

U.S. ELECTION: CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

Introduction

This *News in Review* story looks at the hotly contested 2004 U.S. presidential election race, focusing on the main candidates, issues, divisions in public opinion, results, and their likely consequences for the United States, Canada, and the rest of the world.

Did you know . . .
The first debate earned a record audience of 62.4 million viewers, far more than expected?

Every four years Americans go to the polls to elect their president, on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. Election Day 2004 represented the climax of a long political campaign, stretching back to the early months of 2004 when the main political parties were in the process of choosing their candidates for president and vice president. But this election race proved to be especially dramatic, closely contested, and divisive, as incumbent Republican President George W. Bush defeated a strong challenge from his Democratic opponent, Massachusetts Senator John Kerry. Both Bush and Kerry were running as part of a party ticket that also included the nominee for vice-president—Republican Dick Cheney and Democrat John Edwards respectively. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader, who also ran in the 2000 election, stood again as an independent candidate.

This election was fought in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, and the resulting “war on terrorism” that President Bush declared, leading to the invasions of Afghanistan and then Iraq. The latter decision aroused considerable world-wide criticism and remained a hotly debated issue in the campaign. Bush claimed that his determined and resolute leadership of the global anti-terrorist struggle made him the best choice to defend the security of the United States against its enemies and to promote the cause of freedom and democracy around the world. But Kerry countered that Bush’s decision to invade and occupy Iraq was hasty, unwise, and badly planned, and

that it caused the United States the loss of important allies in the war on terrorism.

Domestic issues also played an important role in this election. Besides the concern with national security and domestic anti-terrorist measures such as the United States Patriot Act, many Americans were anxious about the state of their country’s economic health. Bush boasted that his generous tax cuts had put millions of dollars back into the pockets of middle-class Americans, thus boosting economic growth. But Kerry claimed that the budget deficit had ballooned under Bush’s leadership, and that millions of jobs had been eliminated in the United States because companies had been permitted to move their operations to Third World countries where labour was cheaper. Health care and the environment also received some attention from both candidates in this election race. The issue of the past military records of both Bush and Kerry during the Vietnam War also provided a controversial and divisive focus to what was one of the most bitter election races in recent American political history.

For most of the campaign, opinion polls indicated that the race was too close to call. A series of presidential debates held in the last two months of the campaign did little to shift the small number of still undecided voters into one camp or the other. Most U.S. states were already considered to be solidly in either the Republican or Democratic column, with only a handful of “swing” or “battleground” states still up for grabs. Among these were Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Nevada, and

Quote

John Kerry conceded the election to George W. Bush and addressed his shocked supporters, saying, "I did my best to express my vision and my hopes for America. I wish that it had turned out a little differently." — *Toronto Star*, November 4, 2004

Florida. It was in these states that the two main candidates concentrated most of their time, effort, and advertising money during the last weeks of the race. In the last weekend of the campaign, a new tape made by Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, the architect of the 9/11 attacks, was released. As political observers debated its potential impact on U.S. voters just days before the election, no one was prepared to

predict the result of what was one of the most closely fought presidential elections in recent U.S. history.

However, Americans spoke clearly on election day, and George Bush was returned to office with a clear majority of votes and a majority in the Electoral College. With a clearer and stronger mandate, the world and Canada looked anxiously ahead to the second term of President George W. Bush.

To Consider

1. What emerged as the most important foreign policy and domestic issues in the recent U.S. presidential election campaign?

2. Why was this presidential election seen as a tight race between the two main candidates?

3. What are "swing" or "battleground" states? Why were they expected to play an important and defining role in the results of the U.S. presidential election of 2004?

4. How would you account for the results of the 2004 presidential election in the United States? Explain your ideas very carefully.

5. What do you think the re-election of George W. Bush means for Canada? Explain.

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Video Review

Answer the questions as you view the video. Take the time to confirm your answers after the video is shown.

Did you know . . .

Because a plan to build a bullet train was voted down in Florida, Bombardier, a Canadian transportation giant, lost \$500-million in contracts?

Did you know . . .

In the presidential election of 2004, George W. Bush won 59 million votes, more than any other U.S. president in history?

