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The Stalemated Seventies, 1968–1980

PART I: Reviewing the Chapter

A. Checklist of Learning Objectives

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

1. describe Nixon's policies toward the war in Vietnam and Cambodia.
2. analyze Nixon's domestic policies and his appeal to the "silent majority."
3. describe the American withdrawal from Vietnam, the final communist victory there, and the "new isolationism" represented by the War Powers Act.
4. discuss the Watergate scandals and Nixon's resignation.
5. explain the related economic, energy, and Middle East crises of the 1970s and indicate how Nixon, Ford, and Carter attempted to deal with them.
6. analyze the successes and failures of the détente with Moscow and the opening to Beijing (Peking) pursued by the American administrations of the 1970s.
7. describe the rise of the new feminist movement, and the gains and setbacks for women and minorities in the 1970s.
8. discuss the Iranian crisis and its political consequences for Carter.

B. Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms.

1. **moratorium** A period in which economic or social activity is suspended, often to achieve certain defined goals. "Antiwar protestors staged a massive national Vietnam moratorium in October 1969. . . ." (p. 948)
2. **Marxism** The doctrines of Karl Marx, advocated or followed by many modern Socialists and communists. "The two great communist powers . . . were clashing bitterly over their rival interpretations of Marxism." (p. 950)
3. **anti-ballistic missile** A defensive missile designed to shoot down or otherwise protect against an offensive missile attack. "The first major achievement was an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty. . . ." (p. 951)
4. **devaluation** In economics, steps taken to reduce the purchasing power of a given unit of currency in relation to foreign currencies. ". . . he next stunned the world by taking the United States off the gold standard and devaluing the dollar." (p. 954)
5. **obstruction of justice** The crime of interfering with police, courts, or other officials to thwart the performance of their legal duties. "Many were involved in a criminal obstruction of justice through tangled cover-ups. . . ." (p. 955)
6. **audit** To examine accounts or records in order to determine their accuracy and legitimacy—a process performed by officials appointed for that purpose. "Even the Internal Revenue Service was called upon by Nixon's aides to audit or otherwise harass political opponents. . . ." (p. 955)

7. **echelon** An ordered subdivision of military troops or of a military or political headquarters. "John Dean III . . . testified glibly . . . as to the involvement of the top echelons in the White House. . . ." (p. 956)
8. **executive privilege** In American government, the claim that certain information known to the president or the executive branch of government should be unavailable to Congress or the courts because of the principle of separation of powers. "He took refuge behind various principles, including separation of powers and executive privilege. . . ." (p. 956)
9. **appropriation** The direct approval, by Congress or other legislative bodies, for the executive to spend money for a specified purpose. (**Authorization** is the prior budgeting of an overall sum for an agency or activity, but does not include permission to spend.) "Finally, with appropriations running short, Nixon agreed to a compromise. . . ." (p. 957)
10. **recession** A moderate and short-term economic downturn, less severe than a depression. (Economists define a recession as two consecutive quarters, i.e., six months, of declining gross domestic product.) "Lines of automobiles at service stations lengthened as tempers shortened and a business recession deepened." (p. 958)
11. **sheik** A traditional Arab clan chieftain or ruler. "The Middle Eastern sheiks [had] approximately quadrupled their price for crude oil. . . ." (p. 958)
12. **illegitimacy** The condition of being contrary to or outside of the law or formal rules. "The sour odor of illegitimacy hung about this president without precedent." (p. 960)
13. **born-again** The Evangelical Christian belief in a spiritual renewal or rebirth, involving a personal experience of conversion and a commitment to moral transformation. ". . . this born-again Baptist touched many people with his down-home sincerity." (p. 967)
14. **balance of payments** The net ratio, expressed as a positive or negative sum, of a nation's exports in relations to its imports. (It may be calculated in relation to one particular foreign nation, or to all foreign states collectively.) "The soaring bill for imported oil plunged America's balance of payments deeply into the red. . . ." (p. 971)
15. **ayatollah** A supreme religious leader in the Shi'ite branch of Islam. "Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the white-bearded Muslim holy man who inspired the revolutionaries. . . ." (p. 974)

PART II: Checking Your Progress

A. True-False

Where the statement is true, mark **T**. Where it is false, mark **F**, and correct it in the space immediately below.

