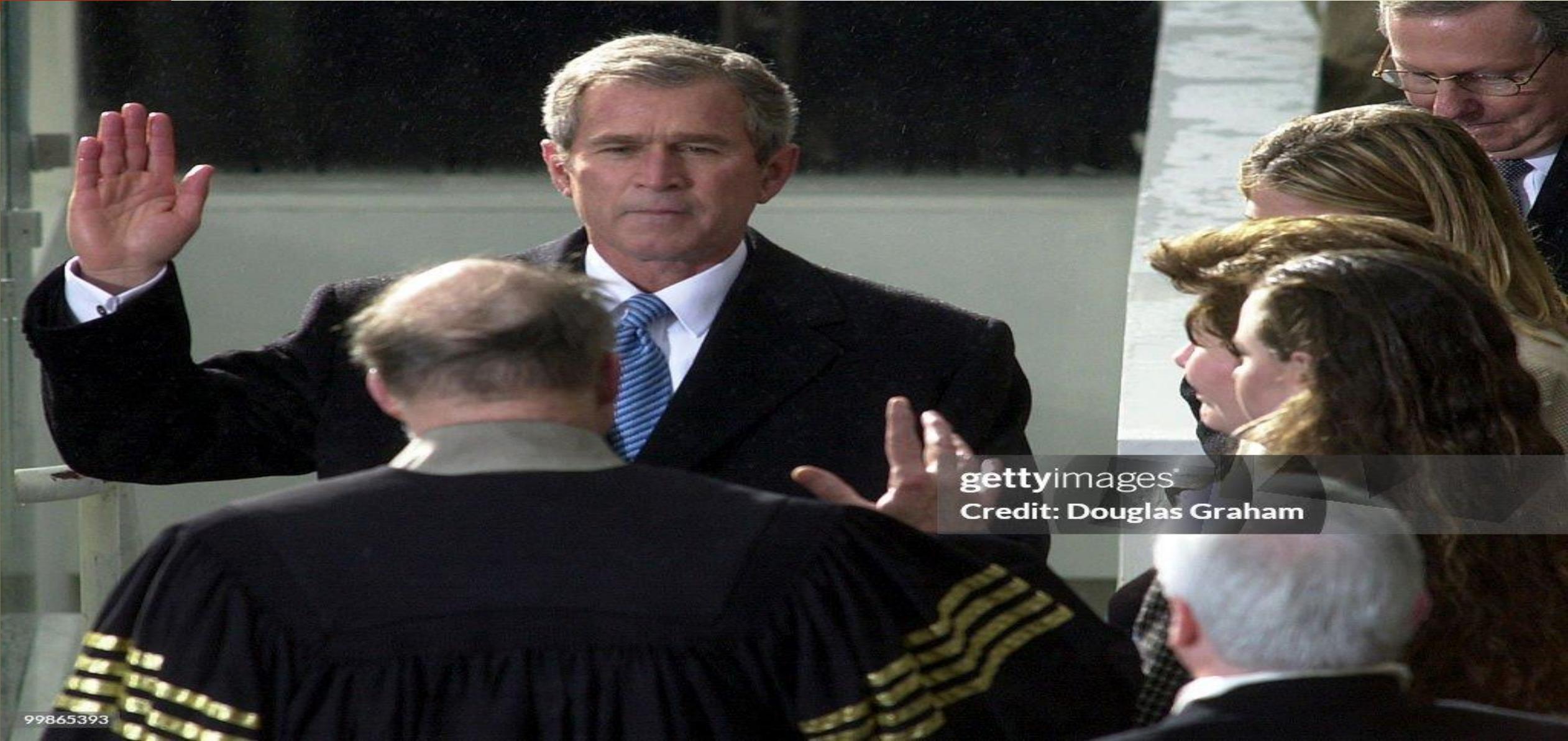
- GW Bush Presidency discredited
- US election process subject of global ridicule
- Supreme Court revealed as partisan organisation
- Reforms put in place to prevent recurrence (no more chads)

Post election audit of all ballots completed 2017

..... Gore “won” by between 300 and 5,000 votes

.....3,000 African American ballots rejected...false criminal records

GW Bush inaugurated January 5, 2001



gettyimages
Credit: Douglas Graham



George W Bush



Bush Family

Bush Family 1979

Jeb.
Governor
Florida

HW
President
1992-1996

George
President
2001-2009



Bush “Dynasty”, Establishment,
scandal free....privileged

Connecticut/ East coast

19th/20th Century Steel/ Banking

Family moves to Texas 1950’s
HW Oil business

Private education

....George “party animal”

....Brother Jeb...studious,

GW Bush as a young man

Texas Air Force 1968-1972

Vietnam war...to Coast Guard
...defending Texas/ absences
....honourable discharge
....Harvard MBA ...passes (just)

Leads family funded business ventures....fail...binge drinker, DUI...runs for Congress ..loses

Billy Grahame meeting 1985
... "Born Again"/ abstains alcohol

Sets up oil drilling company 1980s
....Sells out /.buys Texas Rangers baseball team
....Engages Texas politics, popular



