

**CHAPTER**  
**32**

**GUIDED READING** *The Nixon Administration*

**Section 1**

**A.** As you read about the Nixon administration, take notes to describe President Nixon's policies toward the problems facing him.

Problems	Policies
1. Size and power of the federal government	
2. Inefficiency of the welfare system	
3. Vietnam War and domestic disorder	
4. Nixon's reelection	
5. Liberalism of Supreme Court justices	
6. Stagflation and recession	
7. U.S.-China relations	
8. U.S.-Soviet relations	

**B.** On the back of this paper, explain the significance of **realpolitik** and **OPEC** during the Nixon years.

**CHAPTER**  
**32**

**GUIDED READING** *Watergate: Nixon's Downfall*

**Section 2**

As you read about Watergate, answer questions about the time line.

<b>1972</b>			
<b>June</b>	<b>Break-in at DNC campaign office</b>	→	1. How were the "plumbers" connected to President Nixon?
<b>Nov.</b>	<b>Nixon wins reelection.</b>		
<b>1973</b>			
<b>Jan.</b>	<b>Plumbers go on trial.</b>	→	2. Who was the judge? Why did he hand out maximum sentences?  3. How were Mitchell and Dean connected to Nixon?  4. How were Haldeman and Erlichman connected to Nixon?  5. What did the following men tell the Senate about Nixon: a. Dean? b. Mitchell? c. Butterfield?  6. Who was fired or forced to resign in the "massacre"?
<b>Mar.</b>	<b>Mitchell and Dean are implicated.</b>	→	
<b>April</b>	<b>Dean is fired; Haldeman and Erlichman resign.</b>	→	
<b>May</b>	<b>Senate opens Watergate hearings.</b>	→	
<b>Oct.</b>	<b>Saturday Night Massacre</b>	→	
<b>1974</b>			
<b>April</b>	<b>Edited transcripts of tapes are released.</b>	→	7. What did the transcripts show? Why weren't investigators satisfied with the transcripts?  8. What did the tapes reveal?
<b>July</b>	<b>Supreme Court orders surrender of tapes.</b>		
<b>Aug.</b>	<b>House committee adopts impeachment articles.</b>		
	<b>Unedited tapes are released.</b>	→	
	<b>Nixon resigns.</b>		

**CHAPTER**  
**32**

**GUIDED READING** *The Ford and Carter Years*

**Section 3**

**A.** As you read about Presidents Ford and Carter, take notes to describe the policies of each toward the problems facing them.

<b>Problems Faced by Ford</b>	<b>Policies</b>
1. Ending Watergate scandal	
2. Troubled economy	
3. Hostile Congress	
4. Cold War tensions	
5. Southeast Asia	

<b>Problems Faced by Carter</b>	<b>Policies</b>
6. Distrust of politicians	
7. Energy crisis	
8. Troubled economy	
9. Discrimination	
10. Human rights issues	
11. Panama Canal	
12. Cold War tensions	
13. Middle East tensions	

**B.** On the back of this paper, explain the importance of the **Camp David Accords** and the **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini** to the Carter administration.

**CHAPTER**  
**32**

**GUIDED READING** *Environmental Activism*

**Section 4**

**A.** As you read about the nation's efforts to address environmental problems, take notes to describe how American attitudes were affected by each event or how the event affected the environment itself.

Events	Effects on Attitudes or Environment
1. Publication of Rachel Carson's <i>Silent Spring</i> →	
2. Celebration of Earth Day →	
3. Creation of the Environmental Protection Agency →	
4. Passage of the new Clean Air Act →	
5. Passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act →	
6. Nuclear accident at Three Mile Island →	

**B.** On the back of this paper, define **environmentalist**.

**CHAPTER**  
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**Section 4**

**SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE** *Analyzing Assumptions*

*Time magazine declared the environment the "Issue of the Year" for 1970. Read this excerpt from Time's article on the environment. Then fill out the form to help you analyze the article's underlying assumptions. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1047.)*

The astonishing achievement of the year," says Ecologist Lamont Cole of Cornell, "is that people are finally aware of the size of the problem." They can hardly avoid it. In 1970, the cause that once concerned lonely crusaders like Rachel Carson became a national issue that at times verged on a national obsession: it appealed even to people normally enraged by attacks on the status quo. With remarkable rapidity it became a tenet in the American credo, at least partially uniting disparate public figures ranging from Cesar Chavez to Barry Goldwater and New York's conservative Senator-elect James Buckley.

At the root of this phenomenon were the dire warnings of ecologists that man's heedless outpouring of noxious wastes is overwhelming the biosphere's ability to cleanse itself. . . .

For its part, the U.S. faced hard choices between ecology and economics. President Nixon set the pattern for official action: a zigzag between environmental reforms and worries about the [economic] recession. He supported the SST [a supersonic aircraft that many felt would harm the envi-

ronment], partly to help save 20,000 aerospace jobs, and he ordered more timbering in national forests despite objections of environmentalists and Congressmen. To soothe oil producers, he opened up 543,897 acres in the oil-polluted Gulf of Mexico for oil exploration and drilling.

