

America in the 1970s 1968-1981



One goal of space exploration was reached on July 20, 1969, when U.S. astronauts set foot on the moon.



RICHARD NIXON
1969-1974

PRESIDENTS

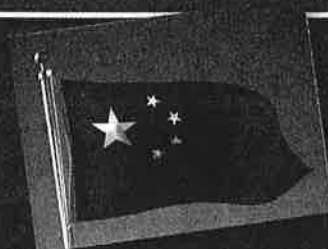
U.S. Events

World Events

1968

1971

★ 1967
Six-Day
Arab-Israeli
War



★ 1971
People's Republic
of China is admit-
ted to UN

1972 ★
Nixon
visits
Beijing

1972
SALT I is
signed

★ 1973
Watergate
hearings
begin

★ 1973
OPEC
imposes
embargo of
oil to U.S.

Section 1: Nixon's Foreign Policy

Essential Question What were President Nixon's main goals in foreign policy, and how did he work to achieve them?

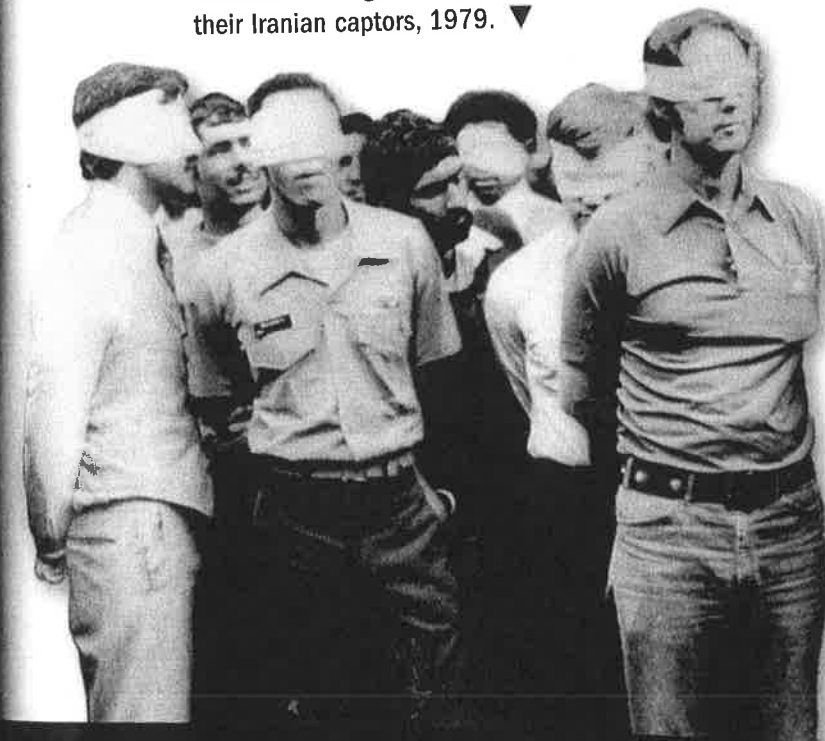
Section 2: Nixon and Watergate

Essential Question What were President Nixon's major domestic challenges in the 1970s?

Section 3: The Carter Presidency

Essential Question What major foreign affairs issues did President Carter face during his presidency, and how did he deal with them?

American hostages are paraded by their Iranian captors, 1979. ▼

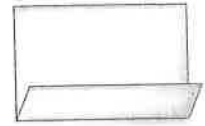


FOLDABLES® Study Organizer

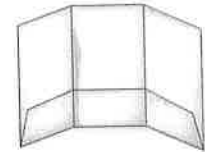
Organizing Information

Make this Foldable to organize what you learn about the presidents and their policies during the 1970s.

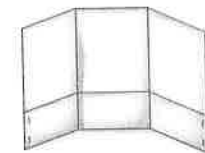
Step 1 Fold a 2 1/2 inch tab along the long edge of a sheet of paper.



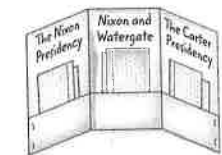
Step 2 Fold the paper in thirds.



Step 3 Open the paper pocket Foldable. Staple the ends of the pockets together.



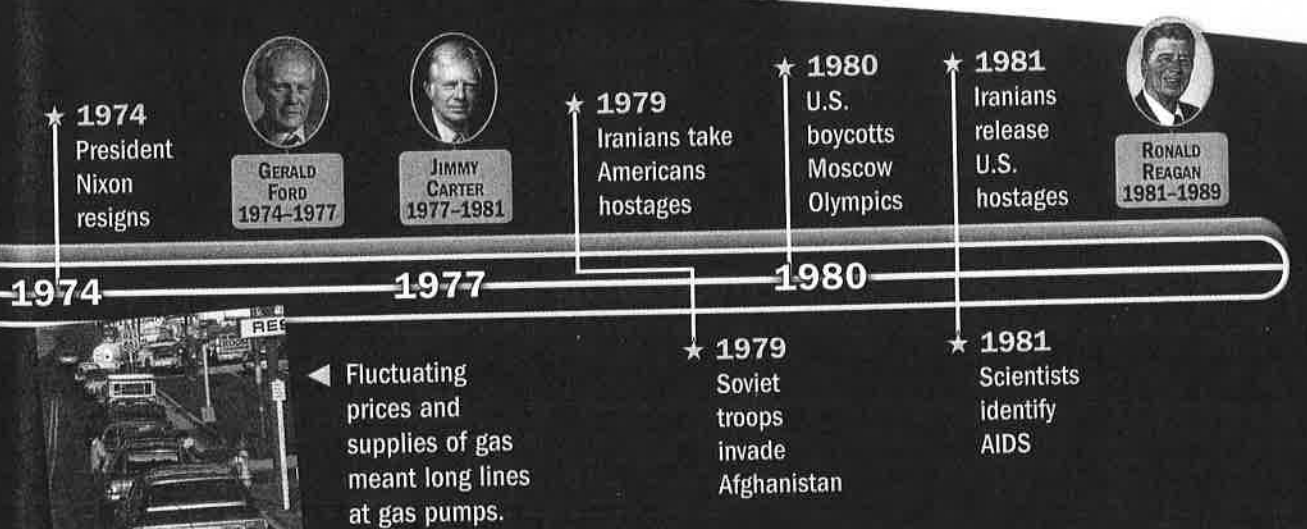
Step 4 Label the pockets as shown.



Reading and Writing

As you read the chapter, summarize key facts on note cards or on quarter sheets of notebook paper.

Organize your notes by placing them in your pocket Foldable inside the appropriate pockets.



Nixon's Foreign Policy

Essential Question

What were President Nixon's main goals in foreign policy, and how did he work to achieve them?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

détente (p. 501) embargo (p. 504)
balance of power (p. 501)

Academic Vocabulary

relax (p. 501) technology (p. 503)

Key People

Henry Kissinger (p. 501)

Zhou Enlai (p. 502)

Leonid Brezhnev (p. 503)

Golda Meir (p. 504)

Anwar el-Sadat (p. 504)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Re-create a diagram like the one below to show the countries that were the focus of Nixon's foreign policy.

Countries



American Diary

Richard Nixon was long known for his anticommunist views. Thus, many people were surprised when Nixon set out to improve relations with the nation's main rivals—China and the Soviet Union—in the interests of world peace. Nixon announced: "We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation."

—from Nixon's Inaugural Address,
January 1969



President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 was the first step in establishing better relations between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China.

Easing the Cold War

Main Idea President Nixon sought to ease Cold War tensions by improving relations with the Soviet Union and China.

History and You Have you ever tried to “mend fences” with somebody after a long disagreement? Read to learn about the changing relationships between the United States and Communist nations in the 1970s.

In his Inaugural Address, President Nixon told the American people, “The greatest honor . . . is the title of peacemaker.” Many Americans wondered whether Nixon fit the role of peacemaker. During his years in Congress, he gained a reputation as a fierce enemy of communism. Few people imagined that Nixon, the anti-Communist crusader, would introduce policies to improve America’s relations with the Communist world.