...Governor Texas 1992-2000

GW and family 1990



Runs for Governor 1992
..supported by oil business
...family connections

Opposition Ann Richards ..Dem
& only female Governor
...supporter of LGBT rights
... gun reform/ ridicule evangeli

GW Bush Campaign "culture w
....concealed weapons
...increase use of death penalty
...reduce taxes/ prayer in schoo
...."Born again" principles

About Governors of Texas

- ▶ Less power than other states
 - ▶ Major offices voted directly...not appointed. Gov does not hire/ fire
 - ▶ Assistant Governor (Lieutenant Governor) more powerful than Governor (!)
- ▶ Texas government a part time occupation
 - ▶ Meets 1 x every 2 years for 140 days only
 - ▶ Agenda set before hand by Texas powerbrokers
 - ▶ Most politics at county level
- ▶ Governor “Chairman of the Board”...influencer, not decision maker

Governor of Texas.....not great basis for running nation or world

GW as Governor of Texas 1992-2000

➤ “Compassionate Conservatism”

- Spends Budget surplus to reduce property taxes for wealthy
- Privatises pension plans for state employees
- Encourage alliance charities, churches and businesses
- Impose rigorous state testing with rewards/ punishments for schools passing or failing

➤ An absence of compassion

- Doubles rate of execution (152) , does not review clemency appeals
- Reduces age for being treated as adult from 18 to 14
- Passes laws to allow concealed guns

➤ Perfect fit for “Chairman” role

- Part time job/ Zero international travel/ removed from details/ networking

George and Laura Bushes & Clinton Jan 5, 2001

Affable relationship (for life)....



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Credit: Newsday LLC

Laura Bush (born Welch) (1946---

Official first lady photograph 2001



Family of successful Texas
Real estate developers

Driving accident age 17
...runs stop sign, kills girl 17
...loses faith...not charged

BA Education, Masters Library
Science

marries GW 19772 children

Committed to supporting GW
....supports education, Aids
....Breast cancer research
....rated one of top 1st ladies

The Bush Administration: business like, confident
...the world in good shape, US invulnerable





Meanwhile

....As the least experienced and less travelled US President since the 1930's settles in office

.....the Future 21 9/11 terrorists complete flying lesson and plan their attack



Intermission



Rise of Islamic Terrorism

A brief history of Islam: the Ascent

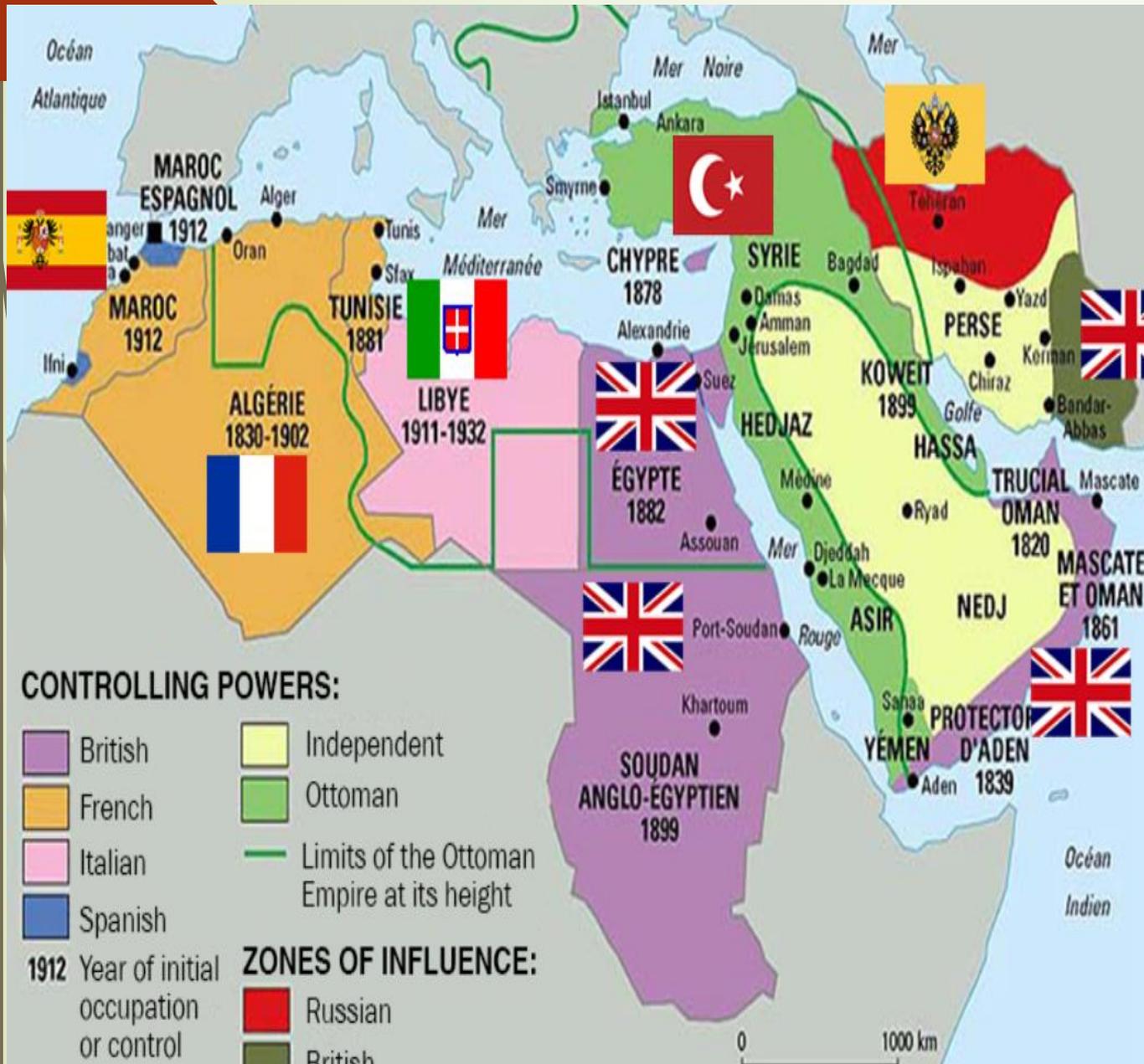
610-632 CE Prophet creates religion and unites tribes of Arabia

