

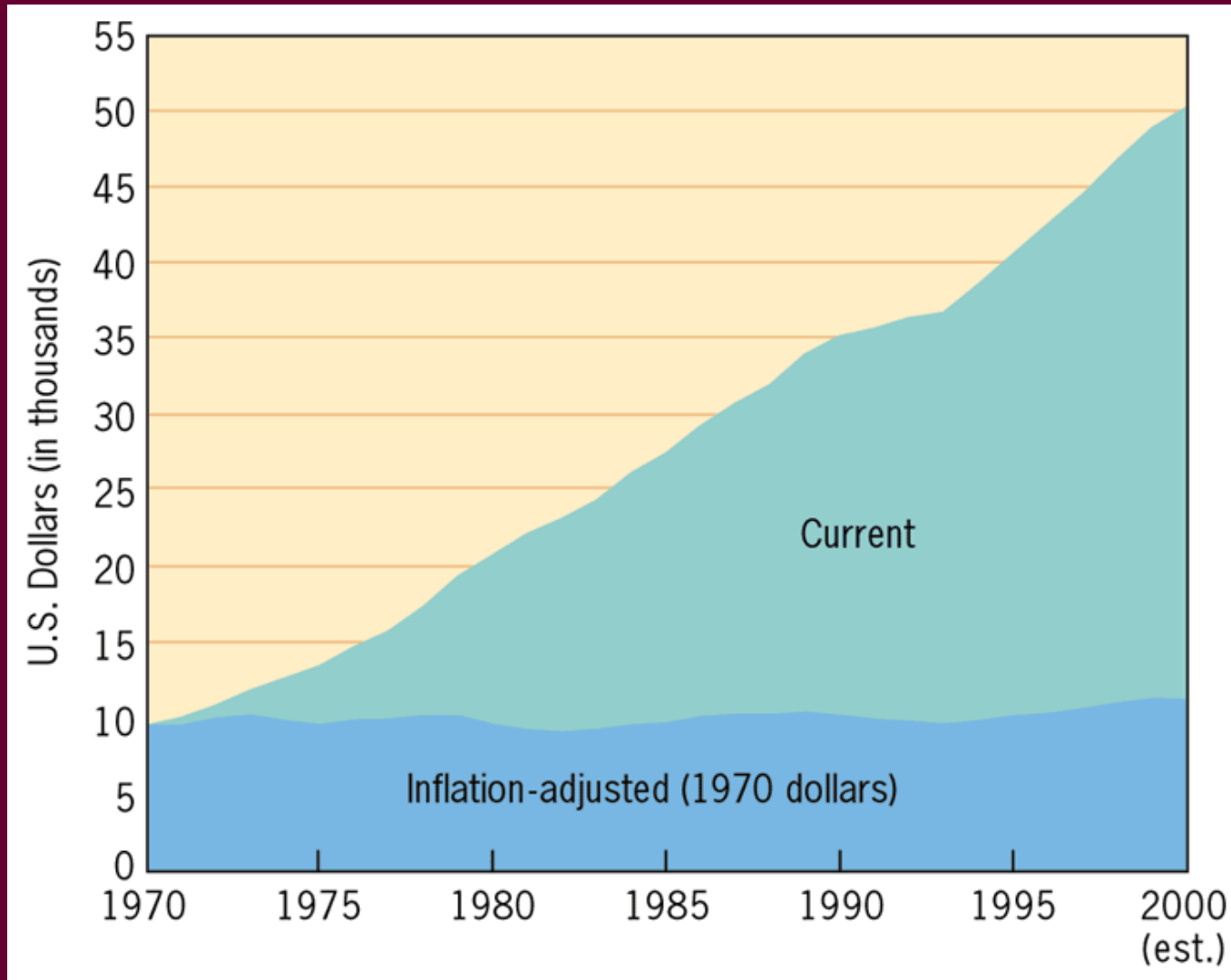
# The Stalemated Seventies

1968 – 1980

# Stagnation in the 1970s

- 1945 – 1970 – 25 years of economic growth
  - Productivity had increased; US workers doubled their standard of living
- 1970s – no productivity gains (over entire decade) equal to 1 year in 25 previous years
- 1970 – 1990 – median family income stagnated
  - Failed to decline only because working women added wages to family income
  - For first time in US history, rising generation faced prospect of living standard lower than their parents

# Median Family Income, 1970 – 2000



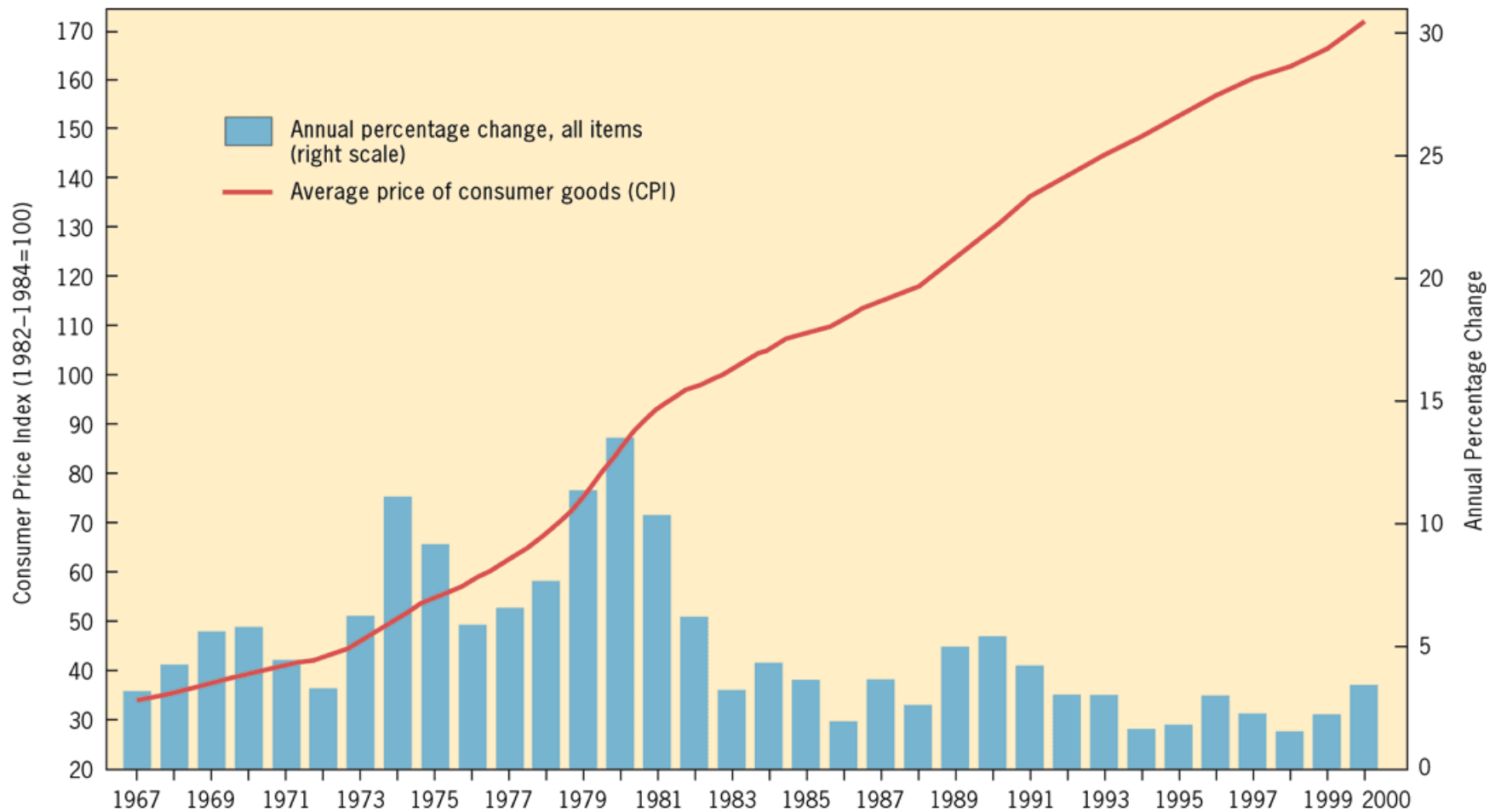
# Sources of Stagnation

- Causes of slump in productivity are debated
  - Women and teenagers in workforce
    - Had fewer skills; less likely to take long-term work to develop skills
  - Declining investment in new machinery
  - Government regulation
  - Shift in economy from manufacturing to service (harder to increase productivity)

# Sources of Stagnation

- Other problems in the economy
  - Vietnam War
    - Drained money from needed improvements at home
  - Inflation: increase in price levels – too many dollars chasing too few goods
    - Root cause was Johnson's increased spending in 1960s
      - Vietnam War and Great Society programs
      - Did not increase taxes to offset spending increases
      - Inflationary because they give dollars to people without increasing supply of goods they can buy
    - Increase in oil prices in 1970s made inflation worse

# The History of the Consumer Price Index, 1967–2000



# Sources of Stagnation

- Foreign competition
  - US companies had little competition after WWII
    - Little incentive to modernize or become more efficient
  - German and Japanese companies rebuilt new factories with most modern technology and management techniques
  - 1970s – dominated important industries US companies once had (steel, automobiles, consumer electronics)

# Why Detroit's engineers are secretly praising Volkswagen's Rabbit.



One thing about the men of the engineering profession: they give credit where credit is due. Which may explain all the nice letters and phone calls we've received from Detroit since our new Rabbit has been out. Why all the praise?

