

## The 1970s

### I. Nixon and Vietnam

A. 1969, Nixon publicly stated he had secret plan for ending the war

- He didn't; it continued for 4 more years at the cost of nearly 20,000 lives

B. A **lottery draft** replaced previous system

1. Beginning in December 1969 a new draft method for men between the ages 18 and 25 was implemented
2. Designed to be a fairer system; draftees could no longer get deferments (such as for college)
3. Numbers from 1 to 365, each representing a birthday, were randomly selected.
  - Men whose birthdates were selected first would be the first to go; those selected after 200 would most likely not go.

C. "**Vietnamization**"

1. Nixon called for a gradual withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam
2. South Vietnam would receive U.S. money, weapons & training so they could gradually take over the burden of fighting the Vietcong.
  - By 1973, the number of U.S. soldiers had been reduced from 500,000 to 25,000.
3. **Nixon Doctrine:** Asians and others would now have to fight their own wars without support of significant numbers of U.S. ground troops.
  - Represented a step back from "containment"
4. Nixon expanded bombing attacks to compensate for fewer ground troops

D. "**Silent Majority**" Speech

1. Large-scale protests against the Vietnam war continued
  - a. Doves wanted an immediate withdrawal that was complete, unconditional, and irreversible.
  - b. **My Lai Massacre**, 1968 (revealed to public in 1969)
    - Lt. William Calley ordered the massacre of South Vietnamese 350 civilians in a small village
    - Calley was convicted of murder in his court martial and sentenced to life in prison.
    - Calley claimed he followed a direct order and the sentence was later lowered to 10 years

Use space below for notes

- The public was outraged and hundreds of thousands protested; many began to refer to U.S. soldiers as “baby killers”
- c. By October 1969, 2 million people across the U.S. protested Nixon’s policies.
- 2. November 3, Nixon televised his speech to the great "silent majority," who presumably supported the war.
  - a. The speech was aimed largely at middle class Americans who sought law and order
  - b. Nixon denounced the doves and protesters
  - c. One of most important political speeches of late 20<sup>th</sup> century.
    - Symbolized the rise of a conservative backlash against liberalism and the acrimonious divisions that resulted
    - Politically divisive as Nixon and Agnew verbally attacked the protestors and media for not supporting gov’t policies

#### E. Invasion of Cambodia

1. Nixon ordered the **secret bombing of Cambodia, Laos, and North Vietnam** in March, 1969 (not made public until 1973)
  - The attempt to cut off communist supply lines ultimately failed
2. April 1970, Nixon announced on TV he was sending troops into Cambodia to clear out communists who ignored Cambodian neutrality and to disrupt Ho Chi Minh Trail
  - The invasion would be limited to 60 days.
3. A new wave of protests erupted over the invasion of Cambodia
  - a. **Kent State** incident (May 3, 1970, Ohio)
    - Students at Kent State protested; burned the ROTC building
    - The National Guard fired into a crowd killing 4 (all innocent bystanders) and wounding 11.
  - b. **Jackson State**, May 1970 (all-black school in Mississippi)
    - One week after Kent State, rioting in downtown Jackson prompted the National Guard to be called out.
    - 2 died and 12 were wounded; both fatalities were innocent bystanders.
  - c. Several hundred colleges were closed down by student strikes
4. Congress repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
5. Protests waned after the Cambodian climax

#### F. "Pentagon Papers", 1971

1. Former defense analyst **Daniel Ellsberg** leaked classified war-related gov’t documents of Johnson’s presidency to the *New York Times*.
2. Revealed that the government had misled Congress and the public regarding its intentions in Vietnam during the mid-1960s.
  - a. Primary reason for fighting was not to eliminate communism but to "avoid a humiliating political defeat."

- b. Gulf of Tonkin truth was revealed: the attack on U.S. ships in 1964 had *not* been unprovoked.
3. Nixon tried to block publication of the Pentagon Papers.
  - The Supreme court overruled Nixon
4. The government's credibility received another heavy blow.

