

UNIT

6

A Changing Society

1968–Present

Why It Matters

A reassessment of postwar developments marked the last three decades of the twentieth century. The Cold War ended and political boundaries were redrawn. The United States remained a global force, but the role of the federal government was diminished in the wake of scandal and a renewed conservatism. As the United States entered a new century, the nation continued to redefine itself. The country's social diversity posed new challenges and provided new strength to the nation. Understanding the shifts of this period will help prepare you for your future. The following resources offer more information about this time in American history.

Primary Sources Library

See pages 978–981 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 6.

 Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about imperialism and progressivism.



Handheld computer and stylus



New Yorkers celebrate the millennium, January 1, 2000



*“I was not elected to
serve one party, but to
serve one nation.”*

—George W. Bush, 2001



1971–1980

Politics and Economics

The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: The Nixon Administration

International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. President Nixon sought to restore law and order and traditional values at home and to ease Cold War tensions abroad.

SECTION 2: The Watergate Scandal

Societies change over time. During his second term, President Nixon became embroiled in a scandal that ultimately forced him to resign.

SECTION 3: Ford and Carter

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. During the 1970s, Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter attempted to lead the United States through both domestic and foreign crises.

SECTION 4: The “Me” Decade: Life in the 1970s

Societies change over time. In the midst of widespread cynicism about their leaders and concerns about the economy, Americans sought fulfillment and escape during the 1970s.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 19 video, “The Watergate Break-In,” examines the circumstances surrounding this scandal.

1972

- Nixon visits China and the Soviet Union
- Watergate burglars arrested at Democratic National Committee headquarters

1973

- Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision legalizes abortion
- Senate Watergate investigations begin
- OPEC price increases cause inflation

1974

- Nixon resigns
- Gerald Ford becomes president



United States

PRESIDENTS

Nixon
1969–1974



1971

Ford
1974–1977



1974



World

1971

- People’s Republic of China admitted to UN

1973

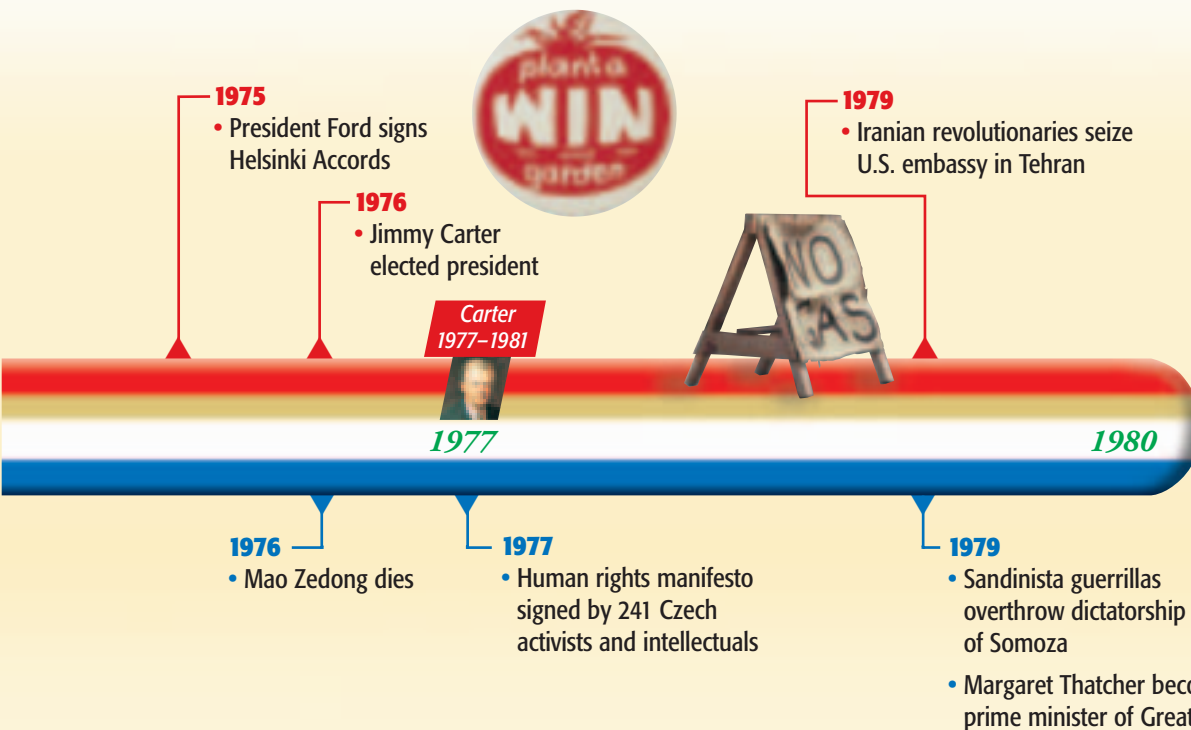
- Britain, Ireland, and Denmark join Common Market

1974

- India becomes world’s sixth nuclear power



President Nixon with Chinese premier Zhou Enlai (on Nixon's right) during Nixon's historic visit to China in 1972



HISTORY Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 19** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 19

Reading Skill

Using Problem/Solution

We first looked at problem/solution text structures in Chapter 6. You learned that solutions to problems are not always good ones. Still, it is important to understand how a person, government, or society arrived at a decision. Authors use the text structure of problem/solution to explain such decisions and the dilemmas of the time surrounding those decisions.

Effective readers look for signal words to recognize a problem/solution text structure. Signal words for a problem include *trouble, challenge, puzzle, difficulty, problem, question, crisis, or doubt*. Words such as *answer, solve, idea, agree, discovery, improve, propose, solution, overcome, resolve, response, decision, or reply* signal a solution.

Read the excerpt below and notice how the author has used problem/solution to explain how the government addressed the economic crisis in the 1970s.

USING PROBLEM/ SOLUTION

In this excerpt, signal words are underlined. The highlighted words provide clues about the outcome of the solution. Note that the phrase “did not solve” shows you the negative outcome of the problem.

[President] Carter felt that the nation’s most serious problem was its dependence on foreign oil. . . . “Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and Congress to govern this nation,” Carter stated.

Carter proposed a national energy program to conserve oil. . . .

Carter agreed to support deregulation but insisted on a “windfall profits tax” to prevent oil companies from overcharging consumers. The tax, however, conflicted with the basic idea of deregulation. . . . In the end, Carter’s contradictory plan did not solve the country’s energy crisis. (pages 867–868)

In the first sentence of the excerpt, you find a clear statement of the main problem—the nation’s dependence on foreign oil. The proposed solution consists of a national energy program, deregulation, and a windfall profits tax. Finally, you read about the results, or outcome, of the solution. The author clearly states that the policies worked against each other and thus could not solve the crisis.

Apply the Skill

As you read about Nixon’s foreign policy on pages 854–856 of your textbook, write down the problems and solutions Nixon wanted to address with his foreign policy. Note any signal words or other words that help define the problem and possible solutions. Also describe any outcome of his policy.



Historical Interpretation In order to understand the impact of historical events, you need to comprehend the meaning, implication, and impact of these events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

In Chapter 5 you learned that historians consider how historical events could have unfolded differently if the participants in those events had made different choices. To understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events, historians examine the motives and actions of individuals or groups involved in those events. In the analysis of motives and actions, historians consider the participants' prior experiences and goals. Then historians determine the significance of the events. Based on what they have learned, they consider alternative directions the event could have taken. Thinking about alternatives helps historians gain a clearer understanding of events and people.

Read the following passages from your textbook about the events surrounding the Watergate investigation in 1973 and the choices President Nixon made as the events unfolded.

All the while, the White House strongly denied any involvement in the break-in. Nixon's press secretary dismissed the incident as a "third-rate burglary attempt," while the president himself told the American public, "The White House has had no involvement whatever in this particular incident." (page 859)

As the nation held its collective breath in anticipation, investigators finally found indisputable evidence against the president. One of the unedited tapes revealed that on June 23, 1972, just six days after the Watergate burglary, Nixon had ordered the CIA to stop the FBI's investigation of the break-in. With this news, even the president's strongest supporters conceded that impeachment and conviction in the Senate now seemed inevitable. (page 861)

Examine the actions of President Nixon, his press secretary, and the investigators. Based on the passage, what do you think were the motives of each? How might their motives have influenced their actions? What do you think might have happened had Nixon immediately admitted to, and apologized for, the Watergate break-in?

Apply the Skill

As you read about the Watergate scandal in Section 3, stop after each major heading and subheading. Consider the information you have read about the people involved in the scandal. Think about the choices each made and the circumstances surrounding the choices. Then consider how a different choice may have changed the events and the investigation.



The Nixon Administration

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned about the social, political, and environmental movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In this section, you will discover how President Nixon worked to restore traditional values at home and ease Cold War tensions abroad.

Main Idea

- Nixon won the 1968 election by appealing to a “silent majority” of conservatives. (p. 851)
- With the support of national security adviser Henry Kissinger, Nixon forged better relationships with China and the Soviet Union. (p. 854)

Content Vocabulary

revenue sharing, impound, détente, summit

Academic Vocabulary

supplement, notion, potential

People and Terms to Identify

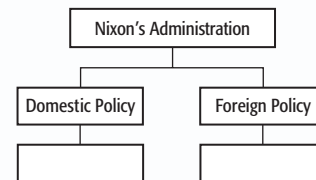
Southern strategy, Henry Kissinger

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** Nixon’s domestic agenda.
- **Discuss** Nixon’s foreign policy achievements.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about President Nixon’s administration, complete a graphic organizer by listing his domestic and foreign policies.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.4 Analyze new federal government spending on defense, welfare, interest on the national debt, and federal and state spending on education, including the California Master Plan.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

The Big Idea

International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. Richard Nixon won the 1968 presidential election by appealing to Southern states and a large number of conservative voters. As president, Nixon instituted his policy of New Federalism, finding ways to give state and local governments more control. The president also set out to improve relations with China and the Soviet Union. The U.S. policy of détente enabled the countries to cooperate with one another and led to the signing of a treaty limiting nuclear arms between the Soviet Union and the United States.

11.11.2 Discuss the significant domestic policy speeches of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton (e.g., with regard to education, civil rights, economic policy, environmental policy).

11.11.6 Analyze the persistence of poverty and how different analyses of this issue influence welfare reform, health insurance reform, and other social policies.

11.11.7 Explain how the federal, state, and local governments have responded to demographic and social changes such as population shifts to the suburbs, racial concentrations in the cities, Frostbelt-to-Sunbelt migration, international migration, decline of family farms, increases in out-of-wedlock births, and drug abuse.

Appealing to Middle America

Main Idea Nixon won the 1968 election by appealing to a “silent majority” of conservatives.

Reading Connection Do you view your community as politically and socially liberal or conservative? Read on to find out about the strategies Nixon used to convince conservative Southerners to vote for him.

Many Americans longed for an end to the violence and turmoil that seemed to plague the nation in the 1960s.

★ An American Story ★

Millions of Americans saw police and demonstrators clash on the streets of Chicago at the Democratic National Convention in late August 1968. Many television viewers were outraged at the police tactics they saw. G.L. Halbert, however, was not one of them. To make his support of police efforts public, Halbert wrote a letter to *Newsweek* magazine:

““Congratulations to Mayor Daley and the Chicago police on their tough handling of the yippies, Vietniks, and newsmen. If more mayors and police departments had the courage to crack down on those who carry only the flags of our enemies and newsmen who consistently slant their coverage of events in favor of those who would undermine and disrupt our country, there would be greater freedom for the majority of Americans rather than greater lawlessness for the few. It is a tragedy that such individuals are allowed to cringe behind our constitutional guarantees after they have wreaked destruction by their agitation.””