## 93 miles per hour.

A Rabbit is very fast. And although we obviously don't recommend 93 mph (please obey all speed limits), it is reassuring to know as you're about to get onto a hectic expressway, that a Rabbit has the power for great acceleration. From 0 to 50 in only 8.2 seconds. That's quicker than a Monza 2 + 2.

## 38 miles per gallon.

A Rabbit is very thrifty. In the recent 1975-model Federal Environmental Protection Agency fuel economy tests, the Rabbit averaged 38 miles to the gallon on the highway. It averaged a nifty 24 in tougher stop-and-go city traffic.

## As big inside as some mid-size cars.

The Rabbit is a sub-compact sized car. That's on the outside. Open the door and it's a different story. 80% of the space in the car is devoted to functional rooms. There's actually the head and leg room inside of some mid-size cars.

You get this feeling of roominess immediately, as you stretch out behind the wheel and look out through the huge front windshield. Visibility is incredible.

The main engineering feat that makes all this room possible is our revolutionary transverse engine, or stated more simply, an engine that is mounted sideways. Besides adding space, placing the engine in this manner, and starting it, has a lot to do with why the Rabbit gets such good gas mileage. For now you have a very low silhouette front end which means lower wind resistance, which means better gas mileage.

The Rabbit comes only one way, as a Hatchback. And you don't pay a penny more for that extra door. In addition to the 2-door model shown, there is a 4-door available. Four doors plus a Hatchback. That's a lot of ins and outs in one car.

## How we got it to handle so easily.

The best way to describe driving a Rabbit is that it just feels right. The rack-and-pinion steering, designed exclusively for the Rabbit, allows you to feel in complete control, especially on fast, tight turns.

Another VW exclusive, an independent stabilizer rear axle, means independent wheel travel for more riding comfort and added safety on rough roads.

As is true on only two Detroit cars, the Eldorado and Toronado, the Rabbit has front-wheel drive for road-hugging ability. The firm and sporty ride of the car is enhanced by rigid unified body/chassis construction, controlled spring and shock rates and longer suspension travel.

## Owner's Security Blanket.

To make sure your Rabbit lives a lively and a carefree life, it's backed by the most advanced car coverage plan in the automotive industry: The Volkswagen Owner's Security Blanket with exclusive Computer Analysis.<sup>1</sup>

## The car of the future.

Lately, a lot of automotive executives have been giving speeches on "the car of the future." They see it as being small, low-priced, but with increased interior dimensions and more economical performance.

Ladies and gentlemen of the automotive industry, your car of the future, our Rabbit, is here today.

And it won't cost you much to try it out. Happy days are here again.

 **rabbit**

© Volkswagen of America, Inc. <sup>1</sup>See your dealer for more details.

Ad For  
the 1975  
Rabbit



# QUALITY.

Quality in a small car. What does this mean to you? To Toyota it means an automobile that's inexpensive, not cheap. The new generation of Toyota Corollas are built with quality. The proof? 9 out of 10 Toyota cars sold in this country since 1958 are still on the road today. Quality. You asked for it. You got it. Toyota.

Quality is durability and how a car handles the road. Power assisted front disc brakes help you maintain control. MacPherson strut front suspension helps keep the ride smooth and unit body welded construction helps keep the Corolla tight and virtually trouble-free.



Toyota's quality is in a line, not one car. No matter what your space needs you'll find it in one of ten Corollas: the Hardtop, 2-Door Sedan, 2- or 4-Door Deluxe Sedan, 5-Door Wagon, the new Sport Coupe or the new Liftback™ with a split, fold-down rear seat. And here's a sporty equipped SR-5 model of the Hardtop, Sport Coupe and Liftback.



A quality car can be economical. The Toyota Corolla gets great gas mileage. Note: 1976 EPA tests with 5-speed overdrive transmission: 39 mpg on highway, 24 city. These EPA results are averages. The actual mileage you get will vary depending on your driving habits and your car's condition and equipment. California EPA ratings will differ. An automatic transmission is available on Deluxe models.

Quality you asked for. You got it at nearly 1,000 authorized dealers across the U.S. Those same dealers comprise a network of service departments with Toyota-trained mechanics. The new generation of Toyota Corollas. If you can find a better built small car than a Toyota... buy it.

**39** MPG **24**  
H.WAY CITY

# YOU ASKED FOR IT.

# YOU GOT IT.



Corolla SR-5 Sport Coupe



Corolla SR-5 Liftback

A NEW GENERATION OF **TOYOTA** COROLLAS

# Ad for 1976 Toyota Corolla

# Sources of Stagnation

- Effects of stagnation on Americans
  - End of the self-confident postwar era
  - Ended liberal dream that rich society could buy social justice

# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

- Nixon called on Americans to “stop shouting at each other”
- Unlikely Nixon could bring peace to America
  - Solitary and suspicious
  - Bitter against “liberal establishment” that had controlled government during 1960s
- Nixon had broad knowledge of foreign affairs

# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

- Vietnamization
  - Nixon’s policy of withdrawing US troops (540,000 in 1969) from Vietnam
  - South Vietnamese troops (with US money, weapons, training) would take over fighting their own war

# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

- July 1969 – Nixon Doctrine
  - Evolved from Vietnamization
  - US would honor its existing defense commitments but in the future, other countries would have to fight their own wars without support of large numbers of US ground troops

# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

- Vietnamization and the doves
  - Nixon did not want to end the war, just win it by other means (without US soldiers dying)
  - Doves wanted a complete end to the war
  - October 1969 – massive antiwar demonstration



Anti-Vietnam War  
Protesters  
Marching Down  
Pennsylvania  
Avenue Toward a  
Rally at the  
Washington  
Monument,  
November 1969

# Thousands of Marchers Along Pennsylvania Avenue During Anti-Vietnam Moratorium November 15th, 1969





# Anti-Vietnam Sign, 1973



# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

- Nixon attacks the protestors
  - Appeals to “silent majority” who supported the war
  - Deeply divisive
    - Vice President Agnew attacked the “nattering nabobs of negativism”
    - Nixon called the antiwar protestors “bums”

# Nixon “Vietnamizes” the War

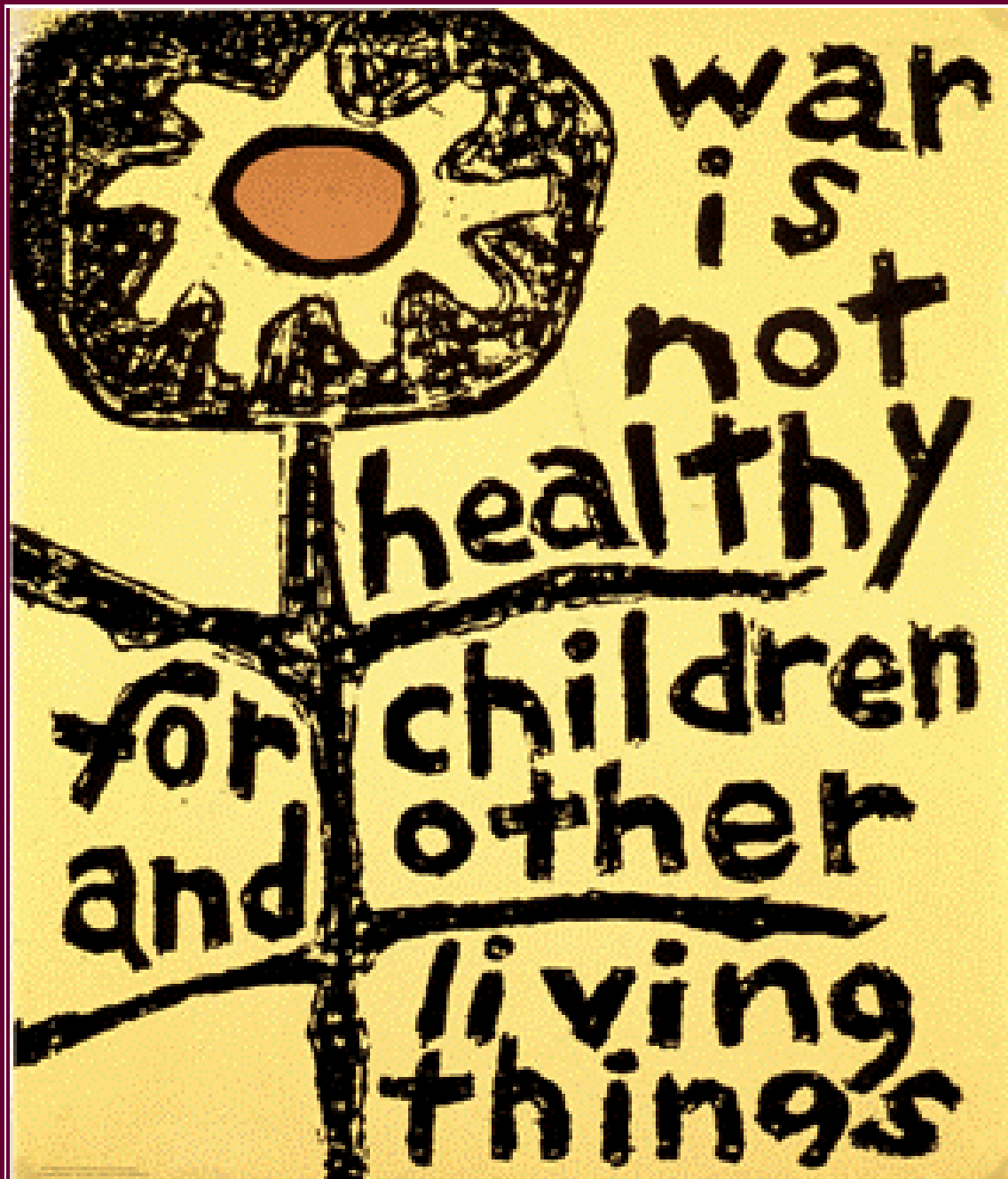
- January 1970 – the state of the war
  - Longest and most unpopular war in US history
    - 40,000 killed; 250,000 wounded
  - Troops disproportionately nonwhite and poor
    - College students and those with needed skills exempted from draft
  - Troops fought booby traps and jungles
    - Unable to distinguish friend from foe
  - Troop morale
    - Drug abuse, mutiny, sabotage, “fragging” their own officers
  - Public opinion went even lower after revelations that US troops had massacred women and children at My Lai in 1968

