

Unit 7

A Changing Society

1968–present

CHAPTER 21

Politics and Economics
1968–1980

CHAPTER 22

Resurgence of Conservatism
1980–1992

CHAPTER 23

A Time of Change
1980–2000

CHAPTER 24

A New Century Begins
2001–Present

Why It Matters

In the last 40 years, the United States won the Cold War and the Soviet Union collapsed, bringing about dramatic changes in global politics. Americans faced many new challenges, including regional wars, environmental problems, and the rise of international terrorism. At the same time, the rise of modern American conservatism changed America's politics and led to new perspectives on the role of government in modern society.



By the early twenty-first century, American society was becoming increasingly diverse even as technology enabled people to become more interconnected.

Politics and Economics

1968–1980

- SECTION 1** The Nixon Administration
- SECTION 2** The Watergate Scandal
- SECTION 3** Ford and Carter
- SECTION 4** New Approaches to Civil Rights
- SECTION 5** Environmentalism

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger sits with President Richard Nixon in the Oval Office to discuss foreign affairs on September 21, 1973.

Nixon
1969–1974



1970

- First Earth Day observed
- Environmental Protection Agency created

1972

- Nixon visits China and the Soviet Union
- Watergate burglars are arrested

1973

- Senate Watergate investigations begin
- AIM and government clash at Wounded Knee, South Dakota

1974

- Nixon resigns



Ford
1974–1977



U.S. PRESIDENTS

U.S. EVENTS

WORLD EVENTS

1970

1971

- People's Republic of China admitted to UN

1972

1973

- Britain, Ireland, and Denmark join Common Market

1974

1974

- India becomes world's sixth nuclear power

MAKING CONNECTIONS

What Stops Government Abuse of Power?

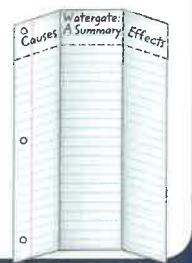
The Watergate scandal forced Richard Nixon to become the first president to resign from office. The legacy of Watergate, together with the Vietnam War and the economic downturn of the late 1970s, caused many people to distrust the government and worry about the nation's future.

- How do you think Watergate affected people's attitudes toward government?
- Do you think Nixon should have been punished for his role in the scandal?



FOLDABLES™

Analyzing Cause and Effect After you have read about the Watergate scandal, create a Shutter Fold Foldable to analyze critical information. Write a summary of Watergate events in the large middle section inside the Shutter Foldable. On the left-hand tab, list the causes of the Watergate scandal. On the right-hand tab, list the effects of Watergate on the political system.



1975
 • President Ford signs Helsinki Accords



1976

1979
 • Iranian revolutionaries seize U.S. embassy in Tehran



1978

1977
 • Human rights manifesto is signed by 241 Czech activists and intellectuals

1979
 • Sandinista guerrillas overthrow Nicaraguan dictator Somoza
 • Margaret Thatcher becomes prime minister of Great Britain

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The Nixon Administration

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Individual Action One of President Nixon's most dramatic accomplishments was changing the United States's relationship with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

Content Vocabulary

- revenue sharing (p. 708)
- impound (p. 708)
- détente (p. 710)
- summit (p. 711)

Academic Vocabulary

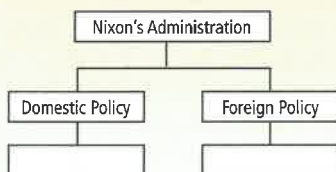
- welfare (p. 708)
- liberal (p. 708)

People and Events to Identify

- Southern strategy (p. 707)
- New Federalism (p. 708)
- Henry Kissinger (p. 709)
- Vietnamization (p. 709)
- SALT I (p. 711)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing Nixon's domestic and foreign policies.



After he won the 1968 presidential election, Richard Nixon sought to restore law and order at home. His greatest accomplishments, however, were in foreign policy, where he worked to ease Cold War tensions with China and the Soviet Union.

Appealing to Middle America

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

HISTORY AND YOU 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.

While they did not shout as loudly as the protesters, many Americans supported the government and longed for an end to the violence and turmoil that seemed to be plaguing the nation. 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 more streamlined government, and a return to more traditional values at home.

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.

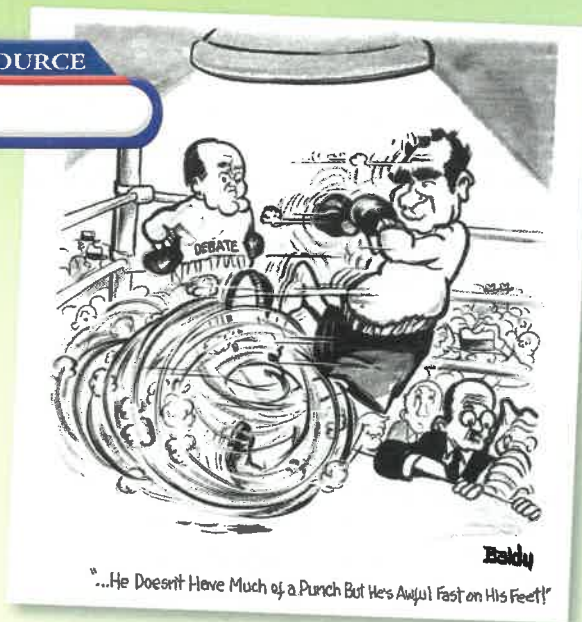
The Southern Strategy

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

The Election of 1968



▲ Third-party presidential candidate George Wallace tailors an overcoat to cover the robe worn by one of his supporters.



▲ Republican Richard Nixon is fast on his feet as he spars with Democrat Hubert Humphrey. The man with the glasses represents John Q. Public, who is speaking to an elephant representing the Republican Party.

Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

- Identifying** In the cartoon on the left, what is the cartoonist accusing Wallace of doing?
- Identifying Points of View** In the cartoon on the right, do you think the cartoonist approves of Nixon? Why or why not?

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.

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, he kept his agreement with Senator 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

During the campaign, Nixon had also promised to uphold law and order. 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 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. He also placed three other conservative justices on the Court, including one from the South. The Burger Court did not reverse Warren Court rulings on 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.

The New Federalism

Nixon had campaigned promising to reduce the size of the federal government by dismantling several federal programs and giving more control to state and local governments. Nixon called this the **New Federalism**. He argued that such an approach would make government more effective.

“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 to use.

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.

As part of the New Federalism, Nixon sought to close down many of the programs of Johnson’s Great Society. He vetoed funding

for the Department of Housing and Urban Development, eliminated the Office of Economic Opportunity, and tried unsuccessfully to shut down the Job Corps.

While he worked to reduce the federal government’s role, Nixon also sought to increase the power of the executive branch. The president did not have many strong relationships with members of Congress. The fact that the Republicans did not control either house also contributed to struggles with the legislative branch. Nixon often responded by trying to work around Congress. For instance, when Congress appropriated money for programs he opposed, Nixon **impounded**, or refused to release, the funds. By 1973, he had impounded an estimated \$15 billion. 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.

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 encourage welfare recipients to become more responsible.

Although the program won approval in the House in 1970, it soon came under harsh attack. 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** How did Nixon’s New Federalism differ from Johnson’s Great Society?

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.

HISTORY AND YOU How should a president 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." Nixon once expressed his hope that a "competent cabinet" of advisers could run the country. This would allow him to focus his energies on foreign affairs.

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. Kissinger had served under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as a foreign policy consultant. Although Secretary of State

William Rogers outranked him, Kissinger soon took the lead in helping shape Nixon's foreign policy.

The Nixon Doctrine Nixon and Kissinger shared views on many issues. Both believed abandoning the war in Vietnam would damage the United States's position in the world. Thus, they worked toward a gradual withdrawal while simultaneously training the South Vietnamese to defend themselves.

This policy of **Vietnamization**, as it was called, was then extended globally in what came to be called the Nixon Doctrine. In July 1969, only six months after taking office, Nixon announced that the United States would now expect its allies to take care of their own defense. The United States would uphold all of the alliances it had signed, and would continue to provide military aid and training to allies, but it would no longer "conceive all the plans, design all the programs, execute all the decisions and undertake all the defense of the free nations of the world." America's allies would have to take responsibility for maintaining peace and stability in their own areas of the world.