Conservationists winced when Nixon fired Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel for his abrasive style and disagreement with Administration policies. Hickel had become the unexpected hero of episodes like the battle to halt a jetport that endangered Florida's Everglades National Park. . . .

In firing Hickel, though, Nixon replaced him with a potentially tougher law enforcer: the new Environmental Protection Agency under William Ruckelshaus. Nixon also named Russell Train, a respected conservationist, to head the Council on Environmental Quality. He proposed an international treaty to control development of the ocean floors, and signed a bill making oil polluters liable for damage.

from *Time* (January 4, 1971), p. 21.

<b>Assumption about pollution:</b>	
This assumption is <b>directly stated</b> or <b>implied</b> (circle one).	It is based on <b>evidence</b> or <b>bias</b> (circle one).

<b>Assumption about Nixon's policies:</b>	
This assumption is <b>directly stated</b> or <b>implied</b> (circle one).	It is based on <b>evidence</b> or <b>bias</b> (circle one).

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**Section 3**

**GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT INTERACTIONS**

***Oil Consumption in the 1970s***

*Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the graphs carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.*

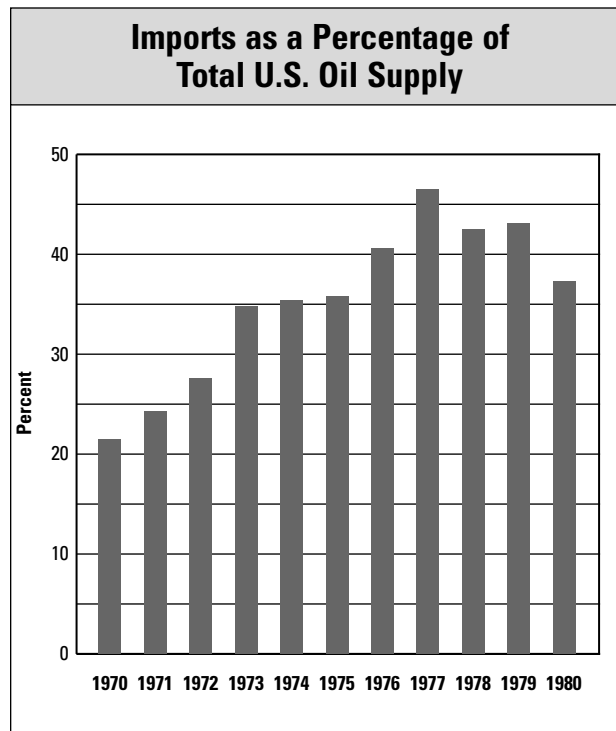
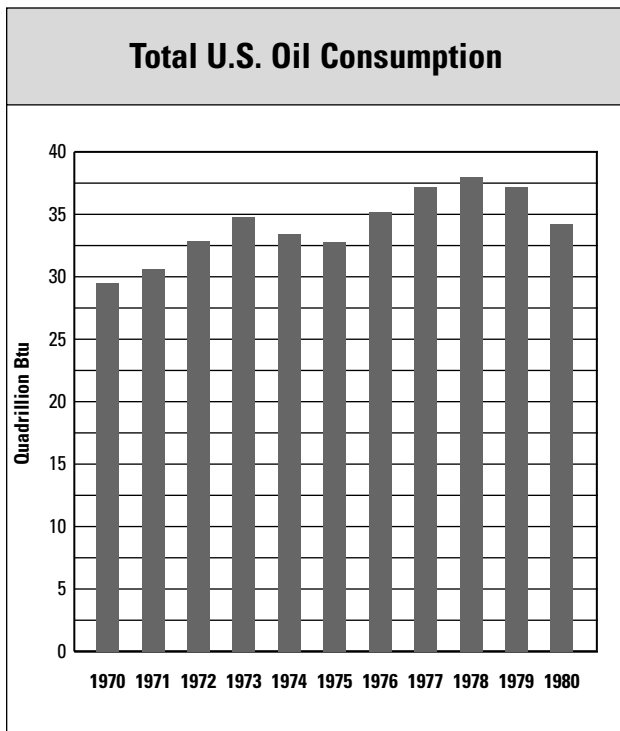
In the 1800s, gasoline was considered a useless by-product of oil refining and was often discarded into bodies of water. Kerosene, for burning in lamps, was the main product distilled from oil. In the 1900s, however, technology changed the way oil was used. Electric lighting replaced kerosene lighting, and automobiles and other motor vehicles began creating a need for all of that unwanted gasoline.

Throughout the century the demand for oil increased, and by 1973, 47 percent of U.S. energy consumption from all sources was coming from oil. Nevertheless, supplies were always abundant, so the price of oil stayed low. As demand began to outstrip U.S. production, however, the United States became increasingly dependent on foreign sources for oil.

Then, the United States experienced two oil crises. In 1973–1974, the Arab members of the

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), a collective-bargaining group of oil-producing nations, were angry about Western support of Israel during its 1973 war with its Arab neighbors. They cut off oil exports to the United States, and at the same time the other OPEC members raised prices, from about \$3 to more than \$12 a barrel. U.S. gasoline and heating-oil prices soared. In 1979, OPEC again increased oil prices drastically, and the cost of a barrel of crude oil rose from around \$12 to more than \$30.