## II. Ending the Vietnam War

- A. South Vietnam's gov't proved unable to defeat the communists through Vietnamization
- B. The U.S. withdrew from Cambodia in early 1972 (although bombing continued)
- C. Spring 1972, North Vietnam equipped with foreign tanks, burst through the DMZ separating the two Vietnams.
  1. Nixon ordered massive bombing of North Vietnam and mined its ports
  2. *Détente*, Nixon's diplomacy with China and USSR, paid dividends as neither retaliated against the U.S. (see below)
  3. The North Vietnamese offensive ground to a halt.
- D. October 1972, the Paris Peace Talks reopened
  1. North Vietnam dropped its earlier demand that a coalition gov't replace the Thieu government in the South.
  2. The U.S. reversed its earlier position that the Vietcong must be excluded from the gov't and would now allow North Vietnamese troops to remain in South Vietnam.
  3. A draft agreement included a cease-fire, return of American POW's, and U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.
  4. With the election of 1972 looming, Nixon wanted a settlement
    - a. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger announced prematurely that "peace is at hand"
    - b. The settlement fell apart as General Thieu wouldn't sign the treaty.
  5. Christmas Bombings: Hanoi and Haiphong
    - a. December 18, Nixon ordered an intense bombing of North Vietnam's major cities with the war's most massive bombing o
    - b. Aimed to force North Vietnam back to the negotiating table
- E. Paris Accords (1973)
  1. North Vietnam agreed to same deal reached in October of 1972.
    - a. North Vietnam retained control over large areas of the South.
    - b. Agreed to release U.S. POWs within 60 days.
    - c. US would withdraw its forces after prisoners were released.
  2. Thieu agreed because Nixon promised US would back him.
  3. Nixon announced that "peace with honor" had been achieved

4. Critics: contended that Nixon could have come to this agreement 4 years earlier before 20,000 more U.S. soldiers had died.
5. March 29, 1973, the last American combat troops left South Vietnam

F. The fall of South Vietnam to communists occurred in April 1975

1. South Vietnam's capital city of Saigon was renamed Ho Chi Minh City.
2. Not until 1995 did President Clinton formally recognize Vietnam

G. Costs and Results of the War

1. 58,000 dead Americans, 300,000 wounded; 2,583 MIA
2. Over 2 million dead Vietnamese; 300,000 MIA
3. The war derailed Johnson's "Great Society": \$150 billion spent on the war rather than on social programs.
4. A large percentage of Americans came to distrust their government (even more so after the 1974 Watergate Scandal)
5. The war led to inflation and contributed to a stagnant economy in the 1970s
6. 1973, Nixon abolished the draft and established an all-volunteer army
7. 26th Amendment was ratified in 1971
  - a. Voting age lowered from 21 to 18 years of age.
  - b. If soldiers were old enough to die for their country, they were old enough to vote

III. Foreign policy issues during Nixon's presidency (excluding Vietnam)

A. Detente: a shift and improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations

1. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger traveled to China and the USSR for secret sessions to plan summit meetings.
2. Nixon believed that the current USSR-Chinese clash over their interpretations of Marxism could give the U.S. an opportunity to play off one against the other.
3. Nixon also hoped to gain their aid in pressuring North Vietnam into peace.
4. Nixon and Kissinger's policies
  - a. Realpolitik: they believed the U.S. should pursue policies and make alliances based on its national interests rather than on any particular view of the world (e.g. democracy vs. communism)
  - b. Balance of power: "It will be a safer world and a better world if we have a strong, healthy, United States, Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan -- each balancing the other." -- Nixon in 1971
    - *Détente* was the key to this balance.

## B. Nixon visits China, 1972

1. February 1972, Nixon and Kissinger went to China to meet with Mao Zedong and his associates.
2. Recognition of China
  - a. U.S. agreed to support China's admission to the United Nations and to pursue economic and cultural exchanges.
  - b. Reversed U.S. policy of not recognizing the Chinese revolution in 1949.
  - c. China was officially recognized by the U.S. in 1979.