# The My Lai Massacre



# Lt. William Calley, the Only US Serviceman Convicted of Participation in the My Lai Massacre





An Anti-  
War  
Poster



## An Anti-War Poster

# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

- North Vietnamese and Viet Cong used Cambodia as base for troops, weapons, supplies
  - Parts of Ho Chi Minh trail went through Cambodia



# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

- April 29, 1970 – Nixon ordered US forces into Cambodia to destroy enemy bases
  - Cambodia was officially neutral
  - Nixon did not consult Congress

# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

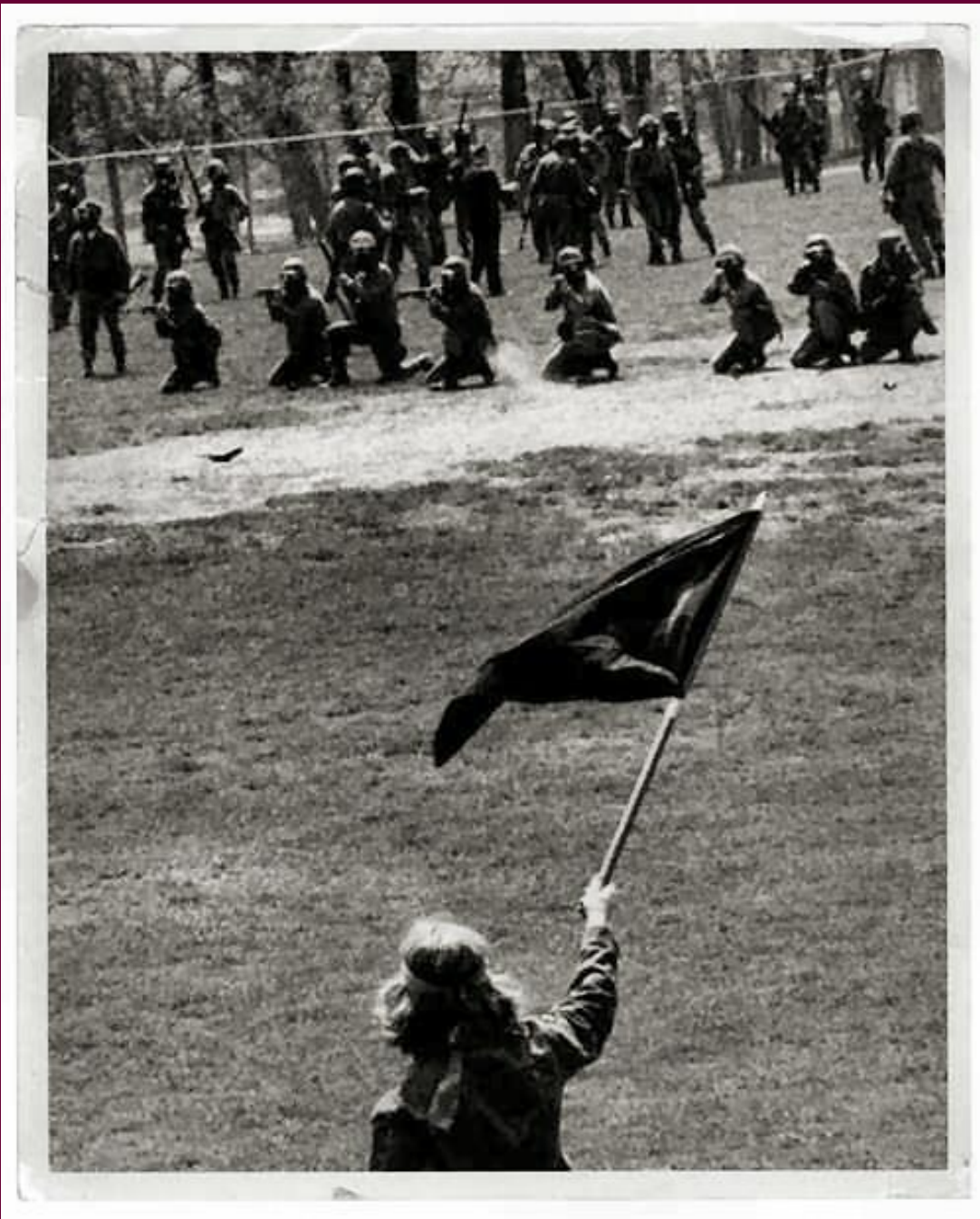
- Reaction to the invasion
  - Students erupt in protest
  - May 1970 – Kent State Massacre
    - National Guard fired into a crowd of student protesters
    - 4 killed, 7 wounded
  - Jackson State College, Mississippi
    - Police fired at a student dormitory, killing 2
- June 29, 1970 – Nixon withdrew US troops from Cambodia (after only 2 months)

# Students Face National Guardsmen at Kent State



# Masked National Guardsmen Fire a Barrage of Tear Gas into a Crowd of Demonstrators on the Campus of Kent State University





Protestor at  
Kent State  
with National  
Guardsmen  
Aiming

# A Kent State University Student Throwing a Tear Gas Canister Back at the National Guard During the Demonstrations Protesting the Invasion of Cambodia



# A Student Reacts in Horror Upon Seeing a Student Shot by the National Guard at Kent State



# The Aftermath of the Kent State Shootings

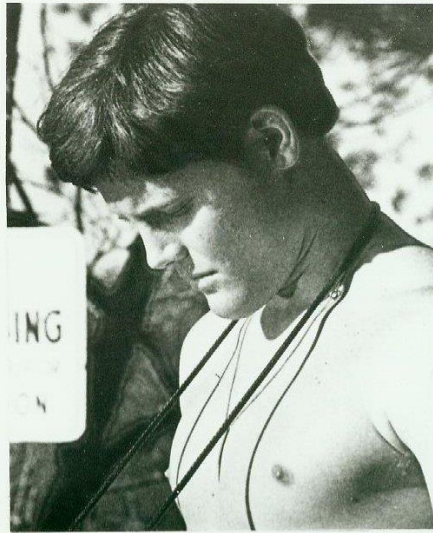




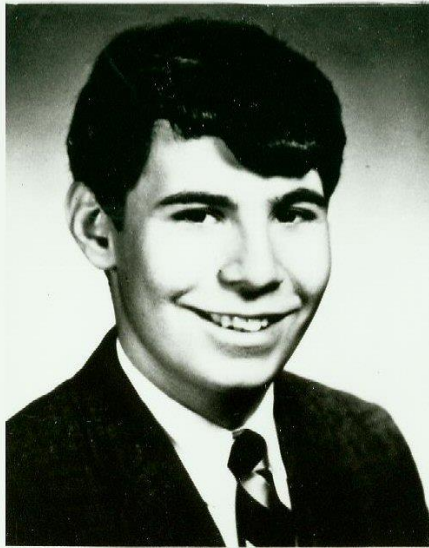
# The 4 Students Killed at Kent State



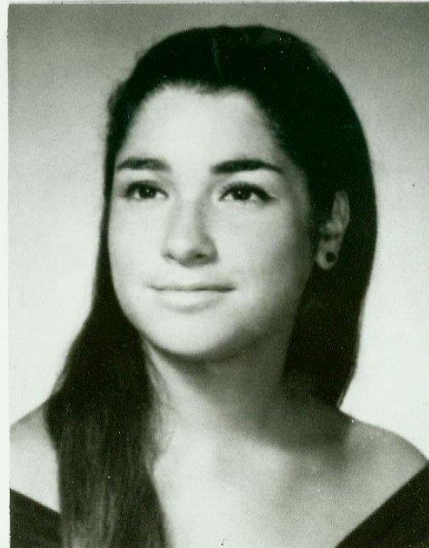
ALLISON B. KRAUSE



WILLIAM K. SCHROEDER



JEFFREY G. MILLER



SANDRA L. SCHEUER

# A Large Demonstration at the White House Against the Violence Used to Break Up the Protest at Kent State



# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

- Effects of the Cambodia invasion
  - Deepened divide between hawks and doves
  - Some conservatives physically attacked doves
  - Senate overwhelmingly repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and tried to restrain Nixon
    - House did not

# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

- Pacifying the youth
  - Period of draftability shortened from 8 years to 1 year
  - 1971 – 26<sup>th</sup> amendment passed, lowering voting age to 18