People IN HISTORY

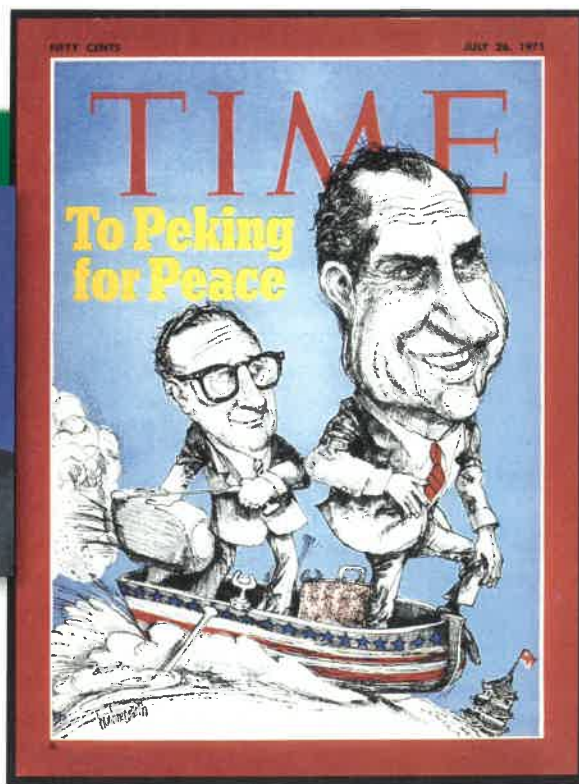
Henry Kissinger 1923–

Born in Germany, Henry Kissinger immigrated to the United States with his family in 1938 to escape Nazi persecution of Jews. During World War II, he served in U.S. military intelligence. After the war, Kissinger attended Harvard University and then joined the faculty there. He held various positions related to government, defense, and international affairs.

After acting as a consultant on national security under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Kissinger became President Nixon's national security adviser. In this capacity, he helped to establish the policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China. In 1973 he became secretary of state. Kissinger negotiated the cease-fire with North Vietnam, and along with Le Duc Tho, his co-negotiator, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973.

In 1977 Kissinger was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his services to the nation. Today, he remains an unofficial adviser on international issues to leaders around the world.

How did Henry Kissinger influence foreign policy in the 1970s?

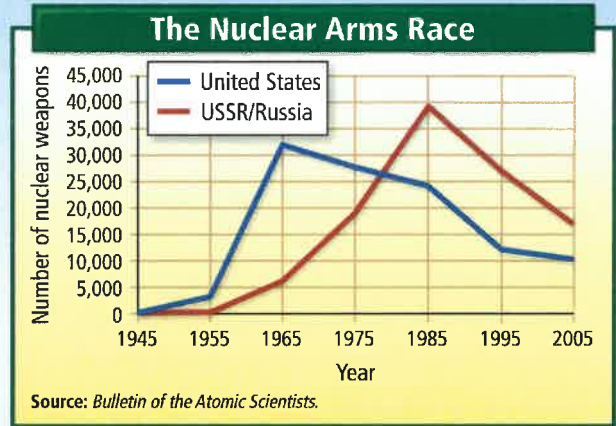


▲ In 1971, Time magazine celebrated Kissinger as the driving force behind Nixon's trip to China.

Détente With the Soviet Union and China



▲ President Nixon meets with Soviet premier Brezhnev to discuss limiting the number of nuclear weapons.



◀ Mao Zedong, leader of China, greets Nixon in Beijing on February 21, 1972.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Specifying** In what year did the number of nuclear weapons in the U.S. peak?
- 2. Explaining** Why was establishing détente a significant accomplishment?

The New Policy of Détente The Soviet Union was not pleased when Nixon, a man with a history of outspoken anticommunist actions, became president. Nixon was still a staunch anticommunist, but he and Kissinger believed the United States needed to adjust to the growing role of China, Japan, and Western Europe. This emerging “multipolar” world demanded a different approach to American foreign policy.

Both Nixon and Kissinger wanted to continue to contain communism, but they believed that negotiation with Communists offered a better way for the United States to achieve its international goals. Nixon and Kissinger developed a new 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 interest of world peace:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“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*

The successes of détente were diminished due to upheavals in smaller nations on the periphery of the Cold War. In Chile, President Salvador Allende was killed during a coup supported by the American CIA. Similarly, the Angolan Civil War, which began in 1975, featured covert aid from the United States. The conflicts in Chile and Angola were examples of proxy wars, conflicts during the Cold War that did not directly involve the United States and the Soviet Union but pursued Cold War aims of the two superpowers.

Nixon Visits China

Détente began with an effort to improve American-Chinese relations. Since 1949, when Communists took 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.

United States-Soviet Tensions Ease

Nixon’s strategy toward the Soviets worked. Shortly after the public learned of American 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, becoming the first American president since World War II to visit the Soviet Union.

During the historic Moscow summit, the two superpowers signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, or **SALT I**, a plan to limit nuclear arms the two nations had been working on for 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. 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?

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: Southern strategy, New Federalism, revenue sharing, impound, Henry Kissinger, Vietnamization, détente, summit, SALT I.

Main Ideas

- 2. Describing** How did President Nixon attempt to increase the power of the presidency?
- 3. Explaining** How did Nixon use his visit to China to improve relations with the Soviet Union?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas** What were the results of Nixon’s policy of détente?
- 5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to describe how President Nixon established détente in the listed countries.

China	
Soviet Union	

- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Look at the *Time* cover on page 709. What does the image portray about Nixon’s foreign policy?

Writing About History

- 7. Expository Writing** Take on the role of a member of President Nixon’s staff. Write a press release explaining either Nixon’s domestic or foreign policies.

History  **ONLINE**

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The Watergate Scandal

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Government and Society The Watergate scandal intensified lingering distrust of government that had arisen during the Vietnam War.

Content Vocabulary

- executive privilege (p. 716)
- special prosecutor (p. 716)

Academic Vocabulary

- incident (p. 712)
- challenger (p. 713)

People and Events to Identify

- Sam J. Ervin (p. 714)
- John Dean (p. 714)
- Federal Campaign Act Amendments (p. 717)

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes Use the headings in this section to create an outline similar to the one below by recording information about the Watergate scandal.

The Watergate Scandal

I. The Roots of Watergate

- A.
- B.

II.

- A.
- B.

Despite a successful first term, Richard Nixon and his supporters worried about reelection. The tactics they resorted to led the president to become embroiled in a scandal known as Watergate, one of the United States's great constitutional crises.

The Roots of Watergate

MAIN Idea Tactics used by Nixon's supporters to try to ensure his reelection in 1972 led to the Watergate scandal.

HISTORY AND YOU What do you know about Richard Nixon and the Watergate scandal? Read on to learn how the president became involved in this major governmental crisis.

The Watergate scandal is perhaps the most famous scandal in modern American history. It certainly had momentous consequences, as it led to the only time in the nation's history when the president of the United States was forced to resign from office. As reporter Bob Woodward recounts in his book, *All the President's Men*, the scandal began on the morning of June 17, 1972.

Woodward was a young reporter for the *Washington Post* at that time. His editor had ruined his Saturday by asking him 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 was ordered to attend the arraignment and see if there was a story worth reporting.

As Woodward sat near the back of the courtroom listening to the bail proceedings for the five defendants, 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 agent of the CIA 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 trigger a constitutional crisis and eventually forced President Nixon to resign.

Mounting a Reelection Fight

The Watergate scandal began when the Nixon administration tried to cover up its involvement in the break-in at the Democratic National Committee headquarters, along with other illegal

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Watergate Scandal Erupts

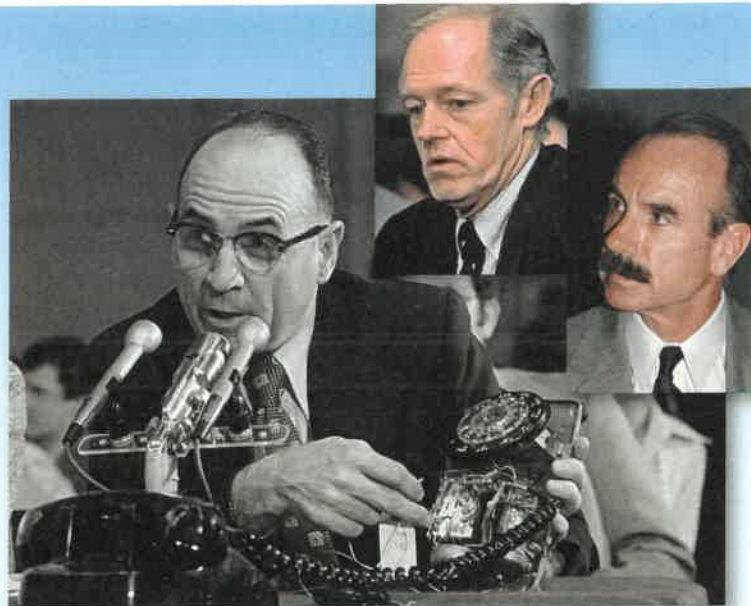
In June 1972, five men were arrested attempting to place wiretaps on phones and stealing information from the Democratic National Headquarters at the Watergate Hotel. The subsequent investigation revealed a cover-up that reached to the White House.