Behind the Iron Curtain

President Nixon intended to leave his mark on foreign policy. He hoped to build a more stable, peaceful world by reaching out to the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China. In the summer of 1969, Nixon visited several countries, including Romania—the

first time an American president went behind the iron curtain. Nixon wanted to find areas of common interest and cooperation with these Cold War opponents.

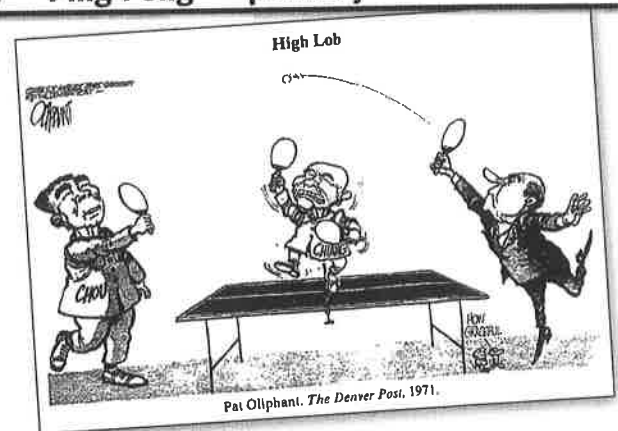
Détente

To help him in this task, Nixon appointed **Henry Kissinger**, a Harvard University professor, as his national security adviser. Kissinger and Nixon shared a belief in *realpolitik*—policies based on national interests rather than political beliefs. They believed that peace among nations would come through negotiation rather than through threats or force. Nixon followed a policy of **détente**—attempts at **relaxing**, or easing, international tensions. As détente replaced confrontation, the United States and Communist states could begin working together to resolve issues that divided them.

Nixon realized that détente would work only if a **balance of power** existed. A balance of power is a distribution of power among nations that prevents any one nation from becoming too powerful. “It will be a safer world and a better world,” he declared, “if we have a strong, healthy United States, Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan—each balancing the other, not playing one against the other.”

Primary Source “Ping-Pong” Diplomacy

One of the first steps in improving relationships between China and the United States was the visit of the U.S. table-tennis team to China. *TIME* magazine called it “the ping heard round the world.”



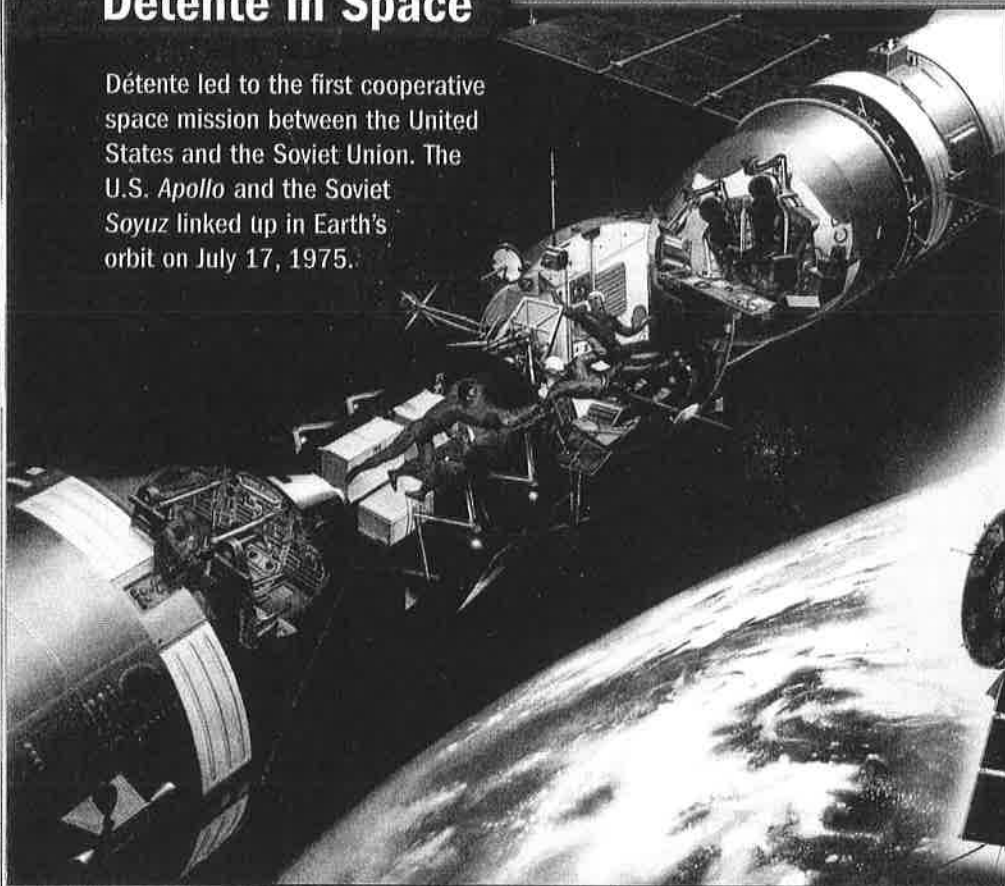
Critical Thinking

Analyzing Do you think sports can help improve relations between nations? Explain.

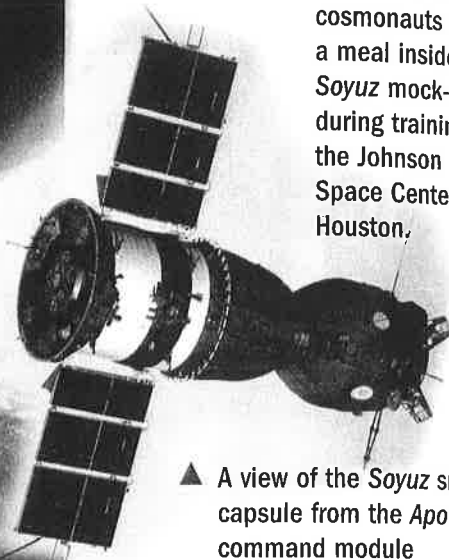


Détente in Space

Détente led to the first cooperative space mission between the United States and the Soviet Union. The U.S. *Apollo* and the Soviet *Soyuz* linked up in Earth's orbit on July 17, 1975.



▲ Astronauts and cosmonauts share a meal inside the *Soyuz* mock-up during training at the Johnson Space Center in Houston.



▲ A view of the *Soyuz* space capsule from the *Apollo* command module

China

Détente began with improved American-Chinese relations. Since 1949, when a Communist government came to power in China, the United States had refused to recognize the People's Republic of China. Instead it recognized the anti-Communist Chinese government under Chiang Kai-shek in exile on the island of Taiwan.

By the time of Nixon's presidency, however, each side had good reasons for wanting to improve relations. China distrusted the Soviet Union. Since the 1960s, disagreements had developed between them that divided the Communist world. Chinese and Soviet troops occasionally clashed along their borders. The United States hoped that recognition of China would help end the war in Vietnam and drive a deeper wedge between the two Communist powers.

The winds of change began to blow in the fall of 1970 when Nixon told reporters that he

wanted to go to China. Noting this change in tone, the Chinese responded by inviting an American table tennis team to visit the country in April 1971. A week later the United States announced the opening of trade with China.

"Ping-Pong diplomacy" was accompanied by secret talks between American and Chinese officials about forging closer ties between the two nations. After Kissinger made a secret trip to China in July 1971, President Nixon announced that he would visit Beijing, the Chinese capital, "to seek the normalization of relations."

In February 1972, Nixon arrived in China for a weeklong visit. Nixon and China's premier **Zhou Enlai** agreed to allow greater scientific and cultural exchange and to resume trade. Although formal diplomatic relations were not established until 1979, Nixon's trip marked the first formal contact with China in more than 25 years.

What Is Détente?

The Nixon administration developed a policy called détente, or relaxation of tensions, between the United States and the Soviet Union and China.

