

MindSparks
KYLE WARD

U.S. HISTORY / 1991-2015

HISTORY

VS.

HISTORY

Understanding Historical Thinking and Historiography



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Kyle Ward

MindSparks®

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TO THE TEACHER

For centuries, in nations around the world, one thing that has seemed to be constant in history classrooms has been the textbook. Typically thick books that lay out national history in a strict chronological way, textbooks have also been a major educational tool to help generations learn what it means to be a citizen of their country. Often, history textbooks demonstrate to students what it means to be a good citizen by highlighting all the positive things that their country's citizens have accomplished and by showing how past struggles have made their country a better nation in their own day. With that in mind, this workbook series was created with the hope that students in a history class would be able to learn, understand, and interpret history and historical events by looking at examples of history textbooks from various nations and throughout U.S. history.

The excerpts from history textbooks in this book demonstrate historiography and historical thinking. These history textbooks come from two different categories. Some are from nations around the world and represent what middle school or high school students in their respective countries would typically use in their history classrooms. Most of these books were found at the Georg Eckert Institute in Braunschweig, Germany. The others are old American history textbooks dating from the 1790s through the 1970s. Many of these American history textbooks come from the Cunningham Library at Indiana State University.

Not every nation will be represented in this book, nor will every historical story about the United States be told. The logistics of finding, reading, editing, and translating textbooks from every nation over time would be impossible. Therefore, this workbook is a small snippet of old textbooks with a glimpse of how students learn about the United States in history classes around the world.

These lessons should make it clear to students that history is not about names, dates, and places, but rather about understanding perspective, interpretation, and bias, and being able to make an informed argument about various events in the past. Studying history this way might be new to some of your students, but taking the time to learn how to interpret how society impacted what was written in the past will help your students get more involved with the topic—and hopefully gain a better appreciation of this field of study.

Each section has a brief introduction, followed by one or more textbook excerpts from different nations or periods. The excerpts are followed by a section titled “Items for Analysis,” which will ask students to consider various questions related to the textbook excerpts. Questions will ask students to compare and contrast, organize events or concepts into different times, put stories into specific context, develop arguments through specific evidence, interpret information, and synthesize it all to show that they understand the material.

While many of the questions will relate to the specific textbook selections in that students will probably have to use the internet, the library, or other research materials to help prepare their answers.

The main goal of this series is for students to learn about historiography and historical thinking by looking at textbook excerpts from different nations or periods. This will lead to a lot of discussion, debate, and extra research, and students will need to formulate and defend theories. At the end of the day, these exercises will lead students to become more informed citizens, and will help students develop their self-confidence, allow them to develop their own “voice,” while giving them a more in-depth understanding of the field of history.

INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS HISTORIOGRAPHY?

Historiography is the study of how history has been written, studied, researched, and analyzed over time. When historians look at specific historical documents, they want not only to learn what it says about an event or person, but also to understand who wrote it, where they wrote it, and when. Historians want to know this information because they are trying to figure out what may have influenced the author(s) perspective, biases, and interpretation of the specific person or event detailed in the source.

Every historian knows that when authors write something they are not doing so in a perfect vacuum or even being completely objective about their topic. Rather, each document (or source) was produced at a time when certain cultural, political, religious, geographic, economic, and/or social events were swirling around them. Therefore, historians would argue that the time period in which the source was written affected how its author(s) saw the world around them.

It is also important to note that very few historical figures lived their lives with the thought they were living “in history.” Rather, most people live day-to-day without considering that in the future their daily actions might be analyzed, researched, written about, and debated. For example, the immigrants who came to the United States in the late 1800s did not sit around saying to one another, “Isn’t it great living in this historical time period known as the Gilded Age?” They were much more concerned about surviving and getting set up in their new home and were probably not considering how people in the future would view them either individually or as a larger group. Therefore, when they wrote letters home, kept journals, or communicated with people in their own community, they wrote what they felt and knew at that moment. Now, because of historical research, we know that there were certain political, economic, geographic, religious, social, and cultural things going on at that time, all of which may have had a direct impact on how these new immigrants viewed the world.

What does all this mean for the study of history today? Consider the following scenario. Today, two historians end up researching the same historical event. For arguments sake, let’s say they are interested in why the Berlin Wall fell in 1989 and which world leader should get credit for this event. They are researching the same topic and reading many of the same documents, but when they write up their final report they have two very different perspectives on this same event. One discussed how it was U.S. President Ronald Reagan who was the key player in ending the Cold War by forcing Germany to tear down the Berlin Wall, while the other argues that it was obviously Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and his policies in the former Soviet Union that ended the Cold War.

These two historians came to completely different interpretations of what caused this major historical event probably because their sources emphasized different perspectives. These historians then based their arguments on what individuals from the past had written about the event at the time the event occurred. Some of the sources could have

been an East German who had just left his country to get into West Germany, a Soviet soldier who was stationed in East Berlin at the end of the 1980s, or even an American diplomat working in the U.S. Embassy in East Berlin at this time. Each participated in the exact same event but may have seen and remembered it differently from the others.

After considering all of this, think about one more thing. You have been assigned to read articles about who should get credit for the Berlin Wall coming down in your history class. And, as any good history student does, you check out the sources and footnotes for the articles in front of you and you notice that one has been written by an American historian, and the other by a Russian historian. This forces you to ask another historiographical question: “Does their nationality impact how they researched and perceived this event?”

This is historiography. It allows the reader to think about history from a larger perspective by forcing them to consider not only what was happening at the time of the historical event, but also what is happening in our own time which might affect how we learn about this event.

This perspective is what makes history so interesting, useful, and significant. Studying history is not just about names, dates, and places; applying historiography forces students and teachers to engage with the material, to consider why sources were written the way they were and when they were, and to ask how they relate to our world today. Because, in the end, students must remember that they too will become a part of history, and that current geography, economics, politics, society, culture, and religion may all affect how they view historical events as well.

THE POST- COLD WAR ERA



THE UNITED STATES AS GLOBAL SUPERPOWER

In the 1990s, after the Cold War had ended, there was a belief by some that there would be no more wars since the two global superpowers were no longer in a state of constant struggle with one another. There was also a question about what the world would look like with just the United States left as the lone superpower. While some nations welcomed this idea, of America serving as “world policeman,” others seemed to be more concerned over this possibility.

Italy

Fabio Vicari, *Capire la storia: Il mondo contemporaneo, Con 10 lezioni di Cittadinanza e Costituzione*

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States seemed to be the only major world power left, destined to maintain peace in the world and to sustain the development of democracy. This new international role was put to the test during the first Gulf War (1990–91). The invasion of Kuwait, a small country rich in petroleum, by the Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, could have caused a global crisis. The U.S. decided to intervene: along with other European and Arab allies, and with permission of the U.N., they quickly liberated Kuwait. They decided, however, to not overthrow the Iraqi regime.

The Americans then intervened in the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and in other nations where there were civil wars: restoring peace, however, often revealed itself to be difficult to accomplish.

South Africa

Jean Bottaro, Pippa Visser, and Nigel Worden, *In Search of History: Grade 12 Learner’s Book*

Were there any rivals to US domination?

There were no significant rivals to US world domination after the collapse of the USSR. The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] was ineffectual and Russia (its largest member) was weakened by internal problems. The former colonial powers, Britain and France, had never regained their strength after the Second World War. Reunification in Germany caused severe economic problems, including high unemployment. Germans also had to deal with the growth of racism and neo-Nazism, directed especially against Turkish and other immigrant workers. . . .

Source: Fabio Vicari, *Capire la storia: Il mondo contemporaneo, Con 10 lezioni di Cittadinanza e Costituzione* (Bologna, Italy: Zanichelli, 2011), 308. Paraphrased and trans. from the Italian by Sarah Bevelli.

How has the USA used its dominance?