▲ The Watergate Complex gave its name to the resulting scandal. Security guard Frank Willis (right) reported to police evidence of the break-in.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Speculating** If you had discovered the break-in, what might make you suspicious about the burglars?
2. **Explaining** Why was John Dean's testimony damaging to the president?



▲ James McCord shows Congress the bugging device he installed. E. Howard Hunt (center) and G. Gordon Liddy (right) also testified.



► Counsel to the president John Dean testified that Nixon had been directly involved in the cover-up of the Watergate break-in.

actions. Although the affair began with the Watergate burglary, many scholars believe the roots of the scandal lay in Nixon's character and the atmosphere that he and his advisers created in the White House.

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

Furthermore, Nixon had become president when American society was in turmoil. There were race riots, and protests over the Vietnam War continued to consume the country. In Nixon's view, protesters and other "radicals" were trying 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.

When Nixon began his reelection campaign, his advisers were optimistic. Nixon had just finished triumphant trips to China and the Soviet Union. Former governor George Wallace, who had mounted a strong campaign in 1968, had dropped out of the race after an assassin's bullet paralyzed him, and the Democratic **challenger**, South Dakota Senator George McGovern, was viewed by many as too liberal.

Nixon's reelection was by no means certain, however. The unpopular Vietnam War still raged, and his staffers remembered how close the 1968 election had been. Determined to win at all costs, they began spying on opposition rallies and spreading rumors and false reports about their Democratic opponents.


As part of their efforts to help the president, Nixon's advisers ordered five men to break into the Democratic Party's headquarters at the Watergate complex and steal any sensitive campaign information. They were also 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

After the Watergate break-in, the media discovered that one burglar, James McCord, was not only an ex-CIA officer but also a member of the Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP). Reports soon surfaced that the burglars had been paid from a secret CRP fund controlled by the White House.

At this point, the cover-up began. White House officials destroyed incriminating documents and gave false testimony to investigators. Meanwhile, President Nixon stepped in. The president may not have ordered the break-in, but he did order a cover-up. With Nixon's consent, administration officials asked the CIA to stop the FBI from investigating the source of the money paid to the burglars. The CIA told the FBI that the investigation threatened national security. To combat efforts to block the FBI investigation, the FBI's deputy director, W. Mark Felt, secretly leaked information about Watergate to the *Washington Post*.

Meanwhile, Nixon's press secretary dismissed the incident as a "third-rate burglary attempt," and the president told the American public, "The White House has had no involvement whatever in this particular incident." The strategy worked. Most Americans believed President Nixon, and despite efforts by the media, in particular the *Washington Post*, to keep the story alive, few people paid much attention 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.

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

The Cover-Up Unravels

MAIN Idea The president's refusal to cooperate with Congress only focused attention on his possible involvement.

HISTORY AND YOU How far do you think that presidents should be able to go in the name of national security? Read on to learn how Nixon tried to invoke national security concerns to thwart an investigation of his involvement in Watergate.

In early 1973, the Watergate burglars went on trial. Under relentless prodding from federal judge John J. Sirica, McCord agreed to cooperate with the grand jury investigation. He also agreed to testify before the newly created Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities. The chairman of the committee was Senator **Sam J. Ervin**, a Democrat from North Carolina.

McCord's testimony opened a floodgate of confessions, and a parade of White House and campaign officials exposed one illegality after another. 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.

Because Dean had no evidence to confirm his account, for the next month, 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, but only if the president could be forced to release them.

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ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

Is Executive Privilege Unlimited?

★ *United States v. Nixon*, 1974

Background to the Case

In 1974 Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski issued a subpoena to gain access to tape recordings President Nixon had made of conversations in the Oval Office. Jaworski believed that the tapes would prove the active involvement of the president in the Watergate cover-up. Nixon filed a motion to prevent the subpoena, claiming executive privilege. The case went to district court, but that court withheld judgment pending the decision of the Supreme Court.

How the Court Ruled

In a unanimous 8-to-0 decision (Justice Rehnquist did not take part), the Supreme Court found that executive privilege did not protect Nixon's tape recordings, stating that while the president has a right to protect military secrets and other sensitive material and has a right to some confidentiality, the needs of a criminal trial must take precedence.



▲ The Senate committee overseeing the Watergate investigation, chaired by Senator Sam Ervin (fourth from left at the table), wanted access to Nixon's tape recordings.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Court's Opinion

"In this case we must weigh the importance of the general privilege of confidentiality of Presidential communications in performance of the President's responsibilities against the inroads of such a privilege on the fair administration of criminal justice. The interest in preserving confidentiality is weighty indeed and entitled to great respect. However, we cannot conclude that advisers will be moved to temper the candor of their remarks by the infrequent occasions of disclosure because of the possibility that such conversations will be called for in the context of a criminal prosecution. On the other hand, the allowance of the privilege to withhold evidence that is demonstrably relevant in a criminal trial would cut deeply into the guarantee of due process of law and gravely impair the basic function of the courts. A President's acknowledged need for confidentiality in the communications of his office is general

in nature, whereas the constitutional need for production of relevant evidence in a criminal proceeding is specific and central to the fair adjudication of a particular criminal case in the administration of justice. . . . The President's broad interest in confidentiality of communications will not be vitiated by disclosure of a limited number of conversations preliminarily shown to have some bearing on the pending criminal cases. We conclude that when the ground for asserting privilege as to subpoenaed materials sought for use in a criminal trial is based only on the generalized interest in confidentiality, it cannot prevail over the fundamental demands of due process of law in the fair administration of criminal justice. . . ."

—Chief Justice Warren Burger writing for the Court in
United States v. Nixon

DBQ Document-Based Questions

- 1. Finding the Main Idea** What is the main point of the decision in *United States v. Nixon*?
- 2. Summarizing** What does Burger say that executive privilege in this case would violate?
- 3. Expressing** Do you agree with the Supreme Court's decision in this case? Explain.

The Watergate Scandal



◀ President Nixon clings to his desk as the Watergate scandal crashes like a tidal wave through the Oval Office.



▲ The Watergate investigation takes the form of a search dog who has tracked the evidence directly to the president.

Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

1. **Specifying** What does the cartoon on the left use to symbolize the Watergate scandal?
2. **Explaining** What is the meaning of Nixon's appearance and the magnifying glass in the cartoon on the right?

The Case of the Tapes

At first, Nixon refused to hand over the tapes, pleading **executive privilege**—the principle that White House conversations should remain confidential to protect national security. **Special prosecutor** Archibald Cox, the government lawyer appointed by the president to handle the Watergate cases, took Nixon to court in October 1973 to force him to give up the recordings. Nixon ordered Attorney General Elliot Richardson to fire Cox, but Richardson refused and resigned. Nixon then ordered Richardson's deputy to fire Cox, but the deputy resigned as well. Nixon's 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 after investigators learned that he had taken bribes from state contractors

while 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 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 July the Supreme Court ruled that the president had to turn over the tapes, and Nixon complied.

Several days later, the House Judiciary Committee voted to impeach Nixon, or officially charge him with misconduct. The committee charged Nixon with obstructing justice in the Watergate cover-up; misusing federal agencies to violate the rights of citizens; and defying the authority of Congress by refusing to deliver tapes and other materials as requested. Before the House of Representatives

Section 2 REVIEW

could vote on whether Nixon should be impeached, investigators found indisputable evidence against the president. One of the 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. With this news, even the president's strongest supporters conceded that impeachment by the House and conviction in the Senate were 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.

The Impact of Watergate

Upon taking office, President Ford urged Americans to put the Watergate scandal behind them. "Our long national nightmare is over," he declared. 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."