The bar graphs below dramatize how dependent the United States was on foreign oil in the 1970s and how the increased cost of oil affected consumption. Oil consumption is measured in British thermal units (Btu), with 1 Btu being the quantity of heat needed to raise the temperature of one pound of water one degree Fahrenheit. A quadrillion is a million billion.



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### Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. What was the trend in oil consumption from 1970 through 1973? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. How much oil did Americans consume in 1973? \_\_\_\_\_

3. In which year during the 1970s was oil consumption the greatest? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Why were there rather sharp declines in oil consumption after 1973 and 1979? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

5. What do you imagine happened to oil consumption in 1981? Why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Logically, why should the percentage of imported oil consumed in the United States have dropped in 1973–1974? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Why do you think it did not? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7. Until 1969, imported oil had never been more than 19.8 percent of the total amount of oil consumed in the United States. In your own words, summarize what happened to U.S. reliance on imported oil in the 1970s.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER**  
**32**  
**Section 1**

**PRIMARY SOURCE** **Newspaper Front Page**

*On July 20, 1969, about 600 million Americans tuned in to watch a historic event on their TV sets. They witnessed Neil Armstrong step out of the lunar module, the Eagle, and stand on the surface of the moon. Study this New York Times front page to learn more about the first moon walk.*



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**Activity Options**

1. With a partner, use information from this newspaper front page as well as from your textbook to re-create a TV broadcast of the moon walk. Act as newscasters who report the event live from earth.
2. Write your own headline about the moon walk that could have been printed on this front page and share it with the class.



CHAPTER  
**32**

Section 2

**PRIMARY SOURCE** *from All the President's Men*  
by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward

*Washington Post reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein first broke the Watergate story. As you read this excerpt from their book on the scandal, consider why they made an unlikely team.*

June 17, 1972. Nine o'clock Saturday morning. Early for the telephone. Woodward fumbled for the receiver and snapped awake. The city editor of the *Washington Post* was on the line. Five men had been arrested earlier that morning in a burglary at Democratic headquarters, carrying photographic equipment and electronic gear. Could he come in?

Woodward had worked for the *Post* for only nine months and was always looking for a good Saturday assignment, but this didn't sound like one. A burglary at the local Democratic headquarters was too much like most of what he had been doing—investigative pieces on unsanitary restaurants and small-time police corruption. Woodward had hoped he had broken out of that; he had just finished a series of stories on the attempted assassination of Alabama Governor George Wallace. Now, it seemed, he was back in the same old slot.

Woodward left his one-room apartment in downtown Washington and walked the six blocks to the *Post*. The newspaper's mammoth newsroom—over 150 feet square with rows of brightly colored desks set on an acre of sound-absorbing carpet—is usually quiet on Saturday morning. . . . As Woodward stopped to pick up his mail and telephone messages at the front of the newsroom, he noticed unusual activity around the city desk. He checked in with the city editor and learned with surprise that the burglars had not broken into the small local Democratic Party office but the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate office-apartment-hotel complex. . . .

As Woodward began making phone calls, he noticed that Bernstein, one of the paper's two Virginia political reporters, was working on the burglary story too.

Oh God, not Bernstein, Woodward thought, recalling several office tales about Bernstein's ability to push his way into a good story and get his byline on it.

That morning, Bernstein had Xeroxed copies of notes from reporters at the scene and informed the city editor that he would make some more checks.

The city editor had shrugged his acceptance, and Bernstein had begun a series of phone calls to everybody at the Watergate he could reach—desk clerks, bellmen, maids in the housekeeping department, waiters in the restaurant.

Bernstein looked across the newsroom. There was a pillar between his desk and Woodward's, about 25 feet away. He stepped back several paces. It appeared that Woodward was also working on the story. That figured, Bernstein thought. Bob Woodward was a prima donna who played heavily at office politics. Yale. A veteran of the Navy officer corps. Lawns, greensward, staterooms and grass tennis courts, Bernstein guessed, but probably not enough pavement for him to be good at investigative reporting. Bernstein knew that Woodward couldn't write very well. One office rumor had it that English was not Woodward's native language.

Bernstein was a college dropout. He had started as a copy boy at the *Washington Star* when he was 16, become a full-time reporter at 19, and had worked at the *Post* since 1966. He occasionally did investigative series, had covered the courts and city hall, and liked to do long, discursive pieces about the capital's people and neighborhoods.

Woodward knew that Bernstein occasionally wrote about rock music for the *Post*. That figured. When he learned that Bernstein sometimes reviewed classical music, he choked that down with difficulty. Bernstein looked like one of those counterculture journalists that Woodward despised. Bernstein thought that Woodward's rapid rise at the *Post* had less to do with his ability than his Establishment credentials.

They had never worked on a story together.

*from Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, All the President's Men (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), 13–15.*

### Research Option

Find and read a *Washington Post* article about Watergate that was written by Woodward and Bernstein. Then write a summary of the article.