- ▶ 632-661: Rashidan Caliphate...capital Mecca:
 - ▶ Sunni/ Shiite split, conquest of Egypt, Persia
- ▶ 661-750: Umayyad Caliphate...capital Damascus..
 - ▶ conquest North Africa, Iberia, Central Asia
- ▶ 750-1258: Abassid Caliphate....Bagdad...”Golden Age”
 - ▶ Algebra, Medicines, Astronomy,.....””House of Wisdom”
 - ▶ Invasion northern India....Delhi Sultanate
 - ▶ First defeats (France, Spain, China)

A brief history of Islam : decline

- Regional fragmentation 1268-1517
 - Mongols destroy Bagdad, kill Caliph
 - Islamic fragmentation, rise of Turkic tribes/ Sultanates
 - Influence expands to North, East Africa, slave trade economies
- Ottoman Empire 1517-1924....Constantinople---Istanbul
 - Claim ownership of the Caliphate (Turkish, not Arab)
 - Expansion Eastern Europe, retain Egypt, North Africa, Gulf, Iraq
 - Contraction post 1700 due to rise of Russia, Austria
 - Ongoing decline, attempts to modernize during 19th century

The state of Islam 1900



Great Empires dominate
 Ottoman control Middle East
 ...Caliph “spiritual leader Sunni Islam”
 ...marginalised by “Young Turks”
 ...state > religion

Interior Arabia “free”
 ...Wahhabism 19th century
 revivalism

..... “Puritanical”, Literal
 Retain religious control
 World War 1 outcomes:

....Ottoman disintegrates/ Caliph gone
 Syria, Palestine colonies
Saudi becomes centre of Islam

Future conflict: Arab nationalists vs
 Fundamentalists... Revive Caliphate

From Nationalism to Terrorism

- ▶ Pre 1960's...Rise of the Nationalists...Pan Arabism
 - ▶ "Secular" Arabs replace colonials, seek to create modern Socialist states
 - ▶ Saudi the exception...retains Fundamentalist Islam
 - ▶ US "neutral": anti colonial/ Suez intervention, loans to Israel/ Egypt
- ▶ 1960-s-1980's Fundamentalists replace Nationalists
 - ▶ Israeli victories (6 Day, Yom Kippur) ...invincible conventional army
 - ▶ Arabs seek help from USSR, Israel to USA...US shifts from loans to grants
 - ▶ Creation of Al Fatah Palestine...attempted take over of Lebanon

Al FATAH: terrorism as tactic....target Israel..method high-jackings

Hijackings: 1970's emphasis on "spectacular"
..passengers released, no suicides
...Triple Hijacking 1975



gettyimages
Credit: Bettmann

Hijackings 1980's fewer but more lethal
....."political" acts, murder of Jewish hostages



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Credit: NABIL ISMAIL

Emergence of Islamic political movement

Sayed Qutb 1966 (awaiting execution)



Muslim Brotherhood 1920's Egypt
Revive Caliphate/ Islamic law
Democracy subordinate to Sharia Law
Take power via democracy (once)
Opposed "Arab Nationalism"

Sayed Qutb Revolutionary, political theorist.... "Milestones" 1964"
Primacy of Islam over ignorant politicians
Violence required to create Islamic state
Martyrdom justified/ Apostates to be killed
Israel an abomination to removed

Becomes intellectual Leader "Brotherhood"
...implicated plot to assassinate Nasser
...hanged 1966....martyr

From Terrorism to Global Jihad

Hijackings, guerrilla attacks vs Israel prove ineffectual

- Rise of the Petro States 1970's-1980's
 - Oil income raises Saudi GDP from £2Bn 1960 to \$350BN 1980
 - Invest in vanity construction, real estate, Islamic education..not business
 - States remain autocratic/ high unemployment/ ...Saudi clerics dominate
 - Emergence of wealthy unemployed elite