- ___ 1. Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy sought to bring an immediate negotiated end to the Vietnam War.
- ___ 2. Nixon's 1970 invasion of Cambodia provoked strong domestic protests and political clashes between "hawks" and "doves."
- ___ 3. Nixon and Kissinger's diplomacy attempted to play the Soviet Union and China off against each other for America's benefit.
- ___ 4. Nixon attempted to reverse what he saw as the Warren Supreme Court's excessive turn toward "judicial activism."
- ___ 5. Nixon consistently opposed the expansion of social security and pro-environmental legislation.

- ___ 6. The basic issue in the 1972 Nixon-McGovern campaign was inflation and the management of the economy.
- ___ 7. The 1973 Paris agreement on Vietnam provided for a cease-fire and American withdrawal but did not really end the civil war among the Vietnamese.
- ___ 8. The strongest charge against Nixon during Watergate was that he had used government agencies to burglarize and harass opponents and cover up the Watergate crimes.
- ___ 9. The disclosure of the secret bombing of Cambodia led Congress to acknowledge the president's sole authority to take military action in defense of America's national security.
- ___ 10. The 1973 Arab-Israeli War and OPEC oil embargo added to the inflation that began in the wake of the Vietnam War.
- ___ 11. Conservative Republicans strenuously opposed Nixon's resignation and urged him to fight to stay in office even after the Watergate tapes were released.
- ___ 12. President Ford attempted to stop the final communist victory in Vietnam by attacking the captured ship *Mayaguez*.
- ___ 13. The women's movement achieved success in the 1970s by allying itself with the rising antiwar and black power movements of the decade.
- ___ 14. The Camp David accords brought an end to the Middle East conflict and the oil crisis and thus substantially eased inflation in the United States.
- ___ 15. The Iranian revolution against the shah brought the United States into a confrontation with militant Muslim leaders of the country.

B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.

- ___ 1. A primary cause of the economic decline that began in the 1970s was
 - a. an international trade war.
 - b. a rise in the price of agricultural goods.
 - c. the breakup of efficient American companies.
 - d. a decline in worker productivity.
- ___ 2. The severe inflation of the 1970s was largely caused by
 - a. Lyndon Johnson's effort to maintain the Vietnam War and the Great Society programs without raising taxes.
 - b. Nixon's decision to devalue the dollar and take the U.S. off the gold standard.
 - c. the higher prices for scarce natural resources like iron, coal, and lumber.
 - d. the strong demands of unionized workers for substantial wage increases.

- ___ 3. President Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy provided that
 - a. the United States would accept a unified but neutral Vietnam.
 - b. the United States would escalate the war in Vietnam but withdraw from Cambodia and Laos.
 - c. the United States would gradually withdraw ground troops while supporting the South Vietnamese war effort.
 - d. the United States would seek a negotiated settlement of the war.

- ___ 4. The antiwar movement expanded dramatically in 1970 when
 - a. the massacre of civilians at My Lai by some U.S. soldiers was revealed.
 - b. Nixon ordered further bombing of North Vietnam.
 - c. the communist Vietnamese staged their Tet Offensive against American forces.
 - d. Nixon ordered an invasion of Cambodia.

- ___ 5. Nixon attempted to pressure the Soviet Union into making diplomatic deals with the United States by
 - a. playing the "China card" by opening U.S. diplomacy and trade with the Soviets' rival communist power.
 - b. using American economic aid as an incentive for the Soviets.
 - c. threatening to attack Soviet allies such as Cuba and Vietnam.
 - d. drastically increasing spending on nuclear weapons and missiles.

- ___ 6. The Supreme Court came under sharp political attack especially because of its rulings on
 - a. antitrust laws and labor rights.
 - b. voting rights and election laws.
 - c. criminal defendants' rights and prayer in public schools.
 - d. environmental laws and immigrants' rights.

- ___ 7. The most controversial element of Nixon's "Philadelphia Plan" was
 - a. its guarantees of women's equal right to employment in the construction trades.
 - b. the extension of "affirmative action" to promote the employment of groups of minorities and women.
 - c. its insistence that employers and labor provide financial compensation to individuals who had suffered discrimination.
 - d. its attempt to get around Supreme Court decisions prohibiting racial and sexual discrimination by business and labor.

- ___ 8. Some of President Nixon's greatest legislative successes came in the area of
 - a. upholding civil rights.
 - b. stopping the growth of inflation.
 - c. protecting the environment.
 - d. maintaining foreign-policy cooperation with Congress.