1. Which state was central to determining the result of the 2004 U.S. presidential election?

2. How much money did the Bush and Kerry campaigns spend on the election?

3. What issues were so divisive during this tough campaign?

4. In what ways were Bush and Kerry similar?

5. How did the Vietnam War set them apart?

6. Explain the "fear factor" and the role it played in the campaign.

7. How did Bush use Iraq and homeland security to his advantage in the campaign?

8. Summarize one of Clinton's laws of politics.

9. How well did Kerry do in the debates?

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Profiles of the Candidates

Did you know . . .

Only one other father-son combination has won the U.S. presidency? It was John Adams, the second president and his son John Quincy Adams, the sixth president. George W. Bush is the only member of these father-son combinations to actually win two terms in office.

Did you know . . .

Governor Richards admitted to not taking Bush seriously enough as an opponent. She referred to Bush as "shrub." George W. Bush has built a successful career on people underestimating him.

George W. Bush (Republican)

George W. Bush was elected the 43rd president of the United States after a controversial and hotly disputed vote in 2000. His father, George H.W. Bush, was the 41st president, serving for one term before losing to Bill Clinton in 1992. Politics runs in the Bush family; Bush's grandfather was a senator, and his brother Jeb is currently governor of Florida, the state that proved decisive in his 2000 election victory. Bush comes from a wealthy and privileged background. He was born in 1946 in New Haven, Connecticut, where he spent his early years. He studied history at the prestigious Yale University, graduating in 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War. With the help of his well-connected father, Bush avoided being drafted and sent to fight. Instead he enlisted in the Texas Air National Guard. His spotty service record became an issue in the 2004 election campaign.

Following his discharge from the military, Bush pursued an MBA degree at Harvard, where he acquired a reputation for being a mediocre student but avid partygoer. It was at this time that he began to develop problems with alcohol, and in 1976 he was actually arrested for drunk driving.

Through his father's contacts with the oil business in Texas, Bush found work with a company that went bankrupt. Bush later became a part-owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team and began to develop an interest in politics. He also experienced a religious conversion that led him to renounce alcohol and build a strong relationship with his wife, Laura, and their two daughters.

In 1994 Bush ran for governor of Texas as a Republican. He surprised everyone by defeating the popular Democratic incumbent Ann Richards after a campaign marked by intense bitterness and name-calling. As governor, Bush developed a reputation as a hard-line conservative on fiscal and social issues such as budget cuts and capital punishment, but also proved to be an adroit politician, building effective bipartisan coalitions with the Democratic opposition in the state legislature. After winning easy reelection in 1998, Bush set his sights on the prize he had long coveted—the presidency.

Bush's opponent in the 2000 presidential election was Democratic vice-president Al Gore. Despite Gore's greater political experience and knowledge, Bush was able to turn his lack of background and sophistication into an advantage. Many voters favoured his plain-spoken, unaffected style. He also enjoyed the strong backing of a growing neo-conservative lobby of business and political leaders who wanted to end what they viewed as the liberalism and permissiveness of the Clinton era by placing one of their own in the White House.

Following Bush's controversial victory over Gore, Bush appeared to drift, with his administration unable to focus on any pressing foreign policy or domestic issue. But on September 11, 2001, everything changed, as the terrorist attacks on the United States galvanized him into resolute action. Within weeks of the strikes, he declared war on international terrorism. He ordered the invasion of Afghanistan, the country

Quote

"Listen, I'll continue to work with our allies and the international community, but I will never submit America's national security to an international test. The use of troops to defend America must never be subject to a veto by countries like France. The president's job is not to take an international poll. The president's job is to defend America."
— George W. Bush
(*Toronto Star*, October 2, 2004)

Quote

Mr. President, nobody's talking about leaving. Nobody's talking about wilting and wavering, we're talking about winning and getting the job done right." — John Kerry
(*Toronto Star*, October 2, 2004)

that had provided the base for Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda, the group responsible for the attacks. Just over a year later, Bush also sent U.S. troops into Iraq, claiming that Saddam Hussein's regime was developing weapons of mass destruction and had supported Al Qaeda. Despite the fact that both of these allegations later proved false, Bush held firm that his decision had been correct from the start. In the campaign against John Kerry, his Democratic opponent, Bush invariably portrayed himself as the strongest champion of U.S. national security and the war against terrorism. Despite the many domestic and international criticisms of his foreign-policy decisions, to many Americans George W. Bush is the ideal war-time president, a man who is firm in his convictions and determined to act on them, whatever the consequences.