- Expansion of fundamentalism
 - \$100BN invested in Islamic education
 - Influence Qutb teachings high Pakistan, Afghanistan...rote learning
 - Emergence of "foot-soldiers" committed to Jihad seeking martyrdom

USSR invasion of Afghanistan unifies and "foot soldiers"

Impact USSR Invasion of Afghanistan

- Unites Muslim world
 - 1000's "foot soldiers" migrate to Afghanistan
 - "Taliban" created in Pakistan,....safe haven
 - Saudi funds Mujahedeen (Afghan resistance)
- USA provides Mujahedeen with superior technology
 - Pakistan considered ally vs pro USSR India
 - "Enemy of my enemy my friend"
 - "Stinger Missiles" ..removes USSR air power..ensures Muslim victory
- Effect of Mujahedeen victory
 - Fundamentalism triumphant and validated
 - Taliban assume power in Afghanistan...safe haven for follower of Qutb
 - USA and Israel seen as new enemy

Osama Bin Laden emerges as charismatic leader

Osama Bin Laden (1957-2011)



Son of Yemeni Construction Billionaire
..devout Sunni family, civil engineering

Rejects Western education....despite 1 year
Oxford.....adopts Qutbism

...USA enemy due to support of Israel

....inherits \$25m as USSR invades Afghanistan 1979

Moves to Pakistan to support Mujahedeen

...funds "Arab legion"

.... Gilgit Massacre of 8,00 Shiites Pakistan

....returns "hero" after war, then to Lebanon

.."triggered by destruction of "towers" by Israeli jets

Joins/ creates Al Qaida 1988...unite with Egypt

..extend war to create Caliphate

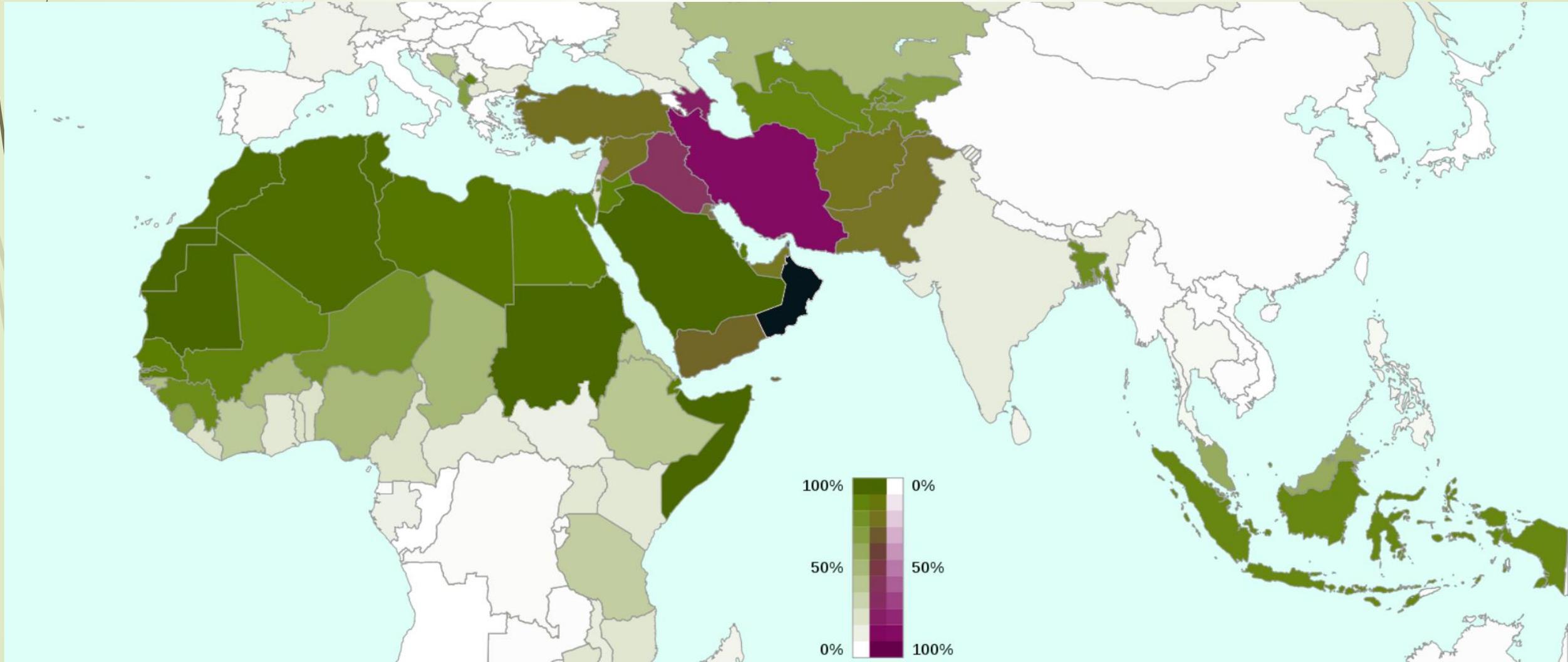
...target: America, Jews, gays, Shiites, Sufis

Gulf war 1991.offers to repel Iraq.