The Watergate crisis led to new laws intended to limit the power of the executive branch. 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 Act restricted the Bureau's political intelligence-gathering activities. 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. 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:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"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 . . . 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, from a stubborn economic recession to a heart-wrenching hostage crisis overseas.

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

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: Sam J. Ervin, John Dean, executive privilege, special prosecutor, Federal Campaign Act Amendments.

Main Ideas

- 2. Explaining** How did the Watergate cover-up involve the CIA and the FBI?
- 3. Determining Cause and Effect** Why did President Nixon finally resign?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas** How did the Watergate scandal alter the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches of the federal government?
- 5. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to record the effects of the Watergate scandal.



- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the photographs on page 713. How did the Watergate hearings demonstrate the effectiveness of the system of checks and balances?

Writing About History

- 7. 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 it.

History  ONLINE

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Ford and Carter

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Economics and Society A weakening economy and growing energy crisis marred the terms of Presidents Ford and Carter.

Content Vocabulary

- inflation (p. 718)
- embargo (p. 718)
- stagflation (p. 719)

Academic Vocabulary

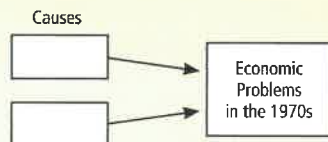
- theory (p. 719)
- deregulation (p. 721)

People and Events to Identify

- OPEC (p. 718)
- Helsinki Accords (p. 720)
- Department of Energy (p. 721)
- Camp David Accords (p. 723)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by listing the causes of economic problems in the 1970s.



By the time Richard Nixon resigned, the boom period Americans had experienced in the previous decades was coming to an end. Through the 1970s, Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter attempted, with varying levels of success, to lead the United States through both domestic and foreign crises.

The Economic Crisis of the 1970s

MAIN Idea In the 1970s Americans had to face a slowing economy and an end to plentiful, cheap energy.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever heard anyone describe their experiences during the energy crisis of the 1970s? Read on to learn how politics and Americans' dependency on oil imports led to a serious crisis.

After World War II, American prosperity seemed normal. This prosperity relied on easy access to global raw materials and a strong manufacturing base at home. In the 1970s, however, prosperity gave way to a decade of hard times.

A Mighty Economic Machine Slows

Economic troubles began in the mid-1960s when President Johnson increased federal deficit spending, to fund both the Vietnam War and the Great Society programs, without raising taxes. This spending spurred **inflation** by pumping large amounts of money into the economy. One measure of inflation, the Consumer Price Index (CPI) calculates the average price of goods and services purchased by households. Comparing CPI on a yearly basis during the 1970s shows that the inflation rate rose more rapidly during this decade.

Another economic blow came when the price of oil began to rise. By 1970, the United States had become dependent on oil imports from the Middle East and Africa. This was not a problem as long as prices remained low, but in 1973, the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**—a cartel dominated by Arab countries—decided to use oil as a political weapon. In 1973 a war erupted between Israel and its Arab neighbors. OPEC announced an **embargo**, or trade ban, of petroleum to countries that supported Israel. OPEC also raised the price of crude oil by 70 percent, and then by another 130 percent a few months later.

Although the embargo ended within a few months, oil prices continued to rise. The price of a barrel of crude oil rose from \$3 in 1973 to \$30 in 1980. As oil and gasoline prices rose, Americans had less money for other goods, which contributed to a recession.

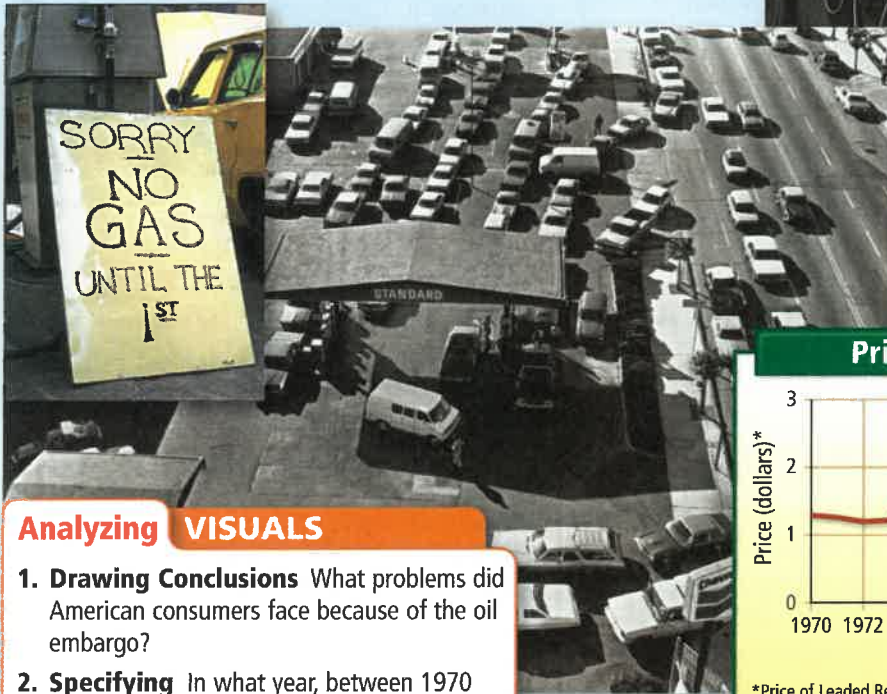
PRIMARY SOURCE

The Energy Crisis

OPEC's embargo caused long lines at gas stations and caused inflation to accelerate rapidly. The U.S. government responded by imposing price controls.



▲ The oil embargo and price increases imposed by OPEC, whose members are shown above, severely decreased supply and increased prices in the United States.



Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Drawing Conclusions** What problems did American consumers face because of the oil embargo?
- 2. Specifying** In what year, between 1970 and 1990, did gasoline reach its highest price?

Price of Gasoline, 1970–1990



*Price of Leaded Regular Gasoline in Constant 2000 dollars.

Source: Energy Information Administration.

A Stagnant Economy

Another economic problem was the decline of manufacturing. By 1970, many American manufacturing plants were old and less efficient than the plants Japan and Germany had built after World War II. In 1971, for the first time since 1889, the United States imported more than it exported. Unable to compete, many factories closed, and millions of workers lost their jobs. Thus, in the early 1970s, President Nixon faced a new economic problem nicknamed **"stagflation"**—a combination of inflation and a stagnant economy with high unemployment.

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 could 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 it would also keep the economy in 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 too met with little success.

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

Ford and Carter Battle the Economic Crisis

MAIN Idea When Gerald Ford failed to solve the nation's problems, Americans turned to political outsider Jimmy Carter to lead the nation.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think a president should be a Washington insider? Read how being an outsider affected Carter's ability to lead.

When Nixon resigned in 1974, inflation was still high, despite many efforts to reduce prices. Meanwhile, the unemployment rate was over 5 percent. It would now be up to the new president, Gerald Ford, to confront stagflation.

Ford Tries to “Whip” Inflation

By 1975, the American economy was in the worst recession since the Great Depression, with unemployment at nearly 9 percent. Ford responded by launching a plan called WIN—“Whip Inflation Now.” He urged Americans to reduce their use of oil and gas, and take steps to conserve energy. The plan had little impact on the economic situation. The president then began cutting government spending and urged the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates to curb inflation. He also sought to balance the budget and keep taxes low. He vetoed more than 50 bills that the Democratic Congress passed during the first two years of his administration. These efforts failed to revive the economy.

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 met with problems in Southeast Asia. In May 1975, soon after Communists seized power in Cambodia, Cambodian forces captured the *Mayaguez*, an American cargo ship traveling near its shores. Calling the seizure an “act of piracy,” Ford sent U.S. Marines to retrieve it. Cambodia secretly released the crew shortly before the marines arrived. Unaware the crew was safe, the marines attacked and recaptured the ship, but 41 servicemen died in the battle.

The Election of 1976

The presidential race pitted Gerald Ford against James Earl Carter, Jr., or Jimmy Carter, as he liked to be called. A former governor of Georgia, Carter had no political experience in Washington. Carter took advantage of his outsider status, promising to restore honesty to the federal government. He also promised new programs for energy development, tax reform, welfare reform, and national health care.

Ford characterized Carter as a liberal whose social programs would produce higher rates of inflation and require tax increases. For many voters, however, Carter's image as a moral and upstanding individual, untainted by Washington politics, made him an attractive candidate. In the end, Carter narrowly defeated Ford with 50.1 percent of the popular vote to Ford's 47.9 percent, while capturing 297 electoral votes to Ford's 240.