Some analysts believe that American foreign policy since 1990 has been inconsistent and that American intervention has at times been inappropriate. They cite the American-led invasions of Kuwait (1991), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) as examples of this, along with American-led sanctions against Libya and Iraq. They also think that continued American support for Israel is inhibiting peace in the Middle East. All of these actions have resulted in growing anti-American feeling in many Arab states in the region.

Other analysts think that the US has not used the opportunity for world leadership as it should. For example, it is giving less support to the United Nations than it did and has reduced its contribution to the costs of UN peacekeeping efforts and its subscriptions to the normal budget of the UN.

Ireland

Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, *Modern Ireland*

By the first anniversary of the IRA [Irish Republican Army] ceasefire in August 1995, republicans were furious that they had not been invited to participate in talks. In an effort to advance the peace progress, President Bill Clinton visited Belfast in November 1995 and endorsed American Senator George Mitchell, who had been appointed to head an international body to resolve the decommissioning issue. Mitchell recommended that decommissioning and all-party talks should proceed at the same time. However, progress was slow until the Conservative Government in Great Britain was succeeded by a new Labour Government in May 1997 under the leadership of Tony Blair. In the following month, a new Taoiseach [prime minister, chief executive, and head of government of Ireland], Bertie Ahern, was elected in the Irish Republic. Both leaders were to personally invest huge amounts of time and energy in advancing the peace process.

In April 1998 an historic agreement was signed in Belfast. Known as the Good Friday Agreement, it established a power-sharing executive and Assembly in Northern Ireland. It also set up a decommissioning body to oversee the decommissioning of weapons and provided for a referendum north and south of the border in the order to ratify the agreement. David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, became First Minister and Seamus Mallon, deputy leader of the SDLP [Social Democratic and Labour Party], was appointed Deputy First Minister. While this agreement was supported by the Ulster Unionists, the Alliance Party, the SDLP and Sinn Fein [Irish republican political party], it was opposed by the Democratic Unionists Party under the leadership of Ian Paisley.

While obstacles still remained in the peace process, the Good Friday Agreement was to provide the basis for a lasting settlement in Northern Ireland.

Source: Jean Bottaro, Pippa Visser, and Nigel Worden, *In Search of History: Grade 12 Learner's Book* (Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2011), 189, 191

Source: Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, *Modern Ireland*, 2nd Edition (Dublin, Ireland: Gill & MacMillan, 2008), 420.

Venezuela

Antonio E. Gomez, *Historia de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela*

[While reading this selection it is important to remember that Hugo Chavez was the president of Venezuela when this textbook was published. In the U.S., Chavez is mostly remembered for his strong anti-American stance and for strongly criticizing America's role around the world. In fact, on a number of occasions, Chavez was quoted as referring to President George W. Bush as the "devil."]

Worldwide dynamics force nations to continuously revise their international relationships constantly striving to keep these relationships on friendly footing if they want to maintain the possibility of cooperative movement towards paths of development.

Venezuela is not immune to the attraction towards international relationships; and its governments, at all times, have fought to keep the country within the bounds of friendship and mutual respect. This is due to the simple reason that our country has achieved high levels of leadership within the so-called Third World, and the success of our continued leadership is based on the demonstrated success of our relationships with other Hispano-American peoples and with the nations of other persuasions, powerful or not.

The leadership of Venezuela as an example nation does not come from the choice of a particular powerful country to affirm our relations, but rather arises from the mutual cooperation of even the least developed nations.

China

Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*

“World Police”

The strong economy and military power have encouraged the United States' wild ambition of taking over the world. After the war [World War II], the United States expanded its arms and prepared for wars through its ever growing economic power. It served as the “world police,” intervened in the internal affairs, and tried to establish and maintain an international order according to its own will.

In 1989, the U.S. government used “to protect people's lives and properties of the United States” as an excuse, to call out an army of 26,000 soldiers, sailors, and airmen and attacked Panama during the night under the title of “Operation Just Cause.” This led to the military occupation of Panama, Colon, and other important places, and destroyed the Ministry of National Defense in Panama.

Source: Antonio E. Gomez, *Historia de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela* (Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Salesiana, 2004), 202. Paraphrased and trans. from the Spanish by Amanda DeBoer.

Source: Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*, vol. 2 (Beijing, China: Beijing Normal University Press, 2002), 66–67. Paraphrased and trans. from the Chinese by Michelle Yu & Mengmei Ying.

Items for Analysis

- Using the excerpts, cite examples from each in which the United States is portrayed as a positive or negative force in the world.

Country of Excerpt	Examples of the U.S. as a Positive Influence	Examples of the U.S. as a Negative Influence	U.S. Not Mentioned
Italy			
South Africa			
Ireland			
Venezuela			
China			

AMERICA AS AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER



GLOBALIZATION AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Cultural imperialism is the idea that a powerful nation forces its culture, political system, and economics upon a weaker nation. Globalization, on the other hand, is when businesses and organizations develop international influence by having a physical presence in different nations, or by applying economic/political pressure in other countries. Both of these terms are important to understand as you read the excerpts below.

Australia

Luke Cashman, Paul Ashton, and Mark Anderson, *The Modern World and Australia: History 10*

How did the nature of music, film and television industries in Australia change during the postwar period?

The United States has had numerous influences on Australian society since the 19th century. Words such as ‘homestead’ came from the United States. Barbed wire, used extensively by Australian pastoralists from the last quarter of the 19th century, was an American invention. Throughout the 20th century, the Hollywood film industry has had a major impact on Australian society. After World War II, Asian countries, such as Japan and India, were to have a growing influence on entertainment and the arts, among other things. Some people fear such influence as cultural imperialism.

Technological developments in manufacturing, transport, communications and media brought about modernisation and globalisation. Modernisation involves the application of the latest technologies to everyday life. Western capitalist countries such as Australia and the United States modernised at different speeds and times. The United States was generally more ‘advanced’ and it influenced Australia.

Modernisation is not necessarily ‘Americanisation’. Some aspects of Australia’s modernisation were homegrown. The United States, too, was influenced by other countries, such as Britain. But generally, the period after World War II was one of increasing globalisation.

Globalisation, at one level, is a process of economic and cultural integration. In this process, cultures across the world become increasingly similar. The cultures of the most powerful countries become transplanted or mixed into other cultures. Traditional cultures and practices can be changed or lost. Not all aspects of the weaker culture are affected. Different groups in the weaker culture can be affected in various ways, sometimes not at all. These processes were reflected in changes to the Australian film, music and television industries.

Source: Luke Cashman, Paul Ashton, and Mark Anderson, *The Modern World and Australia: History 10* (South Yarra, Australia: Macmillan Education, 2012), 154–155.

China

Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*

Hollywood is the world's famous film studio, and is also the center of the movie industry. Movies from Hollywood cater to the taste of the public, which contains a strong sense of commercial element. At the same time, they never lose their realistic meaning to reflect the transition of the time and the society. From the silent films of Chaplin [Charlie Chaplin, 1889–1977] to nowadays block busters, the development of Hollywood has become the epitome of the development of the world's movie industry. Movies such as *Titanic*, *Pearl Harbor*, and *Saving Private Ryan* give full expression to the developmental level of the art of film, and are productions that win universal praise.

In 1929, Hollywood held the first "Academy Award" to honor the ones who had made outstanding achievements in the movie industry. The prize is a golden statue. In 1931, a new Academy administrator randomly saw the statue and made a joke about it "It looks so much like my uncle Oscar!" A journalist overheard it and the name "Oscar Academy Awards" has widely spread since then. The golden statue is a gold-plating alloy statue. A man who has a robust figure holds a long sword and stands on a plate of film. The height is 13.5 inches, and the weight is 11 pounds. The material of the statue is made of aluminum and tin, and the statue is plated with a layer of gold foil and glazing paint. The Oscar Academy Award is held once every year. While the international influence of United States has amplified gradually, the Oscar has become the blue ribbon pursued by artists all over the world.