Saudi rejects, US preferred

....stirs up protests....exiled to Sudan

Objective: "Global Jihad"Redeem the Caliphate
... "nations irrelevant", Shiites, Sufis apostates, Jews "vermin"



The path to 9/11

Bin Laden in Sudan 1992-1996

- Bombing hotels (Aden 1992, Saudi Arabia 1996,
- World Trade Centre Bombing New York 1993 – 6 killed
- Attempted assassination Egyptian President

- Move to Afghanistan 1996
 - US and Egyptian pressure on Sudan/ Declares Fatwah vs USA
 - Attempted Millennium attacks within US(LA Airport, thwarted
 - Attack USS Cole....Arabian Gulf 1999

- “Hamburg cell” created 1998 Saudi students.....to Afghanistan
 - Egyptian Flight 990 : suicide flight...260 killed...inspires plan....towers in Beirut

US Response....warnings

- Clinton Administration
 - Al Qaeda existential threat to US
 - Cruise missile attacks Afghanistan 1999
 - Failed negotiations Taliban to deport Bin Laden
- Jordanian intercepts: “big event planned in USA imminent” 2000
- Bush Administration (January –September 2001)
 - Al Qaeda “Irrelevant fanatics, and no threat ..”just one of many”
 - Focus on domestic terrorism (Oklahoma, Columbine)
 - Daily Brief July 2001: CIA warning Imminent attack warning by Al-Qaida dismissed as hysteriaignored

US Intelligence failings

- ▶ FBI (Domestic) did not escalate or share info with CIA
 - ▶ Unusual flight training programmes by Saudi nationals
 - ▶ Presence of known al-Qaeda operative in USA known
 - ▶ Assumption terrorism use of bombs, not aircraft
 - ▶ CIA did not escalate share info to FBI and domestic law
 - ▶ Jordanians warning major attack planned
 - ▶ CIA warned al-Qaeda operating in US...problem solved by Millennium intercept
 - ▶ National Signal Agency detected unusual volume of chatter, did not alert
- USA assumed invulnerable, suicide bombing incomprehensible**

From plan to action

Terrorists recruited

- 15 Saudis, 2 Egyptians, 1 UAE, 1 Lebanon...no Iraqis
- Most university educated, middle class families, no criminal record
- Move to USA during 2000

➤ Preparations completed

- Rent homes, cars, internet access....middle class lifestyle
- Targets: Finance (World Trade) Security (Pentagon) Politics (White House)
- Pilots complete training at US flight training schools

Deploy to Boston, New York and Washington DC



9/11

September 11: 8:00 – 8.40 am

....Flights leave Boston, New York and Washington

...."Enforcers" hijack cabin using box cutters



8.46 AM:

American Flight 111 hits North Tower



...assumed to be airline disaster



9:00 AM GW Bush at Emma Booker Elementary School

POLITICO



9.03 AM

United Airlines Flight 175 hits South Tower

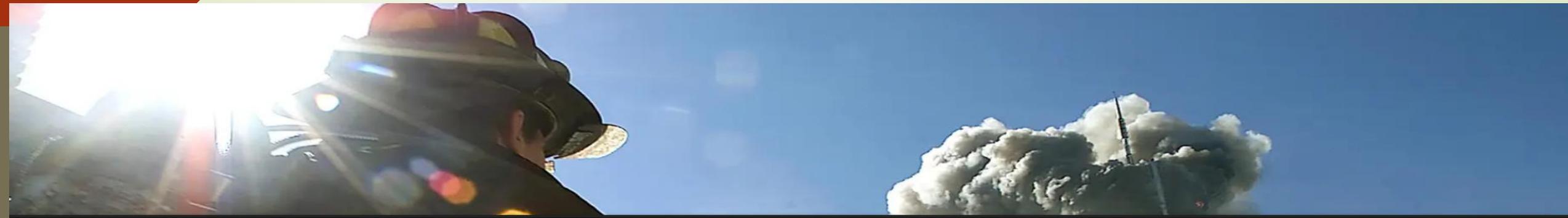


Terrorist attack confirmed...not an accident!





9.05...fire fighter across NY move to towers



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9:15 am...firefighters at base of towers

