

# UNIT 10

# A Changing Society

1968–Present

## Why It Matters

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

### Primary Sources Library

See pages 1056–1057 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 10.

 Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about the changes in recent years of American history.



Handheld computer and stylus

New Yorkers celebrate the millennium, January 1, 2000



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

—George W. Bush, 2001



# Politics and Economics 1971–1980

## Why It Matters

The protests of the 1960s were passionate and sometimes violent. The nation elected President Nixon on a promise to uphold the values of what Nixon called “Middle America.” In foreign policy, Nixon charted a new path with a historic visit to China. At home he introduced “New Federalism.” In 1974 the Watergate scandal forced Nixon to resign. Presidents Ford and Carter faced an economic downturn and a major energy crisis.

## The Impact Today

Experiences of the 1970s have had an impact today.

- The Watergate scandal has left many Americans less confident in political leaders.
- The Department of Energy, created by President Carter, still exists as a cabinet-level agency.



**The American Vision Video** The Chapter 32 video, “The Watergate Break-In,” examines the circumstances surrounding this scandal.



Nixon  
1969–1974



1971

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

1973

- Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision legalizes abortion
- Senate Watergate investigations begin
- OPEC oil embargo leads to fuel shortages

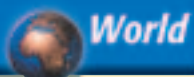
1974

- Nixon resigns
- Gerald Ford becomes president

Ford  
1974–1977



1974



1971

- People’s Republic of China admitted to UN

1973

- Britain, Ireland, and Denmark join Common Market

1974

- India becomes world’s sixth nuclear power



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

**1975**

- President Ford signs Helsinki Accords



**1979**

- Iranian revolutionaries seize U.S. embassy in Tehran

**1976**

- Jimmy Carter elected president

**Carter**  
1977–1981



**1977**

**1980**

**1976**

- Mao Zedong dies

**1977**

- Human rights manifesto signed by 241 Czech activists and intellectuals

**1979**

- Sandinista guerrillas overthrow dictatorship of Somoza
- Margaret Thatcher becomes prime minister of Great Britain

**HISTORY**  
*Online*

**Chapter Overview**

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 32** to preview chapter information.



# The Nixon Administration

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

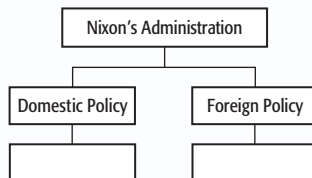
President Nixon sought to restore law and order and traditional values at home and to ease Cold War tensions abroad.

### Key Terms and Names

Southern strategy, revenue sharing, impound, Henry Kissinger, détente, summit

### Reading Strategy

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



### Reading Objectives

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

### Section Theme

**Global Connections** One of President Nixon's most dramatic accomplishments was changing the relationship between the United States, Communist China, and the Soviet Union.

### Preview of Events

◆ 1968

1968

Nixon wins presidential election

◆ 1970

1969

Nixon proposes Family Assistance Plan

◆ 1972

February 1972  
Nixon visits China

◆ 1974

May 1972

Moscow hosts American-Soviet summit



Students and police clash at the 1968 Democratic National Convention

## ★ An American Story ★

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

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

—quoted in *Newsweek*, September 16, 1968

## Appealing to Middle America

The views expressed by G.L. Halbert were not unusual. While they did not shout as loudly as the protesters, many Americans supported the government and longed for an end to the violence and turmoil that seemed to plague the nation in the 1960s. The presidential candidate in 1968 who appealed to many of these frustrated citizens was