—quoted in *Newsweek*, September 16, 1968

The views expressed by G.L. Halbert were not unusual. While they did not shout as loudly as the protesters, many Americans supported the government and desired change. The presidential candidate in 1968 who appealed to many of these frustrated citizens was Richard Nixon, a Republican. Nixon aimed many of his campaign messages at these Americans, whom he referred to as “Middle America” and the “silent majority.” He promised them “peace with honor” in Vietnam, law and order, a streamlined government, and a return to more traditional values at home.

The Election of 1968 Nixon’s principal opponent in the 1968 presidential election was Democrat Hubert Humphrey, who had served as vice president under Lyndon Johnson. Nixon also had to wage his campaign against a strong third-party candidate, George Wallace, an experienced Southern politician and avowed supporter of segregation. In a 1964 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination, the former Alabama governor had attracted considerable support.

On Election Day, Wallace captured an impressive 13.5 percent of the popular vote, the best showing of a third-party candidate since 1924. Nixon managed a victory, however, receiving 43.4 percent of the popular vote to Humphrey’s 42.7 and 301 electoral votes to Humphrey’s 191.

The Southern Strategy One of the keys to Nixon’s victory was his surprisingly strong showing in the South. Even though the South had long been a Democratic stronghold, Nixon had refused to concede the region. To gain Southern support, Nixon had met with powerful South Carolina senator Strom Thurmond and won his backing by promising several things: to appoint only conservatives to the federal courts, to name a Southerner to the Supreme Court, to oppose court-ordered busing, and to choose a vice presidential candidate acceptable to the South. (Nixon ultimately chose Spiro Agnew, governor of the border state of Maryland.)

Nixon’s efforts paid off on Election Day. Large numbers of white Southerners deserted the Democratic Party, granting Humphrey only one victory in that region—in Lyndon Johnson’s home state of Texas. While Wallace claimed most of the states in the Deep South, Nixon captured Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina. Senator Strom Thurmond’s support delivered his state of South Carolina for the Republicans as well.


▼ *Students and police clash at the 1968 Democratic National Convention*



Following his victory, Nixon set out to attract even more Southerners to the Republican Party, an effort that became known as the **Southern strategy**. Toward this end, the president fulfilled his agreements with Thurmond and took steps to slow desegregation. During his tenure, Nixon worked to overturn several civil rights policies. He reversed a Johnson administration policy, for example, that had cut off federal funds for racially segregated schools.

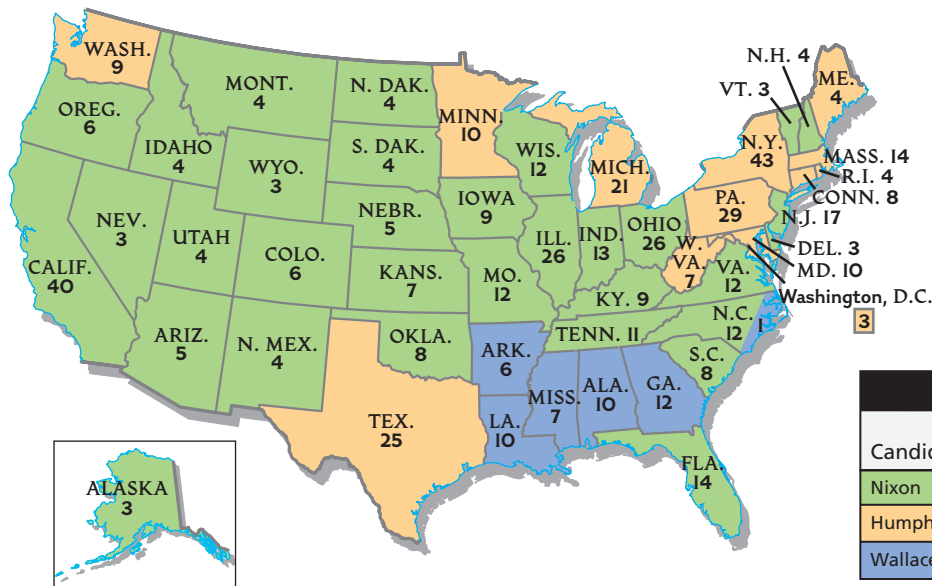
A Law-and-Order President Having also won the presidency with a promise of law and order, Nixon immediately set out to battle crime in America. His administration specifically targeted the nation's antiwar protesters. Attorney General John Mitchell declared that he stood ready to prosecute "hard-line militants" who crossed state lines to stir up riots. Mitchell's deputy, Richard Kleindienst, went even further with the boast, "We're going to enforce the law against draft evaders, against radical students, against deserters, against civil disorders, against organized crime, and against street crime."

President Nixon also went on the attack against the recent Supreme Court rulings that expanded the rights of accused criminals. Nixon opposed these rulings and openly criticized the Court and its chief justice, Earl Warren. The president promised to fill vacancies on the Supreme Court with judges who would support the rights of law enforcement over the rights of suspected criminals.

When Chief Justice Warren retired shortly after Nixon took office, the president replaced him with Warren Burger, a respected conservative judge. The president also placed three other conservative justices on the Court, including one justice from the South. The Burger Court did not reverse Warren Court rulings pertaining to the rights of criminal suspects. It did, however, refuse to expand those rights further. For example, in *Stone v. Powell* (1976), it agreed to limits on the rights of defendants to appeal state convictions to the federal judiciary. The Court also continued to uphold capital punishment as constitutional.  (See page 1007 for more information on *Stone v. Powell*.)

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

The Election of 1968



Presidential Election, 1968			
Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Political Party
Nixon	301	31,785,480	Republican
Humphrey	191	31,275,166	Democrat
Wallace	46	9,906,473	Independent

Geography Skills

- Interpreting Maps** What regions provided Nixon with solid support?
- Applying Geography Skills** Nixon barely won the popular vote. How did he win so many electoral votes?

Profiles IN HISTORY

Romana Acosta Bañuelos 1925–

On her first day of business in downtown Los Angeles, California, Romana Acosta Bañuelos made \$36 selling tortillas. That was in 1949. She made great strides after that, becoming a successful businessperson and serving as U.S. treasurer in the 1970s.

Born in 1925 in a small town in Arizona to Mexican American immigrants, Bañuelos spent part of her childhood on a relative's small ranch in Mexico. Rising early, she tended the crops and helped her mother make empanadas (Mexican turnovers) to sell to local restaurants. "My mother was the type of woman that taught us how to live in any place and work with what we have."

That lesson inspired Bañuelos to start her own business when she returned to the United States at the age of 19. Gradually her business grew, and by the mid-1960s, it was thriving. In 1979 Romana's Mexican Food Products employed about 400 people and had sales of some \$12 million annually.

Bañuelos worked at more than accumulating wealth. She contributed to scholarships for Mexican American students, especially those interested in business, which Bañuelos believes is an important path to political influence. With a number of partners, she also founded the Pan-American National Bank. It too was successful.

Bañuelos' success and community leadership led to President Nixon's appointing her as U.S. Treasurer in 1971.



The New Federalism President Nixon's Republican constituency also favored dismantling a number of federal programs and giving more control to state and local governments. Nixon called this New Federalism. He argued that it would provide the government agencies that were closest to the citizens the opportunity to address more of their issues.

"I reject the patronizing idea that government in Washington, D.C., is inevitably more wise and more efficient than government at the state or local level," Nixon declared. "The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows what's best for people . . . is really a contention that people cannot govern themselves." Under the New Federalism program, Congress passed a series of revenue-sharing bills that granted federal funds to state and local agencies.

Although **revenue sharing** was intended to give state and local agencies more power, over time it gave the federal government new power. As states came to depend on federal funds, the federal government could impose conditions on the states. Unless they met those conditions, their funds would be cut off.

While he worked to limit federal government responsibilities, Nixon also sought to increase the power of the executive branch. Nixon did not build many strong relationships in Congress. His lack of camaraderie with lawmakers and the fact that the Republican Party controlled neither house led to struggles with the legislative branch. Nixon often

responded by trying to work around Congress and use greater executive authority. For instance, when Congress appropriated money for programs he opposed, Nixon **impounded**, or refused to release, the funds. The Supreme Court eventually declared the practice of impoundment unconstitutional.

The Family Assistance Plan One federal program Nixon sought to reform was the nation's welfare system—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The program had many critics, Republican and Democratic alike. They argued that AFDC was structured so that it was actually better for poor people to apply for benefits than to take a low-paying job. A mother who had such a job, for example, would then have to pay for child care, sometimes leaving her with less income than she had on welfare. There was also great inequity among states since each was allowed to develop its own guidelines.

In 1969 Nixon proposed replacing the AFDC with the Family Assistance Plan. The plan called for providing needy families a guaranteed yearly grant of \$1,600, which could be **supplemented** by outside earnings. Many liberals applauded the plan as a significant step toward expanding federal responsibility for the poor. Nixon, however, presented the program in a conservative light, arguing it would reduce federal supervision and encourage welfare recipients to become more responsible.



Although the program won approval in the House in 1970, it soon came under harsh attack from the public and politicians. Welfare recipients complained that the federal grant was too low, while conservatives, who disapproved of guaranteed income, also criticized the plan. Such opposition led to the program's defeat in the Senate.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What impact did third-party candidate George Wallace have on the 1968 election?

Nixon's Foreign Policy

Main Idea With the support of national security adviser Henry Kissinger, Nixon forged better relationships with China and the Soviet Union.

Reading Connection How do you think a president should balance his efforts between domestic and foreign affairs? Read on to learn about Nixon's strategies for dealing with communist countries.

Despite Nixon's domestic initiatives, a State Department official later recalled that the president had a "monumental disinterest in domestic policies."

▼ Henry Kissinger



Nixon once expressed his hope that a "competent cabinet" of advisers could run the country. This would allow him to focus his energies on the subject that truly fascinated him, foreign affairs. Embarking on an ambitious foreign policy agenda that included historic encounters with both China and the Soviet Union, Nixon set out to leave his mark on the world stage.

Nixon and Kissinger In a move that would greatly influence his foreign policy, Nixon chose as his national security adviser **Henry Kissinger**, a former Harvard professor. As a teenager Kissinger had fled to the United States from Germany with his family in 1938 to escape Nazi persecution of Jews. He had served as a foreign policy consultant for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Though Secretary of State William Rogers technically outranked him, Kissinger soon took the lead in helping shape Nixon's foreign policy.

Nixon and Kissinger shared views on many issues. Both believed simply abandoning the war in Vietnam would damage the United States's position in the world. Thus they worked toward a gradual withdrawal. Nixon and Kissinger also believed in shaping a foreign policy rooted in practical approaches rather than ideologies. They felt the nation's decades-long anticommunist crusade had created a foreign policy that was too rigid and often worked against the nation's interests. While both leaders wanted to continue to contain communism, they believed that engagement and negotiation with Communists offered a better way for the United States to achieve its international goals. As a surprised nation watched, Nixon and Kissinger put their philosophy into practice by forging friendlier relations with the Soviet Union and China.

The Establishment of Détente The Soviet Union was not initially pleased when Nixon, a man with a history of outspoken anticommunist actions, became president. The Washington correspondent for the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*, Yuri Barsukov, had called the election "unwelcome news for Moscow" and predicted that Soviet leaders "would have to deal with a very stubborn president."

Things did not turn out that way, however. Nixon was still a staunch anticommunist, but he came to reject the **notion** of a bipolar world in which the superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union confronted one another. He believed the United States needed to understand the growing role that China, Japan, and Western Europe would soon play. This "multipolar" world of the future demanded a different approach to American foreign policy.

With Kissinger's help, Nixon fashioned an approach called **détente**, or relaxation of tensions, between the United States and its two major Communist rivals, the Soviet Union and China. In explaining détente to the American people, Nixon said that the United States had to build a better relationship with its main rivals in the interests of world peace:

“We must understand that détente is not a love fest. It is an understanding between nations that have opposite purposes, but which share common interests, including the avoidance of a nuclear war. Such an understanding can work—that is, restrain aggression and deter war—only as long as the **potential** aggressor is made to recognize that neither aggression nor war will be profitable.”