# Cambodianizing the Vietnam War

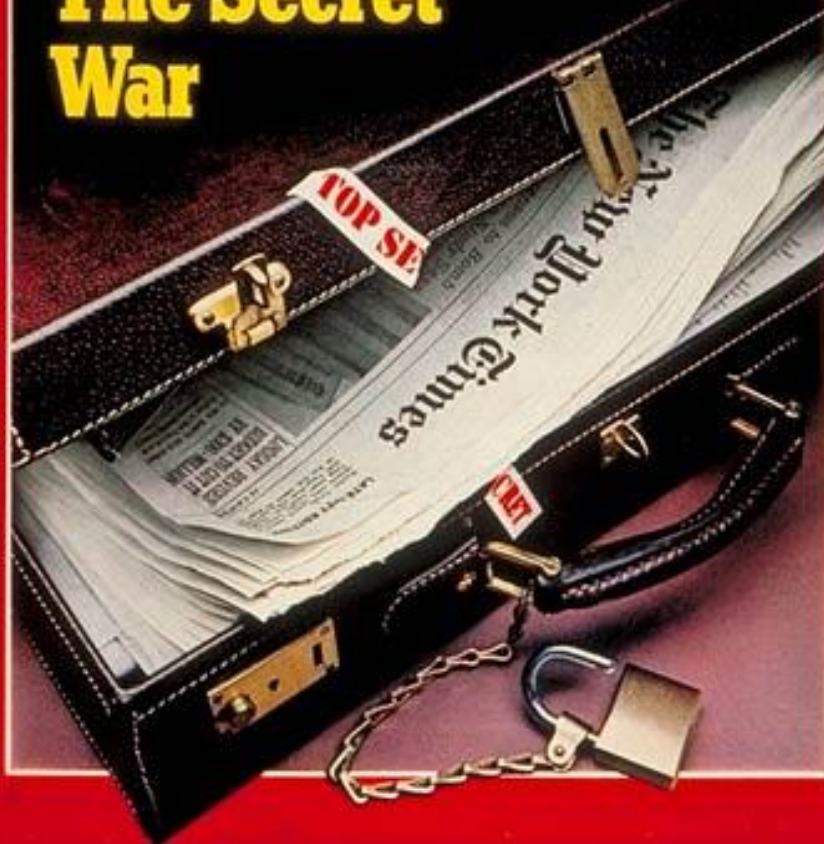
- Pentagon Papers
  - June 1971 – former Pentagon official Daniel Ellsberg leaked a top-secret government study that documented mistakes and lies of Kennedy and Johnson regarding Vietnam
    - Especially exposed the lie that started the war – the Gulf of Tonkin incident

99¢

JUNE 28, 1971

# TIME

**Pentagon Papers:  
The Secret  
War**



Time  
Magazine  
Cover on  
the  
Pentagon  
Papers



Pentagon  
Papers  
Defendant  
Daniel  
Ellsberg  
Talks with  
Newsmen

# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- Soviet Union and China clashing
  - Rival interpretations of Marxism
  - Several small skirmishes along border in Asia
- Nixon saw that US could play one off against the other to get both to help him pressure North Vietnamese into peace
- Henry Kissinger
  - Met in Paris secretly with North Vietnamese officials to negotiate end to war
  - Prepared way for Nixon in China and USSR



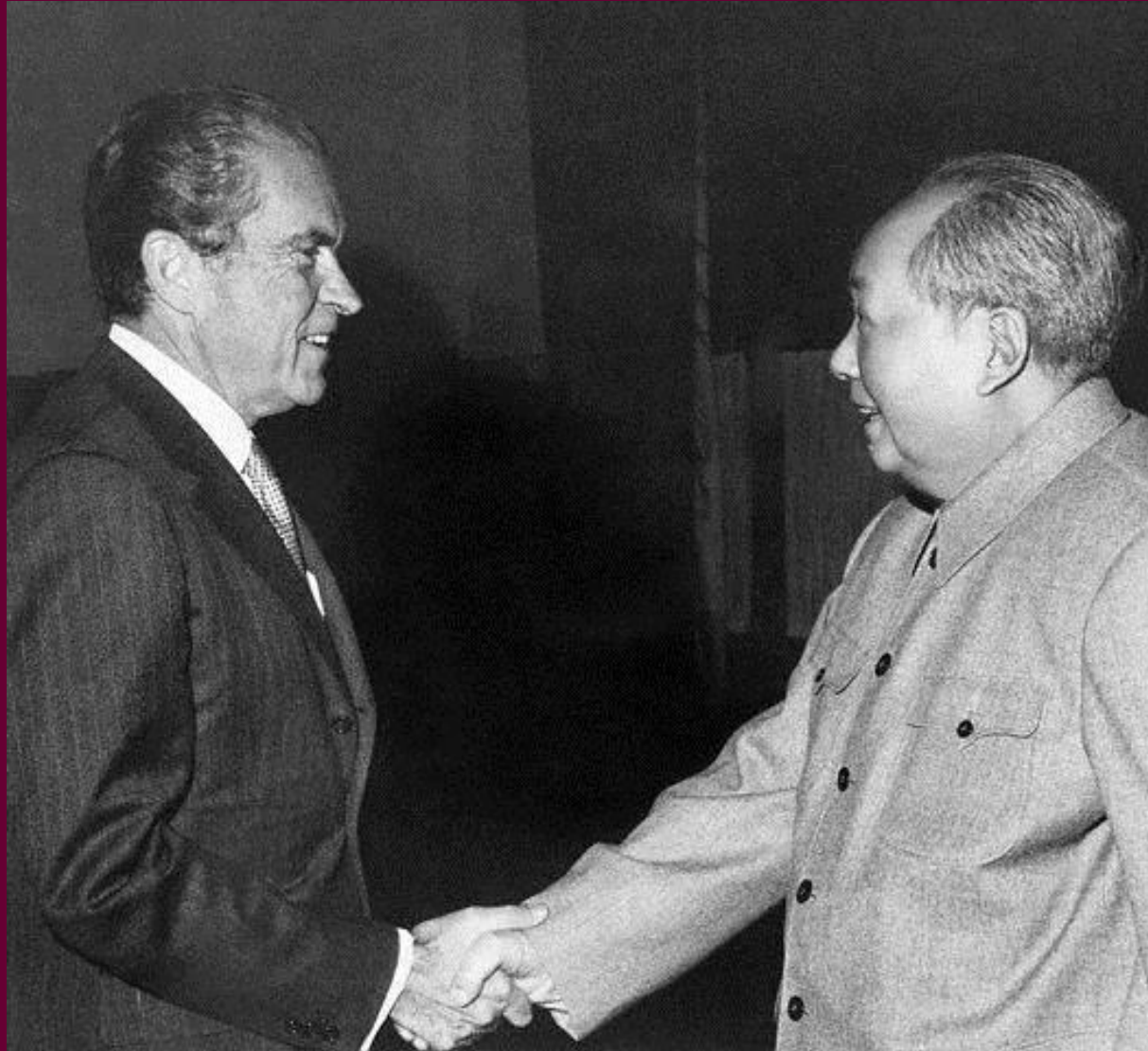
White House Advisor Henry Kissinger and Hanoi's Senior Representative Le Duc Tho in Negotiations with an Interpreter



# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- July 1971 – Nixon announced he had accepted invitation to China
- February 1972 – Nixon traveled to China
  - Shanghai Communiqué
    - Both nations agreed to “normalize” relations
    - US accepted “one-China” policy; lessened US commitment to Taiwan

# President Nixon Meets with Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-Tung



# President Nixon Inspects Assembled Chinese Soldiers with Premier Zhou Enlai



# President Nixon with the Chinese Deputy Premier at the Great Wall of China



# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- May 1972 – Nixon traveled to Moscow
  - USSR willing to make deals with US
    - Fearful of US-backed China and needed US food
  - Nixon began period of détente (relaxed tensions) with both communist powers