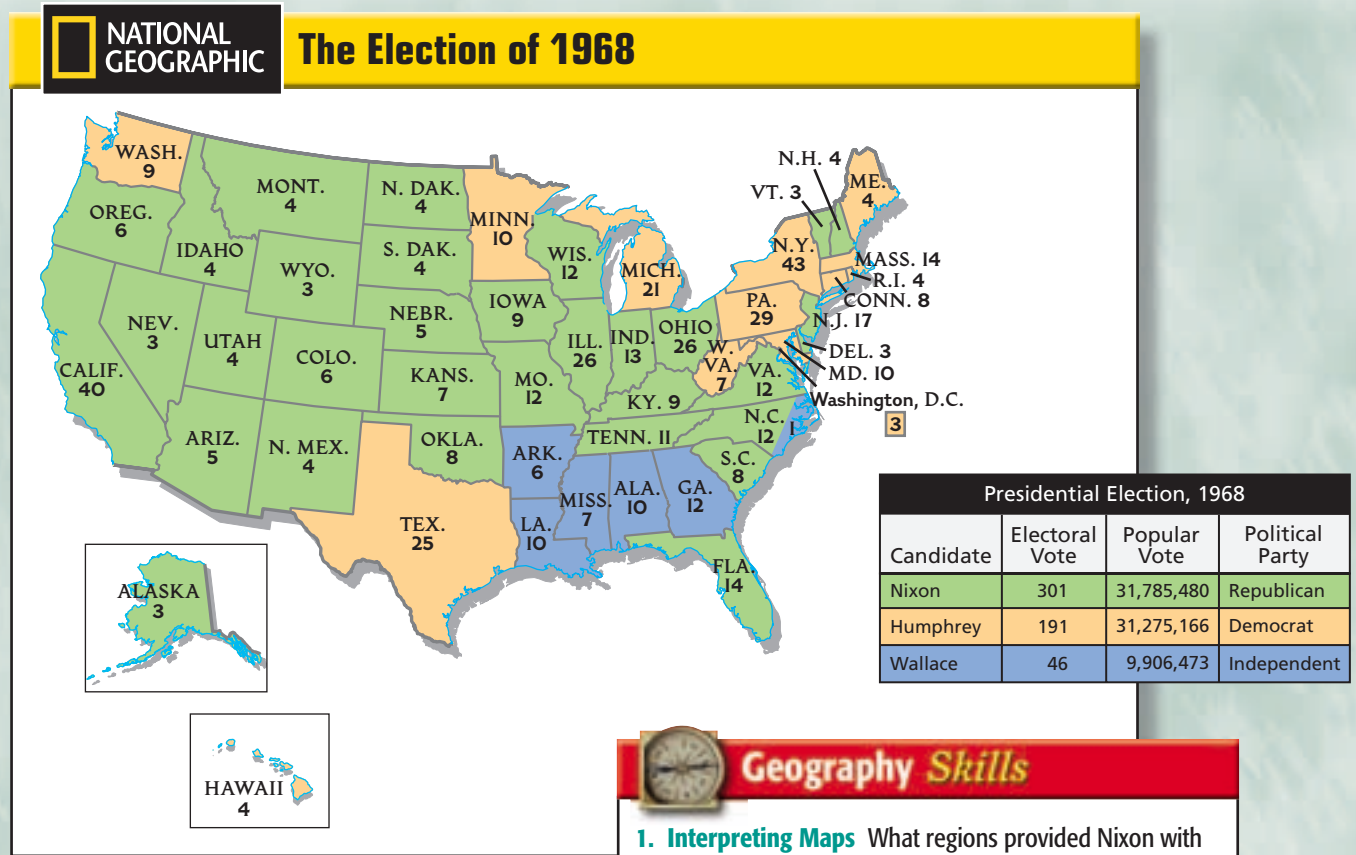
Richard Nixon, a Republican. Nixon aimed many of his campaign messages at these Americans, whom he referred to as “Middle America” and the “silent majority.” He promised them “peace with honor” in Vietnam, law and order, a streamlined government, and a return to more traditional values at home.

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

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

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

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



**Geography Skills**

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

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

**A Law-and-Order President** Having also won the presidency with a promise of law and order, Nixon immediately set out to battle crime in America. His administration specifically targeted the nation's anti-war 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."

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. 📖 (See page 1083 for more information on *Stone v. Powell*.)

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

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

While he worked to limit federal government responsibilities, Nixon also sought to increase the power of the executive branch. Nixon did not

## Profiles IN HISTORY

### Romana Acosta Bañuelos 1925–

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

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

That lesson inspired Bañuelos to start her own business when she returned to the United States at the age of 19. Gradually her business grew, and by the mid-1960s, it was thriving. In 1979 Romana's Mexican Food Products



employed about 400 people and had sales of some \$12 million annually.

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

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

build many strong relationships in Congress. His lack of camaraderie with lawmakers and the fact that the Republican Party controlled neither house led to struggles with the legislative branch. Nixon often responded by trying to work around Congress and use greater executive authority. For instance, when Congress appropriated money for programs he opposed, Nixon **impounded**, or refused to release, the funds. The Supreme Court eventually declared the practice of impoundment unconstitutional.

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

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

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

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

## Nixon’s Foreign Policy

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 the subject that truly fascinated him, foreign affairs. Embarking on an ambitious foreign policy agenda

Fact	Fiction	Folklore
<p><b>“Ping-Pong Diplomacy”</b> In April 1971, nearly a year before President Nixon made his historic trip there, Communist China welcomed a different kind of U.S. delegation—the American ping-pong team. When the team received their surprise invitation, <i>Time</i> magazine called it “the ping heard round the world.” The nine players, four officials, and two spouses who arrived on the Chinese mainland were the first Americans to enter China since the Communist takeover in 1949.</p>		