Ireland

Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, *Modern Ireland*

Whereas many of the social developments in Ireland during the 1960s were positive, others caused unease. Greater wealth often produced a materialistic outlook and the loss of a distinctive Irish cultural identity. The continuing decline of the Gaeltacht [regions in which the Irish language is the predominant language] at a time of economic expansion was a cause of concern. Many people also expressed the fear that, partly because of television, Irish people were becoming too heavily influenced by the cultures of America and England, to the neglect of their own traditions. Despite the unprecedented economic expansion and the significant growth in employment, many people continued to live out their lives in poverty, which was made all the more unbearable by the sight of prosperity all around them.

Even with these shortcomings, however, the 1960s are remembered as a time of exceptional prosperity and a period of greater choice and freedom in Irish society.

Source: Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*, vol. 2 (Beijing, China: Beijing Normal University Press, 2002), 68–69. Paraphrased and trans. from the Chinese by Michelle Yu & Mengmei Ying.

Source: Gerard Brockie and Raymond Walsh, *Modern Ireland*, 2nd Edition (Dublin, Ireland: Gill & MacMillan, 2008), 289.

Norway

Ole Kristian Grimnes, et al., *Tidslinjer 2: Verdon og Norge: Historie Vg3*

The largest companies are becoming greater through combinations and acquisitions of the competition. Around 2/3 of the investments of big companies still takes place within the United States, western Europe and Japan, though in the later years there has been a quick increase from investments in China. There have also been wealthy companies from India and China buying companies in other countries. In addition, the economic growth in Asia has led to tougher international battles of the control of interests from gas, oil, and other natural resources in all parts of the world.

Even though both the world commerce and scope of investments in foreign countries has grown in the last decade, the transferring of money across borders to buy stocks and foreign currencies is what has increased the most.

In the first decade post-1945 there were strong limitations on transferring of money across borders, but from the 1970s a large part of the world politics have consisted of liberalizing the bank and stock market. In addition it has contributed to money being placed in tax havens, such as New Jersey and the Cayman Islands, where large fortunes are hidden from the tax authorities. In comparison to the globalization and liberalization, it has become a lot easier to commit economic crime and illegal transferring of weapons and drugs.

The World Bank, IMF and WTO have, next to transnational big companies and governments in powerful industry countries, been important tools for economic globalization. These are organizations which have worked for low taxes and greater room for investments and capital.

Barbie economy

There are no other companies in the world selling as many toys as the American company Mattel does. Almost all production is transferred to China. In 2005 the retail price for a Barbie doll was ten krone [the currency of Norway]. Eight of these krone went to transport, marketing, sales expenses, and the company profit. One krone was paid for the middleman in Hong Kong who purchased the dolls from the Chinese producers and sold them to Mattel. Out of the last krone, 65 cents were used to pay for natural resources and other materials used to make the dolls. The last 35 cents were used to cover the workers' paychecks as well as electricity and expenses for the factories and profit of the Chinese owners.

Source: Ole Kristian Grimnes, et al., *Tidslinjer 2: Verdon og Norge: Historie Vg3* (Oslo, Norway: H. Aschehoug & Co., W. Nygaard, 2008), 438. Paraphrased and trans. from the Norwegian by Ellen-Marie Pedersen.

Canada

Pamela Perry-Globa, et al., *Living in a Globalizing World*

“I’m lovin’ it!” Do you know which company uses this slogan? Most people on the planet do: McDonald’s. The globalization of this one company has made the Big Mac available in more than 30 000 outlets. Thousands of other food service companies have made the leap to transnational status, too. They have brought their culture—largely American culture—to virtually all the countries in the world.

When you think of restaurants that you and your family go to, do you think of local or national restaurants, or international food suppliers such as Burger King or Subway? Many students, perhaps even you, get their first jobs in service industry companies such as Wendy’s.

In 1967, McDonald’s opened its first restaurant outside the United States in Richmond, British Columbia. Its slogan then was “One taste, worldwide.” By 1981, it had become the largest food service organization in Canada. In 2005, McDonald’s Restaurants of Canada Limited and its Canadian franchises owned and operated more than 1375 restaurants and employed more than 77 000 Canadians coast to coast.

The case can be made that McDonald’s has greatly influenced the lifestyles of Canadians. When the first McDonald’s came into Canada, it was an economic invasion of sorts. However, the effects of McDonald’s branching out across the country were largely social. . . .

Our society transformed into one in which many families started buying at least occasional meals in fast food restaurants. The ability to purchase inexpensive fast food at convenient neighborhood locations made life a little easier for everyone. Many people welcomed the break from cooking dinner every night. If you are like most Canadian teens, you probably indulge in the convenience of fast food once in a while, too.

In the 1980s, the spread of McDonald’s into other countries sped up. When McDonald’s opens its first outlet in a country, the country gains a membership of sorts in a global community. When people walk into a McDonald’s anywhere in the world, they encounter similar menus, the same restaurant features, the same atmosphere. Tourists from North America find an oasis of life “just like home.” Anti-globalization activists condemn this uniformity. They believe that McDonald’s spreads American culture at the expense of local cultures wherever it sets up the Golden Arches.

At first you might think the globalization of culture is great. You have access to much more entertainment and culture than your own country creates. It is true that globalization opens many doors.... However, you do have to consider the other side of the coin. Will social globalization create a world with just one culture?

Source: Pamela Perry-Globa, et al., *Living in a Globalizing World* (Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2007), 16, 18.

France

Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re*

Permanence: the economic strength of the United States

- The United States remains a major economic power at the beginning of the 21st century. The American gross domestic product (GDP) always ranks first worldwide and the multi-national American firms are among the most efficient. The dollar remains the reference currency of international exchange.
- The American economic dynamism relies on new areas: The Northeast has added a growing periphery from the southeast to the northwest. This combination is remarkable for its population growth: it includes three of the five most populous states, including California. Its economic dynamic is also built on high-technology industries (information technology, aerospace, etc.).
- American power, however, must be put into perspective. The United States is now only the world's third exporter of merchandise. The American commercial deficit and the public debt have increased. The country's financial system and its economy have been shaken by the subprime crisis in 2007.

Uncertainty: maintaining the power of the other poles of the Triad

- The European Union and Japan have real weight. The total gross domestic product of the European Union is equivalent to that of the United States, and six of the world's ten primary exporters of merchandise are members of the European Union.
- The European Union and Japan, however, lack dynamism. They are countries in which the population is aging rapidly (in 2010, 22.6% of the Japanese population was over 65 years old); their innovative capacity seems dull in comparison to the United States or even certain emerging countries: this is especially true for the European Union, which consecrates only 1.8% of its gross domestic product to research and development, compared to the United States' 2.8%. The world crisis that started in 2008 have hit them hard, especially as Japan has been experiencing weak growth since 1992.

A new reality: Emergence of new powers, the BRIC

- The BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are characterized by rapid economic growth. Their economic importance is growing: their cumulative gross domestic product represented 23.8% of the world's total in 2009. BRIC firms invest in the poles of the Triad. These emerging countries seem to be the new engines of a world economy that is becoming multipolar.

- Among the dynamic countries, China holds a special place. Following the economic reforms piloted by Deng Xiaoping, China opened its doors and benefited from a very rapid growth (averaging +10% on average per year from 1990 to 2004): it became the primary exporter of merchandise in 2009 and its gross domestic product was second in the world in 2010. Its undervalued currency and foreign exchange reserves also give it a key role in the global financial system.
- The economic development of BRIC is, however, limited to certain regions. Chinese dynamism concerns mainly the coastal provinces. In India, the economic dynamism is because of large cities like Bombay, Delhi or Bangalore and some sectors like the ICT. One sees the same disequilibrium in Russia and Brazil. Everywhere, large cities play a major role.

Source: Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re* (Paris, France: Bordas, 2011), 46. Paraphrased and trans. from the French by Katherine Younker.

Items for Analysis

1. All of the excerpts give brief stories about the United States and its role in the modern global economy. Using the graphic organizer below, write down sentences and/or phrases that demonstrate if students in these countries are learning about the U.S. in a positive or negative way.