## Section 4

**PRIMARY SOURCE** *from Love Canal: My Story*  
by Lois Gibbs

*After discovering that her son's elementary school was built over a toxic waste dump, Lois Gibbs went door-to-door with a petition to see if other parents felt as angry as she did. Read this excerpt to find out about Gibbs's gradual awareness of the environmental crisis brewing in her own backyard.*

As I proceeded down 99th Street, I developed a set speech. I would tell people what I wanted. But the speech wasn't all that necessary. It seemed as though every home on 99th Street had someone with an illness. One family had a young daughter with arthritis. They couldn't understand why she had it at her age. Another daughter had had a miscarriage. The father, still a fairly young man, had had a heart attack. I went to the next house, and there, people would tell me *their* troubles. People were reaching out; they were telling me their troubles in hopes I would do something. But I didn't know anything to do. I was also confused. I just wanted to stop children from going to that school. Now look at all those other health problems! Maybe they were related to the canal. But even if they were, what could I do?

As I continued going door-to-door, I heard more. The more I heard, the more frightened I became. This problem involved much more than the 99th Street School. The entire community seemed to be sick! Then I remembered my own neighbors. One who lived on the left of my husband and me was suffering from severe migraines and had been hospitalized three or four times that year. Her daughter had kidney problems and bleeding. A woman on the other side of us had gastrointestinal problems. A man in the next house down was dying of lung cancer and he didn't even work in industry. The man across the street had just had lung surgery. I thought about Michael; maybe there was more to it than just the school. I didn't understand how chemicals could get all the way over to 101st Street from 99th; but the more I thought about it, the more frightened I became—for my family and for the whole neighborhood. . . .

I continued to go door-to-door. I was becoming more worried because of the many families with children who had birth defects. Then I learned something even more frightening: there had been five crib deaths within a few short blocks.

I was still getting people's cooperation and interest, but I was soon to learn that not everyone

felt the same way I did. The woman on 97th Street who had done some organizing never provided any help. We never argued; in fact, she never said anything. One day, while I was knocking on doors, I noticed her riding on her bicycle. She seemed to be watching me. I was both puzzled and intimidated mainly because my self-confidence wasn't yet all that high. I thought we had a common problem, that we should be working together. But she had tried to organize the neighborhood; therefore, it was her neighborhood, her territory. Maybe she felt I was stepping on her toes.

I finally got up my courage and walked over. "Hi," I said. She was in front of her house. A tree in the front yard was wilted. It looked sick, as though it were dying. We stood in the yard and talked. She told me she couldn't use her backyard, that everything there was dead. She asked what I was doing, and I told her. Her voice suddenly turned cold. She warned me about rocking the boat, telling me not to make waves. She had already taken care of the problem. She had been working hard, talking to a number of politicians, and she didn't want me to undo what she had done.

I was taken aback. I explained that I didn't want to "undo" anything, that I wanted to work *with* her. It was a very hot day. . . . There we were, standing in the hot sun, with the only shade coming from a dying tree, and she was telling me how everything was all right. I didn't know what to think. I had to go home and figure this out. I went home, but not because I was frightened. I just needed time to think, to figure out what was happening.

*from Lois Marie Gibbs, Love Canal: My Story (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1982), 15–17.*

## Discussion Questions

1. How did Gibbs's neighbors respond to her when she went door-to-door with a petition?
2. What different health problems did Gibbs's neighbors experience?

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Section 4

**PRIMARY SOURCE** *from Silent Spring*  
by Rachel Carson

*Biologist Rachel Carson spent four and a half years gathering data about pesticides. In Silent Spring, she explained how pesticides affect the delicate balance of nature.*

The history of life on earth has been a history of interaction between living things and their surroundings. To a large extent, the physical form and the habits of the earth's vegetation and its animal life have been molded by the environment. Considering the whole span of earthly time, the opposite effect, in which life actually modifies its surroundings, has been relatively slight. Only within the moment of time represented by the present century has one species—man—acquired significant power to alter the nature of his world.

During the past quarter century this power has not only increased to one of disturbing magnitude but it has changed in character. The most alarming of all man's assaults upon the environment is the contamination of air, earth, rivers, and sea with dangerous and even lethal materials. This pollution is for the most part irrecoverable; the chain of evil it initiates not only in the world that must support life but in living tissues is for the most part irreversible. In this now universal contamination of the environment, chemicals are the sinister and little-recognized partners of radiation in changing the very nature of the world—the very nature of its life. . . . Chemicals sprayed on croplands or forests or gardens lie long in soil, entering into living organisms, passing from one to another in a chain of poisoning and death. Or they pass mysteriously by underground streams until they emerge and, through the alchemy of air and sunlight, combine into new forms that kill vegetation, sicken cattle, and work unknown harm on those who drink from once pure wells. As Albert Schweitzer has said, "Man can hardly even recognize the devils of his own creation."

It took hundreds of millions of years to produce the life that now inhabits the earth—eons of time in which that developing and evolving and diversifying life reached a state of adjustment and balance with its surroundings. The environment, rigorously shaping and directing the life it supported, contained elements that were hostile as well as supporting. Certain rocks gave out dangerous radiation; even within the light of the sun, from which all life draws its energy, there were short-wave radiations with

power to injure. Given time—time not in years but in millennia—life adjusts, and a balance has been reached. For time is the essential ingredient; but in the modern world there is no time.