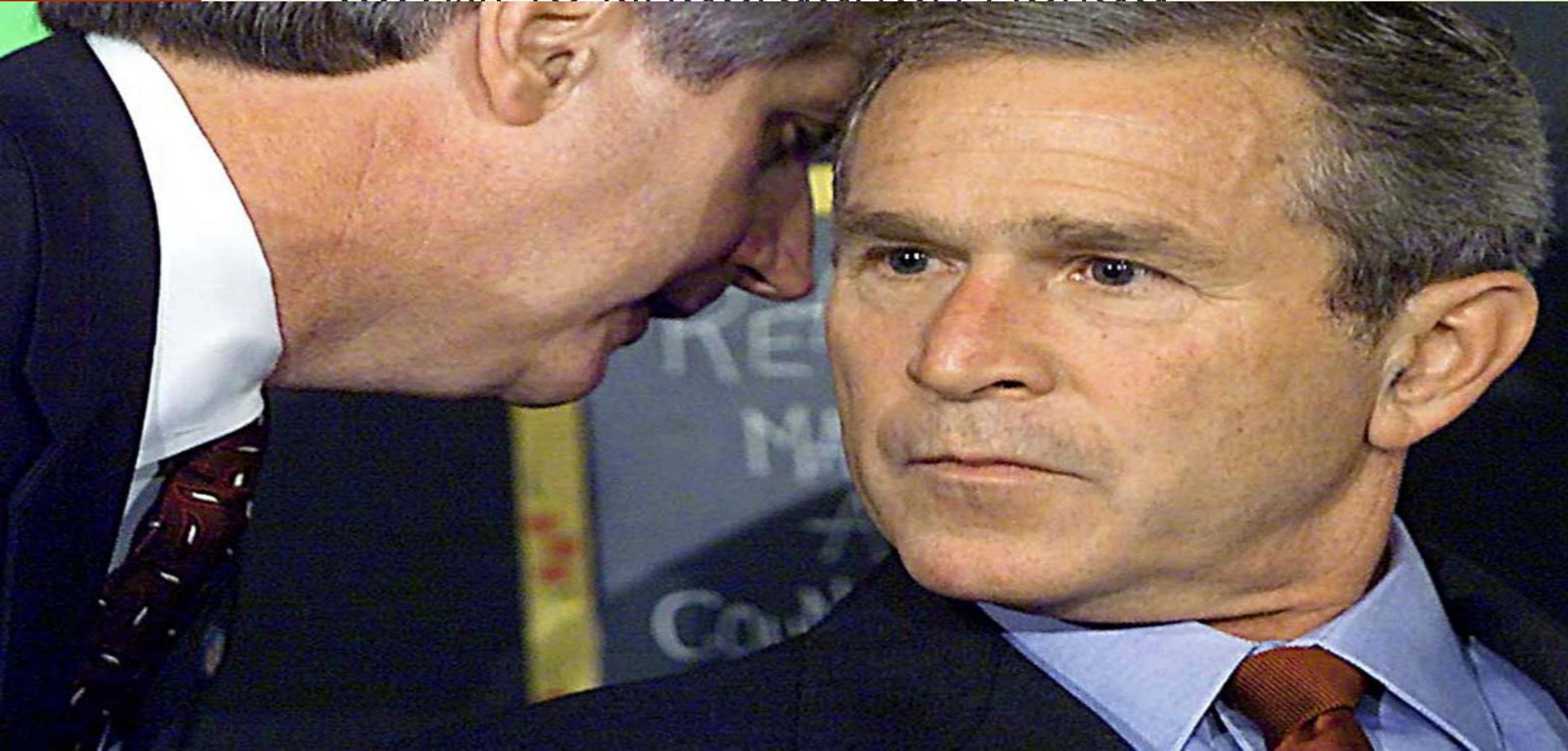




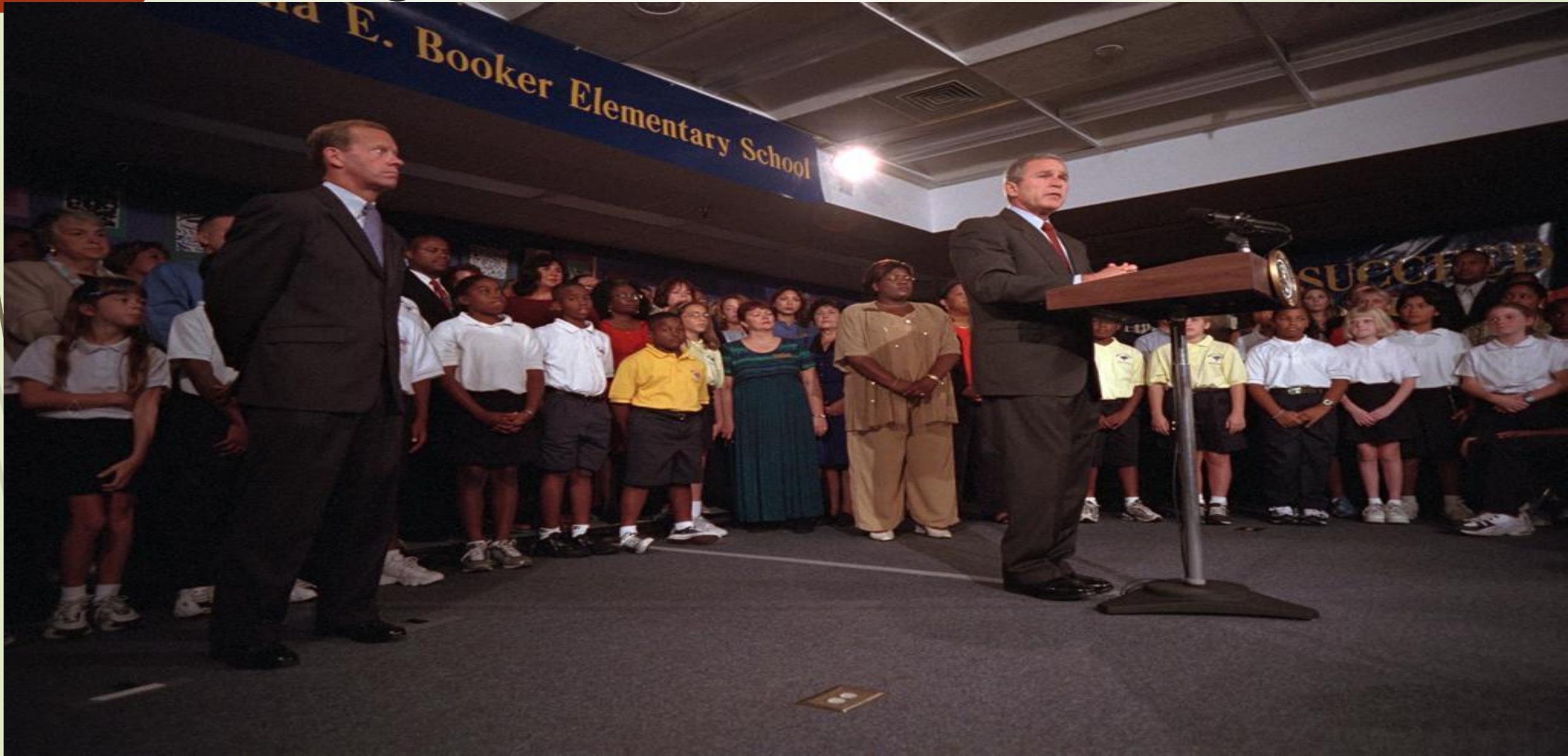
15,000 people evacuated by firefighters99%
below aircraft hit survive, 18 from above (South only)