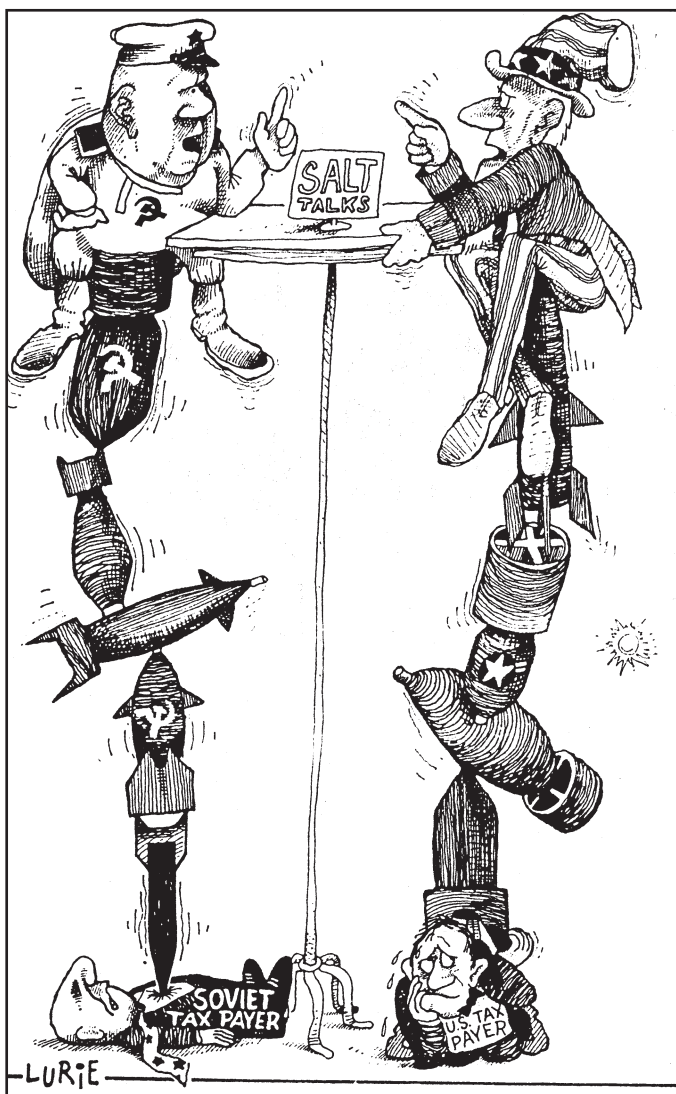


that included historic encounters with both China and the Soviet Union, Nixon set out to leave his mark on the world stage.

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

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





### Analyzing Political Cartoons

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

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

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

play. This “multipolar” world of the future demanded a different approach to American foreign policy.

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

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

—quoted in *The Limits of Power*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



### **Picturing History**

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

“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 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *impound, détente, summit.*
- Identify:** Southern strategy, revenue sharing, Henry Kissinger.
- Describe** Nixon’s New Federalism policy.

### Reviewing Themes

- Global Connections** What were the results of Nixon’s policy of détente?

### Critical Thinking

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

China	
Soviet Union	

### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Political Cartoons** Study the cartoon on page 956. What is its message about the impact of the arms buildup on average citizens in both the Soviet Union and the United States?

### Writing About History

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

# SECTION 2 The Watergate Scandal

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

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

### Key Terms and Names

Sam J. Ervin, John Dean, executive privilege, impeach, Federal Campaign Act Amendments

### Reading Strategy

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

#### The Watergate Scandal

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

### Reading Objectives

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

### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** The Watergate scandal intensified the lingering distrust of government that had grown in the United States during the Vietnam War.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★

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

Woodward sat toward the back of the courtroom listening to the bail proceedings for the five defendants. At one point, the judge asked each man his occupation. One of the men, James McCord, answered that he was retired from government service.

"Where in government?" asked the judge.

"CIA," McCord whispered.

Woodward sprang to attention. Why was a former member of the Central Intelligence Agency involved in what seemed to be nothing more than a burglary?

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

—adapted from *All the President's Men*



Reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein

## The Roots of Watergate

The scandal known as **Watergate** originated from the Nixon administration's attempts to cover up its involvement in the break-in at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters, along with other illegal actions committed during

Nixon's re-election campaign. While the affair began with the burglary at the Watergate complex, a number of scholars attribute the scandal in large part to the character of Richard Nixon and the atmosphere that he and his advisers created in the White House.

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

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

**Mounting a Re-election Fight** As Nixon's re-election campaign got underway in 1972, many in his administration expressed optimism about winning a second term. The president had just finished triumphant trips to China and the Soviet Union. In

May, former Alabama governor George Wallace, who had mounted a strong third-party campaign in 1968, had dropped his bid for another run at the White House after an assassin's bullet paralyzed him. Meanwhile, Nixon's Democratic

opponent, South Dakota senator George McGovern, was viewed as too liberal on many issues.

At the same time, Nixon's hold on the presidency was uncertain. Despite the high approval ratings for the president's summit meetings in Beijing and Moscow, the unpopular Vietnam War still raged. Nixon staffers also remembered how close the margin of Nixon's 1968 victory had been. Seeking to gain an edge in every way they could, Nixon's team engaged in a host of subversive tactics, from spying on opposition rallies to spreading rumors and false reports.

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

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

HISTORY  
Online

**Student Web Activity** Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 32** for an activity on the 1970s.

WATERGATE



### Picturing History


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

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

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

The strategy worked. Most Americans believed President Nixon. Despite efforts by the media, in particular the *Washington Post*, to keep the story alive, few people paid much attention to the Watergate affair during the 1972 presidential campaign. On Election Day, Nixon won re-election by one of the

largest margins in history with nearly 61 percent of the popular vote compared to 37.5 percent for George McGovern. The electoral vote was 520 votes for Nixon and 17 for McGovern.