Country of Excerpt	Positive	Negative
Australia		
China		
Ireland		
Norway		
Canada		
France		

9/11 AND THE WAR ON TERROR



THE ATTACKS ON 9/11

On the morning of Tuesday, September 11th, 2001, the United States was attacked by a series of coordinated terrorist attacks planned by Osama Bin Laden and the organization known as al-Qaida. That day quickly became one of the days in which the whole world seemed to take notice.

Canada

Nick Brune, et al., *Defining Canada: History, Identity, and Culture*

The sequence of events is now familiar through extended media coverage during and after the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In the immediate aftermath the United States closed its airspace and airliners en route to the United States were diverted to Canada. About 240 diverted flights with about 30 000 people on board landed in Canada. Three days later, a service of remembrance on Parliament Hill attracted more than 100 000 people. Prime Minister Chrétien said Canadians could not stop their tears. And he told Americans, “Do not despair. You are not alone. We are with you.” . . .

Jean Chrétien told the House of Commons that there is no more solemn decision that a prime minister must make than to send Canadians into a military campaign. He said he had made his decision because he believed Canada had to show “a firm resolve to stand up and be counted. To stand up for our people, for our values, for our way of life. To send a clear message to the cowards in the shadows who planned this crime against humanity that their days of being able to run and hide are coming to an end.”

Though the government of Afghanistan fell very quickly, it was impossible to root every Al-Qaeda fighter immediately from the thousands of caves in the country. Canadians stayed in the country to continue the search. In April 2002, four members of the PPCLI [Prince Patricia’s Canadian Light Artillery] were killed. They were on a training exercise when they were killed by “friendly fire”—an American pilot mistakenly dropped a bomb on them. They were the first Canadian soldiers to die during the combat mission in almost fifty years.

Beyond the war, September 11 also meant changes in Canadian life. The federal budget, introduced three months after the terror attacks, directed \$7.7 billion to security measures. Security at airports is much tighter, new immigrants are being screened more carefully, and Canadian passports were made more difficult to forge.

Source: Nick Brune, et al., *Defining Canada: History, Identity, and Culture* (Whitby, Canada: McGraw-Hill Ryerson 2003), 634–635.

Germany

Florian Osburg, et al., *Expedition Geschichte, Berlin Klasse 10*

The USA and International Terrorism

With the attack of September 11th the terrorist Osama bin Laden left the USA, the last remaining world power, in a state of shock. As early as 1989 he had threatened the USA with a “Holy War.” Bin Laden is credited to be the founder of the Islamic organization Al-Qaida, the first worldwide operational terror organization. They exist as different “terror cells,” which independently from each other execute their attacks. This makes their surveillance through security agencies extremely difficult. Their goal is the formation of an Islamic world domination as well as a fight against those forces who stand in the way to this claim to power. Connected to this is a radical Anti-Americanism and Anti-Semitism plus refusal of the Western way of thinking and living.

In what lies the special danger of the Terror organization Al-Qaida?

Already in the 90s there were quite a few attacks against American facilities. These began with a bomb explosion in the basement garage of the World Trade Center in 1993, continued with the attack of American military facilities in Saudi Arabia, on the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and eventually on the American warship USS Cole in the port of Aden. The signature of these attacks led to Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaida terror network. The US government at the time reacted simply with single rocket attacks on bases of terrorists in Afghanistan and an alleged poison gas factory in Sudan.

The high point of the activities of Al-Qaida were the attacks on September 11th, 2001, on two symbols of USA world power: the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon (US defense ministry) in Washington D.C. In order to realize their plans, mainly Arabian assassins hijacked several American passenger planes. After they had overpowered the pilots, they steered the machines directly into these buildings. The attacks had a devastating effect on the World Trade Center. Both of the 400-meter tall towers caught fire at once and fell shortly after. Almost 3000 people were entombed under the towers, among them police and firefighters. The goal to murder as many people as possible, characterizes Islamic Terrorism. Although security experts had warned in the near past about attacks with weapons of mass destruction, this form of terrorism was until now completely unknown and lay beyond any human imagination. . . .

The United States had been attacked for the first time in its history on its own soil. The onslaught was directed indeed not only against the USA, but also against their Allies. Abruptly national defense and the fight against terrorism moved to the political center under George W. Bush.

Since April 27, 2006, the Freedom Tower has been constructed on the site of the destroyed World Trade Center, on Ground Zero. The tower will be 541 meters [1776 feet] tall, one of the tallest buildings in the world. Experts estimate the building's completion at the end of 2010.

South Africa

Jean Bottaro, et al., *In Search of History: Grade 12 Learner's Book*

How have fundamentalists and extremists responded to globalization?

Some people blame globalization for the loss of national identity and the destruction of their cultures and traditional values. They believe that the materialism associated with it requires a return to fundamentalist religious practices. This has resulted in the growth of religious extremism—Christian, Jewish, Hindu and Islamic.

Religion has become an increasingly powerful force in American politics and has influenced presidential elections. Religious conservatives, especially evangelical Protestants, attack many of the social changes and materialist values which they blame on globalization.

In other parts of the world, fundamentalists believe that the 'Americanization' of the world has resulted in moral decline and falling living standards. They associate globalization with American economic and cultural dominance.

Some were prepared to resort to extremist measures to achieve this.

The world was stunned when, on 11 September 2001, hijackers seized four American passenger airlines and used them as guided missiles. Two were crashed into the World Trade Centre building in New York; a third hit the Pentagon in Washington DC, which is the headquarters of the US Defence Department. In a fourth plane, passengers overpowered the hijackers and the plane crashed, killing everyone on board. It is believed that its target was the White House, home of the US president in Washington DC. Over 3 000 people died, many of them trapped in the collapsing twin towers of the World Trade Centre. Osama bin Laden, the leader of an Islamic militant group, Al Qaeda, claimed responsibility for the attack.

Were there any links between the September 11 attacks and globalization? Analysts believe there are several. Some see them as a reaction against the economic domination of the world by the developed countries (through WTO and G8): they believe that the attacks were not directed at the US itself, but rather at very visible symbols of global capitalism. Others see them as a response to cultural globalization: an armed struggle to preserve traditions and values against Western ideas and influence. Another interpretation is that they were linked to religion: a holy war to kill non-believers in the spiritually bankrupt West and motivated by a belief in reward in the afterlife.

Source: Florian Osburg, et al., *Expedition Geschichte, Berlin Klasse 10* (Braunschweig, Germany: Bildungshaus Schulbuchverlage, 2008), 138–140. Paraphrased and trans. from the German by Ania Cramer.

Other analysts believe that the attacks were politically motivated a reaction against US domination and specific actions of American foreign policy, such as American support for Israel against the Palestinians, the invasion of Kuwait and bombing of Iraq and the Gulf War of 1990-91, and the stationing of American troops in Saudi Arabia. After the attacks, it emerged that Al Qaeda had been planning it for years.

Norway

Ole Kristian Grimnes, et al., *Tidslinjer 2: Verdon og Norge: Historie Vg3*

An uncertain world

On September 11th, 2001, two large passenger planes crashed into the Twin Towers of World Trade Center in New York. More than 3000 people were killed when the two buildings collapsed. The aircrafts had been hijacked in the air by terrorists who had acquired themselves pilot training. At the same time, a third aircraft crashed into the building of US Department of Defense in Washington which caused great damages. In the fourth plane some of the passengers managed to overtake the hijackers and the plane hit the ground before it reached its destination. The hijackers had not chosen their targets by random, but crashed those planes in the highest symbols of the economic and military power of the USA.

International terrorism

Those dramatic terrorist attacks on American soil showed that not even the superpower of the world was protected against surprise attacks. While previous wars were fought against other countries, the international terrorism became another form of threat of peace and security. The enemy was no longer a defined state, and they could no longer know where the enemy was, or where they would hit next. Terrorist actions are often directed at innocent civilians, and the purpose is no longer to conquer a territory, but to gain attention of religious or political targets through spreading fear. For many people in our part of the world, terrorism has taken over, after communism and the fear of nuclear war, as the ultimate threat towards peace and safety.