Goals of Détente

- Reduce risk of nuclear war
- Cut back on military budget
- Forge better relations with rivals



Apollo-Soyuz patch ▲

Détente at Work

- President Nixon visits China, Soviet Union
- 1972 SALT I agreement signed
- U.S.-Soviet joint venture in space
- 1975 Helsinki Accords promote rights, trade

Critical Thinking

Analyzing The *Apollo-Soyuz* mission provided an opportunity for scientific research. According to U.S. pilot Vance Brand, the mission also had another goal: "to open the door a little bit between East and West." What do you think Brand meant?

The Soviet Union

Nixon followed his trip to China with a visit to Moscow, the Soviet capital, in May 1972. The Soviets welcomed a Cold War thaw. They wanted to prevent a Chinese-American alliance. They also hoped to buy United States **technology**, or scientific tools and material. Soviet leader **Leonid Brezhnev** remarked, "There must be room in this world for two great nations with different systems to live together and work together."

While in Moscow, Nixon signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I). This treaty restricted the number of certain types of nuclear missiles. The United States and the Soviet Union also agreed to work together in trade and science. Nixon—and the world—hoped that a new era of cooperation would bring greater stability to world affairs.

Reading Check **Identifying** What is détente?

The Middle East

Main Idea Nixon's foreign policy included easing Arab-Israeli tensions in the Middle East.

History and You Do you think that people of very different backgrounds can live together peacefully? Read to find out how the United States set out to achieve peace between the Arabs and the Israelis.

President Nixon's foreign policy aimed to maintain world stability without being drawn into regional disputes. The president stated that the United States would help other nations but would not take "basic responsibility" for the future of those nations. A crisis soon arose in the Middle East that tested this policy.

Arab-Israeli Tensions

Since the founding of the Jewish state of Israel in 1948, the U.S. had supported Israel in its struggles against its Arab neighbors. Tensions between Israel and the Arab states erupted in war in 1948 and 1956.

After Egypt closed a key waterway and massed its troops near Israel's border, Israel bombed Egyptian airfields on June 5, 1967. Within six days, Israel wiped out the air forces of its Arab neighbors. Israeli troops moved west into the Gaza Strip and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and north into the Golan Heights, which were part of Syria. Israel also captured the old city of Jerusalem and the territory west of the Jordan River that Jordan had absorbed.

The "Six-Day War" of 1967 left Israel in control of these areas. When the fighting ended, the United Nations asked the Israelis to leave the captured territories. It asked the Arab nations to accept Israel's right to exist. Both sides refused.

The 1967 war also increased the number of Arab refugees, or displaced people. Thousands of Palestinians now lived in Israeli-held territory, and thousands more lived in neighboring Arab states. The Palestinians' demand for their own homeland became another source of instability.

Primary Sources

INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS

The fuel shortages caused by the 1973 oil embargo plunged the nation into a state of emergency. The Department of Energy considered different plans to save fuel. One plan was to close gas stations on Sundays.

- 1. Identifying** What is the event or issue that inspired this cartoon?
- 2. Analyzing Visuals** What message is the author trying to convey in this cartoon?



"My text this morning is taken from Paragraph 15 of the President's message in regard to Sunday driving."

Yom Kippur War

Tensions remained high between Arabs and Israelis. As a result, war erupted again in 1973. Egypt and Syria attacked Israel to regain land lost in the 1967 War. Because this attack occurred on Yom Kippur, a major Jewish holiday, the conflict became known as the Yom Kippur War.

Egypt's forces attacked Israel, hoping to recapture the Sinai Peninsula. In early battles, many Israeli planes were shot down. Egypt's troops crossed into the Sinai, and Syria moved into the Golan Heights. With an American airlift of weapons, Israel struck back. The fighting raged until the United Nations negotiated a cease-fire. By this time, the Israelis had regained the land lost in the initial Arab advance. Israel also took additional territory from Syria and Egypt.

Angered by the U.S. support of Israel, Arab oil-producing states placed an **embargo**—a

ban on shipments—of oil to the United States and other "non-friendly" nations.

The embargo led to an oil shortage in the United States. Long lines of cars formed at gas pumps as gas prices skyrocketed.

Shuttle Diplomacy

President Nixon sent Kissinger, now secretary of state, to the region to gain Arab trust and to negotiate an agreement between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Kissinger engaged in shuttle diplomacy—traveling back and forth among Middle Eastern capitals trying to resolve the oil crisis and forge a lasting peace.

Early in 1974, **Golda Meir**, the prime minister of Israel, and **Anwar el-Sadat**, the president of Egypt, agreed to separate Israeli and Egyptian forces in the Sinai Peninsula. Then in March 1974, Kissinger persuaded the Arab nations to end the oil embargo. Kissinger also improved U.S. ties with Egypt, the most powerful Arab state, by promising large amounts of foreign aid.

History ONLINE

Student Web Activity Visit jencs.com and complete the Chapter 16 Web Activity about shuttle diplomacy.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What happened in the United States because of the oil embargo?

Latin America

Main Idea The Nixon administration continued the effort to halt the spread of communism in Latin America.

History and You Do you believe one country has the right to interfere in the affairs of another country? Read to find out how concerns about communism shaped the Nixon administration's policies in Latin America.

The Nixon administration sought to prevent the spread of communism in Latin America. In 1970 the country of Chile elected Salvador Allende president. Allende was a follower of Karl Marx, the founder of communism. He became the first Marxist, or supporter of Marx, to rise to power in the Americas through peaceful means.

To boost Chile's economy, Allende's government took over large businesses, gave land to the poor, and raised workers' wages. The economy grew, and the jobless rate declined. Not all of Allende's policies were successful, however. His breakup of large

farms led to a decline in food production, which in turn caused food shortages. Also, increased wages led businesses to raise prices.

More important, Allende's policies made him enemies. Wealthy Chileans, frightened by Allende's Marxist views, took their money out of the country and invested it abroad. The United States, angered by Allende's takeover of American companies, decided to undermine the Allende government. It gave money to Allende's political opponents and promoted strikes. It also convinced foreign investors to stop loaning money to Chile. By 1972, Chile's economy was near collapse.

In 1973 Chile's military decided to take action. With the backing of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), a group of Chilean military leaders under General Augusto Pinochet overthrew the government and killed Allende. The United States immediately recognized the new military dictatorship and restored foreign aid to Chile.

Reading Check **Explaining** Why did the United States oppose Salvador Allende?

Section 1 Review

History ONLINE
Study Central™ To review this section, go to glencoe.com.

Vocabulary

1. Use each of the following terms in a paragraph about U.S. foreign policy: détente, relax, balance of power, technology, embargo.

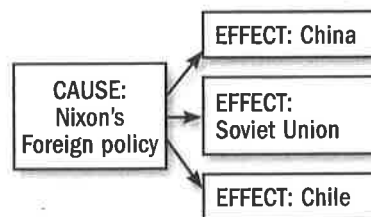
Main Ideas

2. **Analyzing** What did the United States hope recognition of China would achieve?
3. **Discussing** What was the purpose of shuttle diplomacy?
4. **Explaining** How did the United States combat President Allende in Chile?

Critical Thinking

5. Determining Cause and Effect

On a chart like the one below, list a major effect in each country caused by Nixon's foreign policy.



6. **Expository Writing** In a short essay, discuss Kissinger's achievements during the crisis in the Middle East.

7. **Answer the Essential Question**

What were President Nixon's main goals in foreign policy, and how did he work to achieve them?