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

## The Cover-Up Unravels

Shortly after his triumphant re-election, an exuberant and confident Nixon told his cabinet and staff that 1973 "can be and should be the best year ever." In a matter of months, however, the Watergate affair would erupt, and the coming year would be one of the president's worst.

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

**A Summer of Shocking Testimony** In June 1973, John Dean testified before Senator Ervin's committee that former Attorney General John Mitchell had ordered the Watergate break-in and that Nixon had played an active role in attempting to cover up any White House involvement. As a shocked nation absorbed Dean's testimony, the Nixon administration strongly denied the charges.

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

### Picturing History

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





### Picturing History

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

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

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

### **GOVERNMENT**

**Nixon Resigns** In an effort to quiet the growing outrage over his actions, President Nixon appointed a new special prosecutor, Texas lawyer Leon Jaworski, who proved no less determined than Cox to obtain the president's tapes. In April 1974, Nixon released edited transcripts of the tapes, claiming that they proved his innocence. Investigators felt otherwise and went to court again to force Nixon to turn over the unedited tapes. In July the Supreme Court ruled that the president had to turn over the tapes themselves, not just the transcripts. With nowhere else to appeal, Nixon handed over the tapes.

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

As the nation held its collective breath in anticipation, investigators finally found indisputable

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

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

## The Impact of Watergate

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

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

means for appointing an independent counsel to investigate and prosecute wrongdoing by high government officials.

Despite these efforts, Watergate left many Americans with a deep distrust of their public officials. Speaking some 20 years after the Watergate affair, Alexander Haig, a former high-level Nixon aide, said the scandal had produced, "a fundamental discrediting of respect for the presidency . . . [and] a new skepticism about politics, in general, which every American feels to this day." On the other hand, some Americans saw the Watergate affair as proof that in the United States, no person is above the law. As Bob Woodward observed:

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

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

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

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

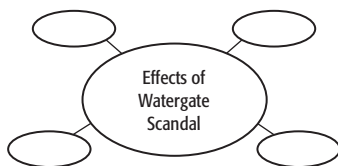
- Define:** *executive privilege, impeach.*
- Identify:** Sam J. Ervin, John Dean, Federal Campaign Act Amendments.
- Evaluate** the effects of the Watergate scandal on the way American citizens viewed the federal government.

### Reviewing Themes

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

### Critical Thinking

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



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 961. How would you describe the scene of Nixon's leave-taking? What in the photo suggests that this is a formal occasion? Why do you think this ceremony might be important for the nation?

### Writing About History

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

# SECTION 3 Ford and Carter

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

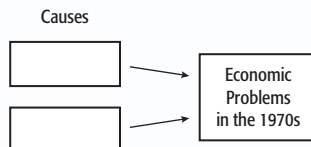
During the 1970s, Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter attempted to lead the United States through both domestic and foreign crises.

### Key Terms and Names

inflation, embargo, stagflation, Helsinki Accords, Department of Energy

### Reading Strategy

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



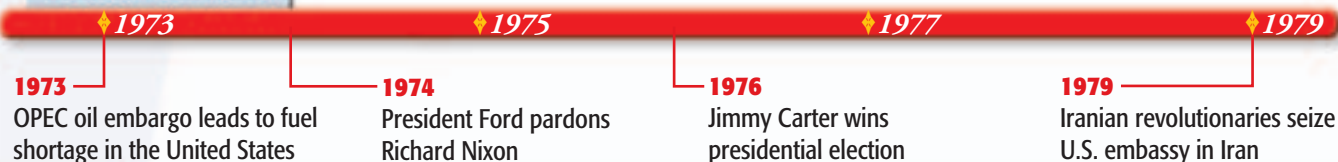
### Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the reasons for economic troubles in the United States during the 1970s.
- **Discuss** Jimmy Carter's domestic and foreign policies.

### Section Theme

**Economic Factors** A weakening economy and growing energy crisis marred the terms of Ford and Carter.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



*Lines of jobseekers at an unemployment office*

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

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

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

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

## The Economic Crisis of the 1970s

Since the end of World War II, the American economy had been the envy of the world. During the 1950s and 1960s, many Americans enjoyed remarkable prosperity and had come to assume it was the norm. This prosperity rested in large part on easy access to



raw materials around the world and a strong manufacturing industry at home. By the 1970s, however, the boom years gave way to a decade of hard times.

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

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

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

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

Although the embargo ended a few months after it began, oil prices continued to rise. OPEC raised prices three more times in the 1970s and again in 1980. By that time, the price of a barrel of crude oil had risen from \$3 in 1973 to \$30 in 1980. The increase accelerated inflation. As prices rose for oil-based products, Americans had less money to spend on other goods, which helped cause a recession.