## C. Soviet Union and *Détente*

1. **Nixon's Moscow visit** -- May 1972, Nixon played his "China card" with the Soviets.
  - a. The USSR wanted U.S. foodstuffs and feared an intensified rivalry with a US-backed China.
  - b. Chairman Leonoid Brezhnev approached Nixon about nuclear reduction talks.
    - Nixon flew to Russia to sign the historic arms treaty (see below)
  - c. Nixon's visit ushered in an era of relaxed tensions called *détente*
    - The policy sought to establish rules to govern the rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and China.
    - Resulted in several significant agreements.
    - Agreements were significant as they were made before the U.S. withdrew from Vietnam.
3. Arms control treaties
  - a. **SALT I** (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) signed in May 1972 resulted in two major agreements:
    - The U.S. and USSR agreed to stop making nuclear ballistic missiles for five years
    - **ABM Treaty** (Anti-ballistic missiles)
      - The U.S. and USSR agreed to reduce the number of antiballistic missiles to 200 for each power.
  - b. The ballistic missile agreement became moot due to U.S. development of "MIRVs" (Multiple Independently Targeted Reentry Vehicles)
    - One missile could carry many warheads
    - Both the U.S. and Soviets had nearly 20,000 warheads by the 1980s!
4. Grain deal of 1972: 3-year arrangement by which the U.S. agreed to sell at least \$750 million worth of wheat, corn, and other cereals to the Soviet Union.
5. **Helsinki Conference** (July, 1975) -- 34 countries present
  - a. Held during Gerald Ford's presidency
  - b. One group of agreements officially ended World War II by

- finally legitimizing the Soviet-dictated boundaries of Poland and other Eastern European countries.
- c. In return, the Soviets guaranteed more liberal exchanges of people and information between East and West and the protection of certain basic "human rights."
    - Yet, the Soviets reneged on their pledges.
  - d. The U.S. became angry that the USSR continued to send huge quantities of arms and military technicians to pro-Communist forces around the world.
  - e. Ford sought to maintain the policy of *détente* but U.S. and USSR relations were deteriorating.
5. *Détente* evaluated
- a. Successful overall as the U.S. manipulated the two great Communist powers into helping end the Vietnam War.
  - b. Did not end the arms race
  - c. Relatively short-lived and ended in 1979 with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

#### D. **Energy Crisis, 1973** ("Oil Crisis")

1. Major cause for U.S. economic troubles in the 1970s
2. Yom Kippur War of 1973 resulted in bitterness among Arabs toward Western nations for their support of Israel.
3. **Arab Oil Embargo**
  - a. Arab states established an oil boycott to push the Western nations into forcing Israel to withdraw from lands controlled since the "Six Day War" of 1967
  - b. Kissinger negotiated a withdrawal of Israel west of the Suez Canal and the Arabs lifted their boycott.
4. **OPEC** (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, and Iran, raised the price of oil from about \$3 to \$11.65/ barrel in an attempt to force U.S. to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and support other Arab demands.
  - a. U.S. gas prices doubled and inflation shot above 10%.
  - b. Nixon refused to ration gasoline and an acute gasoline shortage ensued
  - c. Another oil crisis occurred in 1979 as Arab nations sought to punish the West for its support of the Shah in Iran.

#### IV. Nixon's Domestic Policy

##### A. "New Federalism"

1. **Revenue sharing:** Congress passed in 1972 a five year plan to distribute \$30 billion of federal revenues to the states.
2. Nixon proposed that the bulk of welfare payments (AFDC) be shifted to the states and a "minimum income" be established for poor families, but Congress did not pass the legislation.

## B. Civil Rights

1. Nixon sought to block renewal of the Voting Rights Act and delay implementation of court ordered school desegregation in Mississippi.
2. The Supreme Court ordered busing of students in 1971 to achieve school desegregation.
  - Nixon proposed an anti-busing bill but Congress blocked it.
3. “**Philadelphia Plan**”: Nixon furthered affirmative action by establishing goals and timetables for companies to hire women and minorities.
  - Critics charged Nixon was trying to weaken labor unions by using affirmative action for hiring practices.

## C. Congressional Legislation

1. Social Security benefits and food stamps were increased in 1970.
2. **Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA)**, 1970
  - The agency would monitor worker safety conditions.
3. Federal Election Campaign Act: reduced campaign contributions