Nixon and Watergate

Essential Question

What were President Nixon's major domestic challenges in the 1970s?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| revenue sharing (p. 507) | executive privilege (p. 511) |
| affirmative action (p. 508) | impeach (p. 511) |
| tight money policy (p. 508) | amnesty (p. 512) |
| deficit (p. 509) | |

Academic Vocabulary

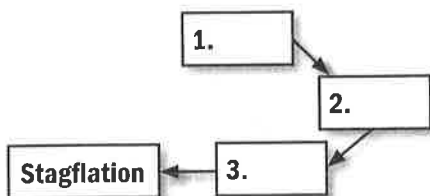
- energy (p. 510) controversy (p. 512)

Key People and Events

- New Federalism** (p. 507)
Watergate (p. 510)
Sam Ervin (p. 511)
Gerald R. Ford (p. 511)

Reading Strategy

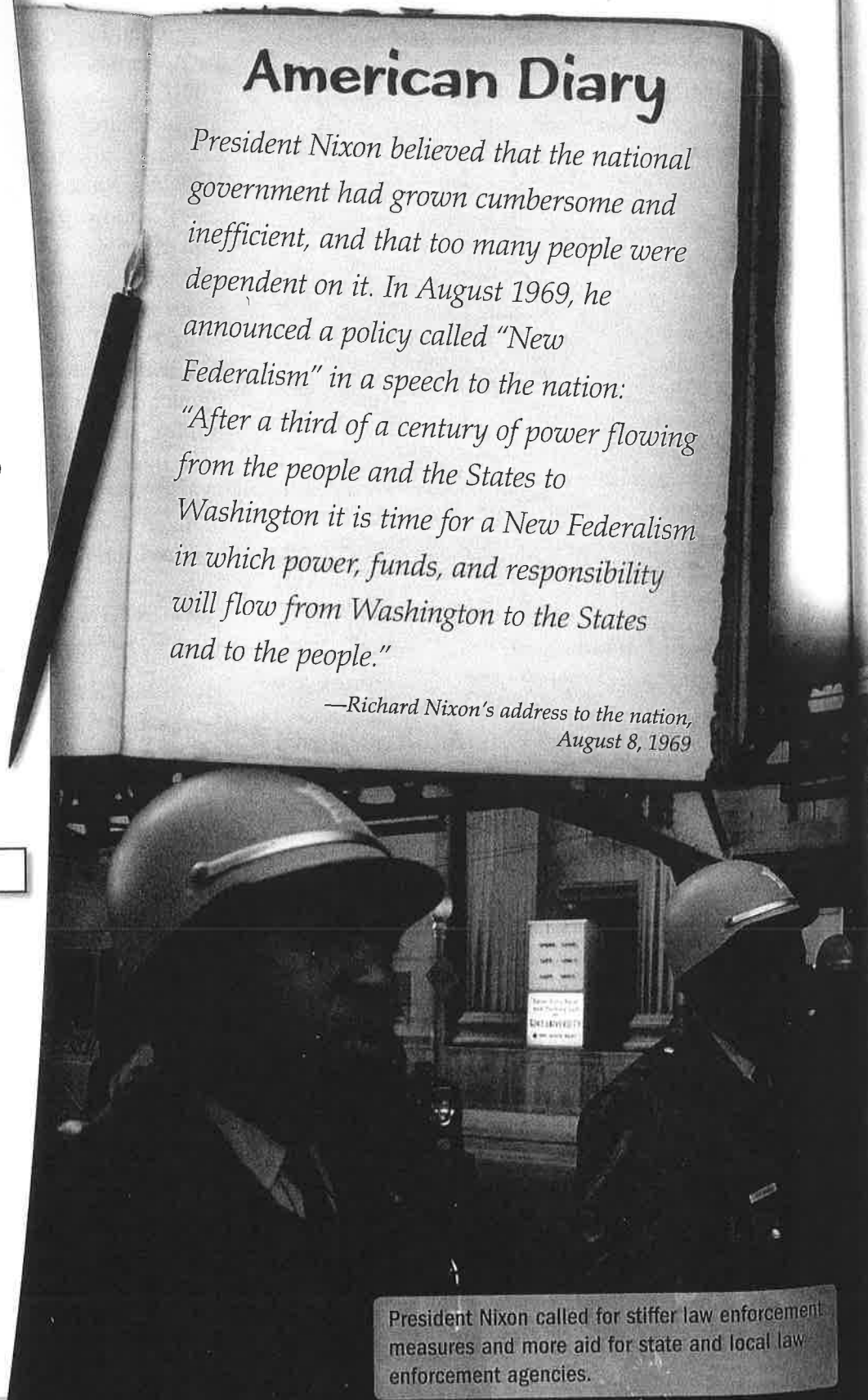
Taking Notes On a diagram like the one below, record the factors that led to stagflation.



American Diary

President Nixon believed that the national government had grown cumbersome and inefficient, and that too many people were dependent on it. In August 1969, he announced a policy called "New Federalism" in a speech to the nation: "After a third of a century of power flowing from the people and the States to Washington it is time for a New Federalism in which power, funds, and responsibility will flow from Washington to the States and to the people."

—Richard Nixon's address to the nation, August 8, 1969



President Nixon called for stiffer law enforcement measures and more aid for state and local law enforcement agencies.

Nixon's Domestic Program

Main Idea The Nixon administration sought to reduce the role of the federal government in American life.

History and You If you were on a group project and found that you had too much to do, how would you solve the problem? Read to find out how the Nixon administration tried to reduce the federal government's workload by shifting more tasks to state and local governments.

In his 1968 presidential campaign, Nixon pledged to bring back "law and order" to American society. He also vowed to reduce government's role in people's lives.

Nixon's drive to restore law and order involved "cracking down on crime" and imposing stiffer penalties on lawbreakers. To strengthen police powers, Nixon used federal funds to help state and city police forces.

The Courts

Nixon thought the federal courts should be tougher on criminals. "As a judicial conservative," he said, "I believe some Court decisions have gone too far in weakening the peace forces against the criminal forces in our society." During his presidency, four

vacancies arose on the Supreme Court. Nixon hoped that the justices he appointed—Warren Burger as chief justice, and Harry Blackmun, Lewis Powell, and William Rehnquist—would shift the Court to a more conservative position. The decisions of the new justices did not fully meet the president's conservative goals, however.

New Federalism

Nixon wanted to reduce federal involvement in people's lives and to cut federal spending. He pledged to "reverse the flow of power and resources from the states and communities to Washington and start power and resources flowing back . . . to the people." To accomplish this goal, he introduced a program called the **New Federalism**. One part of the New Federalism called for giving the states some of the revenue earned from federal taxes for use at the state and local levels. This **revenue sharing** became law in 1972.

Nixon also sought to end or scale back many Great Society programs begun under President Johnson. He promised to "quit pouring billions of dollars into programs that have failed." He abolished the Office of Economic Opportunity, the agency that led Johnson's War on Poverty.

Primary Source New Federalism

A New Approach President Nixon rejected the idea that "government in Washington, D.C., is inevitably more wise . . . than government at the local or State level." He called for turning over to state and local governments many of the responsibilities of the federal government. New Federalism would make government more effective by:

- reducing big government programs
- restoring political authority to the local level
- directing tax money away from federal bureaucracy
- directing money toward state and local governments

Critical Thinking

Explaining What was the goal of New Federalism policies?



Busing To end segregation in public schools, state courts ordered the busing of children to schools outside their neighborhoods.

Some civil rights leaders and some parents favored the use of busing. Many parents, however, did not want their children attending distant schools.

Diane Joyce kept her job when the Court ruled that gender can be a factor in hiring. ▶



Affirmative Action Opponents of affirmative action argue that merit is the only basis for making decisions on jobs, promotions, and school admissions. Supporters contend that affirmative action programs are needed to encourage the hiring and promotion of minorities and women in fields that were traditionally closed to them.

▲ Columbus, Georgia, students arrive for school, September 7, 1971.

On civil rights issues, Nixon took a conservative position aimed at appealing to white voters. For example, Nixon opposed busing. Busing was used to promote racial integration by transporting students from mostly white or African American neighborhoods to racially mixed schools.

At the same time, his administration worked to carry out federal court orders to integrate schools. The Nixon administration also promoted **affirmative action**, or preference to minorities in jobs where they previously were excluded. A practical politician, President Nixon did accept new government programs that had popular support. He approved the creation of two new agencies—the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to ensure workers' safety and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to protect the environment.

Economic Troubles

While attempting to change the direction of government, President Nixon had to deal with serious economic problems. Industry and manufacturing were declining because of foreign competition. Businesses and consumers struggled with inflation—a general rise in the prices of goods and services. This was fueled by international competition for raw materials and the increasing cost of oil. The United States also faced slow economic growth and high unemployment.