Bush's running mate for vice-president in this election was incumbent vice-president Dick Cheney, a former senator and secretary of defense in Bush's father's cabinet, and a prominent businessman with close ties to oil firms actively involved in the petroleum industry in Iraq. Cheney often served as the "pit bull" of the Bush administration.

John Kerry (Democrat)

John Kerry served as a senator from Massachusetts for almost two decades. He won the Democratic presidential nomination over his main opponent, Howard Dean, in spring 2004. Supporters of his party believed Kerry stood the best chance of ousting George W. Bush from the White House. Despite his Irish-sounding name, which helped his political ambitions in Boston, Kerry's background is actually Jewish, although his paternal grandfather later converted

to Catholicism. Like Bush, Kerry grew up in a wealthy family and attended Yale University, where he obtained a law degree. In 1966, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy and saw combat action in Vietnam as the captain of a "swift boat" patrolling the Mekong River. For his bravery, he was awarded a number of medals, but he began to develop strong reservations about the wisdom of the war.

In April 1971 Kerry's televised performance before the U.S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee representing Vietnam Veterans Against the War won him national attention. His eloquence and unquestionable war record made him an effective spokesperson for the growing anti-war movement. He pointedly asked the senators "How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake in Vietnam?" His powerful performance attracted the attention of President Richard Nixon, who marked him as a potential political threat.

Kerry served as a lawyer and was active in Massachusetts politics for many years after his first unsuccessful bid for a seat in the U.S. Congress in 1972. In 1990, he was elected to the Senate, where he served on the same Foreign Relations Committee before which he had once testified. He is married to Teresa Heinz Kerry, the heiress to the Heinz ketchup fortune and the widow of a former U.S. Republican senator who was killed in a plane crash. Kerry has two adult daughters from a previous marriage, both of whom actively campaigned for him in the 2004 election against Bush.

Kerry's service record in Vietnam became a major election issue when a group of fellow veterans with links to the Bush campaign claimed he did not deserve the medals he had won. But

Did you know . . .

Musical stars such as REM, Pearl Jam, Keb Mo', The Dave Matthews Band, and Bruce Springsteen went out on a mini-tour in support of Kerry? They were particularly active in courting the youth vote.

another veterans' group, the "Band of Brothers," who also served with Kerry, appeared with him at many rallies. In the debates with Bush, Kerry scored points with his strong command of the issues and pointed challenges to his opponent's handling of the war on terrorism and the occupation of Iraq. He also criticized Bush's record on domestic issues, especially tax cuts for the wealthy, the loss of jobs in manufacturing industries, inaction on the environment, and the failure to reform the country's private health-care system. Kerry enjoyed strong support from a growing anti-Bush movement that included celebrities from the fields of motion pictures, popular music, and television. Most U.S. newspapers endorsed him for president. But this high-profile support did not translate into victory for him in the race against the more conservative Bush.

Kerry's running mate for vice-president was North Carolina Senator John Edwards, one of his opponents for the Democratic Party nomination earlier in 2004. Formerly a successful trial lawyer, Edwards had served as a senator since 1996. Kerry selected him to strengthen the party's base in the South, where the Republicans had been the

dominant political force for many years. However, in the election, Bush easily won the South.

Note: In addition to the two main presidential candidates, Ralph Nader, the well-known consumer advocate, also ran, as an independent. In 2000, Nader ran on the Green Party ticket, winning less than five per cent of the vote. But Democrats are still bitter at Nader. They believe that his votes would otherwise have gone to Gore and helped him to win close states like Florida, and thus become president. This time, Nader resisted considerable pressure from left-wing and progressive groups in the United States who urged him to withdraw his candidacy in favour of Kerry, in order to ensure Bush's defeat. Nader refused to step down. He believed that U.S. voters deserved to have more choices than just the candidates of the two main parties. Nader claimed that both parties were beholden to big business and did not represent the interests of average working citizens. In 2004, his vote collapsed and he could claim a mere one per cent of the vote and did not play a significant part in the election results.