## D. Environmentalism

1. **Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962) exposed the poisonous effects of pesticides**
  - Her book was the seminal work that sparked the environmental movement
2. Earth Day, April 22, 1970 is seen as a symbolic beginning of the nation’s environmental era.
3. **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)** created in 1970
  - a. Its inception climaxed two decades of environmentalism
  - b. Eventually, the EPA stood on the front line of the battle for a clean environment.
4. **Clean Air Act (1970)** and subsequent clean air and water laws were passed a few years later.
5. Progress was made in subsequent decades on reducing automobile emissions to improve smog-ridden cities and cleaning up polluted rivers and lakes.
6. Nixon and Ford were often opposed to environmental legislation due to conservative perceptions of federal over-regulation of businesses and increased costs.
7. Toxic waste issues
  - a. Example: **Love Canal, NY**
    - Soil and groundwater were so polluted that the EPA declared the town unfit for habitation.
    - Residents were evacuated, homes boarded up, and the community was sealed off by a tall chain-link fence.
  - b. **Superfund** was established in 1980 by President Carter to clean up toxic dumps throughout the country.

- Impact: the release of selected toxic chemicals decreased 46%
8. Protest over nuclear power
    - a. **Three Mile Island:** March 1979 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
      - Worst nuclear disaster in U.S. history
      - The plant's core released radioactive water and steam and 100,000 residents were evacuated
      - Officials feared a massive radiation release but it never came.
      - The reactor was shut down for 6 years.
    - b. Environmental groups stepped-up their protests and the nuclear power industry slowed down the building of new plants.
    - c. The Three Mile Island issue is a major reason why the U.S. relies far less on nuclear power than other industrialized nations.
  9. Endangered Species Act, 1973
    - a. Area of protected land and water was increased 300%
    - b. Recovered species include bald eagle, peregrine falcon, and gray whale.
    - c. Criticism: Wetlands regulations and the Endangered Species Act imposed unconstitutional restrictions on landowners.
      - They argued too much valuable land was taken out of production and off the tax rolls.
- E. Economic Problems and Policy
1. 1969, Nixon cut spending and raised taxes.
    - He encouraged the Federal Reserve Board to raise interest rates but the economy grew worse.
  2. Unemployment climbed to 6% in 1970 while real gross national product declined in 1970.
  3. The U.S. experienced a trade deficit in 1971.
  4. Inflation reached 12% by 1971
    - Cost of living more than tripled from 1969 to 1981; longest and steepest inflationary cycle in U.S. history.
  5. **Price and wage controls**
    - a. 1970, Congress gave the president the power to regulate prices and wages
    - b. 1971, Nixon announced a 90-day price and wage freeze and took the U.S. off the gold standard.
    - c. At end of 90 days, Nixon established mandatory guidelines for wage and price increases.
    - d. 1973, Nixon turned to voluntary wage and price controls except on health care, food, and construction.
    - e. When inflation increased rapidly, Nixon cut back on government expenditures, refusing to spend funds already appropriated by Congress (impounding).

6. Why did the U.S. economy stagnate in the 1970s?
  - a. Federal deficits mounted in the 1960s due to the "Great Society" and the Vietnam War.
  - b. International competition especially from Germany and Japan challenged U.S. economic supremacy that it had enjoyed since the end of WWII.
    - The U.S. became economically complacent: saw little need initially to modernize plants and seek more efficient methods of production.
  - c. Rising energy costs due to the oil crisis drove up inflation
  - d. Increase in numbers of women and teenagers in the work force took part-time jobs and were less likely to develop skills in the long-term.
  - e. Shift of the economy from manufacturing to services where productivity gains were allegedly more difficult to achieve.
  - f. Inflationary military and welfare spending during the 1960s (in the absence of off-setting taxes) because they give people money without adding to the supply of goods those dollars can buy.
7. **Stagflation** hit by the mid-1970s (plagued the Ford and Carter administrations)
  1. Slowing productivity and rising inflation (11% in 1974) occurred simultaneously which was relatively rare.
  2. Industry slowed down in the 1970s while inflation hit 11% in 1974
  3. Unemployment reached over 9% in 1975

## V. Election of 1972

### A. Nominees

1. Democrats nominated **George McGovern**, an ultra-liberal from Massachusetts
  - a. McGovern was hampered by a party divided over the war and social policies; Southerners had largely abandoned the party
  - b. The youth movement stood squarely behind McGovern
2. George Wallace ran again as the American Independent candidate
  - Shot in an assassination attempt on May 15 and was left paralyzed below the waist.
3. Richard Nixon and Spiro T. Agnew were renominated by the Republican party.
  - a. Nixon emphasized that he had wound down the Vietnam War and reduced troops levels from 540,000 to 30,000.
  - b. Nixon received a boost 12 days before election when Kissinger announced that "**peace is at hand**" in Vietnam and an agreement would be reached within days.
    - Yet, no agreement had occurred and the war lasted almost another year.