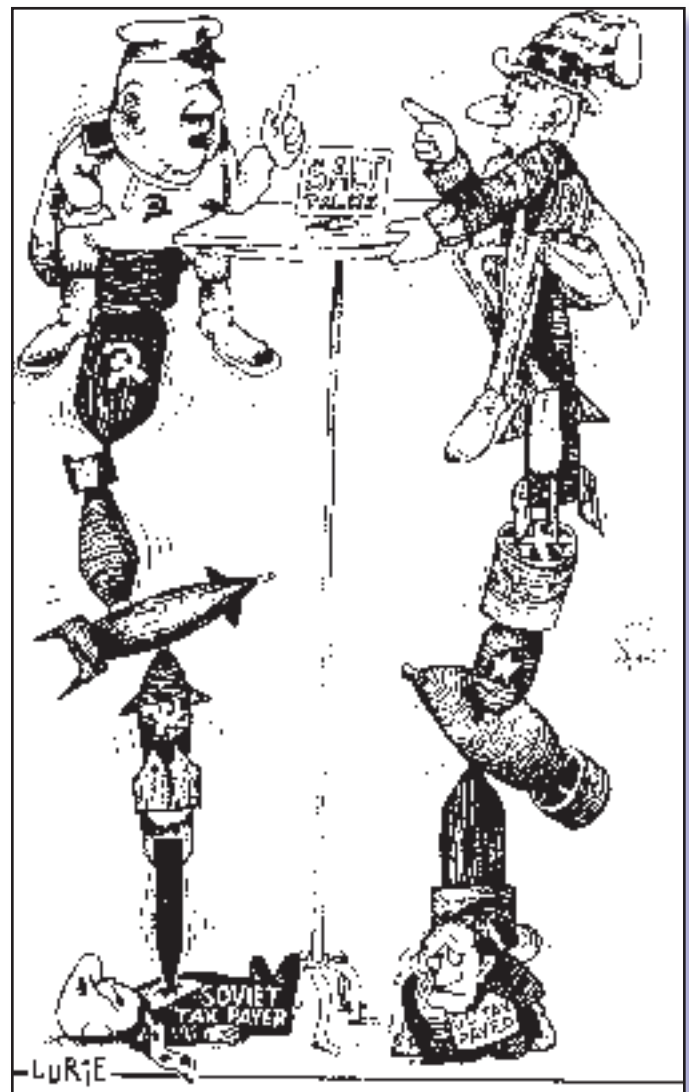
—quoted in *The Limits of Power*

Nixon Visits China Détente began with an effort to improve American-Chinese relations. Since 1949, when a Communist government came to power in China, the United States had refused to recognize the Communists as the legitimate rulers. Instead, the American government recognized the exiled regime on the island of Taiwan as the Chinese government. Having long supported this policy, Nixon now set out to reverse it. He began by lifting trade and travel restrictions and withdrawing the Seventh Fleet from defending Taiwan.

After a series of highly secret negotiations between Kissinger and Chinese leaders, Nixon announced that he would visit China in February 1972. During the historic trip, the leaders of both nations agreed to establish “more normal” relations between their countries. In a statement that epitomized the notion of détente, Nixon told his Chinese hosts during a banquet toast, “Let us start a long march together, not in lockstep, but on different roads leading to the same goal, the goal of building a world structure of peace and justice.”

In taking this trip, Nixon hoped not only to strengthen ties with the Chinese, but also to encourage the Soviets to more actively pursue diplomacy. Since the 1960s, a rift had developed between the Communist governments of the Soviet Union and China. Troops of the two nations occasionally clashed along their borders. Nixon believed détente with China would encourage Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev to be more accommodating with the United States.

U.S.-Soviet Tensions Ease Nixon's feelings about the Soviets proved correct. Shortly after the public



Analyzing *Political Cartoons*

Arms Buildup Anxiety The urgent need to negotiate a reduction in nuclear arms is demonstrated in this 1970 cartoon. [When was the SALT I agreement finally signed?](#)

learned of U.S. negotiations with China, the Soviets proposed an American-Soviet **summit**, or high-level diplomatic meeting, to be held in May 1972. On May 22, President Nixon flew to Moscow for a weeklong summit. Thus, he became the first American president since World War II to visit the Soviet Union.

Before Nixon's visit, Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans spent 11 days in the Soviet Union. In his visits to a tractor plant, a steel mill, and an oil field, Stans recalled, “It was as friendly a meeting as if I were representing California and negotiating with the state of Arizona.” Before leaving, however, Stans requested a favor from his Soviet host, Alexei Kosygin:



During the historic Moscow summit, the two superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or SALT I, a plan to limit nuclear arms. The two nations had been working on this plan for over two years. Nixon and Brezhnev also agreed to increase trade and the exchange of scientific information.

Détente profoundly eased tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States. By the end of Nixon's presidency, one Soviet official admitted that "the United States and the Soviet Union had their best relationship of the whole Cold War period."

President Nixon indeed had made his mark on the world stage. For the first time in over two decades, the world breathed a sigh of relief because nuclear war seemed less likely. As he basked in the glow of his 1972 foreign policy triumphs, however, trouble was brewing on the home front. A scandal was about to engulf his presidency and plunge the nation into one of its greatest constitutional crises.


Reading Check **Summarizing** What were the results of the 1972 American-Soviet summit?

Picturing History

Détente Discussion Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev listens to President Nixon during Brezhnev's June 1973 visit to Washington, D.C. On June 22 the two signed an agreement on the prevention of nuclear war. **What does the word détente mean?**

“There is one thing I hope you will take care of: on the highway into Moscow there is a great big billboard with the United States pictured as a vicious killer, with a sword in one hand and a gun in the other, killing people all over the world. I don't think that will be a good entrance for President Nixon, and the sign ought to come down.’ He said, ‘It will.’”

—quoted in *Nixon: An Oral History of His Presidency*

HISTORY Online  **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: revenue sharing, impound, supplement, notion, détente, potential, summit.
- People and Terms** Identify: Southern strategy, Henry Kissinger.
- Describe** Nixon's New Federalism policy.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** What were the results of Nixon's policy of détente?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Evaluating** How did Nixon's China visit affect Soviet relations? **CA HI1**
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to describe how President Nixon established détente in the countries listed.

China	
Soviet Union	

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Political Cartoons** Study the cartoon on page 855. What is the artist's message about the impact of the arms buildup on the average citizen in both the Soviet Union and the United States?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Take on the role of a member of President Nixon's staff. Write a press release explaining Nixon's domestic and foreign policies.

CA 11WS1.2

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the 1968 election of President Nixon and détente. In this section, you will discover how a scandal forced President Nixon to resign during his second term.

Main Idea

- President Nixon sought reelection amid a scandal over the Watergate break-in. (p. 858)
- After the televised 1973 Watergate hearings in the Senate, President Nixon resigned from office. (p. 859)
- The Watergate scandal eroded public confidence in the federal government. (p. 861)

Content Vocabulary

executive privilege, impeach

Academic Vocabulary

attribute, obtain, inevitable

People and Terms to Identify

Sam J. Ervin, John Dean, Federal Campaign Act Amendments

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the character of Richard Nixon and the attitude of his White House.
- **Explain** the Watergate scandal and discuss its effects.

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the Watergate scandal, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Watergate Scandal

- I. The Roots of Watergate
 - A.
 - B.
 - C.
- II.
 - A.
 - B.

Preview of Events

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.11.4 Explain the constitutional crisis originating from the Watergate scandal.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. Scandals consumed President Nixon's second term as president. The revelation that Vice President Spiro Agnew had accepted bribes when he was a governor forced him to resign. Then a burglary trial revealed that the Nixon administration had orchestrated a break-in at the Democratic headquarters. The Watergate cover-up began to crumble with testimony of White House and campaign officials and news of recordings. Faced with impeachment, Nixon resigned from office. In the wake of the scandals, Congress enacted a series of new laws to limit the power of the executive branch. Still, Watergate left the American people with weakened trust in the government.

The Roots of Watergate

Main Idea President Nixon sought reelection amid a scandal over the Watergate break-in.

Reading Connection What actions would you consider acceptable in a political campaign? Read on to learn about the efforts of Nixon's campaign team.

A seemingly simple burglary at the Watergate complex soon developed into a major political scandal.

★ An American Story ★

As Bob Woodward, a young reporter for the *Washington Post*, sat in a Washington, D.C., courtroom on the morning of June 17, 1972, he was in a rather foul mood. His editor had ruined his Saturday by calling him in to cover a seemingly insignificant but bizarre incident. In the early hours of that morning, five men had broken into the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters in the city's Watergate apartment-office complex.

Woodward sat toward the back of the courtroom listening to the bail proceedings for the five defendants. At one point, the judge asked each man his occupation. One of the men, James McCord, answered that he was retired from government service. "Where in government?" asked the judge. "CIA," McCord whispered. Woodward sprang to attention. Why was a former member of the Central Intelligence Agency involved in what seemed to be nothing more than a burglary?

Over the next two years, Woodward and another reporter, Carl Bernstein, would investigate this question. In so doing, they uncovered a scandal that helped bring about a grave constitutional crisis and eventually forced the president to resign.

—adapted from *All the President's Men*

The scandal known as Watergate originated from the Nixon administration's attempts to cover up its involvement in the break-in at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters, along with other illegal actions committed during Nixon's reelection campaign. A number of scholars **attribute** the scandal in large part to the character of Richard Nixon and the atmosphere that he and his advisers created in the White House.

Nixon and His "Enemies" Richard Nixon had fought hard to become president. He had battled back from numerous political defeats, including a loss to John Kennedy in the 1960 presidential election, to win the presidency in 1968. Along the way, however, Nixon had grown defensive, secretive, and often resentful of his critics.

In addition, Nixon had become president during a time when the United States was still very much at war with itself. Race riots and protests over the Vietnam War continued to consume the country. In Nixon's view, these protesters and other "radicals" were out to bring down his administration. Nixon was so consumed with his opponents that he compiled an "enemies list" filled with people—from politicians to members of the media—whom he considered a threat to his presidency.

Mounting a Reelection Fight As Nixon's reelection campaign got under way in 1972, many in his administration expressed optimism about winning a second term. The president had just finished triumphant trips to China and the Soviet Union. In May, former Alabama governor George Wallace, who had mounted a strong third-party campaign in 1968, had dropped his bid for another run at the White House after an assassin's bullet paralyzed him. Meanwhile, Nixon's Democratic opponent, South Dakota senator George McGovern, was viewed as too liberal on many issues.

At the same time, Nixon's hold on the presidency was uncertain. Despite the high approval ratings for the president's summit meetings in Beijing and Moscow, the unpopular Vietnam War still raged. Nixon staffers also remembered how close the margin of Nixon's 1968 victory had been. Seeking to gain an

▼ Reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein



edge in every way they could, Nixon's team engaged in a host of subversive tactics, from spying on opposition rallies to spreading rumors and false reports.

These tactics included an effort to steal information from the Democratic Party's headquarters. In the early hours of June 17, 1972, five Nixon supporters broke into the party's office at the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. They had intended to **obtain** any sensitive campaign information and to place wiretaps on the office telephones. While the burglars were at work, a security guard making his rounds spotted a piece of tape holding a door lock. The guard ripped off the tape, but when he passed the door later, he noticed that it had been replaced. He quickly called police, who arrived shortly and arrested the men.

The Cover-Up Begins In the wake of the Watergate break-in, the media discovered that one of the burglars, James McCord, was not only an ex-CIA official but also a member of the Committee for the Reelection of the President (CRP). Reports soon surfaced that the burglars had been paid to execute the break-in from a secret CRP fund controlled by the White House.

As questions swirled about a possible White House connection to the burglary, the cover-up began. Administration officials destroyed incriminating documents and provided false testimony to investigators. Meanwhile, President Nixon stepped in. While the president may not have ordered the break-in, he did order a cover-up. With Nixon's consent, administration officials asked the CIA to intervene and stop the FBI from inquiring into the source of the money paid to the burglars. Their justification was that such an investigation would threaten national security.