## **ECONOMICS**

**A Stagnant Economy** Another economic problem was the decline of the manufacturing sector. In the years following World War II, the United States had dominated international trade, but by the 1970s, it faced increased international competition. Many manufacturing plants were now decades old and less efficient than the newer plants that Japan and European industrial nations built after the war. In 1971, for the first time since 1889, the United States imported more goods than it exported. By 1985, Americans were also borrowing more money from foreigners than they were lending abroad.

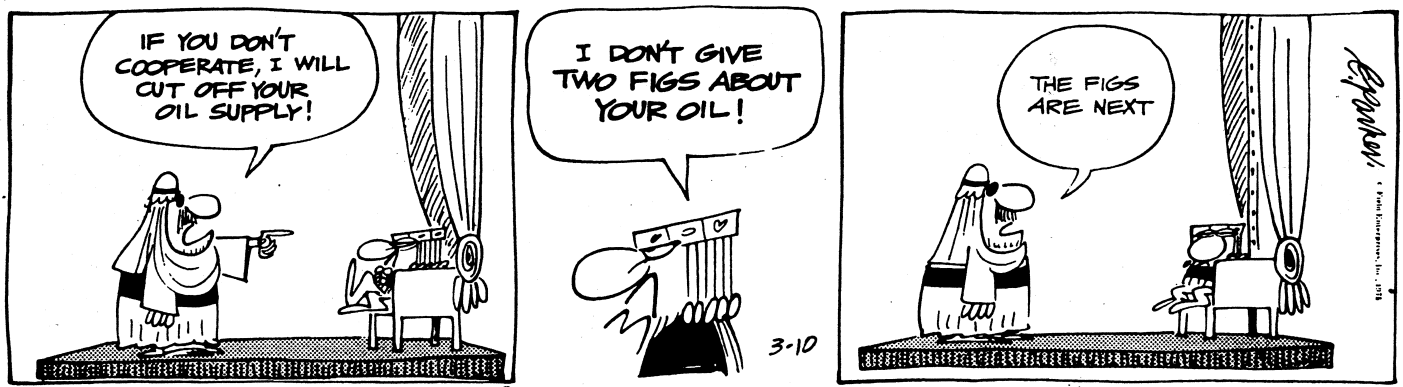
These factors forced many factories to close, and millions of workers lost their jobs. Although new jobs were available in the growing information and service-oriented sector, many industrial workers were poorly equipped for them. The result was a growing pool of unemployed and underemployed workers.

Thus in the early 1970s President Nixon faced a new and puzzling economic dilemma that came to be known as "**stagflation**," a combination of rising prices and economic stagnation. Economists who emphasized the demand side of economic theory, including supporters of Keynesianism, did not think that inflation and recession could occur at the same time. They believed that demand drives prices and that inflation would only occur in a booming economy when

## **Picturing History**

**A Scarce Commodity** Americans had to schedule their lives around the availability of gasoline during the OPEC oil embargo. **Why did OPEC institute the embargo?**





## Analyzing Political Cartoons

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

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.

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

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

## Ford Takes Over

Most Americans considered Gerald Ford a decent and honest if not particularly dynamic leader. When he became vice president, Ford had readily acknowledged his bland personality. “I’m a Ford, not a Lincoln,” he said. Still, the new president boasted excellent credentials, including a degree from Yale

Law School, naval service during World War II, and service in the House of Representatives since 1949. His fellow Republicans had elected him as minority leader in 1965. Ford would need to draw on all his experience during his time in office.

**Ford Pardons Nixon** Ford was in the White House just a month when his efforts to restore faith in the nation's leadership suffered a serious setback. On September 8, 1974, Ford announced that he would grant a “full, free, and absolute pardon” to Richard Nixon for any crimes he “committed or may have committed or taken part in” while president. “This is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part,” he told the nation. “It could go on and on and on, or someone must write the end to it.”

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

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



### Picturing History

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

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

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

Ford also encountered problems in Southeast Asia. In May 1975, Cambodia seized the *Mayaguez*, an American cargo ship traveling near its shores, claiming that it had been on an intelligence-gathering mission. Calling the ship’s seizure an “act of piracy,” Ford dispatched U.S. Marines to retrieve it. Cambodia released the crew before the marines arrived.

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

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

More than the programs he proposed, it was Carter’s image as a moral and upstanding individual that attracted most supporters. Ford meanwhile characterized Carter as a liberal whose social program spending would produce higher rates of inflation and require tax increases.

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

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

## **Carter Battles the Economic Crisis**

Carter devoted much of his domestic agenda to trying to fix the economy. At first he tried to end the recession and reduce unemployment by increasing government spending and cutting taxes. When inflation surged in 1978, he changed his mind. He delayed the tax cuts and vetoed the spending programs he had himself proposed to Congress. He then tried to ease inflation by reducing the money supply and raising interest rates. His main focus, however, was on the energy crisis. In the end, none of his efforts succeeded.