President Nixon tried several approaches to reduce inflation. He began by cutting federal spending. At the same time, he called for a **tight money policy**. Interest rates were raised so that people would borrow less and spend less. With less money in circulation, prices dropped. However, as demand slowed, businesses began to cut back and output fell.

Disability Rights The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was the first major legislation to prohibit discrimination against people with disabilities. The act applied to programs that receive federal financial assistance.

▼ Disabled Americans protest for equal rights.



Critical Thinking

1. **Explaining** What were the goals of affirmative action policies?
2. **Speculating** What accommodations can be made for people with disabilities, such as those in the photo above?

These steps slowed economic growth and led to stagflation—a combination of rising prices and a sluggish economy.

Nixon then switched tactics. He temporarily froze wages and prices and issued guidelines for any future increases. This put a brake on inflation, but the economy remained in a recession.

Later, Nixon tried a third approach—increasing federal spending to stimulate the economy. Although this policy helped revive the economy for a short time, it also created a budget **deficit** in which government spending was greater than government revenue. None of Nixon's policies restored the economy to its previous strength, and economic problems continued to trouble his administration.

✓ **Reading Check** **Analyzing** What is the outcome of a tight-money policy?

Reelection and Watergate

Main Idea During his second term, President Nixon was involved in a political scandal that forced him to resign.

History and You What would officials do if someone broke into your school and stole something? Read to learn how an attempted burglary shook the presidency and the nation.

As the 1972 presidential election neared, Nixon had doubts about his chances for reelection. The war in Vietnam had not yet ended, and the nation was facing economic problems. The president and his supporters wanted to ensure his reelection.

A Campaign Against Enemies

To carry out his campaign, Nixon relied on a small group of aides, including John Ehrlichman, his chief domestic adviser, and H.R. Haldeman, his chief of staff. In their efforts to win the election, the president and his advisers, it was later revealed, sometimes crossed the boundaries of the law. In 1971, for example, Nixon asked his aides for an “enemies list” of people considered unfriendly to the administration. He then ordered the FBI and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to investigate some of these people. Nixon believed that those who opposed his policies posed a danger to the nation's security.

Nixon's campaign committee collected millions of dollars. It used some of this money to create a secret group to stop leaks of information that might hurt the administration. Some campaign money also paid for operations against Nixon's Democratic foes, but that party had many problems of its own.

Landslide Victory

The Democratic Party was split. Candidates seeking the nomination included former vice president Hubert Humphrey, Senators Edmund Muskie of Maine and George McGovern of South Dakota, and former governor of Alabama George Wallace.

Muskie and Humphrey could not gain enough support. Wallace's campaign was cut short in May 1972 by a would-be assassin's bullet that left him paralyzed.

McGovern, the most liberal of the four candidates, won the nomination. Many Democrats and labor union leaders were cool toward McGovern's candidacy.

The Democrats' lack of unity as well as an upsurge in the economy and the prospect of peace in Vietnam led to a landslide victory for Nixon. He won 60.7 percent of the popular vote. The Republican victory in the electoral college was even more lopsided—520 to 17.

The Energy Crisis

During Nixon's second term, severe economic problems confronted the nation. The U.S. economy depended heavily on foreign oil. In 1973 the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), placed an embargo on all oil shipments to the United States. As a result, many American companies had to lay off workers, while others raised their prices. Consumers complained about the high prices and the long lines at gas stations.

The president imposed measures to save oil. Nixon also urged Americans to conserve **energy**—sources of usable power—voluntarily. Congress reduced speed limits on highways because a vehicle burns less fuel at lower speeds. To deal with the problem of reliance on imported oil, Nixon urged development of domestic oil, especially in Alaska, which possessed vast, untapped oil reserves.

Watergate

During Nixon's second term, what seemed like a small scandal turned into a presidential crisis. In June 1972, Nixon's reelection committee had five men break into the Democratic Party's office at the **Watergate** apartment-office complex in Washington, D.C. The burglars set out to get information about the Democrats' campaign and to place listening devices—bugs—on the office telephones. A security guard caught them, and the police later arrested the men. Reports soon surfaced that the burglars were linked to the Nixon campaign and were paid from White House funds. The White House denied any involvement.

The Path of Watergate

The Watergate scandal rocked the nation's trust in its elected officials but ultimately illustrated that America's system of government works.

Security guard Frank Willis discovered the Watergate break-in



June 1972 ★
Watergate break-in reported

June 1973 ★
John Dean implicates Nixon in cover-up



1972

1973

1974

Nov. 1972 ★
Nixon reelected

May 1973 ★
Senate hearings begin

Oct. 1973 ★
Saturday Night Massacre

April 1974 ★
Nixon releases edited tapes



Investigation

Meanwhile, a series of newspaper articles in the *Washington Post* linked the burglary to the Nixon campaign. Eventually, one of the burglars admitted that White House aides had lied about their involvement and had pressured the burglars to plead guilty and remain silent.

In May 1973, the Senate began holding hearings on Watergate. Chaired by Senator **Sam Ervin** of North Carolina, the hearings slowly revealed the inner workings of the Nixon White House. John Dean, a White House official, testified that a cover-up occurred and that Nixon directed it, but he had no evidence to support his claim.

In July investigators learned that a secret taping system had recorded all of the president's office conversations. President Nixon refused to hand over the tapes. He claimed **executive privilege**, the principle that White House conversations should remain secret to protect national security.

Meanwhile, the special prosecutor—some one independent of the Justice Department—

requested a court order to get the tapes. Nixon tried to have this official fired, but the attorney general and the attorney general's deputy both refused to carry out Nixon's order. In what became known as the Saturday Night Massacre, Nixon fired these officials and had the special prosecutor removed from office.

In the middle of the turmoil, another scandal struck the Nixon administration. Vice President Spiro Agnew was charged with taking bribes while governor of Maryland. In October 1973, he resigned. **Gerald R. Ford** of Michigan, the Republican leader of the House, became the new vice president.

The President Resigns

To quiet mounting public outrage, Nixon named a new special prosecutor, who was determined to get the tapes. After Nixon had released only edited versions of some of the tapes, the Supreme Court ruled that the president had to turn over all of the tapes, and Nixon complied.

Several days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to **impeach** Nixon, or officially charge him with misconduct in office. Before the House of Representatives could vote on whether Nixon should be impeached, investigators found clear evidence against the president. One of the tapes revealed that Nixon had ordered a cover-up of the Watergate break-in just a few days after it happened.

With this news, even Nixon's strongest supporters admitted that an impeachment trial now seemed unavoidable. On August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned his office in disgrace. Gerald Ford took the oath of office and became the nation's 38th president.

The Watergate crisis revealed that the system of checks and balances worked to remove a president who had abused his power. Congress passed laws to correct some of the abuses. However, the scandal damaged the public's faith in its political leaders.

"I would say only that if some of my judgments were wrong—and some were wrong—they were made in what I believed at the time to be the best interest of the Nation."

—Nixon's resignation speech, August 8, 1974



★ **August 1974**
Nixon releases
tapes and resigns

1975

Critical Thinking

Analyzing Visuals Look at the photo above. What thoughts or feelings do you think President Nixon was having at the time he left the White House?

✓ **Reading Check** **Explaining** How did Gerald Ford become president?

A Time for Healing

Main Idea President Ford set out to unite the nation after the Watergate scandal.

History and You Whom do you turn to for advice when times are difficult? Read to find out how the nation responded to Gerald Ford's leadership.

After becoming president, Gerald Ford assured Americans, "Our long national nightmare is over." To fill the office of vice president, Ford selected Nelson Rockefeller, a highly respected Republican and former governor of New York.

Domestic Controversies

Most Americans welcomed the new president and vice president as a fresh start for the nation. One of Ford's first acts, however, destroyed much of this confidence. On September 8, 1974, Ford granted Richard Nixon

a pardon for any crimes he may have committed as president. This meant that the former president could not be prosecuted for his part in the cover-up.