All the while, the White House strongly denied any involvement in the break-in. Nixon's press secretary dismissed the incident as a "third-rate burglary attempt," while the president himself told the American public, "The White House has had no involvement whatever in this particular incident."

The strategy worked. Most Americans believed President Nixon. Despite efforts by the media, in particular the *Washington Post*, to keep the story alive, few people paid much attention to the Watergate affair during the 1972 presidential campaign. On Election Day, Nixon won reelection by one of the largest margins in history with nearly 61 percent of the popular vote compared to 37.5 percent for George McGovern. The electoral vote was 520 votes for Nixon and 17 for McGovern.

Reading Check **Examining** Why did members of the CRP break into the Democratic National Committee headquarters?

The Cover-Up Unravels

Main Idea After the televised 1973 Watergate hearings in the Senate, President Nixon resigned from office.

Reading Connection Who takes over the presidency if both the president and vice president resign or are otherwise incapacitated? Read on to learn why both the president and vice president resigned in 1973.

Shortly after his triumphant reelection, an exuberant and confident Nixon told his cabinet and staff that 1973 "can be and should be the best year ever."

HISTORY
Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 19** for an activity on the 1970s.



Picturing History

Watergate Hotel The hotel gave its name to the scandal that brought down President Nixon. Hotel guard Frank Willis, pictured here, reported to police the evidence of a break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters there. **What was Nixon's response to the break-in?**

In a matter of months, however, the Watergate affair would erupt, and the coming year would be one of the president's worst.

The First Cracks Show In 1973 the Watergate burglars went on trial. Under relentless prodding from federal judge John J. Sirica, McCord agreed to cooperate with both a grand jury investigation and with the Senate's Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, which had been recently established under Senator **Sam J. Ervin** of North Carolina. McCord's testimony opened a floodgate of confessions, and a parade of White House and campaign officials exposed one illegality after another over the next several months. Foremost among the officials was counsel to the president **John Dean**, a member of the inner circle of the White House who leveled allegations against Nixon himself.

A Summer of Shocking Testimony In June 1973, John Dean testified before Senator Ervin's committee that former Attorney General John Mitchell had ordered the Watergate break-in and that Nixon had played an active role in attempting to cover up any

White House involvement. As a shocked nation absorbed Dean's testimony, the Nixon administration strongly denied the charges.

A standoff ensued for the next month, as the Senate committee attempted to determine who was telling the truth. Then, on July 16, the answer appeared unexpectedly. On that day, White House aide Alexander Butterfield testified that Nixon had ordered a taping system installed in the White House to record all conversations. The president had done so, Butterfield said, to help him write his memoirs after he left office. For members of the committee, however, the tapes would tell them exactly what the president knew and when he knew it.

The Case of the Tapes All the groups investigating the scandal sought access to the tapes. Nixon refused, pleading **executive privilege**—the principle that White House conversations should remain confidential to protect national security. A special prosecutor appointed by the president to handle the Watergate cases, Archibald Cox, took Nixon to court in October 1973 to force him to give up the recordings. Nixon, clearly growing desperate, ordered Attorney General Elliot Richardson, and then Richardson's deputy, to fire Cox. Both men refused to follow the order and resigned in protest. Solicitor General Robert Bork finally fired Cox, but the incident, nicknamed the "Saturday Night Massacre" in the press, badly damaged Nixon's reputation with the public.

The fall of 1973 proved to be a disastrous time for Nixon for other reasons as well. His vice president, Spiro Agnew, was forced to resign in disgrace. Investigators had discovered that Agnew had taken bribes from state contractors while he was governor of Maryland and that he had continued to accept bribes while serving in Washington. Gerald Ford, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, became the new vice president. Nixon then had to defend himself against allegations about his own past financial dealings.

Nixon Resigns In an effort to quiet the growing outrage over his actions, President Nixon appointed a new special prosecutor, Texas lawyer Leon Jaworski, who proved no less determined than Cox to obtain the president's tapes. In April 1974, Nixon released edited transcripts of the tapes, claiming that they proved his innocence. Investigators felt otherwise and went to court again to force Nixon to turn over the unedited tapes. In July the Supreme Court ruled that the president had to turn over the tapes

Picturing History

Sitting in Judgment Representative Barbara Jordan from Texas was an outspoken member of the House Judiciary Committee. [What was this committee's role in the impeachment process?](#)





Picturing History

High Political Drama After resigning his office on August 9, 1974, President Nixon and his family say goodbye to aides and friends on the White House lawn. On the capital's streets, a reader takes in the news in the *Washington Post*, the newspaper that started the Watergate investigation. **Who replaced Nixon as president?**

themselves, not just the transcripts. With nowhere else to appeal, Nixon handed over the tapes.

Several days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to **impeach** Nixon, or officially charge him of presidential misconduct. The committee charged that Nixon had obstructed justice in the Watergate cover-up; misused federal agencies to violate the rights of citizens; and defied the authority of Congress by refusing to deliver tapes and other materials that the committee had requested. The next step was for the entire House of Representatives to vote whether or not to impeach the president.

As the nation held its collective breath in anticipation, investigators finally found indisputable evidence against the president. One of the unedited tapes revealed that on June 23, 1972, just six days after the Watergate burglary, Nixon had ordered the CIA to stop the FBI's investigation of the break-in. With this news, even the president's strongest supporters conceded that impeachment and conviction in the Senate now seemed **inevitable**. On August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned his office in disgrace. Gerald Ford took the oath of office and became the nation's 38th president.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** What was the significance of John Dean's testimony before the Senate committee?

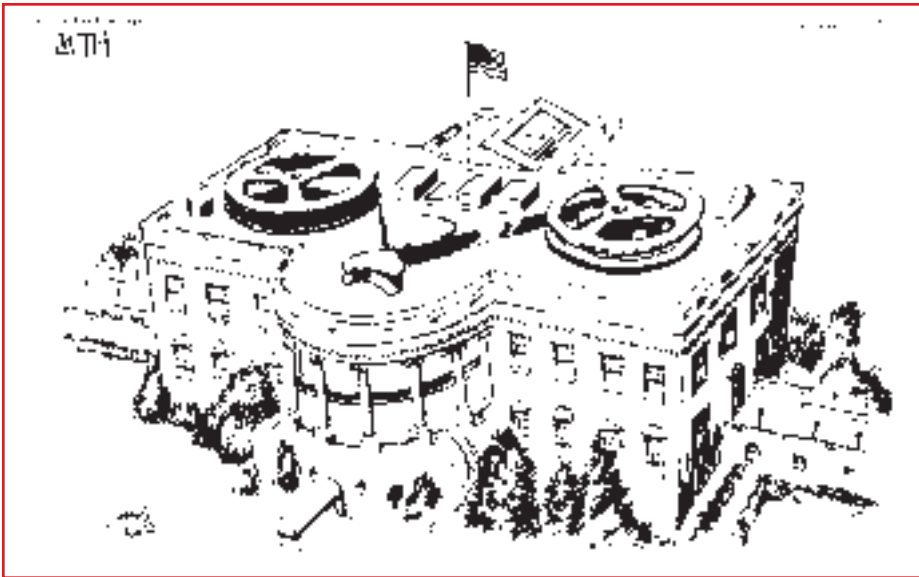
The Impact of Watergate

Main Idea The Watergate scandal eroded public confidence in the federal government.

Reading Connection Do you believe in limiting the amount of money that a politician can spend on an election? Read on to learn about Congress's attempts in the 1970s to limit campaign spending and to enforce election laws.

Upon taking office, President Ford urged Americans to put the Watergate affair behind them and move on. "Our long national nightmare is over," he declared. The effects of the scandal, however, endured long after Richard Nixon's resignation.

The Watergate crisis prompted a series of new laws intended to limit the power of the executive branch. In the 1970s Congress passed a number of laws aimed at reestablishing a greater balance of power in government. **The Federal Campaign Act Amendments** limited campaign contributions and established an independent agency to administer stricter election laws. The Ethics in Government Act required financial disclosure by high government officials in all three branches of government. The FBI Domestic Security Investigation Guidelines restricted



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Watergate Scandal In this cartoon, the top of the White House is represented by a tape recorder. **What effect did the Watergate affair have on the nation?**

the bureau’s political intelligence-gathering activities. After Watergate, Congress also established a means for appointing an independent counsel to investigate and prosecute wrongdoing by high government officials.

Despite these efforts, Watergate left many Americans with a deep distrust of their public officials. Speaking some 20 years after the Watergate affair, Alexander Haig, a former high-level Nixon aide, said the scandal had produced, “a fundamental discrediting of respect for the presidency . . . [and] a new skepticism about politics, in general,

which every American feels to this day.” On the other hand, some Americans saw the Watergate affair as proof that in the United States, no person is above the law. As Bob Woodward observed:

“Watergate was probably a good thing for the country; it was a good, sobering lesson. Accountability to the law applies to everyone. The problem with kings and prime ministers and presidents is that they think that they are above it, and there is no accountability, and that they have some special rights, and privileges, and status. And a process that says: No. We have our

laws and believe them, and they apply to everyone, is a very good thing.”

—quoted in *Nixon: An Oral History of His Presidency*

After the ordeal of Watergate, most Americans attempted to put the affair behind them. In the years ahead, however, the nation encountered a host of new troubles.

Reading Check Evaluating Why did Congress pass new laws after the Watergate scandal?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

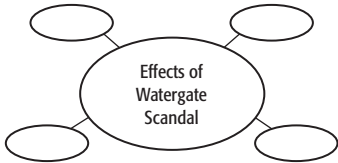
- Vocabulary** Define: attribute, obtain, executive privilege, impeach, inevitable.
- People and Places** Identify: Sam J. Ervin, John Dean, Federal Campaign Act Amendments.
- Evaluate** the effects of the Watergate scandal on the way American citizens viewed the federal government.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** How did the Watergate scandal alter the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of government?

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis Evaluating** How did the discovery of the White House tapes change the Watergate cover-up investigation? **CA HIT; HI4**
- Organizing** Using a graphic organizer similar to the one below, fill in the effects of the Watergate scandal.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 861. How would you describe the scene of Nixon’s leave taking? What in the photo suggests that this is a formal occasion? Why do you think this ceremony might be important for the nation?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of a television news analyst. Write a script in which you explain the Watergate scandal and analyze the factors that led to the scandal. **CA 11WS1.2**

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the Watergate scandal. In this section, you will discover how Presidents Ford and Carter led the nation through both domestic and foreign crises.

Main Idea

- Inflation, a stagnant economy, and an oil embargo created an economic crisis during the 1970s. (p. 864)
- Gerald Ford attempted to fight inflation at home and sought détente abroad. (p. 866)
- Despite trying several strategies, Carter could not solve the problem of inflation. (p. 867)

- Carter attempted to craft a moral foreign policy in the Middle East and Latin America. (p. 868)

Content Vocabulary
inflation, embargo, stagflation

Academic Vocabulary
norm, acknowledge, devote

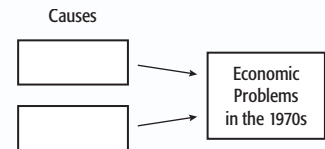
Terms to Identify
Helsinki Accords, Department of Energy

Reading Objectives
• **Explain** the reasons for economic troubles in the United States during the 1970s.