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

Carter proposed a national energy program to conserve oil and to promote the use of coal and renewable energy sources such as solar power. He persuaded Congress to create a **Department of Energy** and also asked Americans to make personal sacrifices to reduce their energy consumption. Most of the public complied as best they could, although many ignored the president’s suggestion.

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

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

**Carter’s Leadership Problems** In retrospect, President Carter’s difficulties in solving the nation’s economic problems lay in his inexperience and inability to work with Congress. Carter, who was proud of his outsider status, made little effort to reach

out to Washington’s legislative leaders. As a result, Congress blocked many of his energy proposals.

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

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

## Carter’s Foreign Policy

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

### **Picturing History**

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



**MOMENT  
in HISTORY**

**HOSTAGE TO TERROR**

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



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

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

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

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

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

introduced Westernizing reforms to Iranian society. The Islamic clergy fiercely opposed the Shah's reforms. Opposition to the Shah grew, and in January 1979 protesters forced him to flee. An Islamic republic was then declared.

The new regime, headed by religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini, distrusted the United States because of its ties to the Shah. In November 1979, revolutionaries stormed the American embassy in Tehran and 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 gloomy atmosphere in the White House the day after the crash:

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

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

## World Geography Connection



### The Islamic State

In establishing an Islamic republic, the Ayatollah Khomeini created a state in which the codes and beliefs of Islam guide politics and thus direct nearly every aspect of life. Mullahs, or Islamic religious leaders, became political leaders as well, which allowed them to impose Islamic codes on Iranian citizens. In a religious state, religious practices are not a matter of choice but the law of the land. Politics and religion have joined forces in other parts of the Islamic world as well. In 1996 a group known as the Taliban transformed Afghanistan into an Islamic state. From insisting that men grow beards to forbidding women to work outside the home, Afghanistan's leaders enforced a social order based on an interpretation of Islam. **What long-held American principle does the creation of a religious state violate?**

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

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

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

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

### Reviewing Themes

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

### Critical Thinking

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



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photograph on page 968. What effect do you think images such as this one had on Americans who were living or traveling in other countries?

### Writing About History

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

# The “Me” Decade: Life in the 1970s

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

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

### Key Terms and Names

New Age movement, guru, transcendental meditation, *All in the Family*, disco

### Reading Strategy

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



### Reading Objectives

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

### Section Theme

**Culture and Traditions** Even after the turbulent 1960s, American culture continued changing to reflect new trends and ideas.

### Preview of Events

◆ 1970

1971

*All in the Family* debuts

◆ 1973

1974

*Good Times* debuts

◆ 1976

1977

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

◆ 1979

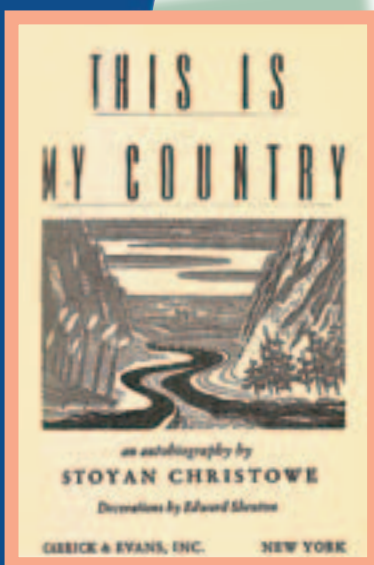
## ★ An American Story ★



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

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

—quoted in *Newsweek*, July 4, 1976



Cover of Stoyan Christowe's book

## The Search for Fulfillment

Like Stoyan Christowe, many Americans in the 1970s believed that the United States would eventually move beyond the Watergate scandal, the Vietnam War, and the country's nagging economic problems. In the meantime, some Americans sought ways to get

on with their daily lives. As a way of coping with anxious times, they sought escape, laughter, and fulfillment in a wide range of fads, entertainment, and spiritual movements.

Writer Tom Wolfe labeled the 1970s the “me decade,” referring to the idea that many Americans grew more self-obsessed in this decade as they strove for greater individual satisfaction. Indeed, the most popular books of the period included such titles as *I’m OK, You’re OK*; *How to Be Your Own Best Friend*; and *Looking Out for Number One*. Journalist Richard Michael Levine argued that in light of the growing feelings of despair and cynicism about American society, it was little wonder that many people turned inward. “In the damp, late autumn of 1973, it did not take a religious fanatic in a tattered overcoat to sense that the real Kingdom lay within, things being as rotten as they were without,” he wrote. In their quest for self-improvement, many Americans were willing to embrace new movements.

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

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

—quoted in *The Century*

The New Age movement took many different paths to transform individuals and society. Some New Agers extolled the power of crystals and gemstones to improve life; others touted astrology. Some were

inspired by the Eastern belief in reincarnation, which taught that people could be reborn many times until reaching perfection. Awareness of former lives was supposed to bring knowledge of the true inner self.