Those behind the attacks in the USA belonged to a network of extreme Muslims perceiving themselves as “holy warriors” in the fight towards western world domination. That network is known as al-Qaida, and their leader was Osama bin Laden. Most of these members had their base in Afghanistan, where they had received training and weapons from the USA as part of the battle against Soviet invasion in the 1980s. After the Soviet Union retreated in 1989, local war lords and extreme Muslims in the Taliban Movement took control of the country.

Source: Ole Kristian Grimnes, et al., *Tidslinjer 2: Verdon og Norge: Historie Vg3* (Oslo, Norway: H. Aschehoug & Co., W. Nygaard, 2008), 441–442. Paraphrased and trans. from the Norwegian by Ellen-Marie Pedersen.

Source: Jean Bottaro, et al., *In Search of History: Grade 12 Learner's Book* (Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 2011), 341, 343.

China

Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*

In the second half of the 20th century, terrorism became a severe issue around the world, threatening the international community. During 1995, leaders of South Africa, Palestine, Egypt, and Israel were attacked by terrorism, which astonished the whole world. During 1995, there were 17 bombings, from car bomb, mail bomb, to suicide bombers. In March 20, 1995, terrorists fired toxic gases in subways in Tokyo, Japan, caused the death of 12 people and poisoned 5,000 people. In September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked two airlines and crashed into the World Trade Center, caused thousands of death.

Britain

Chris Rowe, et al., *The Making of Modern Britain, 1951–2007*

For [Prime Minister] Tony Blair, the lessons of the interventions by the West in the former Yugoslavia were clear. Reliance on the United Nations and Europe to resolve conflicts in the Balkans had clearly failed. Blair was utterly convinced he had been right in persuading a reluctant Bill Clinton to back military intervention against Milošević [Serbian and Yugoslavian politician who served as president of both nations until he was arrested and put on trial for war crimes by an International Criminal Tribunal] and that it was essential to keep the United States involved in European affairs and to make full use of NATO to defend the new world order. Blair firmly believed in liberal interventionism to prevent the recurrence of massacres and ethnic cleansing. From 1999, Blair's ideas could be summed up as: 'No more Srebrenicas' [a genocidal massacre which took place in 1995 and targeted Bosnian Muslims].

The 'war on terror'

The terror attacks carried out by al-Qaeda against the United States on 11 September 2001 led to the so-called 'war on terror', a struggle that widened divisions between the Muslim world and the West, and within the West itself. By 2001, Tony Blair had already established a good working relationship with George W. Bush; they were in complete agreement about the threat from international terrorism. At the time, most European governments agreed with them. It was only later that differences began to show.

Source: Hanguo Zhu and Shili Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*, vol. 2 (Beijing, China: Beijing Normal University Press, 2002), 120–121. Paraphrased and trans. from the Chinese by Michelle Yu & Mengmei Ying.

Source: Chris Rowe, et al., *The Making of Modern Britain, 1951–2007* (Cheltenham, England: Nelson Thornes, 2009), 168–169.

France

Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re*

American world economy

- **As superpower, the United States became an economic model for Western countries.** By the 1920s, it was influencing European countries, which gradually adopted the ideas of Taylor (division of labor) and Ford (assembly line). It appeared to be a new “consumer society,” which fascinated Europeans. During the course of the Cold War, it worked to disseminate an economic and social model contrary to that advocated by the USSR. Opposing communism globally, it successfully defended liberalism (entrepreneurial freedom, free trade, etc.), even though anti-Americanism was evident in certain countries of Western Europe. The end of the Cold War in 1989–1991 seemed to crown the American Century.

Hyperpower contested at the end of the 20th century

- By the 1960s, American domination had yet to face the growing strength of economic rivals from within the Western camp. Once reconstruction was completed, the economic communities of Europe and Japan made themselves felt concurrently. At the end of the 20th Century, they were supported by the emerging powers of Asia, particularly of China. The United States had a growing commercial deficit. The hegemony of the dollar, which continued to be the reference currency for global exchange, was challenged by the *yen* during the 1980s, then by the *Euro* in the 2000s.
- The United States remained the principal economic power in the domain of ITC – new information and communication technologies - (for example, with Bill Gates and Microsoft) and global finance. During the 1990s, the challenge was more their geopolitical and cultural influence than their economic weight. The attacks of September 11 symbolize the rejection of an America too sure of its power.

Source: Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re* (Paris, France: Bordas, 2011), 40. Paraphrased and trans. from the French by Katherine Younker.

Items for Analysis

1. Based on the excerpts, describe each nation's response to the September 11th attacks. Is there a sense that these nations supported the United States after this attack?

Canada:

Germany:

South Africa:

Norway:

China:

Britain:

France:

THE WAR ON TERROR (WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN)

Starting after the attacks of 9/11 the Bush Administration decided to fight terrorism by first sending U.S. troops to Afghanistan and then later into Iraq. Immediately following 9/11 many nations around the world were in support of the United States, with some sending their own military into Afghanistan and Iraq to fight alongside the Americans.

France

Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re*

September 11 as eye-opener to the vulnerability of the United States

- The attacks of September 11, 2001, showed that the United States is vulnerable to enemies who are difficult to identify and capture and who use the weapons of terrorism. In taking on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the elusive Islamic Al-Qaida claimed to denounce the omnipotence of the West and caused a shift in the foreign policy of the United States.
- President George Bush declared war on terrorism. The military intervention began in the autumn of 2001 in Afghanistan, the objective of which was capturing Bin Laden and ousting the Islamic Taliban, who welcomed training camps. At this stage, the United States received strong support, which materialized in an international military contingent.
- Without the approval of the United Nations, the United States intervened in Iraq (2003). Saddam Hussein was overthrown, but proof of his involvement in international terrorism was not found. This form of unilateralism contributed to the weakening of the authority of the United States and their president.

Fragile Power

- **In Iraq and Afghanistan, the American army was bogged down in asymmetric conflicts.** In the final analysis, in both countries military engagement, designed to establish a western-style democracy and root out Islam, reinforced the latter.
- **The immobilization of numbers of forces was financially disastrous** for a country already massively in debt and in the grips of a grave financial crisis beginning in 2008. It prevented all other intervention of the same type, for example, against Iran, which was in the hands of the Shiites, and denounced as a rogue state that wanted to exert regional power. In the eyes of many observers, far from being a source of stabilization, American intervention appeared as a factor in disorder.

Source: Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re* (Paris, France: Bordas, 2011), 156. Paraphrased and trans. from the French by Katherine Younker.

Norway

Ole Kristian Grimnes, et al., *Tidslinjer 2: Verdon og Norge: Historie Vg3*

War against Afghanistan and Iraq

President George W. Bush retaliated after the 9/11-attacks by declaring war against international terrorism and demanded that Afghanistan would turn over Osama bin Laden. When Afghanistan refused to do so, the USA declared war in order to destroy the terrorist network and overthrow the regime. Americans received great sympathy and understanding all across the globe after the terrorist attacks and received support from the UN in the war against Afghanistan.

After an intense aerial war the Taliban regime was overthrown, and new leaders were appointed who would cooperate with the USA. A number of NATO-countries, such as Norway, sent soldiers and development assistance in the hope of contributing to stability and restoration. In 2008, after a seven year search, bin Laden remained unfound. The war had not ended either with local war lords and Taliban followers made powerful military resistance. Opium farming increased too, and 90 percent of all opium in the world originates from Afghanistan.

International support decreased when the USA declared war against Iraq in March 2003. President George W. Bush had declared Iraq, under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, to be one of the countries in the “axis of evil.” The war was based on the assumption that Iraq had closely cooperated with al-Qaida and other terrorist groups, and that the country had developed nuclear bombs and chemical weapons threatening world peace. But none of these accusations could be proved; therefore Russia, China, Germany and France refrained from supporting a military attack. However, the USA started the war without a UN-amendment and out of all the close allies of the USA, only Great Britain participated with large troops. The Iraqi regime was overthrown after a short aerial war. Saddam Hussein was later arrested and executed.