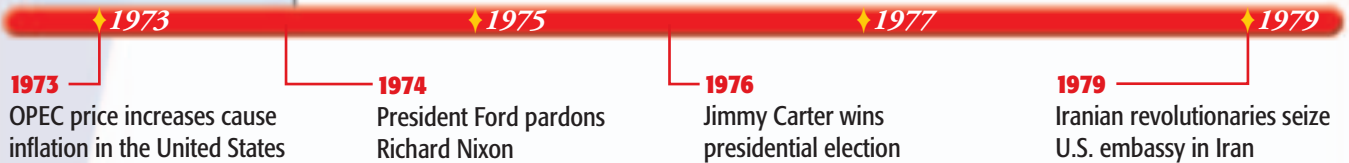
- **Discuss** Jimmy Carter's domestic and foreign policies.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the administrations of Presidents Ford and Carter, complete a graphic organizer listing the causes of economic problems in the 1970s.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.9.3 Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy, including the following: the era of McCarthyism, instances of domestic Communism (e.g., Alger Hiss) and blacklisting; the Truman Doctrine; the Berlin Blockade; the Korean War; the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis; atomic testing in the American West, the “mutual assured destruction” doctrine, and disarmament policies; the Vietnam War; Latin American policy.

11.9.6 Describe U.S. Middle East policy and its strategic, political, and economic interests, including those related to the Gulf War.

11.11.2 Discuss the significant domestic policy speeches of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Reagan, Bush, and Clinton (e.g., with regard to education, civil rights, economic policy, environmental policy).

11.11.4 Explain the constitutional crisis originating from the Watergate scandal.

The Big Idea

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. During the 1970s, the postwar prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s ended. Inflation, a stagnant economy, and an oil embargo combined to create an economic crisis. Faced with the worst recession since the Great Depression, President Ford instituted several plans to improve the economy, to no avail. He also continued efforts to improve relations with China and the Soviet Union. With the economy continuing to decline, Jimmy Carter defeated President Ford in the 1976 presidential election. President Carter’s efforts to improve the economy and end the energy crisis were equally unsuccessful. His attempts to base foreign policy on morality met with both success and failure. Carter was able to help negotiate a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt but could not negotiate the release of 52 Americans taken hostage in Iran.

The Economic Crisis of the 1970s

Main Idea Inflation, a stagnant economy, and an oil embargo created an economic crisis during the 1970s.

Reading Connection How much do you depend on gasoline and other fossil fuels? Read on to learn how President Nixon tried to solve the nation's economic problems.

Since the end of World War II, the American economy had been the envy of the world. During the 1950s and 1960s, many Americans enjoyed remarkable prosperity and had come to assume it was the **norm**. During the 1970s, however, many Americans began to realize that this prosperity could not last.

★ An American Story ★

On a sunny February day in 1977, Ellen Griffith and her fiancé, Roger Everson, both of Nashville, Tennessee, sat together in a place where neither of them dreamed they would be—the state unemployment office. Just a month before, Griffith, a 20-year-old salesclerk in a shopping center, and Everson, 21, had been excitedly making wedding plans. Now, with Everson laid off and Griffith on a reduced work schedule, the young couple had decided to put their future plans on hold. “It cost something to get married, you know,” said Everson.

What had landed the two in this predicament was a one-two punch of a particularly bitter winter and an energy shortage that had gone on for much of the decade. The brutally cold weather in the Midwest and East had increased the demand for oil and fuel, already in short supply throughout the country. In response, the government had asked numerous companies and shops to conserve energy by cutting back on their business hours. As a result, Griffith saw her work schedule slashed from 40 hours per week to 20 hours.

As the couple sat stoically in the unemployment office waiting for their names to be called, Griffith wondered how she would pay her bills on her reduced salary and whatever she might be able to get from the state. “I just feel like we’ve been rained on,” she said glumly.

—adapted from the *New York Times*,
February 3, 1977

The prosperity enjoyed by many Americans rested in large part on easy access to raw materials around the world and a strong manufacturing industry at home. By the 1970s, however, both access to raw materials and domestic manufacturing began to disappear, creating economic problems for many.

A Mighty Economic Machine Slows The nation's economic troubles began in the mid-1960s, when President Johnson significantly increased federal deficit spending in an attempt to fund both the Vietnam War and his Great Society program without raising taxes. This pumped large amounts of money into the economy, which spurred **inflation**, or a rise in the cost of goods.

Rising costs of raw materials due to greater competition for them was another cause of inflation. In particular, the rising cost of oil dealt a strong blow to the nation's economy. More than any other nation, the United States based its economy on the easy availability of cheap and plentiful fossil fuels and had become heavily dependent on imports from the Middle East and Africa.

For years, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) sold oil for its member countries. Prices remained low until the early 1970s, when OPEC decided to use oil as a political and economic weapon. In 1973 the Yom Kippur War was raging between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Tension had existed between Israel and the Arab world ever since the founding of modern Israel in 1948. Since most Arab states did not recognize Israel's right to exist, U.S. support of Israel made American relations with Arab states uneasy.

▼ Lines of jobseekers at an unemployment office



Now OPEC announced that its members would **embargo**, or stop shipping, petroleum to countries that supported Israel, namely the United States and some Western European nations. OPEC also raised the price of crude oil by 70 percent, and then by another 130 percent a few months later.

Even before the oil embargo, President Nixon and Congress had tried to protect the American people from rising world oil prices by imposing a complex system of price controls. These controls forced oil companies to charge consumers low prices for gasoline and heating oil, even though the price of imported crude oil was rising. Oil companies could afford to do this because some of the oil they bought came from low-priced domestic sources. After OPEC raised its prices, however, the price controls created an oil shortage. There was not enough cheap oil available domestically to supply demand, and oil companies could no longer afford to pay world oil prices and still make a profit. If there had been no price controls, gasoline prices would have risen—but there would not have been an oil shortage.

Although the embargo ended a few months after it began, oil prices continued to rise. OPEC raised prices three more times in the 1970s and again in 1980. By that time, the price of a barrel of crude oil had risen from \$3 in 1973 to \$30 in 1980. The dramatic increase helped accelerate inflation throughout the American economy.

A Stagnant Economy Another economic problem was the decline of the manufacturing sector. In the years following World War II, the United States had dominated international trade, but by the 1970s, it faced increased international competition. Many manufacturing plants were now decades old and less efficient than the newer plants that Japan and European industrial nations built after the war.

These factors forced many factories to close, and millions of workers lost their jobs. The result was a growing pool of unemployed and underemployed workers.

Thus in the early 1970s President Nixon faced a new and puzzling economic dilemma that came to be



Picturing History

A Scarce Commodity Americans had to schedule their lives around the availability of gasoline during the OPEC oil embargo. [Why did OPEC institute the embargo?](#)

known as **“stagflation,”** a combination of rising prices and economic stagnation. Economists who emphasized the demand side of economic theory, including supporters of Keynesianism, did not think that inflation and recession could occur at the same time. They believed that demand drives prices and that inflation would only occur in a booming economy when demand for goods was high. As a result, they did not know what fiscal policy the government should pursue. Increased spending might help end the recession, but it would increase inflation. Raising taxes might slow inflation but would prolong the recession.

Nixon decided to focus on controlling inflation. The government moved first to cut spending and raise taxes. The president hoped that higher taxes would prompt Americans to spend less, which would ease the demand on goods and drive down prices. Congress and much of the public, however, protested the idea of a tax hike. Nixon then tried to reduce consumer spending by getting the Federal Reserve Board to raise interest rates. When this failed, the president tried to stop inflation by imposing a 90-day freeze on wages and prices and then issuing federal regulations limiting future wage and price increases. This had little success.

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** How did President Nixon attempt to stop stagflation?

Ford Takes Over

Main Idea Gerald Ford attempted to fight inflation at home and sought détente abroad.

Reading Connection Do you think national leaders should be tried in federal court when they break the law? Read on to find out why Gerald Ford chose not to bring Nixon to trial.

When Nixon resigned in 1974, the nation's inflation rate was still high, despite many efforts to reduce prices. Meanwhile, the unemployment rate was over five percent. It would now be up to Gerald Ford to confront stagflation.

Most Americans considered Gerald Ford a decent and honest if not particularly dynamic leader. When he became vice president, Ford had readily **acknowledged** his bland personality. "I'm a Ford, not a Lincoln," he said. Still, the new president boasted excellent credentials, including a degree from Yale Law School, naval service during World War II, and service in the House of Representatives since 1949. His fellow Republicans had elected him

as minority leader in 1965. Ford would need to draw on all his experience during his time in office.

Ford Pardons Nixon On September 8, 1974, Ford announced that he would grant a "full, free, and absolute pardon" to Richard Nixon for any crimes he "committed or may have committed or taken part in" while president. "This is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part," he told the nation. "It could go on and on and on, or someone must write the end to it."

Ford insisted he was acting not out of sympathy for Nixon, but in the public interest. Ford's position was that he wanted to avoid the division that charges against Nixon and a public trial would create. Nonetheless, the pardon aroused fierce criticism. Ford's approval ratings soon plunged from 71 percent to 50 percent.

Ford Tries to "Whip" Inflation By 1975 the American economy was in its worst recession since the Great Depression, with unemployment at nearly nine percent. Rejecting the notion of mandatory wage and price controls to reduce inflation, Ford requested voluntary controls. Under a plan known as WIN—Whip Inflation Now—he urged Americans to cut back on their oil and gas consumption. The plan stirred up little enthusiasm and eventually failed. The president then turned to cutting government spending and advocating higher interest rates to curb inflation. This too failed.

As Ford attempted to revive the economy, he also attempted to limit federal authority, balance the budget, and keep taxes low. Ford vetoed more than 50 bills that the Democratic-led Congress passed during the first two years of his administration.

Ford's Foreign Policy In foreign policy, Ford continued Nixon's general strategy. Ford kept Kissinger on as secretary of state and continued to pursue détente with the Soviets and the Chinese. In August 1975 he met with leaders of NATO and the Warsaw Pact to sign the **Helsinki Accords**. Under the accords, the parties recognized the borders of Eastern Europe established at the end of World War II. The Soviets in return promised to uphold certain basic human rights, including the right to move across national borders. The subsequent Soviet failure to uphold these basic rights turned many Americans against détente.

Ford also encountered problems in Southeast Asia. In May 1975, Cambodia seized the *Mayaguez*, an American cargo ship traveling near its shores,

Picturing History

Reassuring Presence After the turmoil of Watergate, President Gerald Ford, shown here with First Lady Betty Ford, was a comforting leader, but he was unable to solve the problem of inflation. [Through what methods did Ford try to "whip inflation now"?](#)



claiming that it had been on an intelligence-gathering mission. Calling the ship's seizure an "act of piracy," Ford dispatched U.S. Marines to retrieve it. Cambodia released the crew before the marines arrived.

The Election of 1976 As the 1976 presidential election approached, Americans were pessimistic and unsure of the future. With rising inflation and unemployment, many citizens were undergoing an adverse change of lifestyle. There were equally serious problems in foreign affairs. Political turmoil in developing nations threatened world stability, while the Soviet Union was pursuing an aggressive foreign policy. Americans, therefore, looked to elect a man who could meet these challenges.

The presidential race pitted Gerald Ford against James Earl Carter, Jr., or Jimmy Carter, as he liked to be called. Carter was somewhat of a political outsider. A former governor of Georgia, Carter had no national political experience. Nonetheless, he had won the Democratic primary with an inspiring and well-organized campaign. Carter sought to take advantage of his outsider image, promising to restore morality and honesty to the federal government. He also promised new programs for energy development, tax reform, welfare reform, and national medical care.

It was Carter's image as a moral and upstanding individual that attracted most supporters. Ford meanwhile characterized Carter as a liberal whose social program spending would produce higher rates of inflation and require tax increases.

In the end, Carter edged Ford with 50.1 percent of the popular vote to Ford's 47.9 percent, while capturing 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240. On Inauguration Day, to demonstrate his man-of-the-people style, Carter declined the traditional limousine ride and walked from the Capitol to the White House.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What steps did President Ford take to try to control inflation?

Carter Battles the Economic Crisis

Main Idea Despite trying several strategies, Carter could not solve the problem of inflation.

Reading Connection Why do you think calls for Americans to use less energy generally fail? Read on to discover President Carter's difficulties with the economy and leadership.