# President Nikolai Podgorny and President and Mrs. Nixon in Russia, 1972



# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

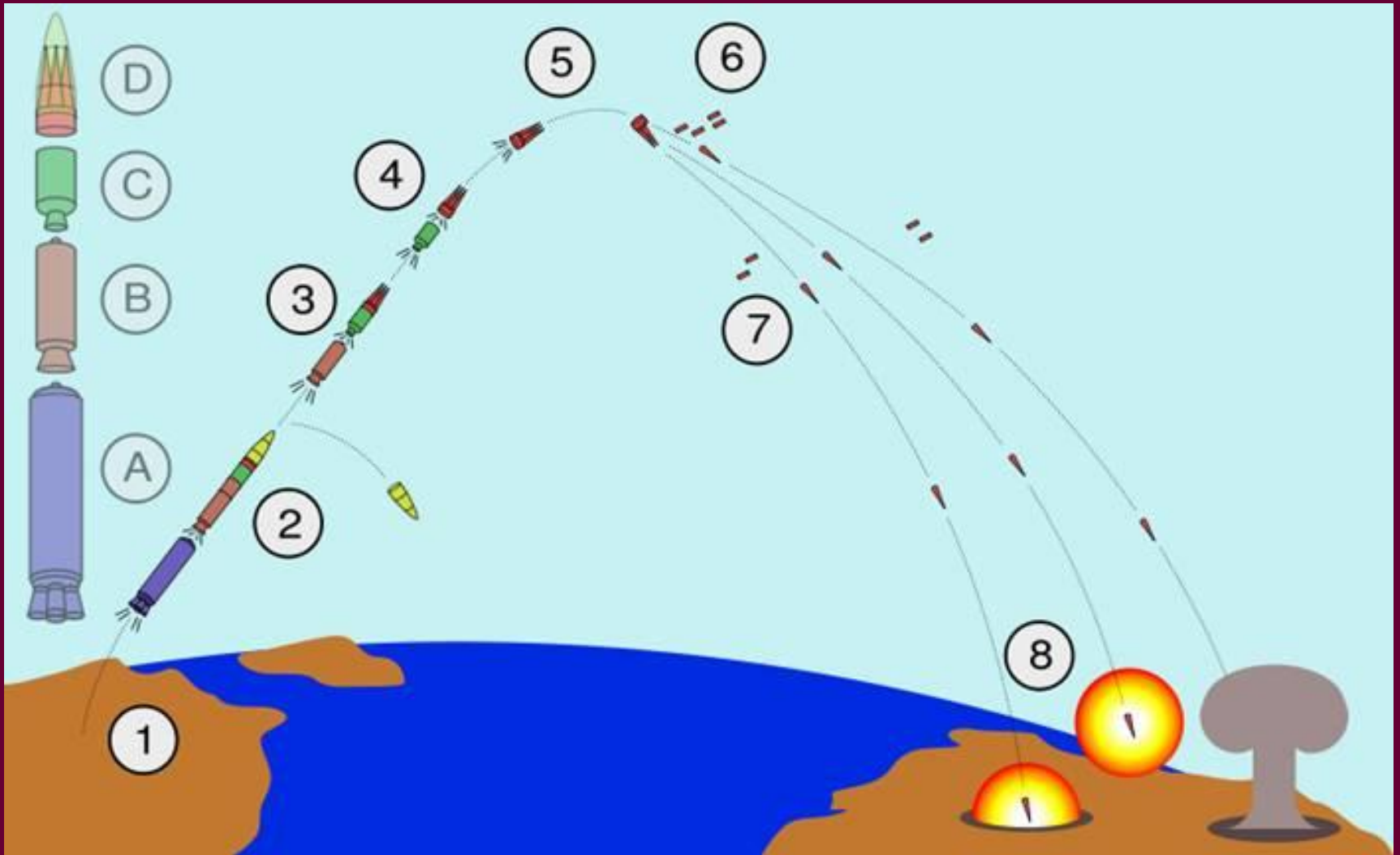
- 1972 – Nixon made 3 important agreements with China and USSR
  - 3-year agreement to sell USSR \$750 million worth of grain
  - Anti-ballistic missile (ABM) treaty
    - Limited each side to 2 clusters of defensive missiles
  - Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT)
    - Freezing of number of nuclear missiles for 5 years



# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- Continued arms race
  - US continued to develop MIRVs (multiple independently targeted reentry vehicles)
    - Designed to overcome any defense by saturating it with large numbers of warheads
    - Several warheads put on each missile (to get around SALT)
  - USSR developed their own MIRVs to compete with US

# Diagram Showing the Operation of a MIRV



# Nixon's Détente with Beijing (Peking) and Moscow

- Nixon and Chile
  - 1970 – Marxist Salvador Allende elected as President
  - Nixon remained anticommunist
    - Nixon put embargo on Chile
    - CIA worked covertly to undermine and overthrow Allende's government
  - 1973 – Allende killed during army attack on his headquarters
    - US recognized and supported Allende's successor, military dictator General Augusto Pinochet

# President Salvador Allende



# Chilean Presidential Palace La Moneda under Fire During the Coup D'etat Led by Commander of the Army General Augusto Pinochet in Santiago, 1973





General  
Augusto  
Pinochet,  
Head of  
Chile's  
Ruling  
Military Junta  
After the  
Overthrow of  
Allende

During His Rule, Pinochet's Government Committed Numerous Human Rights Abuses, Including Thousands of Tortures, Murders, and "Disappearances," for which He Was Finally Charged; But He Died in 2006 Before Being Convicted

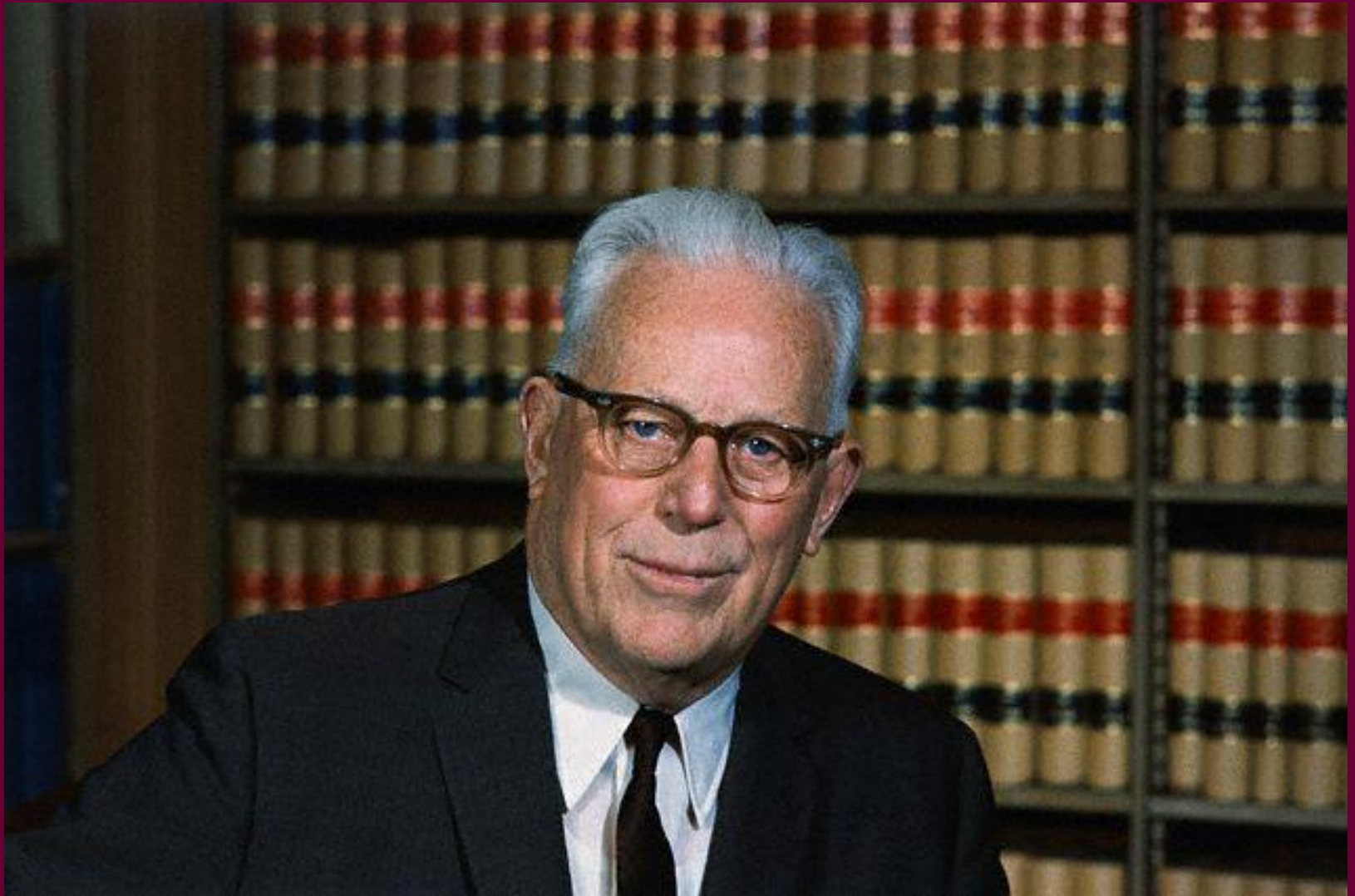


# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- The Warren Court
  - Warren made chief justice in 1953 by Eisenhower
  - Made series of decisions that drastically increased rights of individual freedom



# Earl Warren



# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Griswold v. Connecticut (1965)
  - Court struck down law that prohibited use of contraceptives, even among married couples
  - Based on “right to privacy” that was used to justify abortion rights later
    - Based on 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> amendments
    - Critics said Warren Court “invented” this right, since it is nowhere specifically mentioned in the Constitution

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Mapp v. Ohio (1961)
  - Ruling that illegally seized evidence cannot be used in court against the accused

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Gideon v. Wainwright (1963)
  - Court ruled that defendants in serious criminal cases entitled to legal counsel, even if they were too poor to afford it



An Unidentified  
Ten-Year Old Boy  
Listens as His  
Public Defender  
Explains His Right  
to Counsel While  
Being Questioned  
by Police

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- *Escobedo v. Illinois* (1964)
  - Required police to inform an arrested person of right to remain silent
- *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966)
  - Extended *Escobedo* decision to include right to a lawyer being present during questioning by police
  - “Miranda rights”

# Miranda Rights

## MIRANDA RIGHTS

"You are under arrest for your part in the offense of \_\_\_\_\_."

I hereby notify you that you have a right to remain silent and you are not required to make any statement unless you want to do so voluntarily. Anything you say will be used against you in a court of law. You also have a right to consult with your attorney, and have him present with you. If you can not afford an attorney, one will be appointed to represent you.