Inquiry

1. What do you consider to be the greatest strengths and weaknesses of the two main candidates for president of the United States? What do you think are the most important differences between them in terms of experience, background, abilities, public image, and stands on the main issues of the election campaign?
2. Do you agree or disagree with Ralph Nader's decision to contest the 2004 presidential election as an independent candidate, even though he knew he had no chance of winning and might only have played the role of "spoiler"?
3. Which candidate, Kerry or Bush, did you prefer? Why?

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The Main Issues of the Campaign

Quote

"I may have made a mistake in how I talked about the war. But the president made the mistake of going to war in Iraq. Which is worse?" — John Kerry (*Toronto Star*, October 3, 2004)

Further Research

To investigate the Department of Homeland Security, go to the official Web site at: www.dhd.gov/dhspublic/index.jsp.

Quote

"President Bush sees world terrorism for the evil that it is. John Kerry has no such clear, precise, and consistent vision." — Rudy Giuliani, former New York mayor (*Toronto Star*, August 31, 2004)

Here is a summary of the main issues that emerged in the 2004 U.S. presidential race, and the positions of the two major candidates.

Homeland Security

Bush established the cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security under Tom Ridge to co-ordinate the domestic anti-terrorist effort, tripled spending on national security, and passed the U.S. Patriot Act, which granted sweeping powers to law-enforcement agencies to apprehend suspected terrorists. He also supported the development of a National Missile Defence shield against any missile attacks on the United States.

Kerry supported the Patriot Act but thought it needed to be reformed so that it did not infringe on the civil liberties of Americans who dissent. He opposed the National Missile Defense plan, and also spoke out against the re-imposition of compulsory military service. He wanted to spend more money to support law enforcement agencies like the police and the FBI, which he believed to be the front line in the anti-terrorist struggle on the home front.

Foreign Policy

Bush endorsed a foreign policy of unilateralism and pre-emptiveness in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks. He claimed that the United States had the right to act alone and without prior provocation, if need be, to protect its national security and crush international terrorism. The "Bush doctrine" had been applied in Afghanistan and Iraq, where U.S. forces, with some assistance from allies like Great

Britain, continue to face serious difficulties in pacifying both countries. Bush's allegations that ousted Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein had possessed weapons of mass destruction and supported Al Qaeda proved to be baseless, but he persisted in defending his decision to invade Iraq as a step toward promoting greater democracy and stability in the Middle East.

Kerry initially supported Bush's decision to invade Iraq, but then claimed that he did so as a result of faulty information. He was critical of Bush's failure to build a strong international coalition to deal with the Iraq crisis, and wanted to disengage U.S. forces as troops from other countries assume a greater share of peacekeeping responsibilities. In his view, this could only happen if and when the United States rebuilt ties with its former allies in Europe and elsewhere. Kerry held Bush responsible for straining the U.S.'s alliances as a result of his misguided unilateralist foreign policy.

The Economy, Trade, and the Environment

Bush boasted that his significant tax cuts and generally pro-business policies made average Americans more prosperous and strengthened economic growth. He strongly supported the idea of free trade, and backed NAFTA and the World Trade Organization, while reserving the right to impose duties on imports of steel and Canadian softwood lumber. He opposed the Kyoto Protocol on Global Warming because he believed it would be harmful to important U.S. economic interests, especially companies involved in the petroleum industry.

Did you know . . .

In addition to voting for candidates at several levels of government, voters in many states were offered the opportunity to cast their ballots on a wide range of controversial issues, including same-sex marriage, abortion, immigration, minimum wage, marijuana use, stem-cell research, and gambling?

Kerry opposed Bush's tax cuts as a gift to the rich, who did not need them, and claimed that they had helped to inflate the U.S. budget deficit to unsustainable levels. He also criticized Bush for not doing more to protect the outsourcing of U.S. manufacturing jobs as companies relocated to countries where labour costs were lower. He supported a more protectionist trade policy that would put U.S. labour and business interests ahead of free-trade initiatives. He called for the endorsement of the Kyoto Protocol to protect the environment, and viewed Bush's rejection of it as another example of his failure to work co-operatively with other countries to deal with global problems.