Carter devoted much of his domestic agenda to trying to fix the economy. At first he tried to end the recession and reduce unemployment by increasing



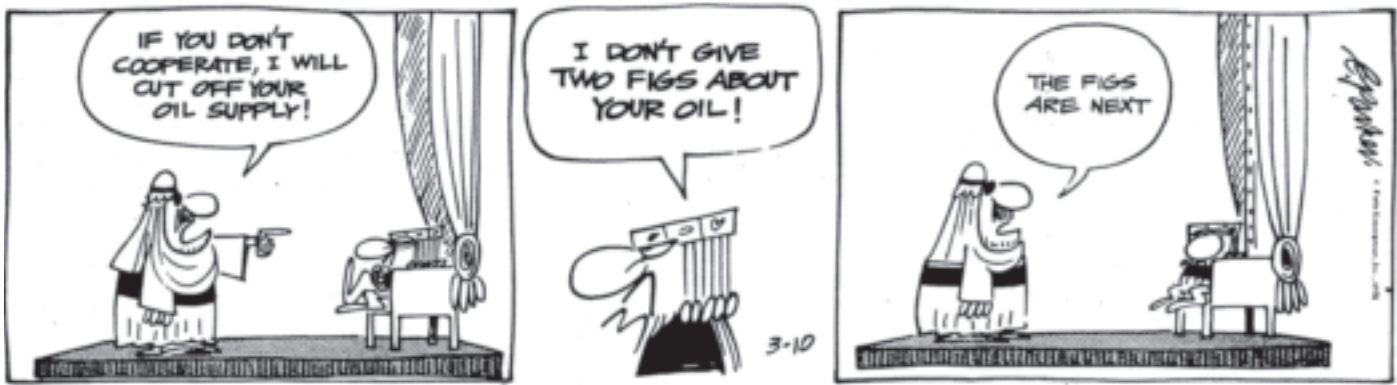
Picturing History

Change of Pace Jimmy Carter underscored his campaign image of being a new kind of politician by walking to the White House after his inauguration. [What about Carter's image in 1976 might have been appealing to the public?](#)

government spending and cutting taxes. When inflation surged in 1978, he changed his mind. He delayed the tax cuts and vetoed the spending programs he had himself proposed to Congress. He then tried to ease inflation by reducing the money supply and raising interest rates. His main focus, however, was on the energy crisis. In the end, none of his efforts succeeded.

A "War" Against Consumption Carter felt that the nation's most serious problem was its dependence on foreign oil. In one of his first national addresses, he tried to rally Americans to support what he termed a "war" against rising energy consumption. "Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the President and Congress to govern this nation," Carter stated.

Carter proposed a national energy program to conserve oil and to promote the use of coal and



Analyzing Political Cartoons

Coping With Shortages Cartoonist Brant Parker reflected the public's frustration over the oil shortages of the 1970s. What message does the cartoonist convey with the statement "the figs are next"?

renewable energy sources such as solar power. He persuaded Congress to create a **Department of Energy** and also asked Americans to make personal sacrifices to reduce their energy consumption. Most of the public complied as best they could, although many ignored the president's suggestion.

At the same time, many business leaders and economists urged the president and Congress to deregulate the oil industry. The regulations, first imposed as part of President Nixon's price control plan, limited the ability of oil companies to pass on OPEC price increases to American consumers. As a result, oil companies found it difficult to make a profit, and they lacked the capital to invest in new domestic oil wells. These regulations, combined with OPEC price increases, helped create the energy crisis of the 1970s. Carter agreed to support deregulation but insisted on a "windfall profits tax" to prevent oil companies from overcharging consumers. The tax, however, conflicted with the basic idea of deregulation, which was to free up corporate capital for use in searching for new sources of oil. In the end, Carter's contradictory plan did not solve the country's energy crisis.

In the summer of 1979, instability in the Middle East produced a second major fuel shortage and deepened the nation's economic problems. Under increasing pressure to act, Carter made several proposals in a television address. The speech was notable for Carter's bleak assessment of the national condition. He complained about a "crisis of confidence" that had struck "at the very heart and soul of our national will." The address became known as the "malaise" speech, although Carter had not specifically used that word. Many Americans interpreted the speech not as a timely warning but as Carter blaming the people for his failures.

Carter's Leadership Problems In retrospect, President Carter's difficulties in solving the nation's economic problems lay in his inexperience and inability to work with Congress. Carter, who was proud of his outsider status, made little effort to reach out to Washington's legislative leaders. As a result, Congress blocked many of his energy proposals.

Carter also failed to translate his ideas into a concrete set of goals to inspire the nation. He offered no unifying theme for his administration, but instead followed a cautious middle course that left people confused. By 1979 public opinion polls showed that Carter's popularity had dropped lower than President Nixon's during Watergate.

Reading Check Summarizing To what did President Carter devote much of his domestic agenda?

Carter's Foreign Policy

Main Idea Carter attempted to craft a moral foreign policy in the Middle East and Latin America.

Reading Connection How do you think the United States should deal with terrorism? Read on to learn about the nation's response to the Iran hostage crisis in 1979.

In contrast to his uncertain leadership at home, Carter's foreign policy was more clearly defined. A man of strong religious beliefs, Carter argued that the United States must try to be "right and honest and truthful and decent" in dealing with other nations. Yet it was on the international front that President Carter suffered one of his most devastating defeats.



NATIONAL
GEOGRAPHIC

MOMENT in HISTORY

HOSTAGE TO TERROR

Bound and blindfolded, American diplomat Jerry Miele is led out of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Iran, after militants stormed the building on November 4, 1979. Ten months earlier, an Islamic fundamentalist revolution had overthrown the Shah of Iran, a staunch American ally. President Carter's decision to allow the ailing Shah to seek medical treatment in the United States led to the embassy takeover. Of the Americans taken captive, 52 were held for more than a year. The crisis contributed to Carter's defeat in the presidential election in 1980.



Morality in Foreign Policy Carter had set the tone for his foreign policy in his inaugural speech, when he announced, “Our commitment to human rights must be absolute. . . . The powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced.” With the help of his foreign policy team—including Andrew Young, the first African American ambassador to the United Nations—Carter strove to achieve these goals.

The president put his principles into practice in Latin America. To remove a major symbol of U.S. interventionism in the region, he moved to give the Panamanians control of the Panama Canal. The United States had built and run the canal since 1903. In 1978 the president won Senate ratification of two Panama Canal treaties, which transferred control of the canal to Panama on December 31, 1999.

Most dramatically, Carter singled out the Soviet Union as a violator of human rights. He strongly condemned, for example, the Soviet practice of imprisoning people who protested against the government. Relations between the two superpowers suf-

fered a further setback when Soviet troops invaded the Central Asian nation of Afghanistan in December 1979. Carter responded by imposing an embargo on the sale of grain to the Soviet Union and boycotting the 1980 Summer Olympic Games in Moscow. Under the Carter administration, détente virtually collapsed.

Triumph and Failure in the Middle East It was in the volatile Middle East that President Carter met his greatest foreign policy triumph and his greatest failure. In 1978 Carter helped broker a historic peace treaty, known as the Camp David Accords, between Israel and Egypt, two nations that had been bitter enemies for decades. The treaty was formally signed in 1979. Most other Arab nations in the region opposed the treaty, but it marked a first step to achieving peace in the Middle East.

Just months after the Camp David Accords, Carter encountered a crisis in Iran. The United States had long supported Iran’s monarch, the Shah, because Iran was a major oil supplier and a buffer against Soviet expansion in the Middle East. The Shah,



Picturing History

Hostages Released David Roeder, one of the 52 American hostages held in Iran for 444 days, waves to a crowd in Frankfurt, West Germany, after being released. [How did the Carter administration attempt to free the hostages? Were the attempts successful?](#)

however, had grown increasingly unpopular in Iran. He was a repressive ruler and had introduced Westernizing reforms to Iranian society. The Islamic clergy fiercely opposed the Shah's reforms. Opposition to the Shah grew, and in January 1979 protesters forced him to flee. An Islamic republic was then declared.

The new regime, headed by religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini, distrusted the United States because of its ties to the Shah. In November 1979, revolutionaries stormed the American embassy in Tehran and held 52 Americans hostage. The militants threatened to kill the hostages or try them as spies.

The Carter administration tried unsuccessfully to negotiate for the hostages' release. In April 1980, as pressure mounted, Carter approved a daring rescue


attempt. To the nation's dismay, the rescue mission failed when several helicopters malfunctioned and one crashed in the desert. Eight servicemen died in the accident. Hamilton Jordan, President Carter's chief of staff, described the gloomy atmosphere in the White House the day after the crash:

“I arrived at the White House a few minutes before the President went on television to tell the nation about the catastrophe. He looked exhausted and careworn. . . . The mood at the senior staff meeting was somber and awkward. I sensed that we were all uncomfortable, like when a loved one dies and friends don't quite know what to say. . . . After the meeting, I wandered around the White House. . . . My thoughts kept returning to the bodies [of the servicemen] in the desert.”

—quoted in *Crisis: The Last Year of the Carter Presidency*

The crisis continued into the fall of 1980. Every night, news programs reminded viewers how many days the hostages had been held. The president's inability to free the hostages cost him support in the 1980 presidential election. Negotiations with Iran continued right up to Carter's last day in office. Ironically, on January 20, 1981, the day Carter left office, Iran released the Americans, ending their 444 days in captivity.

Reading Check Summarizing What was President Carter's main foreign policy theme?

HISTORY  **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: norm, inflation, embargo, stagflation, acknowledge, devote.
- People and Terms** Identify: Helsinki Accords, Department of Energy.
- Identify** the achievement and failure President Carter experienced in the Middle East during his administration.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** How did President Carter attempt to deal with the nation's energy crisis?

Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Do you think President Ford should have pardoned Richard Nixon? Why or why not?
- Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the ways that President Carter applied his human rights ideas to his foreign policy.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 869. What effect do you think images such as this one had on Americans who were living or traveling in other countries?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Write an essay identifying what you believe to be President Carter's most important foreign policy achievement. Explain your choice. **CA 11WA2.1b**

The “Me” Decade: Life in the 1970s

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the economic and foreign policy issues facing the United States during the 1970s. In this section, you will discover how Americans sought fulfillment and escape during that decade.

Main Idea

- During the 1970s, Americans turned to new spiritual movements to find meaning in their lives. (p. 872)
- Television sitcoms began dealing with more difficult aspects of American life, and disco swept the country. (p. 873)

Content Vocabulary

guru, transcendental meditation, disco

Academic Vocabulary

mental, denote, interact

Terms to Identify

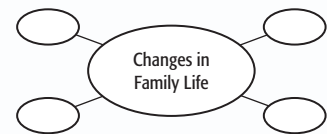
New Age movement, *All in the Family*

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the emergence of new spiritual movements and religions.
- **Discuss** social changes of the 1970s.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about life in the United States in the 1970s, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the changes that occurred in family life during that time.



Preview of Events

◆ 1970

1971
All in the Family
debuts

◆ 1973

1974
Good Times
debuts

◆ 1976

1977
Disco mania peaks with release of *Saturday Night Fever*; *The Complete Book of Running* published.

◆ 1979

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.3.4 Discuss the expanding religious pluralism in the United States and California that resulted from large-scale immigration in the twentieth century.

11.8.8 Discuss forms of popular culture, with emphasis on their origins and geographic diffusion (e.g., jazz and other forms of popular music, professional sports, architectural and artistic styles).

11.10.7 Analyze the women’s rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

11.11.3 Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. As a means of overcoming the country’s problems, many Americans sought escape in new fads, forms of entertainment, and spiritual movements. Many Americans turned inward and looked for new ways to find fulfillment. Some embraced the New Age movement, while others turned to new religions. Television shows began to discuss subjects that were once taboo and to address the harsh situations some Americans faced. Music took on new forms, and disco became popular. Americans also embraced new fashions, and fitness activities became popular ways to socialize and stay fit.