A large part of the Iraqi population was glad to get rid of the dictatorship, though many resisted a continued American occupation and foreign control of the oil resources. The war led to more violence and caused even more splinters than before between the different ethnic and religious groups in the country. In 2008 there were still ongoing actions of war, taking many lives and inflicting great suffering on the civilians.

Italy

Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea*

The war against Afghanistan.

At this point the United States decided to attack Afghanistan, counting on international solidarity, especially on the part of many Muslim states (like Pakistan) and also great world powers like Russia, China, and India who were also threatened by Islamic terrorism.

On October 7, 2001, Bush ordered military action against Afghanistan, in which British and American armed forces were supported by thousands of anti-Taliban Afghan guerrillas.

After little more than a month, the capital city Kabul and the Taliban regime fell, but the leader of Al-Qaeda managed to escape capture. After this, from his secret hiding place, Bin Laden renewed his threats against the U.S. and countries who supported their politics with video messages published on Al Jazeera—the television station of Qatar. In Afghanistan a new democratic government supported by NATO took power. But the civil war still rages in that country: the Taliban still maintain control of entire regions, and are determined to cleanse their fundamental regime.

Bush accuses Saddam Hussein of supporting international terrorism.

The fall of the Taliban regime is only the first act in the global war against Islamic terrorism. While waiting to capture the elusive Osama bin Laden, Bush exploited the shock of September 11th to create for the United States a world order in line with its own interests and principles. Bush therefore accused Saddam Hussein of supporting international terrorism and of possessing weapons of mass destruction—chemical, biological, and perhaps nuclear—which he wanted to use against American civilians. To avoid the threat of future attacks, Bush declared that he was ready to declare a preventative war against Iraq.

UN inspectors in Iraq.

The UN sent its own inspectors to affirm the soundness of the CIA's accusations, which, however, did not find any proof of the existence of weapons of mass destructions. Many members of the UN (among which were France, Germany, Russia, and China) were against military intervention, because Saddam did not pose a threat (and this was confirmed after Saddam's fall by those same Americans) and also because they feared unpredictable and dramatic consequences in the Middle East and an increase in international terrorism. Even Pope John Paul II took a decided stand against a preventative war, calling it a crime.

War against Iraq.

Bush and his faithful ally Tony Blair, the British prime minister, decided to take action anyway, and on March 19, 2003, gave their armed forces the order to attack: thus the 2nd Gulf War was begun. On May 1st Bush announced that the war was successfully concluded: Saddam Hussein's regime had fallen. After being tried and condemned to death by an Iraqi tribunal for crimes against civilians during his reign, Saddam Hussein was brought to justice at the end of 2007.

The "American peace" failed to be successful, however, because those loyal to Saddam Hussein and Islamic extremists from other countries hiding in Iraq set off a wave of terrorist attacks: guerrilla warfare, sabotaging oil wells, aqueducts, and electrical plants; the kidnapping and killing of western hostages; and attempted suicides among Iraqi civilians—all of this managed to make the U.S.'s attempt to mold Iraq according to its own economic-political agenda a failure.

Al Qaeda continues to hit with terrorist attacks.

Al-Qaeda's response to the interference in the internal affairs of Westerners in a Muslim country resulted in bloodshed in other countries, too—such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Indonesia, India, and Turkey. Spain entered the Islamic extremist's line of vision because the Prime Minister Jose Aznar wholeheartedly supported the preventive war in Iraq, and after the fall of Saddam's regime he sent a military contingent to Iraq—just as Italy, Poland, and other countries allied with the U.S. did—to help maintain order. On March 11, 2004 an Islamic organization carried out 3 attacks in train stations in Madrid, causing 190 deaths and over 1000 injured.

The dramatic downfall of the situation in Iraq and the escalation of terror throughout the world pushed Bush to change his game plan in Iraq, respecting once again the decisions of the UN.

On June 8, 2004, a UN security resolution was reached, which set a time line for Iraqi citizens to hold free elections, for the creation of a new Constitution, and for the withdrawal of foreign forces. While Spain, Italy, and other countries called their troops back home, the American and British troops remained in Iraq in order to maintain the peace after having won the war.

Britain paid a high price for its assistance of America in the war in Iraq: on July 17, 2005 in London 4 terrorists boarded 3 subways and 1 bus, causing 52 deaths and over 700 injured.

Canada

Craig Harding, et al., *Perspectives on Nationalism*

The 11 September 2001 assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were unprecedented attacks on US soil. Terrorists hijacked four airplanes; they crashed two

Source: Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea* (Milan, Italy: Principato, 2010), 392–393. Paraphrased and trans. from the Italian by Sarah Bevelli.

of them into the Twin Towers and one into the Pentagon. The fourth plane, believed to be targeting the Capitol building in Washington, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania. Nearly 3000 people were killed and many more were injured. The US and its NATO allies, intent on punishing and deterring further terrorism, chose to attack Afghanistan, the nation that had harboured Al Qaeda terrorists. In November 2002, it broadened its “war on terror” to include Iraq, a nation perceived to be a threat to the US and its allies in the region. President Bush had pressed Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to disarm; his refusal was followed by the invasion and subsequent occupation of the country.

It was later determined that no weapons of mass destruction existed in Iraq, but at the time the UN joined with the US to search for and destroy these suspected weapons. While Canada supported the US through NATO by dispatching troops to fight in Afghanistan, it did not support the incursion in Iraq, nor did many others, including Germany, France, and Russia. Many nations felt that the situation in Iraq could and should have been handled by the UN. Why was involvement deemed necessary in one case, but not the other? . . .

Not all ultranationalist acts by nations go to the extreme of genocide. Some would suggest that the United States, in reacting to the tragedy of 11 September 2001, adopted some aspects of ultranationalism, and that it has taken extreme action in invading Iraq in response to the attack.

In his State of the Union Address in 2002, US President George W. Bush described Iraq, Iran, and North Korea as an “axis of evil.” He accused the governments of these three countries of building and using weapons of mass destruction, and of furthering acts of terrorism in the world. He used these reasons as his justification for the United States waging a war on terrorism. As the United States pursues this war on terrorism as one of their national interests, US actions affect other countries.

Germany

Florian Osburg, et al., *Expedition Geschichte, Berlin Klasse 10*

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq – the fight against Islamic Fundamentalists

The war in Afghanistan was the first military reaction of the USA and their allies to the Terror attacks of September 11th. The USA directed itself above all against the Islamic regime of the Taliban, which was accused, of supporting the terror organization al-Qaida and hiding Osama bin Laden among other high ranking terrorists.

Chapter 6 of the United Nations Charter devotes itself to the peaceful resolution of conflicts: Article 51

“Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain interna-

Source: Craig Harding, et al., *Perspectives on Nationalism* (Don Mills, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2008), 191–192, 248.

tional peace and security. Measures taken by members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council (..)" [1] (Breduaar, W. von: Geschichte und Organisation der UNO, S. 37)

Resolution 1368 from September 12 2001, which the UN-Security Council unanimously adopted:

"The Security Council . . .

**Unequivocally condemns* in the strongest terms the horrifying terrorist attacks . . .

**Calls* on all states to work together urgently to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these terrorist attacks and *stresses* that those responsible for aiding, supporting or harboring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these acts will be held accountable; . . .

Empowered through Resolution 1368 of the UN Security Council, the US and their allies began combat operations on October 7th 2001. NATO forces penetrated rapidly into the interior. Already a week later, the capital of Kabul was taken without a fight.