## B. Results

1. Landslide victory for Nixon: 520-17; popular majority of 47.1 million to 29.1 million.
2. Republicans suffered losses in both houses of Congress that reduced Nixon's mandate for his policies.

## VI. Watergate -- biggest presidential scandal in U.S. history (forced Nixon to resign)

### A. Nixon and his followers secretly attacked political opponents.

1. Nixon surrounded himself with people who almost always agreed with him, thus protecting himself from criticism and making him more isolated.
2. 1971, Nixon's men gathered list of 200 individuals and 18 organizations that the administration regarded as enemies.
  - a. Included Edward Kennedy, McGovern, the entire black leadership in Congress, college presidents, actors such as Steve McQueen, Paul Newman, Jane Fonda, and 57 members of the media.
  - b. Nixon asked the FBI to spy on these individuals and try to discredit them.
  - c. Ordered the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to harass them with tax audits.
  - d. The FBI blocked an illegal Nixon plan for a major secret police operation to combat the antiwar movement.
  - e. Nixon feared the antiwar movement might undo him like it did Lyndon Johnson.

### B. CREEP -- Committee to Re-Elect the President

1. Nixon was worried about the outcome of the 1972 elections.
  - a. Nixon's attorney general set up CREEP and began a massive illegal fund-raising campaign.
  - b. Money was set aside in a special fund to pay for "dirty tricks" operations against Nixon's Democratic opponents.
2. **White House "plumbers"** were instructed to stop anti-Nixon leaks to the press.
  - a. The *New York Times* published the "Pentagon Papers" stating the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution had been based on a lie and discredited Johnson's motives for continuing the war.
  - b. Nixon feared leaks of classified documents might also be damaging to his administration.
  - c. CREEP's special investigations unit, "the plumbers," targeted Daniel Ellsberg who had leaked the "Pentagon Papers."
    - Broke into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist but found nothing embarrassing.

### 3. Watergate Break-In, summer 1972

- a. Burglars hired by CREEP were caught breaking into the Democratic Party National Headquarters at the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C.
- b. Nixon and his aids denied any involvement in the break-in and embarked on a massive cover-up while the public initially believed them.

C. **Bob Woodward & Carl Bernstein**, young *Washington Post* journalists, broke the story.

1. Investigations revealed that two of the Watergate burglars and a White House aide involved in the burglary were employees of CREEP.
2. Also discovered other illegal activities conducted by the president's advisors.
2. "Silence money": Nixon secretly authorized payment of more than \$460,000 in CREEP funds to keep the Watergate burglars quiet about White House involvement.

D. 1973, Watergate trial and Senate hearings revealed Nixon and other White House officials had covered up their involvement and pressured defendants "to plead guilty and remain silent."

- Nixon announced resignations of his three closest aides who were involved in the Watergate scandal.

E. **Watergate Tapes**

1. A senate committee and special prosecutor Archibald Cox called on Nixon to surrender White House tapes of conversations that might pertain to the Watergate break-in.
2. Nixon refused and claimed executive privilege, stating the release of the tapes would endanger national security.

F. Meanwhile, Nixon was plagued with other ethics issues

1. Vice President **Spiro Agnew resigned** in October, 1973
  - a. Agnew pleaded no contest to charges of income tax evasion and accepting bribes while governor of Maryland
  - b. Nixon nominated Gerald R. Ford, the popular conservative House Minority Leader
2. In a non-related matter, Nixon was forced to pay back taxes for tax evasion (\$500,000)
3. Nixon was also accused of using public funds for improvements to his private residences in California and Florida

G. Nixon eventually released edited transcripts of some tapes but most of the incriminating portions were erased, especially a critical 18 minute gap.

1. When Nixon refused to release unedited tapes, the new special

prosecutor took the case to the Supreme Court.

2. **U.S. v. Nixon:** Court ruled unanimously that President Nixon had to release the tapes.