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964)
  - Unanimous decision that public figures could sue for libel (a false publication, as in writing, print, signs, or pictures, that damages a person's reputation) only if they could prove “malice” had motivated their defamers
  - Opened up broad criticism of public and private actions of politicians and other public figures





Jon Stewart,  
of the Daily  
Show, on the  
Cover of  
Newsweek

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Engel v. Vitale (1962) and School District of Abington Township v. Schempp (1963)
  - Court used First Amendment to prohibit required prayers (Engel) and Bible reading (Schempp) in public schools

# First Graders in South Carolina in School Prayer, 1962



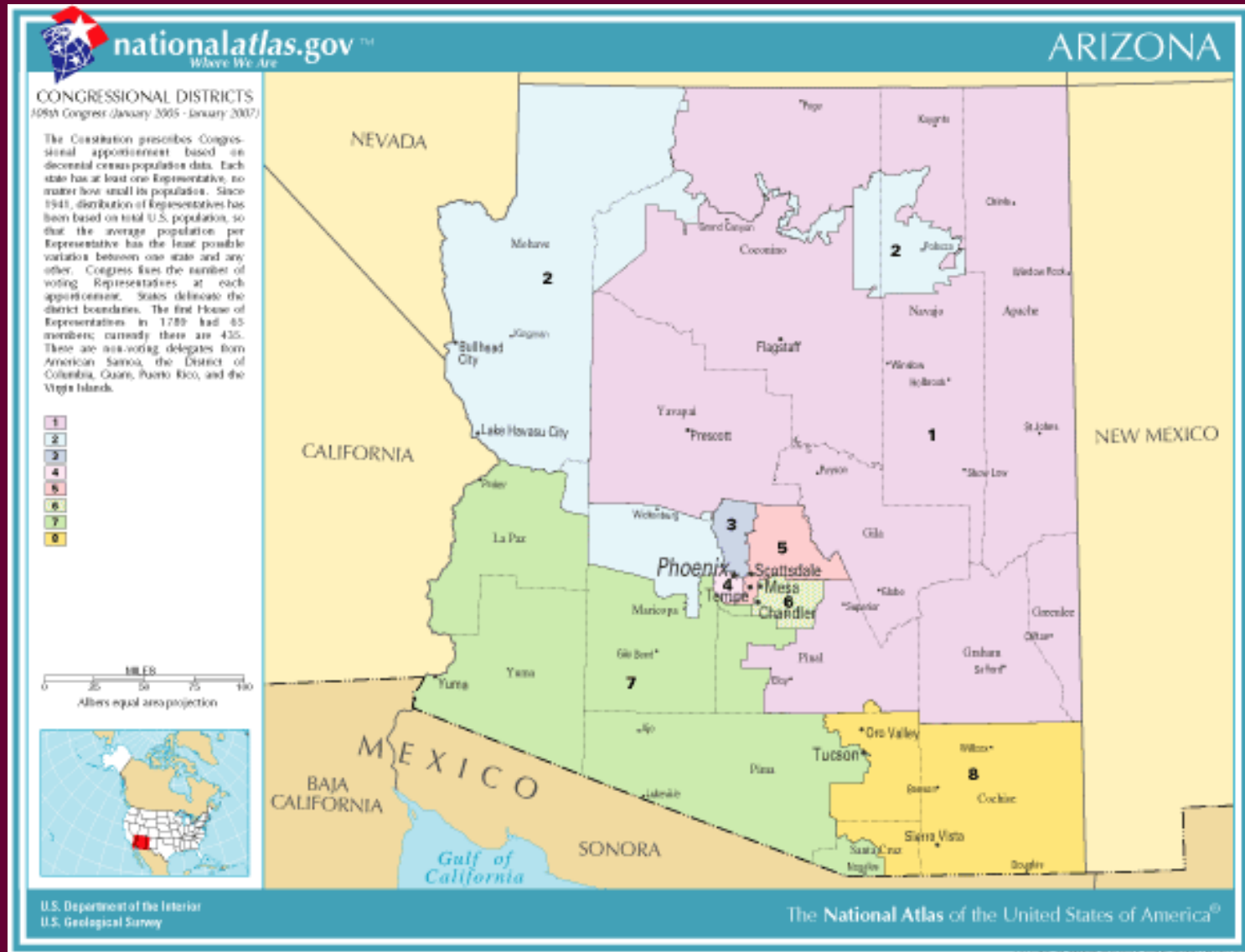
# Texan School Class in Prayer, 1962



# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Reynolds v. Sims (1964)
  - Census taken every 10 years (according to Constitution)
  - Some states had not reapportioned legislative districts in 60 years
    - Gave rural voters much more representation than urban voters (Ex. – an urban Los Angeles senate district had 6 million voters; another in rural California had only 14,000)
  - Court ruled that “one-man-one-vote” rule must apply
    - Legislative districts must be reapportioned with every census (every 10 years)

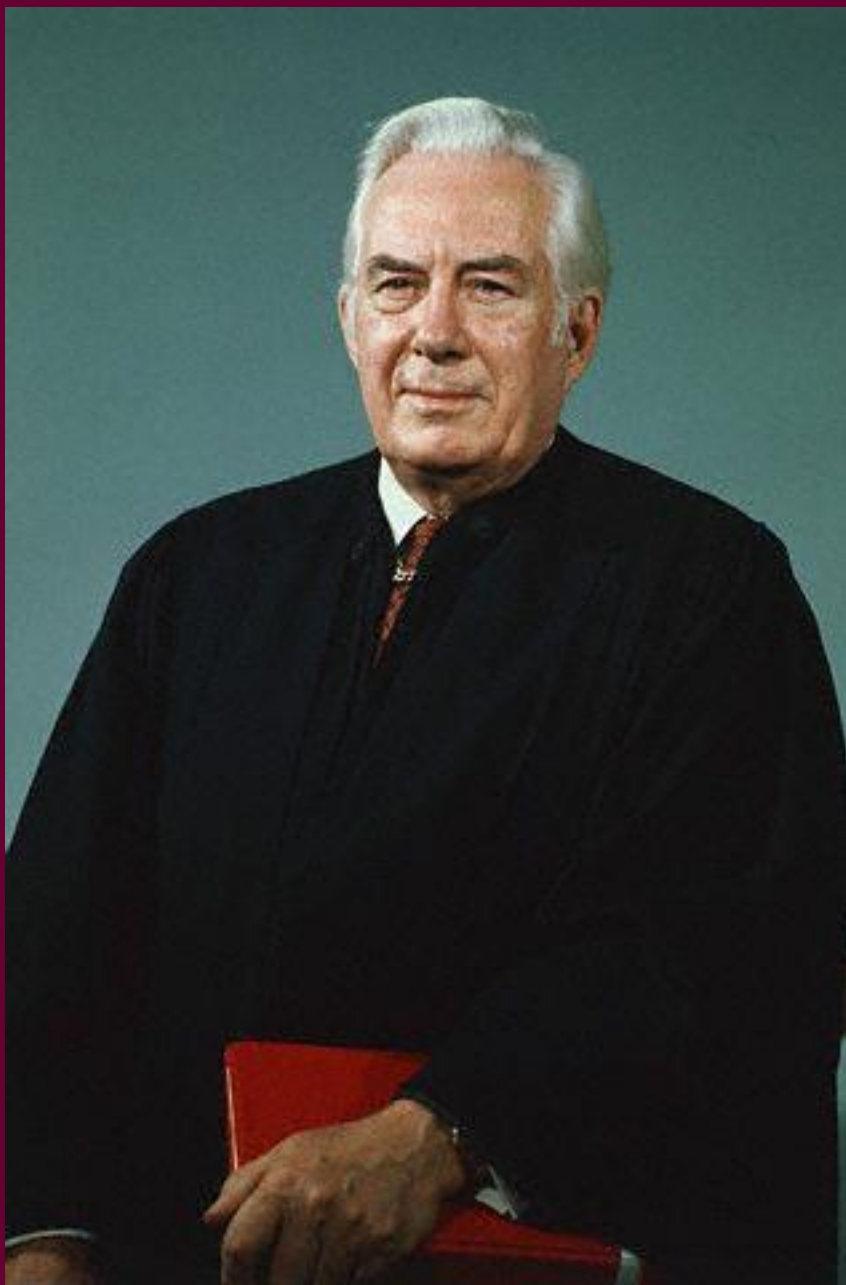
# Arizona Congressional Districts



# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Conservatives had criticized the Court since 1954 (Brown decision)
- Nixon undertook to change Court's philosophical makeup
  - Strict interpretation of Constitution
  - Stop “meddling” in social and political questions
  - Not coddle radicals or criminals
- End of 1971 – Nixon had appointed 4 (of 9) conservative members, including new chief justice Warren Burger