After the majority of the country stood under the control of NATO forces, the intensive search for the operatives of al-Qaida, above all Osama bin Laden was initiated. Parallel thereto began the construction of a democracy and on December 4th Hamid Karzai was named President. With the first free election on October 9, 2004 he won with 55% of the vote and was confirmed in his office. The US government under Bush soon after accused Iraq of harboring Islamic terrorists and moreover having a secret weapons stash. Under pressure from the UN Security Council vote, the Iraqi government finally agreed, to allow the weapons inspectors back into the country.

Someone from the Iraqi government on December 7th, 2002 presented a report that would be assessed as insufficient. Two months later the US- Secretary of State Powell presented the supposed evidence for the existence of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction and the complicity of Iraq with the terror network al-Qaida. The UN Security Council though argued for the weapons inspectors to be granted more time for a thorough investigation. As early as January 2003 the USA had called upon NATO partners to assist in a war against Iraq. US President Bush, who no longer wanted to wait for the agreement of the UN, established a "Coalition of the Willing."

Statement of the permanent members Germany, France and Russia to the President of the Security Council from February 24 2003: "The complete and effective disarmament . . . remains the urgent goal of the international community. Our priority should be . . . to achieve this peacefully. The military option should only be a last resort. Until now the conditions for the application of force against Iraq are not fulfilled: although grounds for suspicion persist, no evidence has yet been presented that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction. . . . In order to facilitate a peaceful solution the necessary time and requisite resources should be given for the inspections. Yet it cannot be unlimited and continuous." (Schreiben der Ständigen Vertreter an den Präsidenten des Sicherheitsrates 24.02.2003)

Different States did not follow the demands of the USA. What is the basis for their position?

On March 20, 2003 the military mission against Iraq began. Already after three weeks President Bush declared the war was over. No weapons of mass destruction were found. To build an autonomous country on July 13, 2003, an Iraqi transitional government was established. One year after the fall of Dictator Hussein, Iraq had a democratically elected government. A referendum was coordinated for a new constitution on October 15th, 2005. Four days later the trial against Saddam Hussein began before a special tribunal. He was sentenced to death for crimes against humanity and on December 30, 2006, he was executed.

Source: Florian Osburg, et al., *Expedition Geschichte, Berlin Klasse 10* (Braunschweig, Germany: Bildungshaus Schulbuchverlage, 2008), 138–140. Paraphrased and trans. from the German by Ania Cramer.

Items for Analysis

- Using the graphic organizer below, cite phrases or sentences from the excerpts that reveal each nation's support or opposition to the War on Terror.

Country of Excerpt	Support for the War on Terror	Opposition to the War on Terror
France		
Norway		
Italy		
Canada		
Germany		

2. Describe the message that students from each of these nations are receiving about the United States and its foreign policy during this time. Use your completed graphic organizer from the previous question to help you defend your answer.
 - a. France:

 - b. Norway:

 - c. Italy:

 - d. Canada:

 - e. Germany

3. Imagine you are a diplomatic advisor to the president of the United States. The president is considering sending troops to an area of the world where suspected terrorists are currently active. The president is seeking you out to give your advice on two major topics. First, should the U.S. attack the terrorists on their own, or should they seek out the support of other nations? And second, what do you think the reaction might be from around the world if the U.S. does take military action?

GLOBAL ISSUES AND THE WORLD'S FUTURE



CONCERNS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

Is the United States slowly starting to lose its position in the world or is it still a superpower which has a huge impact globally? These are some of the questions that history textbooks in other nations ask their students when discussing the United States in the modern world.

France

Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re*

Permanence: the economic strength of the United States

- The United States remains a major economic power at the beginning of the 21st Century. The American gross domestic product (GDP) always ranks first worldwide and the multi-national American firms are among the most efficient. The dollar remains the reference currency of international exchange.
- The American economic dynamism relies on new areas: The Northeast has added a growing periphery from the southeast to the northwest. This combination is remarkable for its population growth: it includes three of the five most populous states, including California. Its economic dynamic is also built on high-technology industries (information technology, aerospace, etc.).
- American power, however, must be put into perspective. The United States is now only the world's third exporter of merchandise. The American commercial deficit and the public debt have increased. The country's financial system and its economy have been shaken by the subprime crisis in 2007.

Uncertainty: maintaining the power of the other poles of the Triad

- The European Union and Japan have real weight. The total gross domestic product of the European Union is equivalent to that of the United States, and six of the world's ten primary exporters of merchandise are members of the European Union.
- The European Union and Japan, however, lack dynamism. They are countries in which the population is aging rapidly (in 2010, 22.6% of the Japanese population was over 65 years old); their innovative capacity seems dull in comparison to the United States or even certain emerging countries: this is especially true for the European Union, which consecrates only 1.8% of its gross domestic product to research and development, compared to the United States' 2.8%. The world crisis that started in 2008 have hit them hard, especially as Japan has been experiencing weak growth since 1992.

A new reality: Emergence of new powers, the BRIC

- The BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) are characterized by rapid economic growth. Their economic importance is growing: their cumulative gross domestic product represented 23.8% of the world's total in 2009. BRIC firms invest in the poles of the Triad. These emerging countries seem to be the new engines of a world economy that is becoming multipolar.
- Among the dynamic countries, China holds a special place. Following the economic reforms piloted by Deng Xiaoping, China opened its doors and benefited from a very rapid growth (averaging +10% on average per year from 1990 to 2004): it became the primary exporter of merchandise in 2009 and its gross domestic product was second in the world in 2010. Its undervalued currency and foreign exchange reserves also give it a key role in the global financial system.
- The economic development of BRIC is, however, limited to certain regions. Chinese dynamism concerns mainly the coastal provinces. In India, the economic dynamism is because of large cities like Bombay, Delhi or Bangalore and some sectors like the ICT. One sees the same disequilibrium in Russia and Brazil. Everywhere, large cities play a major role.

Italy

Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea*

Barack Obama: Is a new era of peace beginning?

THE FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Since November 2008 America has a new president—Barack Obama, the first African American president.

Barack Obama was born in Hawaii, on August 4, 1961, by a Kenyan and a white American citizen. He passed his childhood in Hawaii and Indonesia. He got degrees in Political Science, International Relations and Law, and he entered into the political ranks of the Democratic Party when he became senator of the state of Illinois, and then became a candidate to lead the country.

The election of Obama to the presidency signaled an about face in American politics. Especially because for the first time a man of color rose to the center of world power: his election represented an overcoming of hateful racial prejudice.

Furthermore, when he came to power, Obama indicated that America had a new path to follow. Here are his words:

“True strength is not born from weapons or wealth, but by the strength of these ideals: democracy, liberty, opportunity, and hope.”

A WORLDWIDE CHANGE OCCURS. There are many urgent challenges that the world faces in these years, and they affect the whole international community. That

Source: Christine Dalbert, ed., *Histoire 1re* (Paris, France: Bordas, 2011), 46. Paraphrased and trans. from the French by Katherine Younker.

much Obama stated in his opening address at the general assembly of the United Nations on September 23, 2009.

The American president, presenting the 'four cornerstones' of the American political agenda (disarmament, peace, climate, and the economy), spoke of the necessity for all nations to urgently find a solution to world problems. He listed:

"Extremists who are trying to spread terror, un-ending conflicts, genocide and other mass atrocities, an increase in countries with nuclear arms, the melting of polar ice caps, persistent poverty and pandemic illnesses. . . .

I say all this not to spread fear but to affirm this fact: our actions have not yet risen to meet these great challenges. The world needs to turn in a new direction. It is time for all of us accept our part in the solutions to global problems."

In particular, on the subject of disarmament, Obama affirmed the necessity of stopping the spread of nuclear weapons ("the future does not belong to fear") and concerning the problems in the Middle East he declared that the time had come to reopen negotiations to resolve the conflict permanently—in regards to Israeli and Palestinian security, borders, and Jerusalem.

Lastly, on the subject of peace, Obama quoted the words of FDR:

"Peace is not the work of one man, from one party, from one nation. Peace is not the work of big or small nations, but peace is the result of the cooperation of the whole world."

Because of the hope for peace that the American president expressed, in October of 2009 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace.