Ford hoped that the pardon would help heal the wounds of Watergate. Instead, the pardon stirred **controversy**, or arguments between opposing viewpoints. Many Americans questioned why Nixon should escape punishment when others involved in the scandal went to jail. Some even accused Ford of striking a bargain with Nixon in advance—the promise of a pardon in exchange for Nixon's resignation. Although Ford defended his action, the new president never fully regained the trust and popularity he enjoyed in his first weeks in office.

Yet another controversy arose when President Ford offered **amnesty**, or protection from prosecution, to men who illegally avoided military service during the Vietnam War.

Primary Source Congress vs. The White House

The Watergate crisis brought the president into direct conflict with the Congress. Over the course of several months, the Senate Watergate Committee held hearings to investigate the president's staff.

Barbara Jordan was a member of the House Judiciary Committee.



Sam Ervin [1896–1985]

As chair of the Senate committee, Ervin rejected the White House claim of executive privilege as reason to withhold records and evidence.

"Divine right went out with the American Revolution and doesn't belong to White House aides. . . . That is not executive privilege. That is executive poppycock."

—April 1973

Fred Thompson [1942–]

Serving as chief legal counsel to the minority Republicans on the Senate committee, Thompson's team chanced upon critical evidence during an interview with Nixon's appointment secretary, Alexander Butterfield. They called him to testify before the whole committee, and Thompson asked:

"Mr. Butterfield, are you aware of the installation of any listening devices in the Oval Office of the President?"

—July 1973

Barbara Jordan [1936–1996]

Jordan delivered a passionate speech before the House Judiciary Committee on whether to introduce articles of impeachment against President Nixon. It was seen on TV by millions of Americans.

"If the impeachment provision in the Constitution of the United States will not reach the offenses charged here, then perhaps that 18th century Constitution should be abandoned to a 20th century paper shredder."

—July 1974

Counsel Fred Thompson and Senators Lowell Weicker and Sam Ervin during the Senate Watergate hearings



Critical Thinking

Analyzing Why was the Watergate scandal also a constitutional crisis?

Ford promised that these people would not be punished if they pledged loyalty to the United States and performed some type of national service. Although many people approved of amnesty, others thought it was too lenient. Supporters of the Vietnam War argued that draft dodgers and deserters should be punished.

Ford and Foreign Affairs

Ford continued Nixon's foreign policies, relying on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Ford and Kissinger extended the policy of détente with the Soviet Union. In late 1974, Ford met with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev to discuss arms control. A year later, he traveled to Helsinki, Finland, where he signed the Helsinki Accords with the Soviet Union and other nations. The countries pledged to respect the human rights of their citizens. The accords also set new trade agreements.

The Ford administration also worked to improve relations with China. When Chinese leader Mao Zedong died in 1976, a more moderate government came to power. China's new leaders wanted to increase trade with the United States.

A Troubled Economy

Like Nixon, Ford had to face economic troubles. Inflation and unemployment remained high. By the 1970s, Europe and Japan challenged American world economic dominance. Foreign competition led to factory closings and worker layoffs in the United States. It also contributed to underemployment, people working in jobs that did not fully use their skills. OPEC also kept oil prices high, adding to inflation.

To fight inflation, Ford launched voluntary wage and price controls. He called on Americans to save rather than spend money and to plant their own gardens to counter rising food prices. Despite a small drop in inflation, the economy continued its decline.

Ford also tried to cut government spending to control inflation. When this failed, the president then had Congress pass a tax cut. Some economic growth was achieved, but the cut led to large budget deficits. Despite his efforts, Ford could not solve the nation's economic woes.

Reading Check **Evaluating** How did Ford attempt to fight inflation? Did the efforts work?

Section 2 Review

History ONLINE
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Vocabulary

- Use each of these terms in a sentence that explains its meaning: revenue sharing, affirmative action, tight money policy, deficit, energy, executive privilege, impeach, controversy, amnesty.

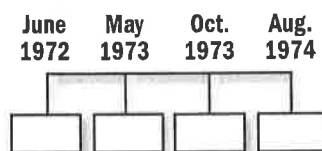
Main Ideas

- Explaining** What was Nixon's New Federalism program?
- Analyzing** What three things led to Nixon's landslide victory in the 1972 presidential election?

- Summarizing** What problems with the economy did President Ford face?

Critical Thinking

- Sequencing** On a time line like the one below, note major events that occurred during the Water-gate crisis.



- Creative Writing** Imagine you write for your school's newspaper. Write an editorial column expressing your opinion of President Ford's plan to offer amnesty to those who avoided the draft.

7. Answer the Essential Question

What were President Nixon's major domestic challenges in the 1970s?

TIME NOTEBOOK

What were people's lives like in the past?

These two pages will give you some clues to everyday life in the United States as you step back in time with TIME Notebook.



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Profile

In 1998 TIME magazine put together a list called the TIME 100—profiles of the 100 most influential people on the planet. It included world leaders, heads of industry—and **OPRAH WINFREY**. Here is part of what Oprah's profile said:

"Oprah stands as a beacon, not only in the worlds of media and entertainment but also in many other ways. At 44, she has a personal fortune estimated at more than half a billion dollars. She owns her own production company which creates feature films, TV specials, and home videos. An accomplished actress, she won an Academy Award nomination for her role in *The Color Purple*.

"But it is through her talk show, *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, that first aired nationally in 1986, that her influence has been greatest. When Winfrey talks, her viewers—an estimated 14 million daily in the U.S. and millions more in 132 other countries—listen. Any book she chooses for her book club becomes an instant best seller. When she established the 'world's largest piggy bank,' people all over the country contributed spare change to raise more than \$1 million (matched by Oprah) to send disadvantaged kids to college.

"Oprah exhorts viewers to improve their lives and the world. She makes people care because she cares. That is Winfrey's genius, and will be her legacy, as the changes she has wrought in the talk show continue to permeate our culture and shape our lives."

FASHION OF THE NATION

The Long & Short of It

In the early 1990s, five college freshmen at the University of Michigan changed basketball fashion. They wore long, baggy shorts instead of the kind with high hemlines like other basketball players wore. Thanks to the "Fab Five," most teams—from high school to the pros—dropped the "high on the thigh" shorts and adopted the long "jams" style.



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VERBATIM

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING

“Whether your name is Gehrig or Ripken, DiMaggio or Robinson, or that of some youngster who picks up his bat or puts on his glove, you are challenged by the game of baseball to do your very best day in and day out. And that's all I ever tried to do.”

—**CAL RIPKEN, JR.**, in 1995, when he showed up for his record-breaking 2,131st game in a row as a shortstop for the Baltimore Orioles

“Pathfinder should be named Sojourner Truth because she is on a journey to find truths about Mars.”

—**VALERIE AMBROSE** 12, who won NASA's contest to name its robot explorer headed to Mars in 1997; Valerie chose the name of a former enslaved person who fought for women's rights in the 1800s



“Honey, I forgot to duck.”

—**PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN**, managing to joke with his wife Nancy, after he was shot in an assassination attempt in 1981

“For the first time in the history of our country, a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years.”

—**PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER**, in 1979, speaking about what he called a “crisis of confidence,” which he said was a threat to American democracy

TALK OF THE TIMES

"Ten-Four, Good Buddy"

CB radios (or Citizen Band radios) were a huge hit in the mid-1970s. More than 15 million of these two-way devices, which communicate over short distances, were in trucks, cars, and homes. There was even a special radio language. Do you think you have what it takes to chat on the air? Match the CB slang word or phrase with the correct meaning.