The Search for Fulfillment

Main Idea During the 1970s, Americans turned to new spiritual movements to find meaning in their lives.

Reading Connection Do you know of any spiritual movements followed today? Read on to learn about the new religions that became popular during the 1970s.

Many Americans during the 1970s remained optimistic that the United States would eventually move beyond the Watergate scandal, the Vietnam War, and the country's nagging economic problems.

★ An American Story ★

As the United States prepared to celebrate its bicentennial on July 4, 1976, a reporter asked Stoyan Christowe for his views on the state of the nation on the eve of its 200th birthday. The 77-year-old Vermont resident acknowledged that the United States was “in pretty bad shape,” but added that the country would turn around—as it always had.

“I believe in this country. I’ve always believed in it. There is a quotation by Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to George Washington during the Revolutionary War. Franklin talked of a cornfield during a drought, and how the cornstalks have shriveled and curled, and it was a sad sight. And then, he said a thunderstorm came along, spilling rain, and a day or two after, the sun came out, and the corn came to life, and it was a delight. . . . I know we’re going through a kind of turmoil now, but the country is okay. . . . My faith in this country was never shaken. Like that cornfield—the sun will shine again, and the rains will come, and brother, those cornstalks will revive, and it will be a beautiful sight.”

—quoted in *Newsweek*, July 4, 1976

Some Americans sought new ways to get on with their daily lives while overcoming the country's problems. As a way of coping with anxious times, they sought escape, laughter, and fulfillment in a wide range of fads, entertainment, and spiritual movements.

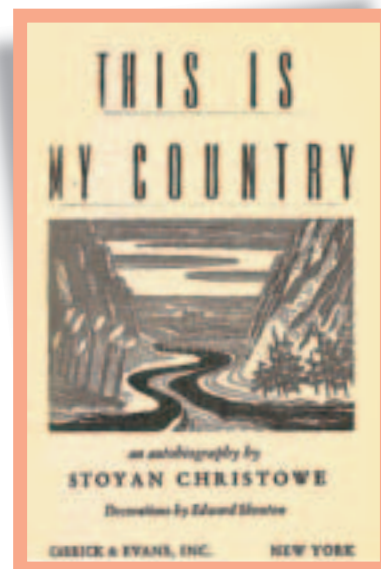
Writer Tom Wolfe labeled the 1970s the “me” decade, referring to the idea that many Americans grew more self-obsessed in this decade as they strove for greater individual satisfaction. Indeed, the most popular books of the period included such titles as *I’m OK, You’re OK*; *How to Be Your Own Best Friend*;

and *Looking Out for Number One*. Journalist Richard Michael Levine argued that in light of the growing feelings of despair and cynicism about American society, it was little wonder that many people turned inward. In their quest for self-improvement, many Americans were willing to embrace new movements.

The New Age Movement Disenchanted with conventional religions, some young men and women sought fulfillment through secular movements and activities that made up the **New Age movement**. New Age enthusiasts believed that people were responsible for everything from self-healing to creating the world. They believed spiritual enlightenment could be found in common practices, not just in traditional churchgoing. They tried activities such as yoga, martial arts, and chanting to achieve fuller spiritual awareness. Kathy Smith, a college student during the 1970s, recalled how she and others claimed to find “Zen,” or enlightenment, in running and other physical activities:

“They were beginning to understand how exercise affects your soul, how it affects your being. People started getting in the ‘Zen’ of things: the Zen of tennis, the Zen of working out, the Zen of motorcycle repair, the Zen of running. I, like many others, started connecting physical activity to the spiritual side. People also started looking at yoga and tai chi, and not only the stretching aspects of these disciplines but the **mental** aspects. Now they were working the body, the mind, and the spirit.”

—quoted in *The Century*



▲ Cover of Stoyan Christowe's book

The New Age movement took many different paths to transform individuals and society. Some New Agers extolled the power of crystals and gemstones to improve life; others touted astrology. Some were inspired by the Eastern belief in reincarnation, which taught that people could be reborn many times until reaching perfection. Awareness of former lives was supposed to bring knowledge of the true inner self.

Transcendental Meditation Many Americans who were dissatisfied with established religions sought new religions. A number of these new religions originated in Asia and centered on the teachings of **gurus**, or mystical leaders. One of the more well-known gurus was Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. A native of India, Maharishi moved to the United States in 1959, where he led a spiritual movement known as **transcendental meditation**. Maharishi worked in relative obscurity until 1967, when the wildly popular rock group The Beatles began to explore his teachings. Their attention brought an American following to Maharishi and his spiritual movement. Transcendental meditation suggested daily meditation and the silent repetition of spiritual mantras as a way of achieving peak intelligence, harmony, and health. If all the people on Earth practiced transcendental meditation, its advocates believed, the world would enjoy peace.

Changing Families The search for fulfillment had an impact on many women and American families. The different campaigns of the era, especially the women's movement, began to change how many women viewed their roles as wives and mothers. By 1970, 60 percent of women between the ages of 16 and 24 had joined the labor force. Between 1970 and 1980, women aged 25 to 34 had the largest annual percent-age growth in the workforce.

These changes, in turn, led to changes in family life. With women increasingly active outside the home, smaller families became the norm. Many women began to pursue careers, educational opportunities, and other interests instead of focusing solely on the traditional roles of wife and mother. The birthrate fell to an all-time low in 1976, and parents and their children began spending less time together. A greater number of families also split apart, as the divorce rate doubled from 2.5 divorces per thousand people in 1966 to 5 per thousand 10 years later.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the basic beliefs of the New Age movement?



East Meets West Beatles George Harrison (left) and John Lennon (right) helped Maharishi Mahesh Yogi gain fame when they embraced his transcendental meditation movement.



Cultural Trends in the 1970s

Main Idea Television sitcoms began dealing with more difficult aspects of American life, and disco swept the country.

Reading Connection What type of television programming do you watch? Read on to find out about the impact of the 1970s television shows. 

Popular culture in the 1970s reflected many of the changes taking place in society. Television now sometimes portrayed women in independent roles or took on formerly taboo subjects such as racism, poverty, and abortion. Meanwhile, Americans listened and danced to new forms of music and sought fun and escape in a variety of new fads.

Television in the 1970s The decade opened with a revolutionary new situation comedy on Saturday nights. Unlike earlier sitcoms, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* featured an unmarried woman with a meaningful career at its center. Actress Mary Tyler Moore played the main character, Mary Richards, who had left a small town for a big-city job as a television news producer. Mary sparred with her gruff but caring boss, despaired over the shallowness of the blow-dried news announcer, and had adventures with friends. Mary also went on dates but never got around to marrying.

The debut of the sitcom *All in the Family* in January 1971 marked an even bigger turning point in television programming. The show took risks by confronting potentially volatile social issues and by featuring a controversial hero, the blue-collar and bigoted Archie Bunker. Archie called his wife Edith “Dingbat” and his liberal son-in-law “Meathead.” He also mocked his feminist daughter and various ethnic groups. Though Archie prided himself on being the man of the house, he never won any arguments with his liberal family or his African American neighbors.

By carefully mixing humor and sensitive issues and by not preaching to its audience, *All in the Family* provided viewers with a way to examine their own feelings about issues such as racism. Producer Norman Lear claimed that the show “holds a mirror up to our prejudices. . . . We laugh now, swallowing just the littlest bit of truth about ourselves. . . .”

Several years later, Archie Bunker’s African American neighbors became the stars of another television series, *The Jeffersons*. George Jefferson, like Archie, was opinionated and prejudiced but ultimately likable. *The Jeffersons* portrayed African Americans in a new light: as successful and respected. *Maude*, another spin-off from *All in the Family*, featured Edith Bunker’s feminist cousin, who had recently remarried after her third divorce. The strong-willed Maude did not need to depend on her new husband, Walter. This popular

program drew intense controversy in 1972 when Maude made the difficult decision to have an abortion.

Maude’s African American maid, Florida, generated another series in 1974. Starring Esther Rolle as Florida, *Good Times* portrayed an African American family struggling to raise three children in a low-income housing development in Chicago.

Music of the 1970s The music of this period reflected the end of the 1960s youth and protest movements. The hard-driving rock of the tumultuous 1960s gave way to softer sounds. “The fading out of ear numbing, mind-blowing acid rock,” *Time* commented in 1971, “is related to the softening of the youth revolution.” The music became more reflective and less political, reflecting a desire to seek fulfillment from within. “These days, nobody wants to hear songs that have a message,” said a member of the rock group Chicago. Popular entertainers in tune with the new meditative atmosphere included singers Barry Manilow and John Denver and the bands ABBA and the Eagles.

The 1970s also saw the rise of **disco** music. The disco craze of the later 1970s began in African American and Latin nightclubs. There, disc jockeys played recorded dance music with a loud and persistent beat. The fast pace and easy rhythm attracted fans, but disco also seemed well suited for the “me generation.” Unlike rock ‘n’ roll, disco allowed the people dancing to it to assume greater prominence than the music. As the co-owner of a popular discotheque in New York described the phenomena, “Everybody secretly likes to be on center stage and here we give them a huge space to do it all on.”

Gus Rodriguez, who had moved with his family from Puerto Rico to Brooklyn 20 years earlier, recalled going to discos with his friends in the mid-1970s:

“We would go to the discos several times a week, but the weekends were always the best. Getting ready to go out was sort of a ritual, especially on Saturdays. During the day you would go buy that shirt, or that belt, or those platform shoes, all of which seemed incredibly important at the time. You had to have a particular type of look. And we all dressed the same way. We would call each other up to coordinate what color suits everybody was wearing—who’s wearing the powder-blue suit, who’s wearing the white suit, who’s wearing this, who’s wearing that. And then we would carefully iron everything so it was just so.”

—quoted in *The Century*

All in the Family Many Americans saw a little of themselves in the characters of this popular sitcom.



CORBIS/Bettmann

CONTENTS

Disco mania reached its peak after the 1977 movie, *Saturday Night Fever*. In the film, a middle-class Italian American teenager played by John Travolta transformed himself into a white-suited disco king each Saturday night. The movie's soundtrack sold millions of copies and spurred a wave of disco openings across the country and around the world.

Fads and Fashions In addition to disco, the nation embraced many other fads during the 1970s. Americans by the millions bought T-shirts that bore personalized messages, while teenagers flew down suburban and city streets on skateboards. Obsessed with self-discovery, a number of Americans slipped mood rings on their fingers to get in touch with their innermost feelings. Supposedly, the ring's color changed to match the wearer's ever-changing mood. Blue, for example, signaled happiness and bliss, while gray **denoted** nervousness and anxiety.

Meanwhile, millions of drivers bought citizens band ("CB") radios for their vehicles. This radio system allowed drivers to talk to each other over a two-way frequency within a range of a few miles. Many truck drivers installed the radios in an effort to warn each other of police and speed traps. Soon, however, average drivers had purchased them, mostly for entertainment purposes. Drivers adopted their own CB name, or "handle," and talked to each other using CB jargon and code words.

Fitness was another trend during the "me" decade, as many Americans turned to exercise to improve the way they felt and looked. One popular type of exercise in the 1970s was aerobics. Physician Kenneth H. Cooper popularized the exercise concept in his 1968 book *Aerobics*. It was a way to achieve cardiovascular fitness without the drudgery and isolation that often accompanies physical exercise. This new way to stay



▲ Children enjoy skateboarding during the 1970s

fit while having fun and **interacting** socially with others quickly gained popularity. By the mid-1970s, men and women were dancing in gyms across the country. Running also attracted a wide following, as scores of Americans began pounding the pavement to stay fit and trim. In a testament to the popularity of running, athlete Jim Fixx's work *The Complete Book of Running* was a bestseller following its publication in 1977.

By the end of the 1970s, a number of these fads and trends began to fade. A decade in which Americans came to recognize their country's vulnerability and its limits had ended. As the new decade dawned, Americans looked forward to regaining confidence in their country and optimism in their own futures.