Carter's Economic Policies

Most of Carter's domestic policies were intended to fix the economy. At first he tried to end the recession and reduce unemployment by increasing 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. He tried to ease inflation by reducing the money supply and raising interest rates. In the end, none of his efforts succeeded.

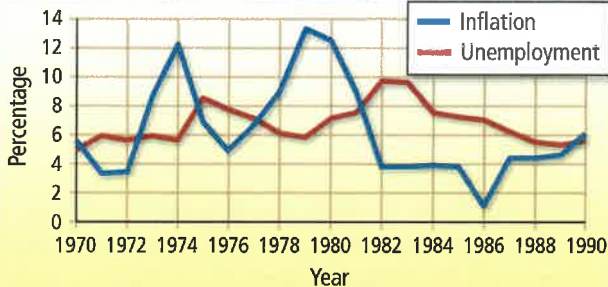
Carter believed that the nation's most serious problem was its dependence on foreign oil. In one of his first national addresses, he asked Americans to support a “war” against rising energy consumption. “Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the president and Congress to govern this nation,” Carter stated.

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Election of 1976

When President Ford failed to solve the nation's economic problems, voters decided to give Washington outsider Jimmy Carter a chance.

Inflation and Unemployment Rates



Source: U.S. Department of Labor; Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Analyzing VISUALS

- Analyzing** In what areas of the country did Carter receive the most votes? Why do you think this was so?
- Interpreting** What was the trend for both unemployment and inflation after 1976?

Carter proposed a national energy program to conserve oil and to promote the use of coal and renewable energy sources such as solar power. He also convinced Congress to create a **Department of Energy**, and asked Americans to reduce their energy consumption.

Meanwhile, many business leaders and economists urged the president and Congress to deregulate the oil industry. They believed that regulations, first imposed as part of President Nixon's price control plan, made it very difficult for oil companies to make a profit. They claimed they lacked the spare capital needed to invest in new domestic oil wells. This in turn kept the nation dependent on foreign oil.

Carter agreed to support **deregulation** but insisted on a "windfall profits tax" to prevent oil companies from overcharging consumers. Critics argued that the tax conflicted with the basic idea of deregulation, which was to free up capital for use in finding new sources of oil.

In the summer of 1979, instability in the Middle East produced a second major fuel shortage and deepened the nation's economic

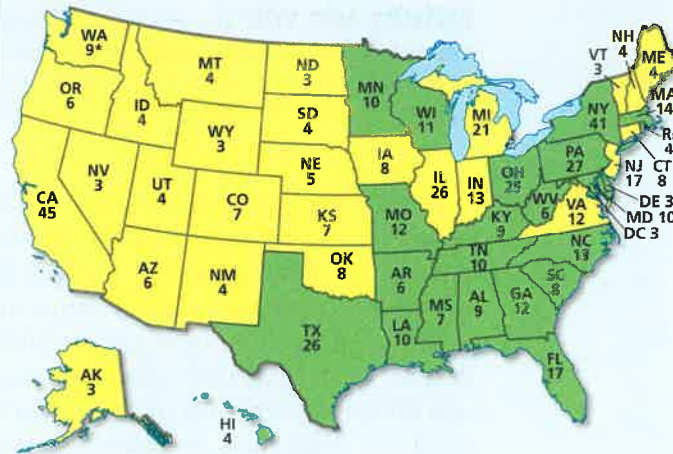


Ford

Presidential Election of 1976



Carter



Presidential Candidate	Popular Votes	% of Popular Vote	Electoral Votes
Carter	40,825,839	50.15%	297
Ford	39,147,770	48.09%	240

* Eight electors in Washington voted for Ford and one voted for Reagan.

problems. Under increasing pressure to act, Carter made several proposals in a televised address. In the speech, Carter warned 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 felt that Carter was blaming the people for his failures.

President Carter's difficulties in solving the nation's economic problems lay partly in his inexperience and inability to work with Congress. Carter, 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. The president also failed to set clear goals for the nation. Instead, he 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 reestablish the United States as a moral force for good on the international stage but had few successes.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think a leader's personal morality should shape policy? Read how Carter applied his moral code to foreign policy.

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 Carter suffered one of his most devastating defeats.

Morality in Foreign Policy

President Carter set the tone for his foreign policy in his inaugural speech, when he said, "Our commitment to human rights must be absolute. . . . The powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced." Along with his foreign policy team—which included 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, he agreed to give Panama control of the Panama Canal, which the United States had built and operated for over 60 years. In 1978 the Senate ratified two Panama Canal treaties, which transferred control of the canal to Panama on December 31, 1999.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Jimmy Carter and the Middle East

During his administration, Jimmy Carter faced a number of challenges in the Middle East. His foreign policy there met with mixed success.



▲ The Camp David Accords

In 1978, Carter helped negotiate a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. Above, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin sign the accords.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Specifying** What was Carter's major success in foreign policy?
2. **Theorizing** Why was the Middle East a major focus of Carter's foreign policy?

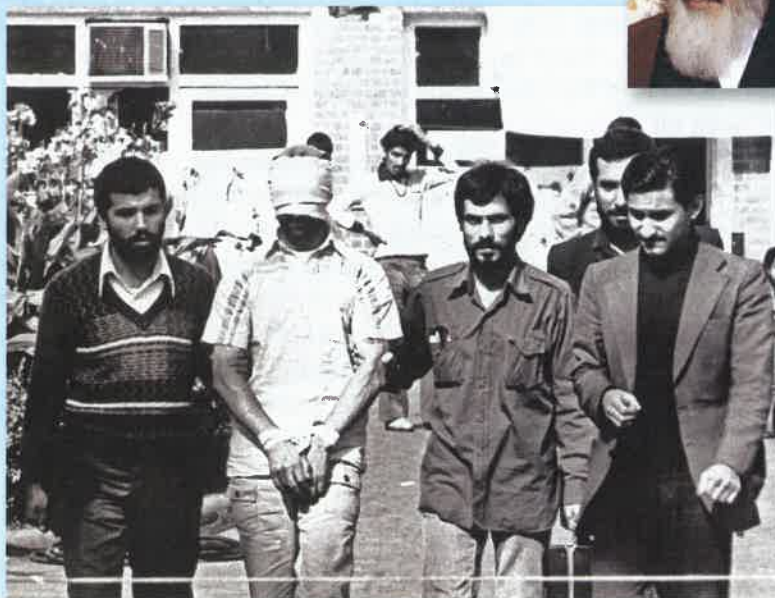


▲ The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan shattered détente. Carter responded by imposing a grain embargo, but it did not force the Soviets to pull back.

▼ The Iranian Hostage Crisis

The Ayatollah Khomeini (right) led a revolution in Iran in 1979. Fifty-two Americans were taken hostage. Carter's inability to negotiate their release hurt his reelection campaign.



Section 3 REVIEW

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

Triumph and Failure in the Middle East

It was in the volatile Middle East that President Carter met both 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 had to deal with 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, 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, led by religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini, distrusted the United States because of its support of the Shah. In November 1979, revolutionaries stormed the American embassy in Tehran and took 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 atmosphere in the White House the day after the crash. The president "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 know quite what to say."

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 them cost him support in the 1980 election. Negotiations continued right up to Carter's last day in office. 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?

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: inflation, OPEC, embargo, stagflation, Helsinki Accords, Department of Energy, Camp David Accords.

Main Ideas

- 2. Describing** How did the OPEC embargo affect the U.S. economy?
- 3. Specifying** What were two ingredients in Carter's failure to achieve success in his domestic policy?
- 4. Identifying** What crisis in the Middle East occurred during the Carter administration?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** How did Carter attempt to deal with the nation's energy crisis?
- 6. Organizing** Complete a graphic organizer by listing the ways in which President Carter applied his human rights ideas to his foreign policy.



- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the photograph of the hostages on page 722. What effect do you think images such as this one had on Americans who were living or traveling in other countries?

Writing About History

- 8. Expository Writing** Write an essay identifying what you believe to be Carter's most important foreign policy achievement. Explain your choice.

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New Approaches to Civil Rights

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Struggles for Rights African Americans, Native Americans, and people with disabilities organized to fight discrimination and gain access to better education and jobs.