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. ten-four | a. police officer |
| 2. ten-twenty | b. fuel |
| 3. bear | c. snowplow |
| 4. saltshaker | d. "I heard you" |
| 5. bandage-buggy | e. user's nickname |
| 6. handle | f. location |
| 7. go-go juice | g. ambulance |



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MILESTONES
EVENTS OF THE TIME

In the last quarter of the 1900s, the American people were introduced to inventions, places, and new ideas. Here are just a few examples and when they were introduced:

- 1976** Call waiting—it is now available for home phones
- 1979** Rubik's Cube—a habit-forming puzzle created by Hungarian professor Erno Rubik
- 1979** Susan B. Anthony silver dollar
- 1980** In-line skates
- 1983** The computer mouse



2000 Census

According to the United States Census, our country's population was 281,421,906 in 2000—having grown by 32.7 million people in the 1990s. Here is how that growth averaged out:

- One person was added to the population every 14 seconds**
- That means 6,300 people were added every day**
- 4,400** of those added were from births (10,600 daily births less 6,200 daily deaths)
- 1,900** were from immigration
- One immigrant was added every 35 seconds**
- One person left the U.S. to live in another country every 3 minutes**

NUMBERS

UNITED STATES AT THE TIME

21 Age of Tiger Woods in 1997 when he set golfing records by winning the Masters Tournament—the youngest and the first of African American or Asian heritage to do so

\$229,000,000

Ticket sales from the movie, *E.T., the Extra-Terrestrial*, released in 1982—one of the highest-grossing films ever

0 The number of cases of smallpox reported in 1979; the following year the World Health Organization said the disease had been wiped out thanks to vaccinations

1,920 The number of panels on the NAMES Project Foundation AIDS Memorial Quilt displayed for the first time in Washington, D.C., in 1987—in one weekend more than 500,000 people visited the quilt, which honored individuals who had died of AIDS



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The Carter Presidency

Essential Question

What major foreign affairs issues did President Carter face during his presidency, and how did he deal with them?

Reading Guide

Content Vocabulary

trade deficit (p. 517) apartheid (p. 518)
human rights fundamentalist
(p. 518) (p. 520)

Academic Vocabulary

integrity (p. 517) exceed (p. 517)

Key People and Events

Ronald Reagan (p. 517)

Jimmy Carter (p. 517)

Three Mile Island (p. 518)

Camp David Accords (p. 519)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes On a diagram like the one below, identify the major points of Carter's National Energy Plan.



American Diary

In the 1976 Democratic presidential campaign, James Earl "Jimmy" Carter, Jr., a former governor of Georgia, made a virtue of his lack of experience in the federal government: "We have been shaken by a tragic war abroad and by scandals . . . at home. Our people are seeking new voices, new ideas and new leaders."

Many voters found Carter's down-home style refreshing after the ordeals of the Watergate scandal.

—Jimmy Carter's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention, July 15, 1976



Jimmy Carter, with his wife Rosalynn, addresses a crowd following his election victory in 1976.

An Informal Presidency

Main Idea President Carter faced a weakened economy and a growing energy crisis.

History and You If you had a choice, would you like to “dress up” or wear casual clothes to an event? Read to find out how Carter wanted to create a more informal presidency.

.....

As the 1976 elections neared, President Ford struggled to gain the Republican nomination. He faced a challenge from the former governor of California, **Ronald Reagan**, who was favored by party conservatives. Ford chose Senator Bob Dole of Kansas as his running mate. **Jimmy Carter** ran as the Democratic candidate, stressing his **integrity**, or moral character, his religious faith, and his standing as an outsider. Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota ran as vice president.

During the campaign, Ford tried to stress his achievements as president. Carter ran as much against the memory of Nixon and government corruption as against Ford. Carter won in a close election, gaining 50.1 percent of the popular vote. He owed his margin of

victory to support from African American Southern voters.

As president, Carter set a down-to-earth tone. At his inauguration, he wore an ordinary business suit rather than formal clothing. After the ceremony, Carter and his family walked from the Capitol to the White House instead of riding in a limousine, as earlier presidents had done.

Struggling With the Economy

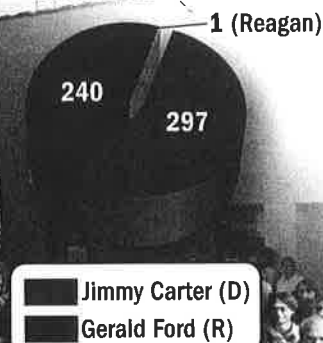
After taking office, Carter cut taxes and increased spending to revive the economy. Unemployment decreased, but inflation rose. Carter then proposed spending cuts and a delayed tax cut. Carter’s reversal made him seem weak and uncertain. As an outsider, the president had trouble gaining support in Congress.

Carter made energy policy a priority. High energy costs added to inflation. Also, as American money paid for overseas oil, the nation faced a growing **trade deficit**—the value of foreign imports **exceeded**, or was greater than, the value of American exports. In April 1977, Carter presented a National Energy Plan to resolve the energy crisis.

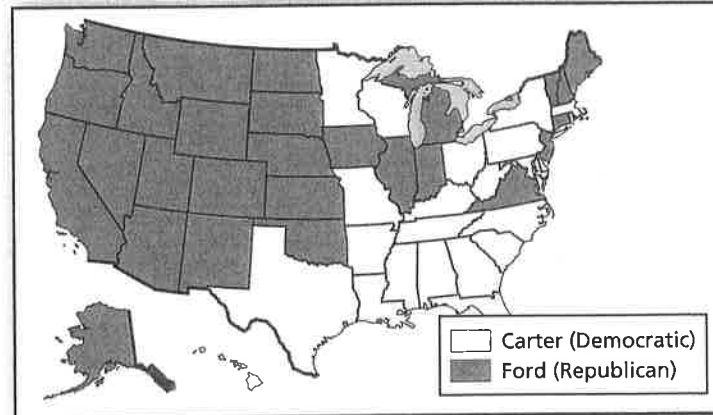
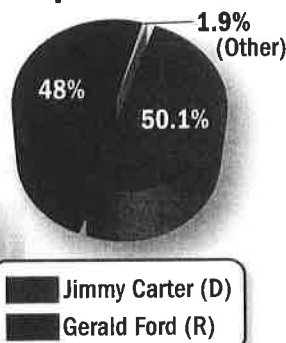
By the Numbers Election of 1976

A Southern President Jimmy Carter’s election marked the first time since 1844 that a candidate from the Deep South was elected president.

Electoral Votes



Popular Vote



Critical Thinking

Analyzing Explain how Carter’s election in 1976 was partly a result of Watergate.

Carter's plan included creating a Department of Energy to oversee energy policy, explore alternative energy sources, and collect taxes to further domestic oil production and energy conservation. Congress passed a weakened version of the plan in 1978.

Nuclear Power

In the late 1970s, nuclear power became a major issue. In March 1979, a major accident occurred at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear power plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. An antinuclear protest movement soon spread. President Carter, however, did not want to halt nuclear energy which provided more than 10 percent of the nation's energy. At the same time, supporters of nuclear power argued that, with safeguards, nuclear power did not harm the environment.

Reading Check **Identifying** What economic problems did Carter face?

Foreign Affairs

Main Idea President Carter had some foreign policy successes but faced a growing crisis in the Middle Eastern country of Iran.

History and You How do you keep from getting discouraged when you fail to reach a goal? Read to find out about the long and difficult effort to release the Americans who were held captive in Iran.

Carter based his foreign policy on **human rights**—a belief that governments ought to respect the human dignity and liberties of their citizens. He proposed that any nation that violated human rights should not receive support from the United States. For example, Carter condemned South Africa for its policy of **apartheid**, racial separation and discrimination against nonwhites.

Carter's human rights diplomacy sometimes caused challenges for the United States.

Economics & History

Average Gas Prices, 1950–2007

| Year | Price Per Gallon | Price Per Gallon (adjusted for inflation) |
|-------|------------------|---|
| 1950 | \$0.23 | \$1.91 |
| 1955 | \$0.24 | \$1.85 |
| 1960 | \$0.26 | \$1.79 |
| 1965 | \$0.26 | \$1.68 |
| 1970 | \$0.30 | \$1.59 |
| 1975 | \$0.48 | \$1.80 |
| 1980 | \$1.05 | \$2.59 |
| 1985 | \$1.01 | \$1.90 |
| 1990 | \$0.97 | \$1.51 |
| 1995 | \$0.96 | \$1.28 |
| 2001 | \$1.45 | \$1.66 |
| 2002 | \$1.31 | \$1.31 |
| 2003 | \$1.38 | \$1.52 |
| 2004 | \$1.67 | \$1.78 |
| 2005 | \$2.20 | \$2.28 |
| 2006 | \$3.03 | \$3.09 |
| 2007* | \$3.26 | \$3.26 |

*June 2007

Source: U.S. Department of Energy

If gas cost 23 cents a gallon in 1950, what would be its equivalent price in today's prices? The table to the left shows the price of gas adjusted for inflation.