The rapidity of change and the speed with which new situations are created follow the impetuous and heedless pace of man rather than the deliberate pace of nature. . . . The chemicals to which life is asked to make its adjustment are no longer merely the calcium and silica and copper and all the rest of the minerals washed out of the rocks and carried in rivers to the sea; they are the synthetic creations of man's inventive mind, brewed in his laboratories, and having no counterparts in nature.

To adjust to these chemicals would require time on the scale that is nature's; it would require not merely the years of a man's life but the life of generations. And even this, were it by some miracle possible, would be futile, for the new chemicals come from our laboratories in an endless stream; almost five hundred annually find their way into actual use in the United States alone. . . .

These sprays, dusts, and aerosols are now applied almost universally to farms, gardens, forests, and homes—nonselective chemicals that have the power to kill every insect, the "good" and the "bad," to still the song of birds and the leaping of fish in the streams, to coat the leaves with a deadly film, and to linger on in soil—all this though the intended target may be only a few weeds or insects. Can anyone believe it is possible to lay down such a barrage of poisons on the surface of the earth without making it unfit for all life? They should not be called "insecticides," but "biocides."

*from Rachel Carson, Silent Spring (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), 5–8.*

### Research Options

1. Find out about pesticides that are currently in use in the United States.
2. Find out about alternatives to pesticide use in controlling insects and rodents.

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## Section 3

LITERATURE SELECTION *from Memories of the Ford  
Administration* by John Updike

*This novel's main character, Alfred Clayton, receives a request from the Northern New England Association of American Historians (NNEAAH) to share his impressions of Gerald Ford's administration. He weaves together his impressions of the politics of the time with memories of events in his own life. As you read this excerpt, think about whether Clayton's impressions of the Ford administration are positive or negative.*

*From:* Alfred L. Clayton, A.B. '58, Ph.D. '62  
*To:* Northern New England Association of American Historians, Putney, Vermont  
*Re:* Requested Memories and Impressions of the Presidential Administration of Gerald R. Ford (1974–77), for Written Symposium on Same to Be Published in NNEAAH's Triquarterly Journal, *Retrospect*

I remember I was sitting among my abandoned children watching when Nixon resigned. My wife was out on a date, and had asked me to babysit. We had been separated since June. This was, of course, August. Nixon, with his bulgy face and his menacing, slipped-cog manner, seemed about to cry. The children and I had never seen a President resign before; nobody in the history of the United States had ever seen that.

Our impressions—well, who can tell what the impressions of children are? Andrew was fifteen, Buzzy just thirteen, Daphne a plump and vulnerable eleven. For them, who had been historically conscious ten years at the most, this resignation was not so epochal, perhaps. The late Sixties and early Seventies had produced so much in the way of bizarre headlines and queer television that they were probably less struck than I was. Spiro Agnew had himself resigned not many months before; Gerald Ford was thus our only non-elected President, unless you count Joe Tumulty in the wake of Wilson's stroke or James G. Blaine during the summer when poor Garfield was being slowly slain by the medical science of 1881, . . .

[W]as there ever a Ford Administration? Evidence for its existence seems to be scanty. I have been doing some sneak objective research, though you ask for memories and impressions, both subjective. The hit songs of the years 1974–76 apparently were

“Seasons in the Sun”  
“The Most Beautiful Girl”  
“The Streak”  
“Please, Mister Postman”  
“Mandy”  
“Top of the World”  
“Just You and Me”  
“Rhinstone Cowboy”  
“Fame”  
“Best of My Love”  
“Laughter in the Rain”  
“The Hustle”  
“Have You Never Been Mellow?”  
“One of These Nights”  
“Jive Talkin’”  
“Silly Love Songs”  
“Black Water”  
“Don't Go Breakin' My Heart”  
“Play That Funky Music”  
“A Fifth of Beethoven”  
“Shake Your Booty”  
“Breaking Up Is Hard to Do”  
“Love Is Alive”  
“Sara Smile”  
“Get Closer”

I don't recall hearing any of them. Whenever I turned on the radio, WADM was pouring out J. S. Bach's merry tintinnabulations or the surging cotton candy of P. I. Tchaikovsky, the inventor of sound-track music. No, wait—“Don't Go Breakin' My Heart” rings a faint bell, I can almost hum it, and the same goes for “Breaking Up Is Hard to Do,” if it's not the same song. In fact, all twenty-five titles give me the uneasy sensation of being the same song. The top non-fiction bestsellers of those years were *All the President's Men*, *More Joy: Lovemaking Companion to the Joy of Sex*, *You Can Profit from a Monetary Crisis*, *Angels: God's Secret Agents*, *Winning Through Intimidation*, *Sylvia Porter's Money Book*, *Total Fitness in 30 Minutes a*

*Week, Blind Ambition: The White House Years, The Grass Is Always Greener over the Septic Tank, and The Hite Report*: I read none of them. Fiction, too, evaded by Ken; the multitudes but not I revelled in the dramatized information of such chunky, univocal titles as *Jaws, Shogun, Ragtime, Trinity, Centennial, and 1876*, or in the wistful escapism of *All Things Bright and Beautiful* and *Watership Down*, which was, I seem very imperfectly to recall, somehow about rabbits. The top TV shows were *All in the Family, Happy Days, and Laverne and Shirley*: I never watched them, having no TV set in my furtive digs. I would half-hear the interrupting news bulletins on WADM whenever some woman would take a shot at Ford or Ford took a shot at the Cambodians—Cambodia being the heart of the world's darkness in these years—but otherwise the only news that concerned me was what came over the telephone and up the stairs. . . .