Content Vocabulary

- busing (p. 725)
- affirmative action (p. 725)

Academic Vocabulary

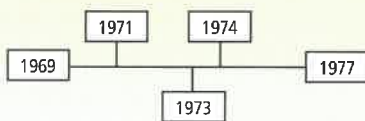
- criteria (p. 726)
- appropriate (p. 729)

People and Events to Identify

- Allan Bakke (p. 726)
- Jesse Jackson (p. 727)
- Congressional Black Caucus (p. 727)
- Shirley Chisholm (p. 727)
- American Indian Movement (AIM) (p. 727)
- Section 504 (p. 729)

Reading Strategy

Sequencing Complete a time line similar to the one below by recording groups in the civil rights movement and their actions.



Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, reforms took place in many areas of society. In this period, minority groups, such as African Americans, Native Americans, and persons with disabilities, began to develop new ways to expand opportunities and assert their civil rights.

African Americans Seek Greater Opportunity

MAIN Idea During the 1960s and 1970s, African Americans built on the civil rights achievements of the 1950s to advance their social, political, and legal status.

HISTORY AND YOU Does your school district have a program of busing? Read on to learn how such programs originated as a way to integrate public schools.

By the end of the 1960s, many African American leaders felt a growing sense of frustration. Although most legal forms of racial discrimination had been dismantled, many African Americans saw little improvement in their daily lives. Increasingly, the problems facing most African Americans lay in their lack of access to good jobs and adequate schooling. As a result, leaders of the civil rights movement began to focus their energies on these problems.

Equal Access to Education

In the 1970s, African Americans began to push harder for improvements in public education and access to good schools. Although the Supreme Court had ordered an end to segregated public schools in the 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education*, many schools remained segregated because children attended schools near where they lived. As a result many schools, especially in the North, remained segregated, not by law, but because whites and African Americans lived in different neighborhoods.

In many cases where de facto segregation existed, the white schools were superior, as Ruth Baston of the NAACP noted in 1965 after visiting Boston schools:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“When we would go to white schools, we’d see these lovely classrooms with a small number of children in each class. The teachers were permanent. We’d see wonderful materials. When we’d go to our schools, we’d see overcrowded classrooms, children sitting out in the corridors. And so then we decided that

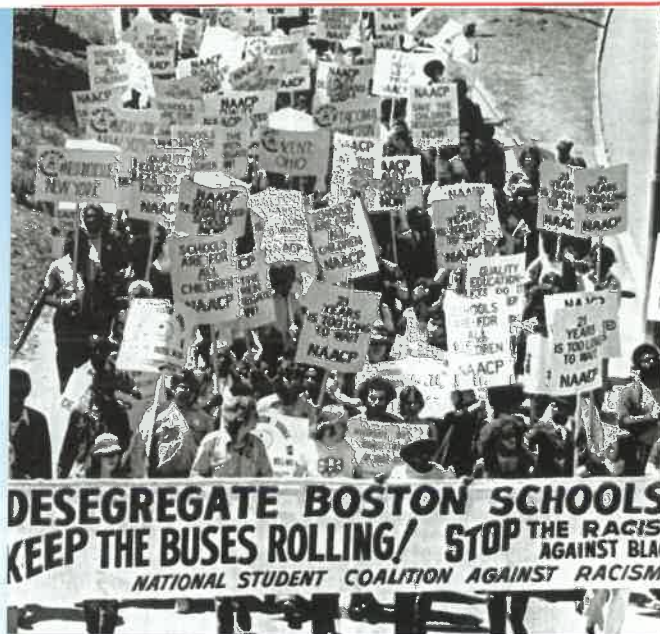
PRIMARY SOURCE

Busing to End Segregation

To end segregation in public schools, state courts ordered the busing of children to schools outside of their neighborhoods. Reaction from parents to forced busing was often violent.



▲ Anger over busing was particularly virulent in some neighborhoods in Boston, Massachusetts, where police often had to escort school buses along their routes.



▲ Supporters of busing took part in the National March on Boston in 1975. The NAACP sponsored the march to mark the anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which outlawed segregation in schools.

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Explaining** Why were parents in Boston neighborhoods angry over busing?
2. **Making Inferences** Why are protesters holding signs that read “21 years is too long to wait” in the photograph on the right?

where there were a large number of white students, that’s where the care went. That’s where the books went. That’s where the money went.”

—quoted in *Freedom Bound*


To solve this problem, state courts began ordering local governments to bus children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve greater racial balance. The practice led to protests and even riots in several white communities, including Boston. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the constitutionality of **busing** in the 1971 case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.

In response, many whites took their children out of public schools or moved to a district where busing had not been imposed. About 20,000 white students left Boston’s public system for parochial and private schools. By late 1976, African Americans, Latinos, and other minorities made up the

majority of Boston’s public school students. This “white flight” also occurred in other cities. When Detroit tried to bus students from one school district to another in 1974, the Court held in *Miliken v. Bradley* that busing across district lines was unconstitutional unless districts had been deliberately drawn to create segregation.

Affirmative Action

In addition to supporting busing, civil rights leaders in the 1970s began advocating **affirmative action** as a new way to solve economic and educational discrimination. Enforced through executive orders and federal policies, affirmative action called for companies, schools, and institutions doing business with the federal government to recruit African Americans with the hope that this would lead to improved social and economic status. Officials later expanded affirmative action to include other minority groups and women.

 For further information on the case of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, see page R61 in the *Supreme Court Case Summaries*.



Environmentalism

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Group Action Increased awareness of environmental issues inspired a grassroots campaign to protect nature.

Content Vocabulary

- smog (p. 731)
- fossil fuel (p. 733)

Academic Vocabulary

- intensify (p. 733)
- alternative (p. 733)

People and Events to Identify

- Rachel Carson (p. 730)
- Environmental Protection Agency (p. 732)
- Love Canal (p. 732)
- Three Mile Island (p. 733)

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by including actions taken to combat the nation's environmental problems in the 1960s and 1970s.



Americans became increasingly aware of the damage being done to the environment. Soon environmental issues became national concerns, and individuals, local groups, and the government acted to address the damage and protect natural resources.

The Origins of Environmentalism

MAIN Idea Concerns about the effects of a deadly pesticide, the visible signs of pollution in American cities, and an influential book inspired a movement to protect the environment.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you take action personally or with others to preserve and protect the environment? Read on to learn how one woman inspired the environmental movement.

In 1966 Carol Yannacone of Patchogue, a small community on Long Island, New York, learned that officials were using the powerful pesticide DDT as part of a mosquito control operation at a local lake. Alarmed that the pesticide might poison the lake and local streams, Yannacone and her husband Victor, an attorney, contacted several local scientists who confirmed their suspicions.

The Yannacones then successfully sued to halt the use of the pesticide. In so doing, they had discovered a new strategy for addressing environmental concerns. Shortly after the Yannacones' court victory, the scientists involved in the case established the Environmental Defense Fund and used its contributions for a series of legal actions across the country to halt DDT spraying. Their efforts led to a nationwide ban on the use of the pesticide in 1972.

The effort to ban DDT was only one part of a new environmental movement that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s. The person who helped trigger this new movement was not a political leader or prominent academic, but a soft-spoken marine biologist named **Rachel Carson**. Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring* assailed the increasing use of pesticides, particularly DDT. She contended that while pesticides curbed insect populations, they also killed birds, fish, and other creatures that might ingest them. Carson warned Americans of a "silent spring," in which there would be no birds left to usher spring in with their songs. *Silent Spring* became a best-seller and one of the most controversial and influential books of the 1960s. The chemical industry was outraged and began an intense campaign to discredit Carson and her arguments.

Many Americans believed Carson's warnings, however, largely because of what they were seeing around them and reading in news reports. Rivers across the nation were no longer safe for

PRIMARY SOURCE

Origins of the Environmentalist Movement



▲ Industrial pollution in cities like Newark, New Jersey (above) led to thick clouds of smog that caused breathing problems for some people. Tired of the dirty air, many Americans began to demand an end to pollution.



▲ Volunteers work to clean up an oil spill off the coast of California in 1969. News of the spill helped mobilize the new environmentalist movement.

◀ In 1969, the Cuyahoga River in Ohio caught fire. The incident gained national attention and contributed to the passage of the Clean Water Act in 1972.

Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Summarizing** What events raised awareness of the need to protect the environment?
- 2. Discussing** Why do you think the fire on the Cuyahoga River convinced many people of the need for action?

fishing or swimming. **Smog**, or fog made heavier and darker by smoke and chemical fumes, hung perpetually over many major cities. In the Northwest, timber companies were cutting down acres of forest. In 1969 a major oil spill off Santa Barbara, California, ruined miles of beach and killed scores of birds and aquatic animals. A dike project in Florida's Everglades indirectly killed millions of birds and animals. Pollution and garbage caused nearly all the fish to disappear from Lake Erie. By 1970, many citizens were convinced it was time to do something about protecting the environment.

A Grassroots Effort Begins

Many observers point to April 1970 as the unofficial beginning of the environmentalist movement. That month, the nation held its first Earth Day celebration, a day devoted to addressing environmental concerns. The national response was overwhelming. On 2,000 college campuses, in 10,000 secondary

schools, and in hundreds of communities, millions of Americans participated in activities to show their environmental awareness.

After Earth Day, many citizens formed local environmental groups. Long-standing non-profit organizations such as the Audubon Society, the Sierra Club, and the Wilderness Society grew rapidly in membership and political influence. These organizations worked to protect the environment and promote the conservation of natural resources. In 1970 activists started the Natural Resources Defense Council to coordinate a nationwide network of scientists, lawyers, and activists working on environmental issues.

Many communities and businesses responded to these organizations. Many city planners sought to reduce urban sprawl and expand green space. Architects and builders tried to make their structures more energy efficient, and the forestry industry began reforestation programs.

Reading Check Identifying What natural resources did environmental groups want to protect?

The Environmental Movement Blossoms

MAIN Idea Pressure from citizens and activist groups led Congress to pass major environmental legislation.

HISTORY AND YOU Can you think of a recent environmental disaster that has been in the news? Read on to learn about two of the worst environmental disasters in American history.

As the environmental movement gained support, the federal government took action. In 1970 President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**. The EPA set and enforced pollution standards, promoted research, and directed anti-pollution activities with state and local governments.

The Clean Air Act also became law in 1970 after Congress overrode President Nixon's

veto. This act established emissions standards for factories and automobiles. It also ordered all industries to comply with such standards within five years.

In following years, Congress passed two more pieces of significant environmental legislation. The Clean Water Act (1972) restricted the discharge of pollutants into the nation's lakes and rivers, and the Endangered Species Act (1973) established measures for saving threatened animal and plant species. These laws succeeded in reducing smog, and the pollution of many lakes, streams, and rivers declined dramatically.

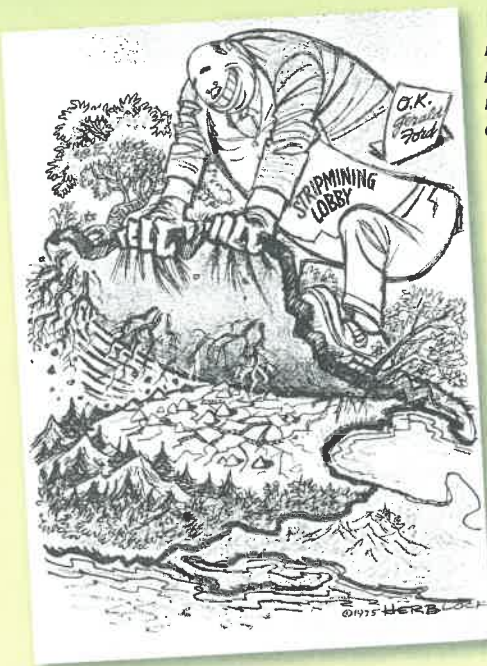
Love Canal

Despite the flurry of federal environmental legislation, Americans continued to mobilize on the community level throughout the 1970s. One of the most powerful displays of community activism occurred in a housing development near Niagara Falls, New York, known as **Love Canal**.

POLITICAL CARTOONS PRIMARY SOURCE

A New Focus on the Environment

By the 1970s, the environmental movement was a strong force for change in the nation and around the world. In response, Congress passed a series of laws designed to protect the air, water, and wildlife.



► Events, such as the annual Earth Day celebrations, helped environmentalists increase public awareness of environmental problems.

◀ President Ford and others are criticized for supporting industrial interests rather than protecting the environment.



Analyzing VISUALS

DBQ

1. **Identifying** Who does the large figure represent in the cartoon on the left?
2. **Summarizing** What is the main idea being expressed in the Earth Day poster?

Section 5 REVIEW

During the 1970s, residents of Love Canal began to notice increasingly high incidences of health problems in their community, including nerve damage, blood diseases, cancer, miscarriages, and birth defects. The residents soon learned that their community sat atop a decades-old toxic waste dump. Over time, its hazardous contents had spread through the ground.

Led by a local woman, Lois Gibbs, the residents joined together and demanded that the government take steps to address these health threats. Hindered at first by local and state officials, the residents refused to back down, and by 1978 they had made their struggle known to the entire nation. That year, in the face of mounting public pressure and evidence of the dangers posed by the dump, the state permanently relocated more than 200 families.

In 1980, after hearing protests from the families who still lived near the landfill, President Carter declared Love Canal a federal disaster area and moved over 600 remaining families to new locations. In 1983 Love Canal residents sued the company that had created the dump site and settled the case for \$20 million. The site was cleaned up by sealing the waste within an underground bunker and burning homes located above the dumping ground.

Concerns About Nuclear Energy

During the 1970s, a number of citizens also became concerned about the use of nuclear reactors to generate electricity. As nuclear power plants began to dot the nation's landscape, the debate over their use **intensified**. Supporters of nuclear energy hailed it as a cleaner and less expensive **alternative** to **fossil fuels**, such as coal, oil, and natural gas, which are in limited supply. Opponents warned of the risks nuclear energy posed, particularly the devastating consequences of an accidental radiation release into the air.

The debate gained national attention in a shocking fashion in 1979. In the early hours of March 28, one of the reactors at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear facility outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, overheated after its cooling system failed. Two days later, as plant officials scrambled to fix the problem, low levels of radiation escaped from the reactor.

Officials evacuated many nearby residents, while others fled on their own. Citizens and community groups expressed outrage at protest rallies. Officials closed down the reactor and sealed the leak. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the federal agency that regulates the nuclear power industry, eventually declared the plant safe. President Carter even visited the site in order to allay the public's concerns.

Although no one was hurt, the accident at Three Mile Island had a powerful impact politically. Many people now doubted the safety of nuclear energy. Such doubts have continued. Since Three Mile Island, some 60 nuclear power plants have been shut down or abandoned, and no new facilities have been built since 1973.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What is the environmental movement's main goal?

Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: Rachel Carson, smog, Environmental Protection Agency, Love Canal, fossil fuel, Three Mile Island.

Main Ideas

- 2. Summarizing** What were some of the dangers of DDT?
- 3. Explaining** Why was Love Canal a dangerous place to live?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Big Ideas** What were some groups that lobbied for legislation to protect the environment in the 1960s and 1970s?
- 5. Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the environmental laws passed in the 1970s, and explain their purposes.

Environmental Legislation	Purpose

- 6. Analyzing Visuals** Study the cartoon on the left-hand side of page 732. What is the meaning of the piece of paper that reads "O.K. Gerald Ford" in the main figure's pocket?

Writing About History

- 7. Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an investigative reporter, and describe the environmental disaster at either Love Canal or Three Mile Island. Explain how community activism brought the issue to the nation's attention.

 **History ONLINE**

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Chapter 21 VISUAL SUMMARY



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An Era of Challenges

Major Domestic Issues of the 1970s

- A nation is divided and angry over the Vietnam War.
- An energy crisis is triggered by OPEC's raising of oil prices.
- A stagnant economy exists with both inflation and high unemployment.
- Ongoing racial problems occur in major cities.
- Growing awareness of environmental problems including air and water pollution, toxic waste (at Love Canal and other sites), the overuse of pesticides, plus a crisis with the nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island.

Major Foreign Policy Issues of the 1970s

- Cold War tensions continue with the Soviet Union and China.
- The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan.
- War between Israel and its Arab neighbors breaks out in 1973, and ongoing violence occurs in the Middle East.
- A revolution in Iran leads to the taking of American hostages.



▲ In the 1970s, state courts order the forced desegregation of public schools through busing, despite protests such as the one above in Memphis, Tennessee.



▲ Americans wait in long lines to purchase gasoline during the energy crisis of the 1970s.