- ___ 9. Among the corrupt Nixon administration practices exposed by the Senate Watergate Committee was
- payments to foreign agents.
 - bribes to congressmen and senators.
 - the illegal use of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency.
 - the illegal use of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Treasury Department.
- ___ 10. The War Powers Act was passed by Congress in response to
- the Watergate scandal.
 - President Nixon's secret bombing of Cambodia.
 - the end of the war in Vietnam.
 - the Arab oil embargo.
- ___ 11. The Arab oil embargo of 1973–1974 affected the American economy primarily by
- causing the successful introduction of alternative energy sources.
 - leading the United States to open Alaskan and offshore oilfield to exploration.
 - increasing American investment in the Middle East.
 - ending the era of cheap energy and fueling severe inflation.
- ___ 12. Gerald Ford came to be president because
- he had been elected as Nixon's vice president in 1972.
 - he was speaker of the House of Representatives and was next in line after Nixon resigned.
 - he was elected in a special national election called after Nixon resigned.
 - he had been appointed vice president by Nixon before Nixon resigned.
- ___ 13. Despite numerous successes for the women in the 1970s, the feminist movement suffered a severe setback when
- the Supreme Court began to oppose the extension of women's rights.
 - the Equal Rights Amendment failed to achieve ratification by the states.
 - Congress refused to extend women's right to an equal education to the area of athletics.
 - the declining economy created a growing gap between men's and women's earning power.
- ___ 14. President Carter's greatest success in foreign policy was
- handling the Arab oil embargo and the energy crisis.
 - negotiating successful new agreements with the Soviet Union.
 - negotiating the Camp David peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.
 - maintaining peace and stability in Central America.
- ___ 15. President Carter's greatest problem in foreign policy was
- the Panama Canal issue.
 - the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
 - the continuing Arab-Israeli confrontation.
 - the Iranian seizure of American hostages.

C. Identification

Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

- _____ 1. Nixon's policy of withdrawing American troops from Vietnam while providing aid for the South Vietnamese to fight the war
- _____ 2. The Ohio university where four students were killed during protests against the 1970 invasion of Cambodia
- _____ 3. Top-secret documents, published by *The New York Times* in 1971, that showed the blunders and deceptions that led the United States into the Vietnam War
- _____ 4. The first major achievement of the Nixon-Kissinger détente with the Soviet Union, which led to restrictions on defensive missile systems
- _____ 5. Nixon's plan to win reelection by curbing the Supreme Court's judicial activism and soft-pedaling civil rights
- _____ 6. Term for the new group affirmative action policy promoted by the Nixon administration
- _____ 7. A Washington office complex that became a symbol of the widespread corruption of the Nixon administration
- _____ 8. The law, passed in reaction to the secret Cambodia bombing, that restricted presidential use of troops overseas without congressional authorization
- _____ 9. Arab-sponsored restriction on energy exports after the 1973 Arab-Israeli war
- _____ 10. Nixon-Ford-Kissinger policy of seeking relaxed tensions with the Soviet Union through trade and arms limitation
- _____ 11. International agreement of 1975, signed by President Ford, that settled postwar European boundaries and attempted to guarantee human rights in Eastern Europe
- _____ 12. Proposed constitutional amendment promoting women's rights that fell short of ratification
- _____ 13. Supreme Court decision that declared women's right to choose abortion.
- _____ 14. *Two* historic sites seized by American Indian activists in 1970–1972 to draw public attention to Indian grievances
- _____ 15. Provision of the 1972 Education Amendments that prohibited gender discrimination and opened sports and other arenas to women

D. Matching People, Places, and Events

Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

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|----------------------|--|
| ___ 1. Richard Nixon | A. The Muslim religious leader who dominated the 1979 Iranian revolution |
| ___ 2. Spiro Agnew | B. The first appointed vice president and first appointed president of the United States |
| ___ 3. Rachel Carson | C. Supreme Court justice whose "judicial activism" came under increasing attack by conservatives |

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|-------------------------------------|--|
| ___ 4. Daniel Ellsberg | D. Nixon's tough-talking conservative vice president, who was forced to resign in 1973 for taking bribes and kick-backs |
| ___ 5. Henry Kissinger | E. Talented diplomatic negotiator and leading architect of détente with the Soviet Union during the Nixon and Ford administrations |
| ___ 6. Earl Warren | F. Egyptian leader who signed the Camp David accords with Israel |
| ___ 7. George McGovern | G. California medical school applicant whose case led a divided Supreme Court to uphold limited forms of affirmative action for minorities |
| ___ 8. Sam Ervin | H. Environmental writer whose book <i>Silent Spring</i> helped encourage laws like the Clean Water Act and the Endangered Species Act |
| ___ 9. Gerald Ford | I. South Dakota senator whose antiwar campaign was swamped by Nixon |
| ___ 10. John Dean | J. Former Georgia governor whose presidency was plagued by economic difficulties and a crisis in Iran |
| ___ 11. James Earl Carter | K. Former Pentagon official who "leaked" the Pentagon Papers |
| ___ 12. Anwar Sadat | L. Winner of an overwhelming electoral victory who was forced from office by the threat of impeachment |
| ___ 13. Allen Bakke | M. White House lawyer whose dramatic charges against Nixon were validated by the Watergate tapes |
| ___ 14. Shah of Iran | N. North Carolina senator who conducted the Watergate hearings |
| ___ 15. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini | O. Repressive pro-Western ruler whose 1979 overthrow precipitated a crisis for the United States |