The last thing I remember about the Ford Administration is sitting with my children watching, while a New England January held us snug indoors, a youngish-seeming man walking down Pennsylvania Avenue with one hand in his wife's and the other waving to the multitudes. Washington City was bathed in telegenic white sunlight and Carter was hatless, in pointed and rather embarrassing echo of Kennedy fourteen years and four Presidents ago. A hundred years after the end of Reconstruction and the one indisputably fraudulent Presidential election in American history, a son of the South had risen, without benefit of (cf. Truman, Tyler, and the two Johnsons) another President's demise. The youngish, hatless man's smile was broad and constant but not, absolutely, convincing; we were in a time, as in the stretch between Polk and Lincoln, of unconvincing Presidents. But Polk and Lincoln, too, had their doubters and mockers and haters by the millions; perhaps it lies among the President's many responsibilities to be unconvincing, to set before us, at an apex of visibility, an illustration of how far short of perfection must fall even the most conscientious

application to duty and the most cunning solicitation of selfish interests, throwing us back upon the essential American axiom that no divinely appointed leader will save us, we must do it on our own. Of all the forty-odd, handsome Warren Harding was in a sense the noblest, for only he, upon being notified that he had done a bad job, had the grace to die of a broken heart.

In the three fuzzy heads around me—no, I miscounted, there can be only two, Andy is off at college by January of 1977, he is eighteen and in his freshman year; he chose to go to Duke, to put a bit of distance between himself and his wayward parents—there was, if I can be trusted to read the minds of children, a dubiety not unlike my own at the sunny spectacle being beamed to us from the District of Columbia. No other President had ever seen fit to walk back from the inauguration to the White House. It made him, we felt, a bit too much like the circus clown who, with painted smile, jesting now in this direction and now in that, leads the

parade into the big tent—the acrobats and the jugglers, the solemn elephants of foreign policy and the caged tigers of domestic distress.

"Showoff," Buzzy said, in his manly baritone, which I was still not quite used to.

"Suppose he gets shot?" Daphne asked. She had been in my lap, up in our apple-green home at Dartmouth, a few months old, the Sunday that Lee Harvey Oswald had been plugged for his sins on national television. She had been weaned, you might say, on assassination.

However much Carter wanted to be liked, we could not quite like him: the South couldn't quite like him because he was a liberal and an engineer, the Northeast liberals couldn't because he was a

Southerner and a born-again Christian, the Christians were put off because he had told *Playboy* [magazine] he had *looked upon a lot of women with lust*, and the common masses because his lips were too fat and he talked like a squirrel nibbling an acorn. Blacks liked him, those blacks who still took any interest in the national establishment, but this worked in his disfavor, since the blacks were more

***However much Carter wanted to be liked, we could not quite like him: the South couldn't quite like him because he was liberal and an engineer, the Northeast liberals couldn't because he was a Southerner and a born-again Christian.***

and more seen as citizens of a floating Welfare State concealed within the other fifty, and whose settled purpose and policy was to steal money from hard-working taxpayers. Carter and the other liberal Democrats were white accomplices to this theft, this free ride. Furthermore he told us things we didn't want to hear: We should turn our thermostats down and our other cheek to the Iranians. Our hearts were full of lust, we were suffering from a malaise. All true, but truth isn't what we want from Presidents. We have historians for that.

Forgive me, NNEAAH, and editors of *Retrospect*; I've not forgotten it was Ford you requested my impressions of, not Carter. But what did Ford *do*? As I've said, I was preoccupied by personal affairs, and had the radio in my little apartment turned to WADM—all classical, with newsbreaks on the hour of only a minute or two. As far as I could tell, Ford was doing everything right—he got the *Mayaguez* back from the Cambodians, evacuated from Vietnam our embassy staff and hangers-on (literally: there were pictures of people clinging to the helicopter skids in the newsmagazines in my dentist's office), went to Helsinki to meet Brezhnev and sign some peaceable accords, slowly won out over inflation and recession, restored confidence in the Presidency, and pardoned Nixon, which saved the nation a mess of recrimination and legal expense. As far as I know, he was perfect, which can be said of no other President since James Monroe. Further, he was the only President to preside with a name completely different from the one he was given at birth—Leslie King, Jr. “President King” would have been an awkward oxymoron.