#### H. Impeachment proceedings

1. July 30, a House committee voted to recommend impeachment of President Nixon on three counts:
  - a. **Obstruction of justice** by trying to cover up the role of the White House in the Watergate burglary.
  - b. Violating the rights of U.S. citizens by using the FBI, CIA, and IRS to harass critics.
  - c. Defying congressional authority by refusing to turn over the tapes.
2. August 5, Nixon handed over the tapes which revealed a White House cover up

#### I. **Nixon resigned as president** (August 7, 1974)

1. Impeachment charges seemed certain in light of the released tapes
2. The following day, **Gerald Ford** was sworn in as president.

#### J. Ford Pardoned Nixon in September for any crimes he may have committed while president.

1. Many Americans were outraged that Nixon escaped justice.
  - a. The public questioned if a deal had been made between Nixon and Ford.
  - b. In light of Vietnam, Americans grew even more skeptical of their gov't.
2. 31 Nixon administration officials were convicted and went to prison for Watergate-related offenses.
3. The pardon probably cost Gerald Ford the presidential election of 1976.

### VII. The "**Imperial Presidency**"

- A. Since the New Deal, presidents gradually gained more power that belonged to Congress.
  1. Franklin Roosevelt
    - a. "Court packing" scheme sought to strengthen FDR at the expense of the Supreme Court.
    - b. WWII: FDR made treaties with foreign nations without the advice or consent of the Senate (Destroyer-Bases deal, Atlantic Charter, Yalta Conference, etc.)
  2. Truman fought war in Korea without a formal declaration of war by Congress
  3. Johnson sent troops into Vietnam without a formal congressional declaration of war
- B. Nixon took the "Imperial Presidency" to the next step.

1. Impounded funds for federal programs he opposed, defying the constitutional mandate that Congress control spending.
2. Ordered U.S. troops to invade Cambodia without seeking congressional approval.
3. Used the FBI and IRS against political opponents
4. Watergate scandal: tried to sabotage Democratic Party in 1972
5. By 1970s, some critics called the constitutional presidency "the Imperial Presidency."

C. Congress took back power from the presidency in light of Vietnam and Watergate

1. **War Powers Act (1973)**: Required the president to consult with Congress before sending troops into action for 90 days or more.
2. 1974, **Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act** prohibited impounding of federal money by the president. (response to Nixon's impounding of funds for civil rights laws and environmental laws)
3. **Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972** set limits on campaign contributions (Congress' response to CREEP)
4. **Privacy Act** (Extended the Freedom of Information Act (1966) – (response to Nixon's abuse of the FBI powers)
  - a. Allowed citizens to have prompt access to the files that the government may have gathered on them.
  - b. Required gov't to prove its case for classification when attempting to withhold information on grounds of national security.
5. Ronald Reagan: Iran-Contra Scandal (1987) was a continuation of the "imperial presidency"?
  - a. Diverted money from the secret sale of weapons to Iran to Nicaraguan "Contras"
  - b. Congress had expressly forbidden U.S. money be sent to the "Contras"
  - c. Became the biggest scandal of the Reagan administration.

VIII. **Gerald Ford's Presidency**

- A. Pardon of Nixon brought immediate controversy in September 1974
- Nixon accepted the pardon but admitted no wrongdoing as he had not yet been charged with a crime.
- B. The economy was plagued with "stagflation"
1. Ford called for voluntary restraints on inflation and asked citizens to wear **WIN (Whip Inflation Now)** buttons.
  2. Inflation did drop from 12% to 5% in 1976 but the drop was temporary.
  3. Ford asked for tax cuts to stimulate business and argued against spending for social programs.

4. Ford vetoed more than 50 bills during his brief presidency.

C. South Vietnam (Saigon) fell to North Vietnam in April 1975

1. Ford had failed to get from Congress approval to provide more arms for South Vietnam.
2. To many Americans it appeared U.S. involvement in Vietnam had been tragically in vain.

## IX. Election of 1976

### A. Nominees

1. Incumbent Gerald Ford narrowly defeated Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination.
  - Ford was plagued by his pardon of Nixon and his seeming denial of Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
2. Democrats nominated **Jimmy Carter**, the former governor of Georgia, an engineer and a peanut farmer.
  - a. Carter effectively ran as an outsider from Washington (like Reagan successfully did in 1980)
    - Emphasized the importance of integrity and his lack of Washington connections
    - As a born-again Baptist he said, "I'll never lie to you"
  - b. Carter was a conservative Democrat who questioned an excessively large federal government and welcomed an increased role of religion in public life.