# Chief Justice Warren Burger





# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

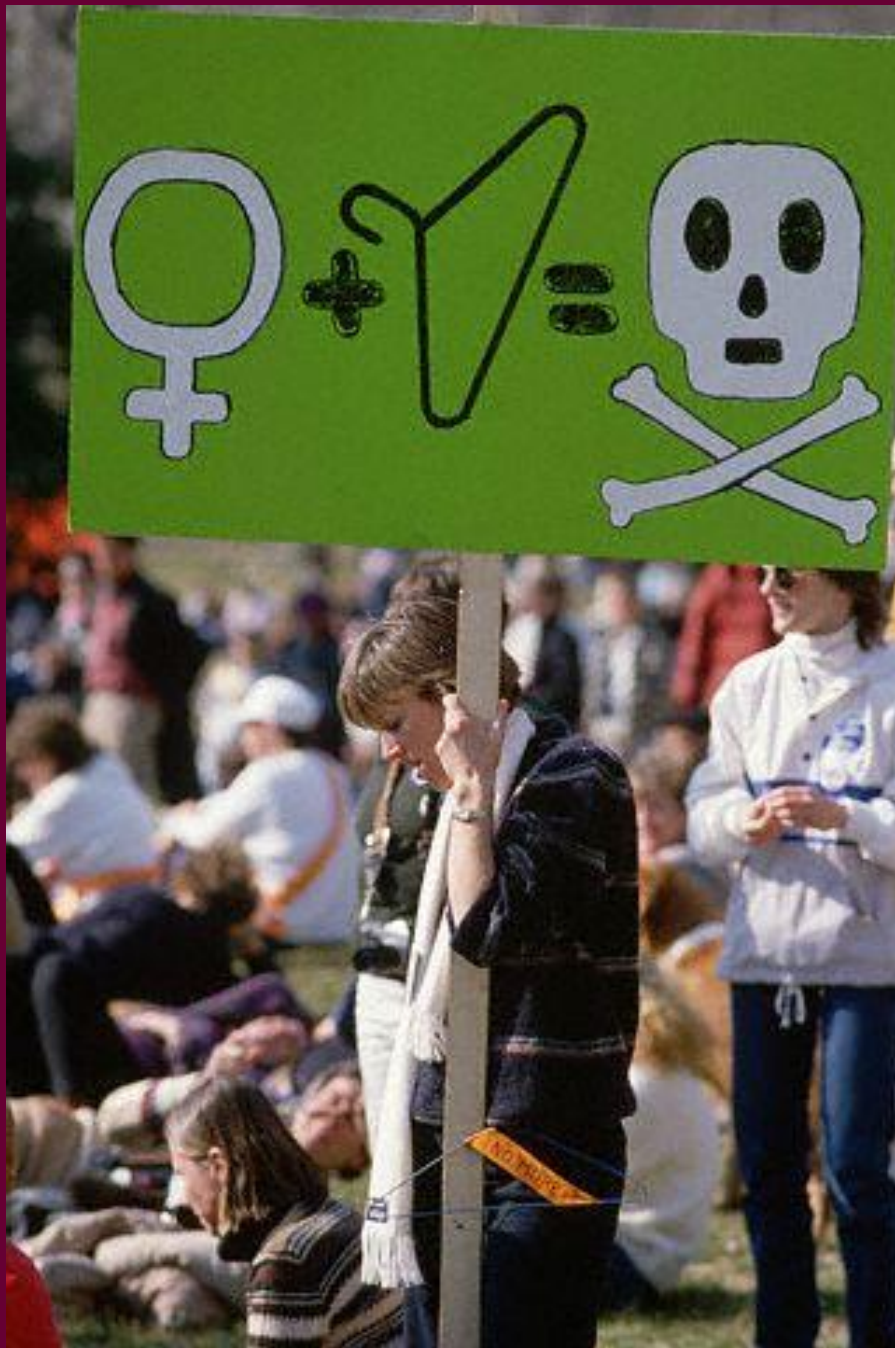
- The Burger Court
  - Reluctant to undo the “liberal” rulings of Warren Court
  - Issued most controversial decision of modern times, legalizing abortion

# A New Team on the Supreme Bench

- Roe v. Wade
  - State laws restricted abortion except to protect life of mother
  - 1970 – Jane Roe (a fake name) was unmarried and pregnant in Texas
    - Roe sued Wade (district attorney of Dallas county), arguing right to abortion because of right to privacy (from Griswold) and equal protection of the laws (14<sup>th</sup> amendment)
  - 1973 – court agreed that women had right to abortion
    - Fetus had to be “viable” (able to live outside of the womb) before it could receive protection of the state



## Anti-Abortion Protest



# Pro-Abortion Protest

# Anti-Abortion Cartoon



# Pro-Abortion Cartoon



# Nixon on the Home Front

- Nixon as a “liberal”
  - Greatly expanded existing welfare programs
    - Food Stamps, Medicaid, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)
  - Began generous new programs
    - Supplemental Security Income (SSI) – aid to poor and disabled
    - Social Security “indexing” – benefits tied to inflation

# Nixon on the Home Front

- The Philadelphia Plan
  - Required construction unions to provide “goals and timetables” for hiring black apprentices
  - Soon extended to all federal contracts
- Impact of the Philadelphia Plan
  - Nixon’s real goal – driving wedge between unions and blacks
  - In effect required employers to meet “quotas” or “set-asides” for minorities



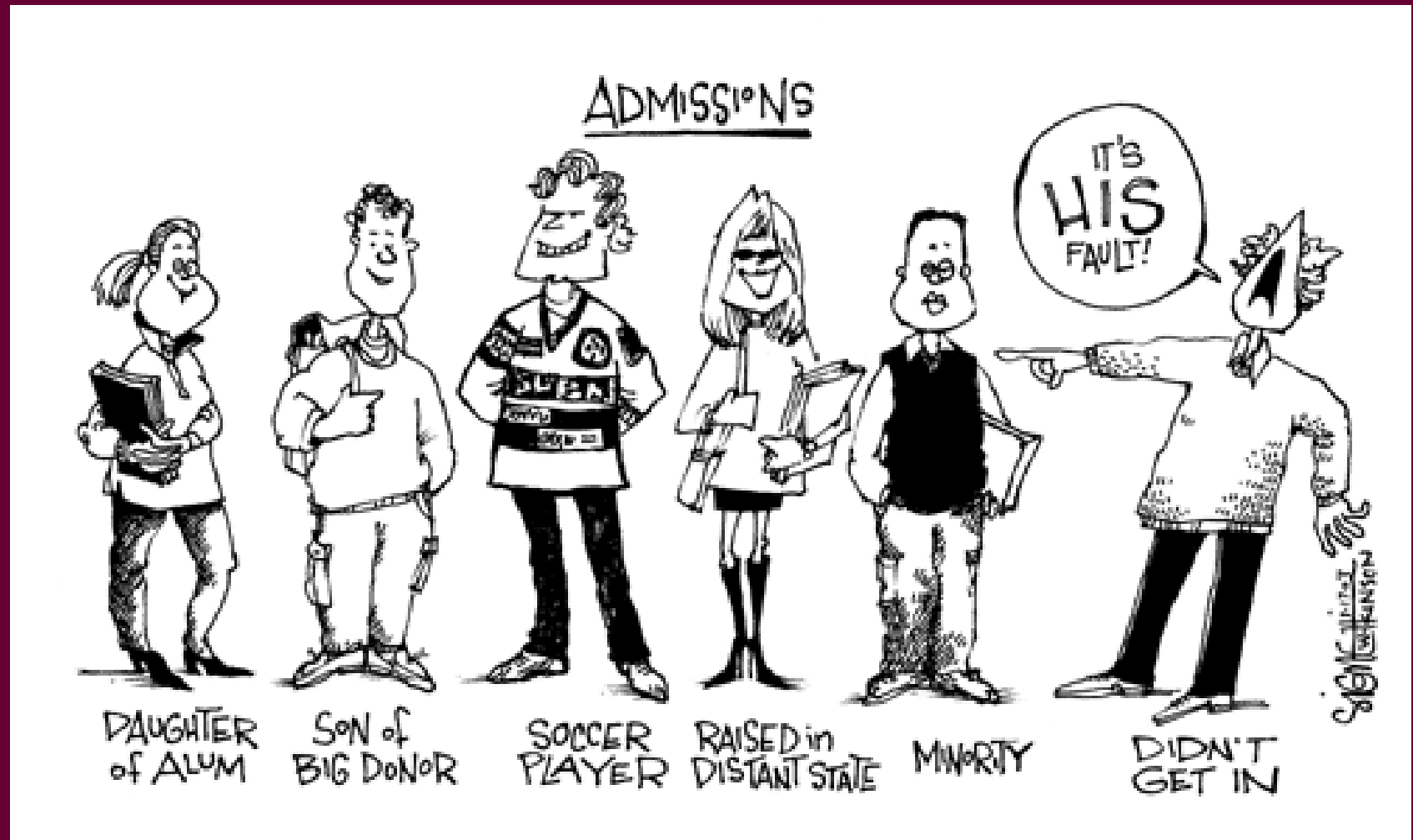
# Nixon on the Home Front

- Affirmative action – Johnson, Nixon, the Supreme Court
  - Johnson had intended to protect individuals against discrimination
  - Nixon extended affirmative action to protect certain groups
  - Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* (1971) backed Nixon
    - Prohibited tests or other devices that disproportionately excluded women or minorities from certain jobs
    - Strongly suggested that the only sure protection against charges of discrimination was to establish quotas for minorities in proportion to their numbers in the population

# Nixon on the Home Front

- Effects of policy of affirmative action as interpreted by Nixon and the Court
  - Opened job and educational opportunities for minorities and women
  - Opened storm of criticism from critics who called it “reverse discrimination”
    - Imposed by judicial and executive order, not democratic legislation by the people’s representatives