Source: Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea* (Milan, Italy: Principato, 2010), 394–395. Paraphrased and trans. from the Italian by Sarah Bevelli.

GLOBAL CONCERNS

While history textbooks spend almost all of their time discussing events that have already happened, in some nations students are given the opportunity to also consider more current or even future global events.

Italy

Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea*

The problem with food in underdeveloped countries is tied to the global economic system, which continues to take advantage of resources: today 75% of their exports are in the hands of multi-national companies, for the most part American; furthermore the cost of industrial goods imported is disproportionate with respect to raw product and is in increasing demand.

Thirst emergency.

The other major global emergency is thirst. In only 70 years, from 1930-2000, world population has tripled, while the consumption of water has increased 6 fold, and in the year 2000 there were 3.4 million victims of thirst.

Wars for water: a future reality.

Going further with this issue, in 2050 there will be over 9 billion people on the planet, the water emergency will reach nightmarish proportions, if we do not find a solution in time wars will break out between nations for this “blue gold.”

Already in our own time there is strong tension over the fact that some take advantage of lakes and rivers.

The daily consumption of water per family

African family: 20 liters

European family: 165 liters

American family: 500 liters

Source: Giuliano Alberton and Luisa Benucci, *Incontro con la storia: L'età contemporanea* (Principato, 2010), 305.

China

Hanguo Zhu and Shila Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*

According to the German Foundation for World Population, the world's population is at a highest rate of growth. Every 10 seconds there are 43 more people added to the population. A total of 222,000 people are added every day. According to this trend, there will be more than 10 billion people in the world in 2050, which is very close to the limited capacity of the Earth. At that time, the ecosystem will be paralyzed, drinking water will be in severe shortage, and people will be dying because of malnutrition.

Source: Hanguo Zhu and Shila Ma, *History: Ninth Grade*, vol. 2 (Beijing, China: Beijing Normal University Press, 2002), 291. Paraphrased and trans. from the Chinese by Michelle Yu & Mengmei Ying.

Items for Analysis

1. Cite examples from the excerpts that demonstrate each author's view of the future. Then, explain what impact these stories might have on students learning about their nation's history in that country.

Italy:

China:

Impact:

2. Using a current U.S. history textbook, read the last chapter and explain if you think the author(s) have a positive or negative view of the future. Cite specific examples.

THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

THE UNITED STATES AS GLOBAL SUPERPOWER

1.

Country of Excerpt	Examples of the U.S. as a Positive Influence	Examples of the U.S. as a Negative Influence	U.S. Not Mentioned
Italy	Destined to maintain the peace	Restoring peace was hard to accomplish	
South Africa		Inconsistent in its foreign policy, invasion and sanctions against Kuwait, Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya, support of Israel, reduced support to the U.N.	
Ireland	Helped with the Good Friday Agreement		
Venezuela			Not specifically mentioned
China		Wild ambition, intervened in internal affairs, tried to establish an international order of its own will, invasion of Panama.	

2. Answers will vary depending on the nation being researched and the depth of the student's research.

AMERICA AS AN ECONOMIC SUPERPOWER

GLOBALIZATION AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

1.

Country of Excerpt	Positive	Negative
Australia		Fear of American cultural imperialism, U.S. more "advanced" technologically
China	Hollywood movies often get universal praise	Hollywood caters to the public
Ireland		Loss of Irish identity, fear of the U.S. impacting and destroying their culture through television
Norway		Helped to hide large fortunes, manufacturing and sale of the Barbie doll
Canada		Spreading of U.S. culture through expansion of McDonalds and other restaurants, creation of just one culture
France	U.S. economic growth and dynamism	U.S. economy had been shaken in the 21st century

2. Answers will vary depending on the textbook and the depth of the student's research.
3. Answers will vary depending on the depth of the student's research. Students should try to make references to the international history textbook selections used in this section.

9/11 AND THE WAR ON TERROR

THE ATTACKS ON 9/11

1. **Canada:** Canadians allowed airline passengers to land in Canada, had ceremonies for them, sent in their military to support the U.S. and stayed in Afghanistan to help fight.

Germany: U.S. had been attacked by terrorists, sees the 9/11 attacks against the U.S. and its allies.

South Africa: Textbook does not go into much detail about its support of the United States but it does mention how people were stunned by this event.

Norway: Viewed international terrorism as often being directed at innocent civilians.

China: Textbook discusses global terrorism and does not specifically address its support of the United States.

Britain: Prime Minister Tony Blair and President George Bush were in complete agreement with one another.

France: Textbook does not seem to say anything in support of the United States.

2. **Germany:** Bin Laden and Al Qaida had been fighting a “Holy War” against the West for a number of years.

South Africa: American globalization with American economic and cultural dominance. Attacks against global capitalism, could have been caused by religious beliefs or even political protests for some of America’s foreign policies.

Norway: Discusses terrorists as “holy warriors.”

China: Put 9/11 within the bigger picture of global terrorism.

France: Textbook claims that 9/11 symbolized the rejection of an America too sure of its power.

3. Answers will vary depending on the U.S. history textbook students use for their research. Typical responses for the second question could include a discussion on how authors who are writing a national history textbook for students of their own country might have biases and perspectives that agree with that country’s leaders and government.

THE WAR ON TERROR (WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN)

1.

Country of Excerpt	Support for the War on Terror	Opposition to the War on Terror
France	U.S. received international military support following 9/11	The omnipotence of the West, did not have U.N approval, weakening of the U.S. president, led to a U.S. financial crisis as well as political disorder
Norway	U.S. received great sympathy and understanding from around the globe. Norway sent soldiers.	Support decreased after Iraq intervention. U.S. accusations were wrong, Iraqi War led to more violence and many Iraqi's opposed the U.S. occupation.
Italy	U.S. and NATO defeated the Taliban.	Bush exploited 9/11 to invade Iraq, wrongly accused Iraq of having weapons of mass destruction, the American peace failed and there was increased global terrorism.
Canada	Canada did support the invasion of Afghanistan.	Proven that there were no weapons of mass destruction. Canada did not support the Iraq War.
Germany	U.S. and NATO defeated al-Qaida in Afghanistan and held democratic elections.	U.S. and NATO defeated al-Qaida in Afghanistan and held democratic elections.

2. Answers will vary depending on the student's perspective on the textbooks used in this section.
3. Answers will vary depending on the student's research and personal perspectives on this situation. Students should use the excerpts to help develop their response and to defend their answers.

GLOBAL ISSUES AND THE WORLD'S FUTURE

CONCERNS ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

1. Typical responses might be as follows. In the French textbook, the authors seem to see the U.S. as having lost some of its power in the world. While they comment positively on the U.S. having economic dynamism, they also argue that it has become the world's third leading exporter of merchandise, has a commercial deficit, and has a shaken financial system. They further say that the European Union and Japan had real economic growth, and that China, India, and the BRIC nations were developing rather quickly. Compare this to the Italian textbook which seems to see the U.S. as still being a superpower, mostly due to the election of Barack Obama as president. They argue that his election proved the U.S. had overcome its hateful racial prejudice and that Obama put the U.S. on a new path internationally. They also cite his desire to stop nuclear proliferation and to come up with solutions in the Middle East.
2. Answers will vary depending on students' research and the topic they choose to research. Students should be encouraged to research a single country or region in the world. Remind the students that these authors will probably have a perspective and bias that puts their nation's history in a more positive light.

GLOBAL CONCERNS

1. **Italy:** Typical responses might be that this textbook tends to be fairly bleak in its outlook. Examples that students might find would be that the U.S. controls most of the multi-national corporations, there is a water emergency, and wars might break out over drinkable water.

China: Typical responses might be that this textbook tends to be fairly bleak in its outlook. Examples that students might find would be the comments on their concerns about a population explosion, the destruction of the ecosystem, a water shortage, and deaths caused by malnutrition.

Impact: Answers will vary.

2. Answers will vary depending on the U.S. history textbooks students use for their research.