### B. Result

1. Carter defeated Ford narrowly 297 to 240 in the electoral college and won 51% of the popular vote.
  - a. He swept every state except Virginia.
  - b. 97% of blacks voted for Carter.
2. Large Democratic majorities existed in both houses of Congress

## X. Jimmy Carter's presidency: Domestic policy

### A. Domestic achievements

1. **Amnesty:** Carter pardoned 10,000 draft dodgers during the Vietnam era (thus honoring one of his campaign pledges)
2. Created the Department of Education as a separate department (and the Department of Energy -- see below)
3. Placed the civil service system on a merit basis and reduced the Civil Service System
4. Environment: created Superfund

### B. Energy

1. 1977, Carter created the **Department of Energy** at the cabinet level (in light of recent energy crisis)
2. Proposed raising the tax on gasoline and taxing autos that used

fuel inefficiently in order to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil.

- Got only a small portion of this bill through Congress.
3. A second fuel shortage in 1979 exacerbated the nation's energy woes.
    - Spurred by the Iranian Revolution and the demise of the Shah.

#### C. The economy (stagflation continued)

1. Convinced Congress to pass an \$18 billion tax cut in 1978.
2. 1978, proposed voluntary wage and price guidelines to combat inflation
  - a. Somewhat successful but didn't apply to oil, housing, and food.
  - b. By 1980 inflation was 12%
3. Federal Reserve Board led by Fed Chairman Paul Volcker tightened the money supply in order to reduce inflation but interest rates soared to 20%.
4. Sales of automobiles and houses suffered which increased unemployment.
5. By 1980, unemployment reached 7.5%

#### D. Environment

1. Created "superfund" for the cleanup of chemical waste dumps. (see "environmentalism" above)
2. Established controls over strip mining
3. Protected 100 million acres of Alaskan wilderness from development
4. The Three-mile Island nuclear accident occurred in 1979

#### E. Deregulation

1. Air Transportation Deregulation Act (1978): Ended government regulation of airline fares and routes
2. Action symbolizes Carter as a conservative Democrat. (Perhaps the most conservative since Grover Cleveland)

F. Peacetime Draft Registration: 18 year-olds were required to register with the Selective Service System to prepare the nation militarily; no one was actually drafted.

#### XI. Foreign policy under Carter

- A. Humanitarian diplomacy: Carter sought to base foreign policy on human rights but was criticized for inconsistency and lack of attention to U.S. interests.
  1. He verbally lashed out at Cuba and Uganda for human rights violations.
  2. Cut foreign aid to Uruguay, Argentina, and Ethiopia.
  3. Championed the black majority in South Africa and denounced

Apartheid.

4. Did not punish South Korea or the Philippines who were too vital to U.S. security leading some criticize this as hypocritical.
5. Humanitarian diplomacy proved ultimately ineffective.

**B. Panama Canal treaty:** Provided for transfer of ownership of the Canal to Panama in 1999 and guaranteed its neutrality.

**C. Camp David Accords** (September 17, 1978) -- perhaps Carter's greatest accomplishment

1. Another conflict seemed imminent between Egypt and Israel.
2. Carter invited President Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel to a summit conference at the presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland.
3. After 13 days, Carter persuaded them to sign an accord that placed the two countries on a solid road toward peace.
  - Egypt officially recognized the existence of Israel while Israel returned the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt.
4. The Palestinian Liberation Front (PLO) led by Yasser Arafat would use terrorism to protest the existence of Israel.
5. Sadat and Begin were eventually assassinated by extremists in their own countries.