Reading Check **Examining** What was the impact of disco music on American society?

HISTORY  **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: mental, guru, transcendental meditation, disco, denote, interact.
- People and Terms** Identify: New Age movement, *All in the Family*.
- Summarize** the basic beliefs of followers of transcendental meditation.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** What new cultural trends affected American society in the 1970s?

Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did television in the 1970s reflect society at that time?
- Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the cultural trends of the 1970s.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photographs in the "What Life Was Like" feature on pages 876–877. How has popular music and fashion changed since the 1970s?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** View a television program that was popular in the 1970s. Write a description of the program and explain how it reflected society at that time. **CA 11WA2.1e**

What *Life* Was Like...

Disco

The counterculture of the 1960s provided music designed to raise people's consciousness of social issues. The disco music of the 1970s, with its simple lyrics and intense beats, was designed simply to entertain. By the end of the decade, millions of people throughout the nation and the world were dancing under flashing disco lights.



• Bee Gees

Disco fans around the country and the world danced to the sounds of the Australian group the Bee Gees. The movie *Saturday Night Fever* featured their music and catapulted them into the limelight.



• Fashion

New styles of clothing, first associated with disco patrons, became common for everyone. Men wore brightly patterned synthetic shirts, bell-bottom pants, and platform shoes or boots. Women wore wildly patterned dresses or jumpsuits with high heels or boots.



● **Saturday Night Fever**

John Travolta played the role of Tony Manero in this 1977 film. By day Tony worked as a clerk in a Brooklyn store. At night, however, he transformed himself into a disco star. A popular success, the film showed Tony as a young working-class kid with a dream to escape his ordinary existence. Life at the disco provided a road to that escape.

● **Music** ●

Music icons of the early 1970s included Tina Turner and The Jackson 5. The music of The Jackson 5 was an upbeat pop-soul mix that differed from the typical Motown sound of previous years.



UNDERSTANDING THE TIME

Checking for Understanding

1. **Identifying** What were the new styles in fashion for men and women?

Critical Thinking

2. **Explaining** How would you compare the pop culture of the 1970s to the pop culture of today? Explain what ideas are similar and what ideas are different.

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

The Watergate scandal deeply shocked and divided the country. When congressional investigations showed evidence that President Nixon was far more involved than he first admitted, he resigned from the presidency.

SOURCE 1:

On August 9, 1974, as he faced certain impeachment for the Watergate scandal, President Nixon became the first person to resign from the presidency. Nixon announced his impending resignation in a nationwide television address on the evening of August 8.

In all the decisions I have made in my public life, I have always tried to do what was best for the Nation. Throughout the long and difficult period of Watergate, I have felt it was my duty to persevere, to make every possible effort to complete the term of office to which you elected me. . . .

I have never been a quitter. To leave office before my time is completed is **abhorrent**¹ to every instinct in my body. But as President, I must put the interest of America first. America needs a full-time President and a full-time Congress, particularly at this time with problems we face at home and abroad. . . .

I regret deeply any injuries that may have been done in the course of the events that led to this decision. 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.

To those who have stood with me during these past difficult months, to my family, my friends, to many others who joined in supporting my cause because they believed it was right, I will be eternally grateful for your support.

And to those who have not felt able to give me your support, let me say I leave with no bitterness toward those who have opposed me, because all of us, in the final analysis, have been concerned with the good of the country, however our judgments might differ.



▲ *The House Judiciary Committee moves to recommend the impeachment of President Nixon on July 30, 1974.*

SOURCE 2:

The House of Representatives accepted the report of the House Judiciary Committee on August 20, 1974, ending the impeachment process. Committee members were aware that they were writing for the historical record. One member, California Democrat Don Edwards, added his supplemental views to the report.

In his attempts to **subvert**² the processes of representative government and the guarantees of the Bill of Rights, Mr. Nixon and his associates used repeatedly the justification he described as “national security.”

It was a familiar theme, referred to by James Madison in a letter to Jefferson in 1786. “Perhaps it is a universal truth,” wrote the author of the Bill of Rights, “that the loss of liberty at home is to be

¹**abhorrent**: detestable

²**subvert**: undermine



▲ *President Ford announces Nixon's pardon.*

charged to the provisions against dangers, real or pretended, from abroad." . . .

I found it immensely disturbing that the talented and distinguished counsel for Mr. Nixon in the impeachment inquiry supported the view that the mere invocation of the catch phrase "national security" justified illegal wiretaps and personal surveillances. Indeed, he told the Judiciary Committee that in his view a President should be impeached for *not* proceeding as Mr. Nixon did.

So, I am writing these supplementary views to emphasize the urgency of Madison's two hundred year old warning. Congress, the press, and indeed all of the American people must be vigilant to the perils of the subversive notion that any public official, the President or a policeman, possesses a kind of inherent power to set aside the Constitution whenever he thinks the public interest, or "national security" warrants it. That notion is the essential **postulate**³ of tyranny.

▶ ³**postulate**: claim or theory

SOURCE 3:

On September 8, 1974, President Gerald Ford granted former president Richard Nixon a full pardon for all offenses. The pardon was extremely controversial and ended Ford's brief honeymoon with Congress and the American people.

There are no historic or legal precedents to which I can turn in this matter, none that precisely fit the circumstances of a private citizen who has resigned the presidency of the United States. But it is common knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President's head, threatening his health, as he tries to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the service of this country and by the mandate of its people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States. . . .

I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or divine, is no respecter of persons but the law is a respecter of reality. The facts as I see them are that a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in preserving the presumption of his innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.

During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused, and our people would again be polarized in their opinions, and the credibility of our free institutions of government would again be challenged at home and abroad. . . .

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA CSI; HR2; HR4; HI2

Source 1: Why is Nixon resigning?


Source 2: According to Edwards, why were Nixon's actions wrong?

Source 3: Why is Ford granting a pardon to Nixon?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

Based on Nixon, Edwards, and Ford, how should democratic government be protected? Explain.

CHAPTER 19 ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

 Standards 11.3, 11.3.4, 11.8.4, 11.8.8, 11.9.3, 11.9.6, 11.10.7, 11.11, 11.11.2, 11.11.3, 11.11.4, 11.11.6, 11.11.7

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. impound | 7. embargo |
| 2. détente | 8. stagflation |
| 3. summit | 9. guru |
| 4. executive privilege | 10. transcendental meditation |
| 5. impeach | 11. disco |
| 6. inflation | |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 12. supplement | 16. obtain | 20. devote |
| 13. notion | 17. inevitable | 21. mental |
| 14. potential | 18. norm | 22. denote |
| 15. attribute | 19. acknowledge | 23. interact |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

24. What were the main aspects of President Nixon's domestic and foreign policies?

Section 2

25. What was the impact of the Watergate scandal on the American people?


Section 3

26. Why did President Nixon freeze wages and prices in the early 1970s?
27. What factors caused economic problems in the United States in the 1970s?

Section 4


28. What changes in family life occurred in the United States in the 1970s?

Critical Thinking

29. **Reading Skill**  **Using Problem/Solution** Reread the text "Triumph and Failure in the Middle East" on pages 869–870. Write down the foreign policy problems and solutions Jimmy Carter faced while president. What were the results of the problems?
30. **Civics** Identify the new laws intended to limit the power of the executive branch following the Watergate scandal.
31. **Evaluating** What impact did cultural phenomena such as disco music and exercise trends have on the U.S. economy?
32. **Categorizing** Complete a chart similar to the one below by listing the attempts each president made to strengthen the nation's economy.

President	Attempts to Strengthen Economy
Nixon	
Ford	
Carter	

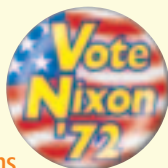
Writing About History

33. **Historical Analysis**  **Interpreting Events** What might have happened differently in the Middle East if President Carter had not allowed the Shah to seek medical treatment in the U.S.? **CA HI.4**

Chapter Summary

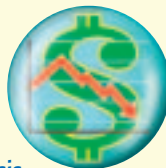
Uniting a Divided Country

- Nixon's conservative politics appeal to "Middle America."
- Nixon begins pulling ground troops out of Vietnam.
- Tensions with Soviet Union and China ease.
- Nixon signs treaty limiting nuclear arms.



Scandal and Economic Turmoil

- Watergate scandal brings down Nixon.
- Congress enacts new laws to limit presidential power.
- Inflation, energy crisis, and foreign competition cause economic slowdown.
- Ford and Carter fail to revive economy.



Challenging Traditional Values

- New Age movement advocates self-fulfillment.
- More women join the workforce.
- Television shows prominently feature African Americans and independent women; address sensitive issues such as racism and abortion.



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision—Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 19** to access your knowledge of the chapter content.

34. **Big Idea** Examine an artifact from this era. You can find artifacts in museums, art galleries, and even in your own home. What sorts of artifacts could you find about the 1970s? Create a chart listing possible artifacts and how they represent the 1970s.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

35. **Interpreting Primary Sources** When the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 developed into a stalemate, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo on the United States, the chief supporter of Israel. Because Arab countries supplied much of the oil used in the United States, the embargo created an energy crisis. The excerpt below is taken from an article in the December 3, 1973, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. It details the growing energy problems that the United States was facing at that time. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

“Evidence of the full dimensions of the energy crisis in this country is becoming more clear each day.

- Electric-power brownouts, even blackouts, are predicted for many parts of the U.S. before the end of the year.
- Voltage reduction of 5 percent from 4 P.M. to 8 P.M. each day was ordered starting November 26 in all six New England States, where fuel shortages threaten homes, schools, factories. . . .
- As a first step to cut gasoline use, President Nixon was reportedly ready to order closing of service stations nationwide from 9 P.M. Saturday to midnight Sunday on weekends. . . .
- Immediate rationing of gasoline and fuel oil is being urged on the President by top oil-industry executives. . . .

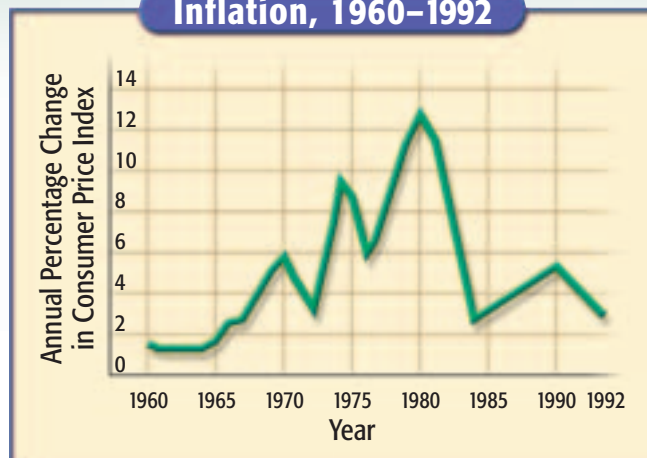
One major piece of legislation . . . directs the President to take measures necessary to reduce the nation’s energy demands by 25 percent within four weeks.

Speed limits would be cut nationally; lighting and heating of public and commercial buildings would be curtailed; homeowners would be given tax deductions to winterize their homes. . . .

Other pending measures would impose year round daylight saving time and would open naval oil reserves for intensive exploration. . . .”

- What proposals did the U.S. government make to deal with the energy crisis?
- What lessons do you think the United States might have learned from the crisis?

Inflation, 1960–1992



Economics and History

36. The graph above shows inflation rates in the United States from 1960 to 1992. Study the graph and answer the questions below.
- Interpreting Graphs** How did the nation’s inflation rate change between 1965 and 1980?
 - Determining Cause and Effect** What factor was most important in causing this change?

Standards Practice



Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following sentence.

37. As a political conservative, President Nixon wanted to
- increase federal spending on welfare programs.
 - take more aggressive federal action to speed desegregation.
 - return power to state governments.
 - appoint activist-minded justices to the Supreme Court.

Standard 11.11: Students analyze the major social problems and domestic policy issues in contemporary American society.