Health Care

Bush opposed any greater government involvement in the U.S. health-care system, believing individuals should have freedom of choice in securing medical care. He supported placing a cap on medical malpractice awards, which he claimed cost the system too much money, and favoured a tax-free medical savings account and a tax credit to help uninsured Americans obtain medical coverage.

To Do

1. After reading the positions of the two main candidates on the major issues of the U.S. presidential election campaign, role-play one of them by preparing and presenting to the class a brief speech he might make on them. Other members of the class should play the role of interviewers or reporters posing questions to the candidates on their positions on the issues.
2. Form groups with your classmates to discuss and evaluate the positions of George W. Bush and John Kerry on the main issues that emerged in the U.S. presidential election campaign. As a group, determine which of the candidates' views you agree with more, and why. Present your summary and evaluation to the rest of the class for further discussion.
3. Do any of the positions of the candidates seem useful for Canadians? Explain.

Kerry wanted to expand health insurance to children and set up a plan that would give ordinary Americans the same quality of private coverage enjoyed by members of Congress. He did not advocate a public health-care system such as Canada's. Kerry realized that his Democratic predecessor Bill Clinton's failed attempt to establish one should not be repeated because of strong opposition from the medical and private health-insurance lobbies.

Social Issues

Bush enjoyed strong support from religiously oriented social conservatives for his opposition to abortion and wanted a constitutional amendment that would totally ban gay marriage. He also opposed federal funding for stem-cell research, arguing that it caused the destruction of living human embryos.

Kerry supported a woman's right to choose abortion, and while opposing gay marriage he favoured civil unions for same-sex couples and greater freedom for individual states to set policies on this issue. He supported federally funded stem-cell research, believing it held out great medical potential to cure diseases.

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A Divided Nation

Did you know . . .

One of the reasons John Kerry was relatively quick to concede defeat was to encourage Americans to come together after such a divisive and brutal election campaign?

The U.S. public was polarized and divided on major foreign policy and domestic issues to an extent that had not been seen in that society since the tumultuous decade of the 1960s. The two main presidential candidates in the 2004 race, Republican President George W. Bush and Democrat John Kerry, dramatically reflected this split, and offered the voters very different policies on the main issues of the campaign.

Opinion polls consistently predicted a very close result, with each candidate holding a firm base of voter support in the 40-plus per cent range. The number of undecided voters, by contrast, was very small. While recent presidential elections had resulted in low voter turnouts, with barely over half of registered U.S. voters casting their ballots, this race was quite different. The intense polarization of the U.S. electorate, and the strong passions Bush and his administration had aroused, both positive and negative, inspired more Americans to turn out on Election Day.

In U.S. politics the electoral map is divided between “red” or Republican states, and “blue” or Democratic ones. Bush’s main support lay in the South and the Midwest, while Kerry was strongest in New York, New England, California, and the Pacific Northwest. Only a handful of states were truly competitive between the two candidates—most importantly Florida, which was the focal point of the much-disputed 2000 presidential election result. Social issues such as abortion, gay rights, stem-cell research, gun control, and capital punishment played a powerful and divisive role in the campaign. The United States is unique among

most Western industrial democracies in that religion is a dominant force in its political life, to an extent unheard of here in Canada. The religious faith of the two main candidates for president is a matter of public interest and concern, and both Bush and Kerry reached out to the various “faith communities” in the United States, numbering tens of millions of American believers. In the end, Bush consolidated and expanded his base of support from 2000.

One of the most important of these groups is the so-called “religious right” of born-again, evangelical American Christians, largely concentrated in the “red” states. These people hold strongly conservative views on the main social issues in the election, opposing gay marriage, abortion, and stem-cell research, while supporting capital punishment, a strong military, and a pro-Israel, anti-Arab foreign policy. As a result, they are one of Bush’s most natural and dependable constituencies, and they tend to vote in larger proportions than their non-religious counterparts. In some states, their votes tipped the balance in Bush’s favour, and his campaign actively courted them.

To counter this, the Democrats worked to broaden and consolidate their natural base of support among African-Americans, Hispanics, blue-collar workers, young people, and educated professionals. Many of these people strongly oppose Bush’s foreign and domestic policies, and fear the rising influence of religious fundamentalism in U.S. politics and society. During the final week of the race, the Democrats unleashed what they hoped would be their “secret weapon,” when the popular

former president Bill Clinton appeared at a series of high-profile Kerry rallies in important “swing” states. However, when the votes were counted, Kerry and the Democrats had not been able to expand their base of support and indeed, in some areas, they lost support.