**D. Recognition of China**

1. 1979, the U.S. ended its official recognition of Taiwan as the legitimate government of China and formally recognized the People's Republic of China.
2. Conservatives called the decision a "sell out"
3. The UN had recognized Communist China in 1972 as a member of the UN Security Council

**E. Cold War politics**

1. SALT II

- a. The 1972 SALT I treaty was due to expire in late 1977.
  - Carter called for a renewing of the SALT accords and extending them to include real reductions in nuclear armaments.
- b. 1979, Carter signed the SALT II Treaty with the USSR.
- c. The treaty was never ratified by the U.S. Senate in light of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

2. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (end of détente), December 1979

- a. Carter proclaimed the U.S. would "use any means necessary, including force," to protect the Persian Gulf against Soviet aggression.
- b. He stopped shipments of grain and certain advanced technology to the USSR

- c. He withdrew SALT II from consideration by the Senate
- d. The U.S. boycotted the 1980 summer Olympics in Moscow.
  - In retaliation, the Soviets and their Eastern Bloc allies boycotted the 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles.
- e. Soviets met stiff resistance in Afghanistan and the war became "Russia's Vietnam"; Soviet forces pulled out a decade later

#### F. Iran Hostage Crisis (1979-1981)

1. The biggest and most damaging crisis of Carter's presidency
  - Cost him the presidential election of 1980
2. The Iranian Revolution
  - a. In 1978, a revolution forced the Shah to flee the country
  - b. The **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**, a religious leader, became Iran's leader.
    - He reversed many of the Shah's western reforms and established a conservative Islamic social order.
  - c. Iranian revolutionaries called the U.S. "the Great Satan" for its support of money and arms to the Shah of Iran.
    - The CIA had put the Shah in power in 1953 after it overthrew Mossadegh and supported the Shah's regime until his ouster.
3. American hostages
  - a. Carter allowed the Shah to come to the U.S. for medical treatment in Oct. 1979 after the Shah was in exile.
  - b. In response, about 400 Iranians (many of them students) broke into the U.S. embassy in Tehran on November 4, taking the occupants captive.
    - Demanded Shah be returned to Iran for trial and that his wealth be confiscated and given to Iran.
  - c. Carter froze Iranian assets in the U.S. and initiated a trade embargo against Iran.
  - d. Iranians eventually freed the African American and female hostages but kept 52 others.
  - e. April 1980, Carter ordered a Marine rescue but it failed after several helicopters broke down and one crashed, killing 8 men
  - f. Carter was perceived by Americans as weak, indecisive, and ineffective and suffered a crushing defeat in the 1980 elections.
3. Release of the hostages occurred after 444 days.
  - a. After extensive negotiations with Iran, Carter released Iranian assets and the hostages were freed on January 20, 1980.
  - b. As a final insult to Carter, the hostages were released *after* Ronald Reagan took his inaugural oath and Carter's presidency was over.

## Terms to Know

President Richard Nixon draft lottery "Vietnamization" Nixon Doctrine "Silent Majority" Mylai Massacre secret bombing of Cambodia, Laos, & North Vietnam invasion of Cambodia Kent State incident Jackson State incident "Pentagon Papers" Daniel Ellsberg Henry Kissinger <i>realpolitik</i> Nixon visits China Nixon visits Moscow <i>détente</i> SALT I ABM Treaty Helsinki Conference Energy Crisis, 1973 Arab Oil Embargo OPEC New Federalism revenue sharing Philadelphia Plan Occupational and Safety Health Act (OSHA) Rachel Carson, <i>Silent Spring</i> Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) Clean Air Act Love Canal Superfund Three Mile Island price and wage controls	Nixon takes U.S. off the gold standard stagflation election of 1972 George McGovern "peace is at hand" Watergate scandal CREEP White House "plumbers" Watergate break-in Woodward and Bernstein Watergate tapes Spiro Agnew resignation <i>U.S. v. Nixon</i> obstruction of justice Nixon's resignation President Gerald Ford "Imperial Presidency" War Powers Act Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act Federal Election Campaign Act Privacy Act "Whip Inflation Now" (WIN) election of 1976 President Jimmy Carter Amnesty for draft dodgers Department of Energy deregulation of airlines humanitarian diplomacy Panama Canal Treaty Camp David Accords recognition of China Soviet invasion of Afghanistan Iran-Hostage crisis Ayatollah Khomeini
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## **Essay Questions**

*Note: This sub-unit is a high probability area for the essay portion of the AP exam. In the past 10 years, five questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.*

1. Analyze the successes and failures of Nixon's Cold War policies.
2. Analyze the successes and failures of Nixon's domestic policies.
3. To what extent was the environmental movement successful during the 1970s?
4. Analyze the causes and features of America's economic stagnation during the 1970s.
5. Analyze the role Middle-Eastern affairs had on American foreign policy and America's economy.

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