There was a picturesque little layer of snow in Washington on television, so there must have been

mounds of it in New Hampshire, and ice in the river, black and creaky, and bare twigs making a lace at the windows. Twigs. Our nest. Where was [my wife,] Norma? My still regnant Queen of Disorder? Not within the frame of this memory, somehow. She could have been painting in her alluringly odoriferous studio, or drifting through one of her do-it-yourself lectures on art appreciation over at the college, but my memory places her in the kitchen, tossing together a meal for us all. But wait—the 20th of January was a Thursday, according to my perpetual calendar, so Buzzy and Daphne must have been at school, puzzling their way through the post-noon lessons, or gobbling up the beef-barley soup and American chop suey the school cafeteria provides on Thursdays. Perhaps we were all watching Carter's stroll on the evening-news rerun, and Norma was in the kitchen, cooking our dinner. She wandered in to join us. She held against the bib of her apron a curved wooden sculpting tool, with a serrated edge, that she used as a stew stirrer. She looked over our shoulders and said, “After Watergate, I don't see how the Republicans will ever elect another President.”

## Discussion Questions

1. What is Clayton's first memory of the Ford administration?
2. What is his last memory?
3. What does Clayton's objective research on popular culture during the Ford administration turn up?
4. Based on your reading of this excerpt, how would you characterize Clayton's overall assessment of the Ford administration?

CHAPTER  
**32**

AMERICAN LIVES **Henry Kissinger**  
*Secretly Seeking Shared Interests*

Section 1

*"In a democracy the results of negotiations obviously have to be made available to the public. . . . The process by which these results are achieved generally should have a private phase."*—Henry Kissinger in an interview with American Heritage magazine (1983)

Henry Kissinger was the first foreign-born person to serve as the U.S. Secretary of State. He achieved this high position through his skill at diplomacy.

Kissinger was born in Germany in 1923. Increasingly threatened after the Nazis took control in 1933, his family fled to the United States in 1938. He joined the army in 1943 and fought in the closing years of the war in Europe. Back in the United States after the war, Kissinger attended college and graduate school. He began to teach and write on defense issues. An early book introduced the idea of "flexible response." This idea rejected the 1950s policy of reliance on nuclear weapons for national defense. He argued that the United States should, instead, build conventional forces to be able to defend itself without nuclear weapons. President Kennedy adopted the policy.

After his election as president in 1968, Richard Nixon named Kissinger as his national security advisor. The post gave Kissinger daily access to the president and broad authority to carry out Nixon's new foreign policy ideas. The two worked together very closely. Kissinger launched talks with the Soviet Union to limit nuclear weapons. His secret visits to China and the Soviet Union paved the way for Nixon's historic visits. Secret talks with North Vietnam paved the way for the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and he shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1973 with Le Duc Tho, a North Vietnamese diplomat. In that year he helped negotiate a halt to fighting in the Middle East.

When Nixon resigned over the Watergate scandal, Kissinger—now secretary of state—stayed in office to serve President Gerald Ford. He returned to the Middle East countless times, using "shuttle diplomacy" to persuade Israel and Egypt to take some early steps toward peace. His efforts also established close American ties with Egypt. Negotiations with the Soviet Union reached another arms control agreement.

Kissinger has said that successful diplomacy has

two keys. One is secrecy. It is important, he believes, for diplomats to meet privately so they can explore possible solutions to a problem without heated public debate. The other is that an agreement must benefit both sides. "Nobody," he warns, "will sign an agreement that is exclusively in the other party's interest."

Kissinger has won wide praise—and criticism. Some criticized him for supporting the invasion of Cambodia and other aggressive acts during the Vietnam War. Others said that his agreements with the Soviet Union were too generous to the Soviets. Many critics focused on how far he went to ensure secrecy. When newspapers published secret government information, Kissinger was angered. He agreed to a Nixon administration plan to tap the telephone of his aides to see if they were responsible for the information reaching the papers. Critics said that the newspapers were simply pursuing the people's right to know and that the wiretaps violated the aides' rights.

In 1977 Kissinger retired as secretary of state and received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor. In 1982 he formed an international business consulting company. On occasion, however, he has worked on assignments for the government. In 1983, he headed a commission analyzing U.S. policy in Central America. Four years later, he led a team that discussed arms control with the Soviet Union.

## Questions

1. Do you think a democracy should be totally open or can it maintain secrecy?
2. Anyone, Kissinger once said, can criticize an agreement between nations on the grounds that the other nation gains something. The key to a good agreement is what your own nation gains in return. Do you agree or disagree? Explain.
3. Should newspapers have been allowed to publish secret information? Explain.



## Section 2

**AMERICAN LIVES** **Barbara Jordan**
*Brilliant Speaker, Able Legislator*

*"We are a people in search of a national community, attempting to fulfill our national purpose, to create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal."*

—Barbara Jordan, keynote speech to the Democratic National Convention (1976)

Barbara Jordan (1936–1996) impressed millions of Americans with the eloquence of her words. She impressed colleagues inside the legislatures where she served with her ability to get things done.

At age 16, Jordan won a national contest in speechmaking. She later led her college debating team to a number of championships. After graduating from law school, she returned to Texas and opened a private practice. Soon, Jordan became involved in politics. In 1960, she organized a get-out-the-vote drive that won an unprecedented 80-percent turnout among black voters in her home county. She twice lost races for the Texas House of Representatives. In 1966, however, she won election to the Texas Senate—the first African American elected since 1883 and the first woman ever.