Although political polarization and deep divisions on major issues are nothing new in U.S. politics, many commentators observed that the 2004 presidential campaign had been marked by a degree of nastiness and personal attacks not previously seen in earlier races. Bush called Kerry’s war record into question, distorted his position on Iraq and the war on terrorism, and suggested that he would not adequately defend the U.S.’s interests abroad or at home. For his part, Kerry portrayed Bush as a blinkered ideologue, whose certainty that he was on the right track led him to put U.S. security in jeopardy.

Both sides in the campaign also attracted their vociferous media supporters, with the left-wing filmmaker Michael Moore and right-wing political broadcaster Bill O’Reilly personifying the deep divide in U.S. political life.

George W. Bush has won the presidential election but will inherit a country that in many respects is at war with itself. The winning side will now have to avoid arrogance in pursuing its agenda, while the losers will be required to accept the democratic verdict, at least until the next election in 2008, however distasteful it may seem to them. Whether or not the two deeply divided halves of the American body politic can muster the maturity and tolerance required to heal the wounds this campaign has caused is very much an open question. How the U.S. deals with its own divisions will likely have a huge impact on the world itself.

Analysis

1. On what social issues were Americans so divided and polarized in the 2004 presidential election? What were the positions of the two main presidential candidates on these issues?

2. In your own words describe the nature of the “great divide” in U.S. politics and society, and offer reasons that might explain: a) how it occurred, b) how it affected the 2004 presidential election, and c) how it might impact on U.S. politics and society in the future.

3. In your view, what appear to be the major differences between Canadian and U.S. politics and elections?

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Important Issues in Canada-U.S. Relations

Definition

BSE refers to bovine spongiform encephalopathy, or mad cow disease.

Quote

"We must make Iraq the world's responsibility." — John Kerry

With the U.S. presidential election of 2004 finally decided, Canada's relationship with our powerful southern neighbour remains of utmost importance. In recent years, that relationship has been strained, particularly over the war in Iraq, in which Canada did not participate. There are a number of crucial issues that the Paul Martin government will have to negotiate with the incoming U.S. administration, especially in the areas of defence, foreign policy, the environment, homeland security, and cross-border trade. This will only heighten the anxiety of Liberals trying to survive a minority government.

The Big Issues

Mad Cow Disease and Exports of Alberta Beef

The border between Canada and the United States has been closed to the export of live cattle from Alberta since May 2003 when a single case of BSE was identified in a cow there. This ban has cost the Alberta beef industry billions of dollars in lost business to its most important market. The Canadian government has been pressuring the United States to reconsider its decision, so far to no avail.

Softwood Lumber Exports

The United States is in the process of appealing a NAFTA ruling that its imposition of tariffs on imports of Canadian lumber since 2002 was unjustified and had to be removed. These tariffs on softwood lumber have been particularly damaging to the forest industry in British Columbia, where

sawmills have closed and many people have lost their jobs.

Shipping Ontario Garbage to Michigan

A proposal that Ontario garbage be shipped to rural areas of Michigan in order to help that state's depressed economy aroused considerable opposition from environmental groups there. Bush has so far not declared himself on the issue one way or the other.

The Conflict in Iraq

Canada disagreed with the U.S. invasion of Iraq and did not participate in it. The U.S. occupation forces are facing ongoing problems as they try to subdue the Iraqi resistance and re-establish stability there. A re-elected Bush may place stronger pressure on Canada and other U.S. allies to finally come to its assistance, with troops if necessary. If a new government is elected in Iraq, it is possible that it may itself ask for help from the United Nations, of which Canada is a very active member.

The National Missile Defense Program

Bush is a strong supporter of this plan that would establish a protective shield around the United States to shoot down any incoming missiles from "rogue states" or terrorists. He has asked Canada as a co-partner in NORAD to co-operate with the United States, a move that has aroused considerable opposition in this country, even within the minority Liberal government. Having been re-elected, it is likely he will step up the pressure.