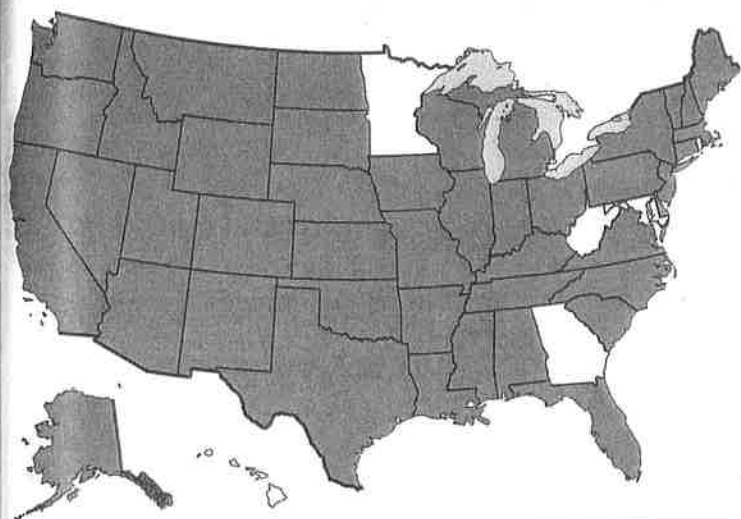
▲ Gas prices in 1991



◀ Gas prices in 2007

Critical Thinking

- Calculating** Which year shows the biggest increase in actual price? In price adjusted for inflation?
- Analyzing** What, if anything, surprises you about the average price of gasoline over time?



| Candidate | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote | Political Party |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| Reagan | 489 | 43,642,639 | Republican |
| Carter | 49 | 35,480,948 | Democrat |

A Landslide for Reagan President Jimmy Carter lost his 1980 reelection bid by a landslide to Republican challenger Ronald Reagan. An important factor was Carter's inability to resolve the Iran hostage crisis. Soon after the inauguration of President Reagan on January 20, 1981, Iran agreed to release the 52 hostages.

Freed American hostages ►



Critical Thinking

Drawing Conclusions Why would American voters believe Ronald Reagan could negotiate the hostages' release when President Carter was not able to?

In 1980 Cuban dictator Fidel Castro allowed thousands of Cubans, including criminals and political prisoners, to leave Cuba by boat for Florida. The United States, however, had trouble absorbing such large numbers of people. By the time Castro ended the boatlift, about 125,000 people entered the United States. Carter had learned that a foreign policy based on a single issue, human rights, had many limitations. Even so, the president continued to speak out on the issue.

The Panama Canal

Carter also acted to end Latin American bitterness over the Panama Canal. Over the years, U.S. control of the canal caused friction between the United States and Panama. Carter signed two treaties with Panama in 1977. The treaties turned the Panama Canal over to Panama by the year 2000 but ensured that the canal would remain a neutral waterway open to all shipping. Some Republicans in the Senate tried to block ratification of the treaties, charging that Carter was giving away U.S. property. The Senate approved the treaties in 1978.

The Middle East

President Carter sought to bring peace to the Middle East. When talks between Israel and Egypt stalled in 1978, Carter invited Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat to Camp David, Maryland, for a summit meeting. The three leaders reached an agreement known as the **Camp David Accords**. The agreement led to an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty signed at the White House in March 1979. The treaty marked the first time that Israel and an Arab nation had made peace.

The Soviet Union

Carter criticized Soviet human-rights abuses, but he also continued talks on arms control. In June 1979, the president signed a second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or SALT II. Critics in the Senate claimed that the treaty gave the Soviets an advantage, and the Senate delayed ratification.

Any hope of Senate approval ended in December 1979, when the Soviets invaded the southwest Asian nation of Afghanistan. Carter ordered sanctions against the Soviets.

The United States and other nations refused to take part in the Olympic Games in Moscow.

Crisis in Iran

In the 1970s, Iran was a major U.S. ally in the oil-rich Persian Gulf region. Iran's ruler, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, built a powerful military with U.S. aid. Many Iranians criticized corruption in his government. Others opposed Western influences, which they felt weakened traditional Muslim values.

In January 1979, Islamic **fundamentalists**—people who believe in strict obedience to religious laws—forced the shah to flee Iran. The new ruler, Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini, was hostile to the United States for its support of the shah.

In November 1979, Iranian students, with government support, stormed the American embassy in Tehran, the capital of Iran, and held 52 Americans hostage. The United States was outraged. Attempts to negotiate the release of the hostages failed, and a daring desert rescue attempt ended in tragedy with the death of eight American soldiers. The hostage crisis dragged on and became a major issue in the presidential election of 1980.

The Election of 1980

The months before the 1980 election were difficult for President Carter. Many Americans blamed him for a weak economy and for not gaining the release of the American hostages. Carter's popularity among voters greatly declined.

Despite opposition, Carter gained the Democratic nomination, but the party was deeply divided. The Republicans nominated Ronald Reagan as their candidate. Reagan—a former actor and former governor of California—appealed to many voters with his conservative message of lower taxes, less spending, strong defense, and national pride.

Reagan swept to victory, with an electoral vote margin of 489 to 49. Republicans also gained control of the Senate for the first time since 1954. The election and its aftermath were bitter for Carter. During the last weeks of his presidency, Carter worked to free the hostages. The Iranians finally did release them—after Ronald Reagan took the oath of office.

Reading Check **Summarizing** Why did the United States boycott the 1980 Olympics?

Section 3 Review

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Vocabulary

1. Use each of the following words in a paragraph: integrity, trade deficit, exceed, human rights, apartheid, fundamentalist.

Main Ideas

2. **Discussing** What was President Carter's position on nuclear energy?
3. **Explaining** What part did human rights play in Carter's foreign policies?

4. **Analyzing** What were the major reasons Carter lost the election of 1980?

Critical Thinking

5. **Drawing Conclusions** On a chart like the one below, record the major result of each prominent issue of the Carter presidency.

| Issue | Result |
|--------------------|--------|
| Panama Canal | |
| Camp David Accords | |
| Crisis in Iran | |

6. **Persuasive Writing** Write a letter to the editor expressing your opinion about the United States' decision not to take part in the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow.

7. Answer the Essential Question

What major foreign affairs issues did President Carter face during his presidency, and how did he deal with them?

Visual Summary

Foreign Policy

- President Nixon formulates foreign policy plan of détente, easing international tensions with China and the Soviet Union.
- U.S. signs a treaty limiting nuclear arms.
- War between Israel and its Arab neighbors breaks out in 1973; violence in the Middle East is ongoing.
- U.S. supports the overthrow of Marxist government in Chile.

John Dean testifies during Watergate hearing. ▼



▲ President Nixon reviews troops during his visit to China.

Nixon and Watergate

- Nixon introduces New Federalism.
- U.S. economy suffers under inflation.
- White House involvement with Watergate break-in is revealed.
- Vice President Agnew resigns.
- Nixon appoints Gerald Ford as his new vice president.
- Nixon resigns the presidency.

President-elect Jimmy Carter and Rosalyn Carter ▼

Ford and Carter

- President Ford grants a pardon to Nixon.
- Ford continues détente with the Soviet Union.
- Inflation rises.
- President Carter makes energy policy a priority.
- Carter bases foreign policy on human rights.
- Carter works to bring peace in Middle East.
- Islamic fundamentalists take Americans hostage in Iran.
- Carter loses the 1980 presidential election to Ronald Reagan.

American hostages held in Iran ▼



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