In the Senate, Jordan quickly won admiration for her intelligence and her political skills. She did not want to change the Senate's ways, she said, but to get things done. She pushed the Senate to pass new laws protecting the environment, setting a minimum wage, and fighting job discrimination. In her six years in the Senate, half the bills she introduced became law.

In 1972, Jordan won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Two years later, she rose to national attention. She was part of the Judiciary Committee that debated whether to impeach President Richard Nixon for his involvement in the cover-up of the Watergate affair. Jordan's speech—televised live across the nation—was powerful. She pointed out that as an African-American woman she had not originally been "included" in the Constitution. Now, she said, she was included. Then she vowed, "I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator in . . . the destruction of the Constitution."

Her speechmaking ability brought her fame again two years later. Her keynote address at the 1976 Democratic National Convention electrified the crowd. Many called for her to be named as the party's vice-presidential candidate. Later that year,

a magazine surveyed Americans to find who they would most like to see as the first woman president. Jordan's name topped the list.

Jordan transferred her success in the Texas legislature to the national Congress. She worked for education and the environment, racial justice, and economic opportunity. Many people were dismayed in 1979 when she retired from the House. She became a teacher at the University of Texas, where her courses in policy and political ethics were always in demand.

Though Jordan no longer held elected office, she continued to speak out on issues that she cared about. She helped start a group that backed liberal causes. She served as a special advisor to the governor of Texas on ethics in government and chaired a presidential commission that studied immigration.

Jordan suffered many illnesses in her later years, but the magic and power of her voice continued. Speaking from a wheelchair, she brought the crowd to its feet at the Democrats' 1992 convention. In 1994 she testified in Congress about a new immigration law. "I would be the last person to claim that our nation is perfect," she said. "but we have a kind of perfection in us because our founding principle is universal—that we are all created equal regardless of race, religion, or national ancestry." That same year Jordan received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor.

## Questions

1. What did Jordan mean by saying that our "national purpose" was to "create and sustain a society in which all of us are equal"?
2. Was Jordan an effective lawmaker? Explain your answer.
3. Why did Jordan say, in 1974, that she would not allow the Constitution to be destroyed?



CHAPTER  
**32**  
Project

LIVING HISTORY *Preparing an Exhibit of  
Global Links*

**TAKING NOTES** As you read Chapter 32, take notes about key events in U.S. history that had an impact on other countries. These can be events that resulted from U.S. initiative, such as Nixon’s visit to China, or events that occurred elsewhere yet affected the United States, such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the hostage crisis in Iran.

**BRAINSTORMING ITEMS AND IMAGES** Once you have a list of events, get together with a small group of classmates to brainstorm items and images. For example, for OPEC you might envision oil wells, gas pumps, barrels of oil, or automobiles. For the hostages in Iran, you might think of a yellow ribbon, which came to symbolize U.S. support for the hostages, or the photo of the blindfolded hostages surrounded by angry protesters.

**RESEARCHING SOURCES** Use a computerized library catalog to locate audio-visual sources of information on each event. Also use the catalog, *The Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature*, and major newspaper indexes to find conventional print sources with illustrations. These illustrations can help you brainstorm additional images and objects associated with each event.

**Helpful Hints**

- Look for political cartoons that make a strong statement.
- Thumb through news magazines from the time for dramatic photos of important events.
- Look on the Internet for images and information.

**PREPARING THE EXHIBIT** Each person in the class or group might be responsible for collecting information for one event and its global links. If, for example, your event is Nixon’s visit to China, your part of the exhibit might include a picture of Nixon at the Great Wall of China and excerpts (either written or recorded) from Nixon’s speech announcing the visit.

**MAPPING GLOBAL LINKS** For each event, decide on the event’s “epicenter” and locate it on your map. For example, the place you would probably associate most with the Camp David Accords would be Camp David in Maryland, near Washington, D.C. Place a push pin there. Place other push pins in Israel and Egypt, and then connect the pins with a single color of thread. For the Iran hostage crisis, place push pins in Washington, D.C., and Tehran and connect these with a different color thread.

**WRITING INFORMATION CARDS** As in a museum, each event you present should be explained briefly and clearly. Use this checklist to help you.

- ✓ Name the event.
- ✓ Tell the date of the event.
- ✓ Briefly and clearly tell what happened.
- ✓ List the global effects or links.
- ✓ Include other comments that explain the item, picture, or audio-visual selection associated with the event.



**LIVING HISTORY** *Standards for Evaluating an Exhibit of Global Links*

<b>IDEAS AND CONTENT</b>	<b>Exceptional</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Poor</b>
1. Focuses on political and economic events that occurred between 1968 and 1980 and had international effects			
2. Includes a map that clearly shows global links			
3. Includes a balance of items and audio-visual selections that show economic or political global links			
4. Explains each event on an information card			
5. Contains labels and other information to show international links			
6. Is organized into manageable sections			
<b>INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCE</b>			
7. Shows judgment in choice of items and information			
8. Demonstrates consistent effort			

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Overall Rating \_\_\_\_\_