9:05 Bush informed Terrorist Attack
visit to kindergarten Florida



Bush initial remarks prior to leaving school
,,,courage, calm...under imminent attack



9:10 Bush leaves to confer with staff
...airport closed, air traffic stopped. Ordered to land



9: 28 AM Flight 93 hijackers seize United flight 93
....head for White House (most likely)



Passenger hear news
Of WTC attacks
...calls home
..."it's a suicide mission"

Vote taken by passengers
to attack Cockpit
... 15 mins after hi-jack
....use food tray
...."Let's Go"

Hijacker, passenger
Killed.....enter cockpit

"Pilot" crashes plane
None survive

9:37 American Airlines flight 77 hits Pentagon



9:03- 9.45 Both Towers on Fire



Mass evacuation of New York begins



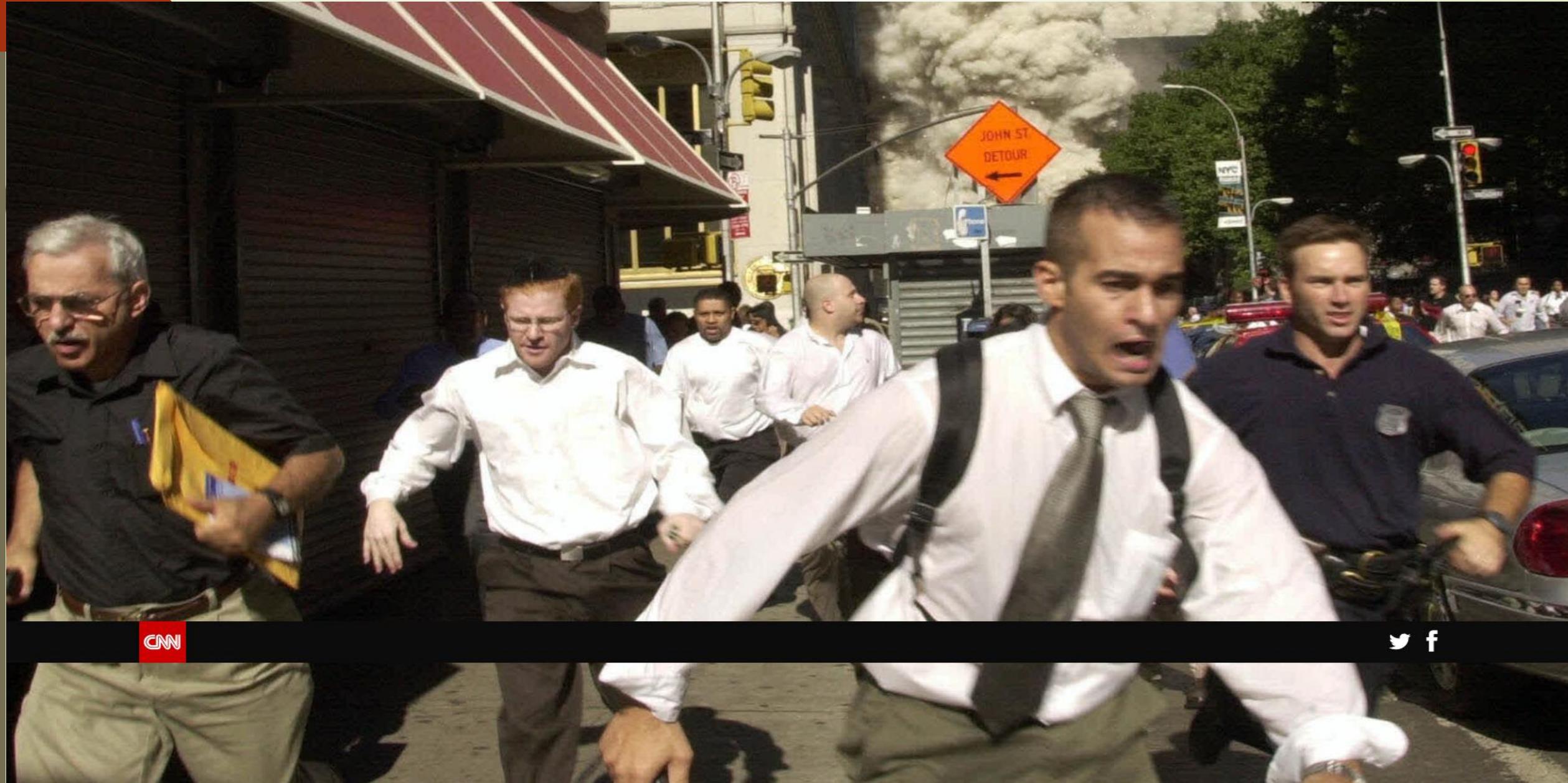
Watching the unbelievable



9:59 am South Tower collapse



The race for life



CNN

Twitter Facebook

Evacuating the city



10:28 am North Tower collapses





CNN

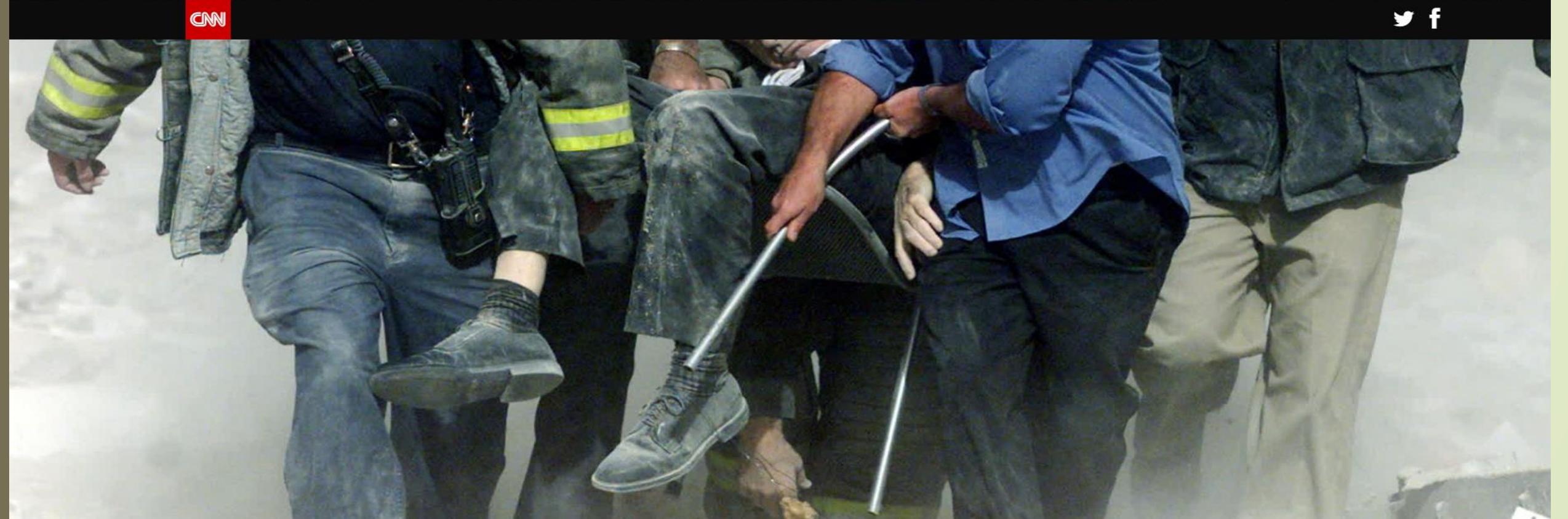








CNN



450 Firemen lose their lives



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Aftermath

- ➔ 11:00 am US Airspace closed
- ➔ 12:15 pm Mexico/ Canada Border closed
- ➔ 14:00 US military high alert: DefCon-3
- ➔ 2,974 lives lost this day, 5,000 more within 10 years due to cancers
- ➔ 17: 20 Bush addresses the nation

GW Bush Addresses the Nation 17:20 9/11



These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat, but they have failed. Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation.

Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Summary

- USA November 2000: USA economically, military dominant, an example to the world and supremely confident and invulnerability
- September 2001: A different world
 - economic dominances shaken by dot com bubble,
 - institutions disrupted by a chaotic and disputed election,
 - US suddenly vulnerable and the world a dangerous place



Epilogue



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Next Talk #52: The War on Terror
....USA and the World 2001-2008