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

**Changing Families** The search for fulfillment had an impact on many American families. The campaigns of the era, especially the women’s movement, began to change how many women viewed their roles as wives and mothers. By 1970, 60 percent of women between the ages of 16 and 24 had joined the



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



# What Life Was Like...

## ● Bee Gees

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



## Disco

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



## ● Fashion

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

labor force. Between 1970 and 1980, women aged 25 to 34 had the largest annual percentage growth in the workforce.

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

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

## Cultural Trends in the 1970s

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

### **TURNING POINT**

**Television in the 1970s** The decade opened with a revolutionary new situation comedy on Saturday nights. Unlike earlier sitcoms, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* featured an unmarried woman with a

meaningful career at its center. Actress Mary Tyler Moore played the main character, Mary Richards, who had left a small town for a big-city job as a television news producer. Mary sparred with her gruff but caring boss, despaired over the shallowness of the blow-dried news announcer, and had adventures with friends. Mary also went on dates but never got around to marrying.

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

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

Several years later, Archie Bunker’s African American neighbors became the stars of another television series, *The Jeffersons*. George Jefferson, like Archie, was opinionated and prejudiced but



### ● **Saturday Night Fever**

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

ultimately likable. *The Jeffersons* portrayed African Americans in a new light: as successful and respected. *Maude*, another spin-off from *All in the Family*, featured Edith Bunker's feminist cousin, who had recently remarried after her third divorce. The strong-willed Maude did not need to depend on her new husband, Walter. This popular program drew intense controversy in 1972 when Maude made the difficult decision to have an abortion.

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

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

The 1970s also saw the rise of **disco** music. The disco craze of the later 1970s began in African

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

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

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

—quoted in *The Century*

Disco mania reached its peak after the 1977 movie, *Saturday Night Fever*. In the film, a middle-class

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



**Fact**

## Fiction

## Folklore

**Put on a Happy Face** Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the nation experienced a “button craze” as people expressed themselves by pinning buttons with slogans to their clothing. The most popular button actually said nothing at all. In 1971 Americans began buying a yellow button with a simple smile on it. By the fall of 1971, marketers estimated that more than 20 million smile buttons had been sold, making it the most popular fad item since the hula hoop.



Italian American teenager played by John Travolta transformed himself into a white-suited disco king each Saturday night. The movie’s soundtrack sold millions of copies and spurred a wave of disco openings across the country and around the world.

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

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

Fitness was another trend during the “me decade,” as many Americans turned to exercise to improve the way they felt and looked. One popular type of exercise in the 1970s was aerobics. Physician Kenneth H. Cooper popularized the exercise concept in his 1968 book *Aerobics*. It was a way to achieve cardiovascular fitness without the drudgery and isolation that often accompanies physical exercise. This new way to stay fit while having fun and interacting socially with others quickly gained popularity. By the mid-1970s, men and women were dancing in gyms across the country. Running also attracted a wide following, as scores of Americans began pounding the pavement to stay fit and trim. In a testament to the popularity of running, athlete Jim Fixx’s work *The Complete Book of Running* was a bestseller following its publication in 1977.

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

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

## SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Define:** *guru, transcendental meditation, disco.*
- Identify:** New Age movement, *All in the Family.*
- Summarize** the basic beliefs of followers of transcendental meditation.

### Reviewing Themes

- Culture and Traditions** What new cultural trends affected American society in the 1970s?

### Critical Thinking

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



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photographs in the “What Life Was Like” feature on pages 972–973. How has popular music and fashion changed since the 1970s?

### Writing About History

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

# Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

## Analyzing Secondary Sources

### Why Learn This Skill?

This textbook, like many other history books, is a secondary source. Secondary sources draw from primary sources to explain a topic. The value of a secondary source depends on how its author uses primary sources. Learning to analyze secondary sources will help you figure out whether those sources are presenting a complete and accurate picture of a topic or event.

### Learning the Skill

To determine whether an author uses primary sources effectively, ask these questions:

- Are there references to primary sources in the text, footnotes, or acknowledgments?
- Who are the authors of the primary sources? What insights or biases might these people have?
- Is the information from the primary sources interwoven effectively to support or describe an event?
- Are different kinds of primary sources considered? Do they represent varied testimony?
- Is the interpretation of the primary sources sound and logical?

### Practicing the Skill

In the following excerpt from *The Cold War, 1945–1987*, author Ralph B. Levering discusses President Carter’s China policy. Carter sent his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, to China to encourage better relations and thus put pressure on the Soviets. As you read, identify the primary sources Levering uses to make his argument.

*During his trip to Peking, Brzezinski did everything he could to please the Chinese leaders. . . . He stressed repeatedly the evil nature of the Soviet Union. . . . Upon his return, Brzezinski told a New York Times reporter that the trip was intended to “underline the long-term strategic nature of the United States’ relationship to China.”*

*. . . Soviet leaders were deeply concerned. An editorial in Pravda on May 30, 1978, stated that Brzezinski “stands before the world as an enemy of détente.”*



*President Nixon and First Lady Pat Nixon visiting the Great Wall of China during their historic 1972 trip.*

Pravda also blamed China, stating on June 17 that “Soviet-American confrontation . . . is the cherished dream of Peking.” On the whole, U.S. officials were not displeased by the Kremlin’s anger and concern: perhaps it would make Soviet leaders more anxious to conclude the SALT negotiations and more inclined to show restraint in the Third World.