E. Putting Things in Order

Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 6.

- ___ The overthrow of a dictatorial shah leads to an economic and political crisis for President Carter and the United States.
- ___ An impeachment-threatened president resigns, and his appointed vice president takes over the White House.
- ___ A U.S. president travels to Beijing (Peking) and Moscow, opening a new era of improved diplomatic relations with the communist powers.
- ___ The American invasion of a communist stronghold near Vietnam creates domestic turmoil in the United States.
- ___ The signing of an agreement with North Vietnam leads to the final withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.
- ___ A plainspoken former governor becomes president by campaigning against Washington corruption and for honesty in government.

F. Matching Cause and Effect

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

Cause	Effect
___ 1. Nixon's "Vietnamization" policy	A. Spawned a powerful "backlash" that halted federal day care efforts and the Equal Rights Amendment
___ 2. The U.S. invasion and bombing of Cambodia	B. Caused Senate defeat of the SALT II treaty and the end of détente with Moscow
___ 3. Nixon's trips to Beijing (Peking) and Moscow	C. Brought about gradual U.S. troop withdrawal but extended the Vietnam War for four more years
___ 4. The Warren Court's "judicial activism"	D. Prompted conservative protests and Nixon's appointment of less activist justices
___ 5. Pressure on Moscow and renewed bombing of North Vietnam	E. Led to the taking of American hostages and new economic and energy troubles for the United States
___ 6. The growing successes of the women's movement in areas of employment and education	F. Brought about a cease-fire and the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam in 1973
___ 7. Nixon's tape-recorded words ordering the Watergate cover-up	G. Caused protests on U.S. campuses and congressional attempts to restrain presidential war powers
___ 8. The communist Vietnamese offensive in 1975	H. Brought an era of relaxed international tensions and new trade agreements
___ 9. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	I. Caused the collapse of South Vietnam and the flight of many refugees to the United States
___ 10. The 1979 revolution in Iran	J. Proved the president's guilt and forced him to resign or be impeached

G. Developing Historical Skills

Understanding Political Cartoons

The more controversial a major political figure, the more likely he or she is to be the subject of political cartoons. Richard Nixon was such a controversial figure, and the cartoons in this chapter show several views of him. Answer the following questions.

1. What is the view of Nixon's diplomacy in the cartoon *Balancing Act* on p. 951? What is the significance of his unusual "balance bar?"
2. In the cartoon of *Nixon, the Law and Order Man* on p. 960, what aspect of Nixon's earlier career is satirized? What details suggest the cartoonist's view of Nixon's Watergate strategy?
3. In the cartoon *How Long Will Nixon Haunt the GOP* on p. 960, what is the cartoonist suggesting about Ford's pardon of Nixon? What alleged quality of Nixon's is common to both this cartoon and the previous one on *Nixon, the Law and Order Man*?
4. In the cartoon *Who Lost Vietnam* on p. 962, Nixon is satirized, but less harshly than in the other cartoons. What changes the perspective on him here?

PART III: Applying What You Have Learned

1. What policies did Nixon pursue with Vietnam, the Soviet Union, and China, and what were the consequences of those policies?
2. In what ways did Nixon's domestic policies appeal to Americans' racial and economic fears, and in what ways did he positively address problems like inflation, discrimination, and pollution?
3. How did Nixon fall from the political heights of 1972 to his forced resignation in 1974? What were the political consequences of Watergate?
4. How did the administrations of the 1970s attempt to cope with the interrelated problems of energy, economics, and the Middle East?
5. Why can the 1970s be characterized as a "decade of stalemate?" What caused the apparent inability of the federal government to cope with the new problems of the time?
6. In what ways were the foreign policy and economic issues of the 1970s similar to those of the whole post-World War II era, and in what ways were they different? (See Chapters 37, 38, and 39.)