◀ The first Earth Day in 1970 is often seen as the start of an organized environmentalist movement, which continues to have a major influence on politics and society today.

New Policies and Activism

Responding to Domestic Issues

- Nixon attempts to win over Southern conservatives, but his administration's determination to win leads to the Watergate cover-up and Nixon's subsequent resignation.
- Ford's WIN campaign fails to overcome inflation.
- Carter urges Americans to conserve energy, creates the Department of Energy, and asks Congress to pass legislation deregulating the oil industry.
- Civil rights leaders propose affirmative action policies to reduce discrimination; the Supreme Court upholds some types of affirmative action in the *Bakke* case.
- Busing begins in northern cities to integrate schools.
- Environmentalist movement begins; Nixon creates the EPA.

Responding to Foreign Policy Issues

- Nixon and Kissinger introduce the policy of détente and begin talks with both the USSR and China.
- Carter mediates negotiations between Israel and Egypt leading to the first Arab-Israeli peace treaty.
- The United States imposes a grain embargo on the USSR for invading Afghanistan and boycotts the Moscow Olympics.
- The hostage crisis with Iran drags on for more than a year; an American rescue attempt fails, and the hostages are not released until Carter leaves office.

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. Richard Nixon used the _____ to attract more Southerners to the Republican Party.
 - A détente
 - B revenue sharing
 - C Southern strategy
 - D Dixiecrats

2. In *United States v. Nixon*, the Supreme Court found that President Nixon could not invoke _____ to prevent his tapes from being used as evidence in a criminal trial.
 - A revenue sharing
 - B habeas corpus
 - C détente
 - D executive privilege

3. During the 1970s, the U.S. economy was threatened by an oil _____ established by OPEC.
 - A embargo
 - B boycott
 - C importation
 - D duty

4. _____ was a new way to address the social and economic inequalities that kept African Americans as second-class citizens.
 - A Détente
 - B The Southern strategy
 - C Affirmative action
 - D Stagflation

5. In the 1960s and 1970s, environmentalists began to combat issues such as _____ and other types of air pollution.
 - A chemical runoff
 - B DDT
 - C smog
 - D toxic waste

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 706–711)

6. Nixon developed a new program to try to make government more efficient known as
 - A New Federalism.
 - B the Silent Majority.
 - C States' Rights.
 - D the Great Society.

Section 2 (pp. 712–717)

7. Members of the Committee for the Re-election of the President broke into Democratic Party headquarters at the Watergate to
 - A leave incriminating evidence of Democratic wrongdoing.
 - B install a tape-recording device so that Nixon could write his memoirs.
 - C find information to use in the case *United States v. Nixon*.
 - D steal sensitive information and install wiretaps.

8. In the wake of the Watergate scandal, Congress passed a series of laws to accomplish which of the following goals?
 - A to stop tape recordings in the White House
 - B to limit the power of the presidency
 - C to pardon Richard Nixon for his part in the cover-up
 - D to remove police power from the FBI

Section 3 (pp. 718–723)

9. In the early 1970s, OPEC began to use oil as a political weapon against countries that
 - A would not join their organization.
 - B supported Israel's right to exist.
 - C refused to pay the new per-barrel oil price.
 - D supported Arab countries' disapproval of Israel.

TEST-TAKING TIP

Always manage your time during a test so you can go back and review all your answers.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Go to Page . . .	706–707	715	718	725	731	708	712–714	717	718

GO ON

Chapter 21 ASSESSMENT

10. To protest the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter took which of the following actions?
- A He sent U.S. Army troops to fight with the Afghans.
 - B He put NATO forces in Europe on high alert.
 - C He approved a buildup of U.S. nuclear weapons.
 - D He placed an embargo on grain shipments to the USSR.

Section 4 (pp. 724–729)

11. The 1971 case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* upheld the constitutionality of
- A busing.
 - B affirmative action.
 - C segregation.
 - D revenue sharing.
12. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was significant because it
- A set aside money for helping injured veterans in their recovery.
 - B mandated physical access to federal buildings.
 - C banned discrimination against people with disabilities by any organization receiving federal funds.
 - D guaranteed all young people a free and appropriately designed education.

Section 5 (pp. 730–733)

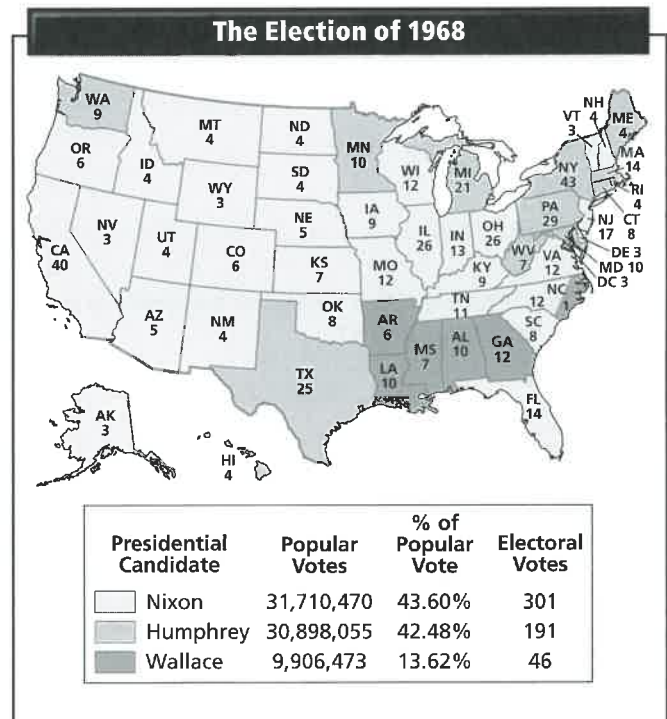
13. The unofficial beginning of the environmentalist movement occurred
- A when the Yannacones complained about the use of DDT.
 - B on the first Earth Day in 1970.
 - C when Congress passed the Clean Air Act.
 - D after Love Canal was found to be poisoned.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

14. What effect did the United States's improved relations with China have on its relations with the Soviet Union?
- A Tensions increased between the two nations.
 - B The two nations were able to establish détente.
 - C The Warsaw Pact began to break up.
 - D The Soviet Union began to boycott American goods.

Base your answer to question 15 on the map below and your knowledge of Chapter 21.



15. In the election of 1968, Nixon received the most support in the
- A North and South.
 - B North and Midwest.
 - C Midwest and West.
 - D South and West.

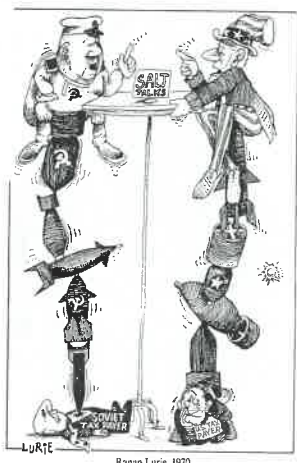
Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions ...	10	11	12	13	14	15
Go to Page ...	723	725	729	730	711	706

GO ON

16. In 1961, 67 Native American tribes issued the Declaration of Indian Purpose, which
- A demanded federal programs to create greater opportunities on reservations.
 - B demanded that the Bill of Rights be recognized on reservations.
 - C established the militant group American Indian Movement (AIM).
 - D announced their decision to separate completely from the United States.
17. The result of the environmentalist legislation Congress passed in the 1970s was that
- A many corporations went bankrupt.
 - B new renewable energy sources were developed.
 - C air and water pollution were greatly reduced.
 - D Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*.

Analyze the cartoon and answer the question that follows. Base your answer on the cartoon and on your knowledge of Chapter 21.



18. According to this cartoon, who ultimately suffered over the arms buildup between the United States and the Soviet Union?
- A the military-industrial complex
 - B the generals of both nations
 - C the politicians of both nations
 - D the taxpayers of both nations

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

The following excerpt is from a magazine article that details the growing energy problems in the United States during the 1970s.

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

- *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. . . .*
- *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; home-owners 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 intense exploration."

—from *U.S. News & World Report*, December 3, 1973

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

Extended Response

21. Beginning in the mid 1970s, during what some historians have called a "reverse migration," African Americans moved back to Southern cities. For example, approximately 30,000 African Americans moved to Atlanta, Georgia, during this time. Based on what you have learned about new approaches to civil rights during this period, explain in a persuasive essay what encouraged this change in population movement.

STOP

History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—
Chapter 21 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20	21
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