- 1 What kind of primary source does Levering use twice in this passage?
- 2 Do you think this kind of primary source has any possible weaknesses?
- 3 Would the use of government documents strengthen the author’s argument? Why or why not?

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 977 and the Chapter 32 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

**Analyzing Secondary Sources** Find and read an in-depth article in a newspaper. Then list the primary sources the article uses and analyze how reliable you think they are.



Glencoe’s **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

## Reviewing Key Terms

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

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

## Reviewing Key Facts

- Identify:** Southern strategy, Sam J. Ervin, OPEC, New Age movement.
- What were the main aspects of President Nixon's domestic and foreign policies?
- What was the impact of the Watergate scandal on the American people?
- Why did President Nixon freeze wages and prices in the early 1970s?
- What factors caused economic problems in the United States in the 1970s?
- What changes in family life occurred in the United States in the 1970s?

## Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** How did the Watergate scandal affect the relationship among the three branches of government?

- Evaluating** What impact did cultural phenomena such as disco music, the use of CB radios, and exercise trends have on the U.S. economy?
- Forming an Opinion** Alexander Haig stated that the Watergate scandal led to "a fundamental discrediting of respect for the presidency . . . [and] a new skepticism about politics, in general, which every American feels to this day." Do you agree with his statement? Why or why not?
- Interpreting Primary Sources** When the Arab-Israeli War of 1973 developed into a stalemate, the Arab nations imposed an oil embargo on the United States, the chief supporter of Israel. Because Arab countries supplied much of the oil used in the United States, the embargo created an energy crisis. The excerpt below is taken from an article in the December 3, 1973, issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. It details the growing energy problems that the United States was facing at that time. Read the excerpt and answer the questions that follow.

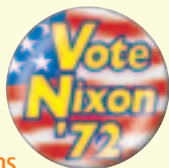
“Evidence of the full dimensions of the energy crisis in this country is becoming more clear each day.

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

## Chapter Summary

### Uniting a Divided Country

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



### Scandal and Economic Turmoil

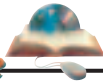
- Watergate scandal brings down Nixon.
- Congress enacts new laws to limit presidential power.
- Inflation, energy crisis, and foreign competition cause economic slowdown.
- Ford and Carter fail to revive economy.



### Challenging Traditional Values

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





**Self-Check Quiz**

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 32** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

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

22. **Categorizing** Complete a chart similar to the one below by listing the attempts each president made to strengthen the nation’s economy.

President	Attempts to Strengthen Economy
Nixon	
Ford	
Carter	

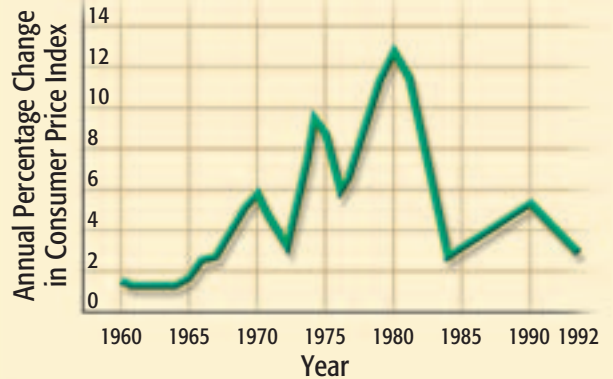
**Practicing Skills**

23. **Analyzing Secondary Sources** Examine the Bob Woodward quotation on Watergate’s impact on page 962. Then use the steps you learned on the subject of analyzing secondary sources on page 975 to answer the following questions.
- a. Who is Bob Woodward, and how was he related to the Watergate scandal?
  - b. How knowledgeable or reliable do you think Woodward is as a source? Why do you think so?

**Chapter Activity**

24. **Researching Artifacts** One useful way of learning about cultures of different periods is by examining artifacts from the era. Many of these artifacts can be found in museums and art galleries, while others may be found in your own home. What sorts of artifacts could you find about the 1970s? What would they tell you about the culture and lifestyle of that era? Create a chart listing possible artifacts and how they represent the 1970s.

**Inflation, 1960–1992**



**Writing Activity**

25. **Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are an aide to President Nixon during the early 1970s. Nixon has just returned from his historic mission to China to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist nation. Write a press release on the president’s trip for reporters, explaining the reasons Nixon reversed American policy and the expected benefits from doing so.

**Economics and History**

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



**Standardized Test Practice**

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

As a political conservative, President Nixon wanted to

- A increase federal spending on welfare programs.
- B take more aggressive federal action to speed desegregation.
- C return power to state governments.
- D appoint activist-minded justices to the Supreme Court.

**Test-Taking Tip:** Think of the meaning of *political conservative*: someone who believes that the federal government’s role in society should be limited. Choose the answer that best reflects this meaning.