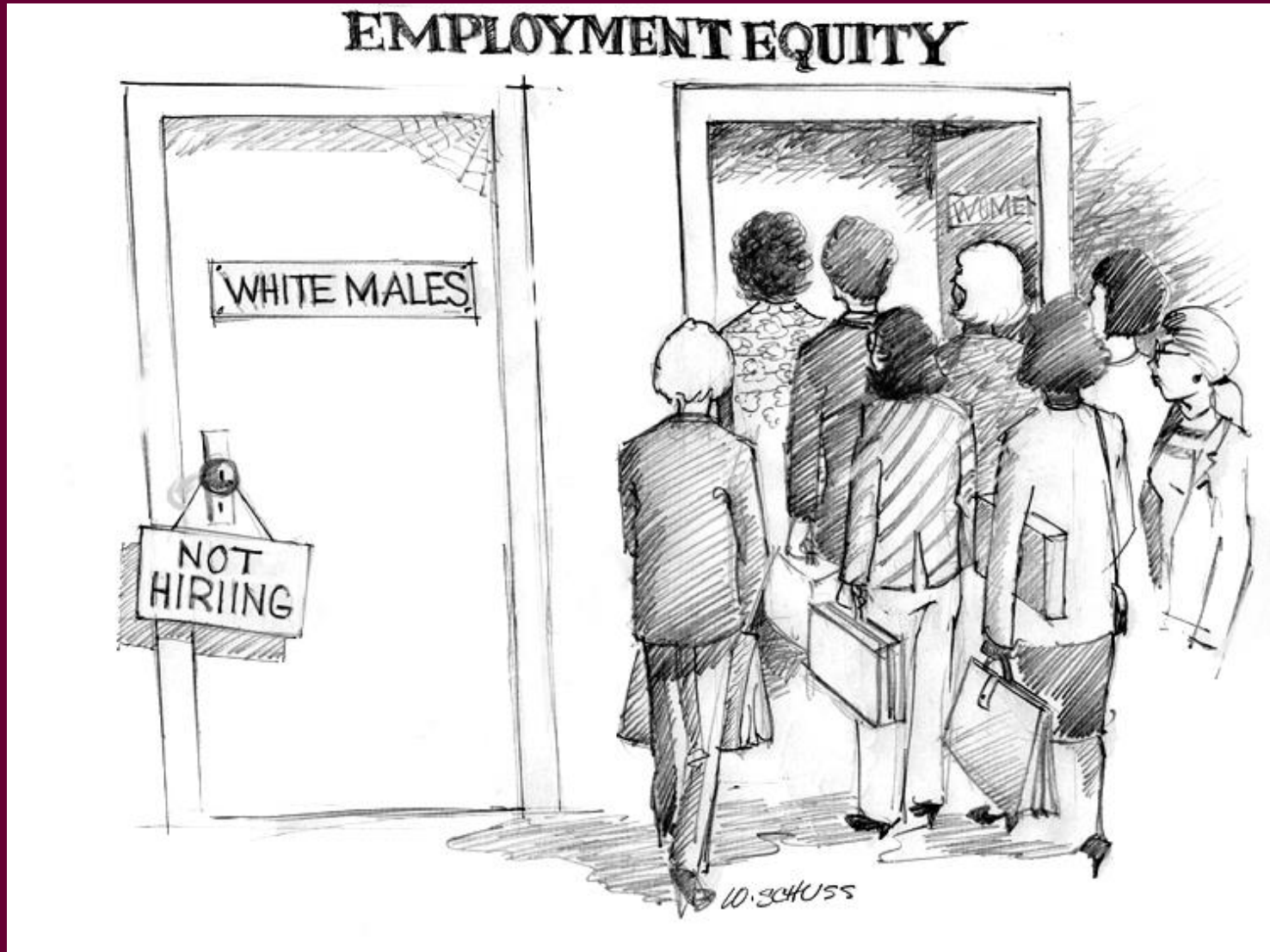
# Pro-Affirmative Action Cartoon



# Anti-Affirmative Action Cartoon



# Anti-Affirmative Action Cartoon



# Nixon on the Home Front

- Environment and worker safety
  - 1970 – Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) established
  - 1970 – Clean Air Act
  - 1970 – Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) set minimum standards for worker safety
  - 1972 – Congress refused to fund any more irrigation projects in West because of harm to environment

# Nixon on the Home Front

- Economic controls
  - 1971 – Nixon imposed wage and price controls because of worries over inflation
  - 1971 – Nixon took US off gold standard and devalued the dollar to increase US exports
    - Ended “Bretton Woods” system of international currency stabilization in place since WWII

# Nixon on the Home Front

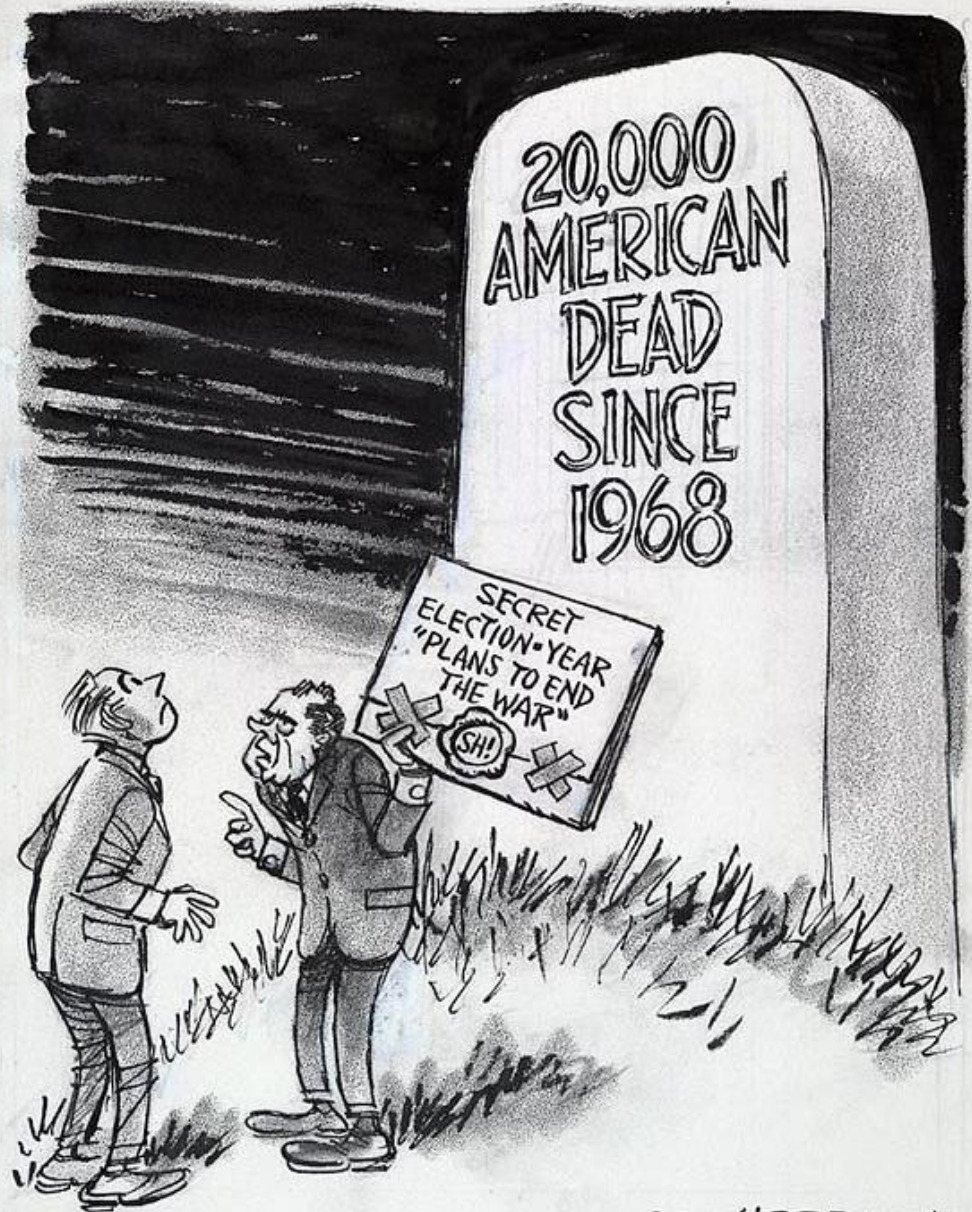
- The “southern strategy”
  - Nixon was a minority president – elected in 1968 with only 43% of the vote
  - Nixon’s 1972 strategy was to get the solid Democratic South to vote Republican by appealing to white bitterness over civil rights
  - Future Republicans used same strategy to win elections



# The Nixon Landslide of 1972

- Foreign policy dominated the campaign of 1972
  - 4 years since Nixon had promised to end the war
  - Spring 1972 – North Vietnamese attack across the demilitarized zone (DMZ)
    - Nixon drove them back, launched heavy bombing against North Vietnam (including Hanoi), and mined harbors of North Vietnam

“Now, As I  
Was Saying  
Four Years  
Ago”



# The Nixon Landslide of 1972

- Democrats nominated George McGovern
  - Senator from South Dakota
  - Promised to pull all US troops out in 90 days
  - Appealed to antiwar people, racial minorities, feminists, leftists, youth
  - Alienated Democratic base: working-class
  - 1972 – McGovern's running mate Thomas Eagleton had undergone psychiatric care doomed McGovern's candidacy



# George McGovern Campaigning

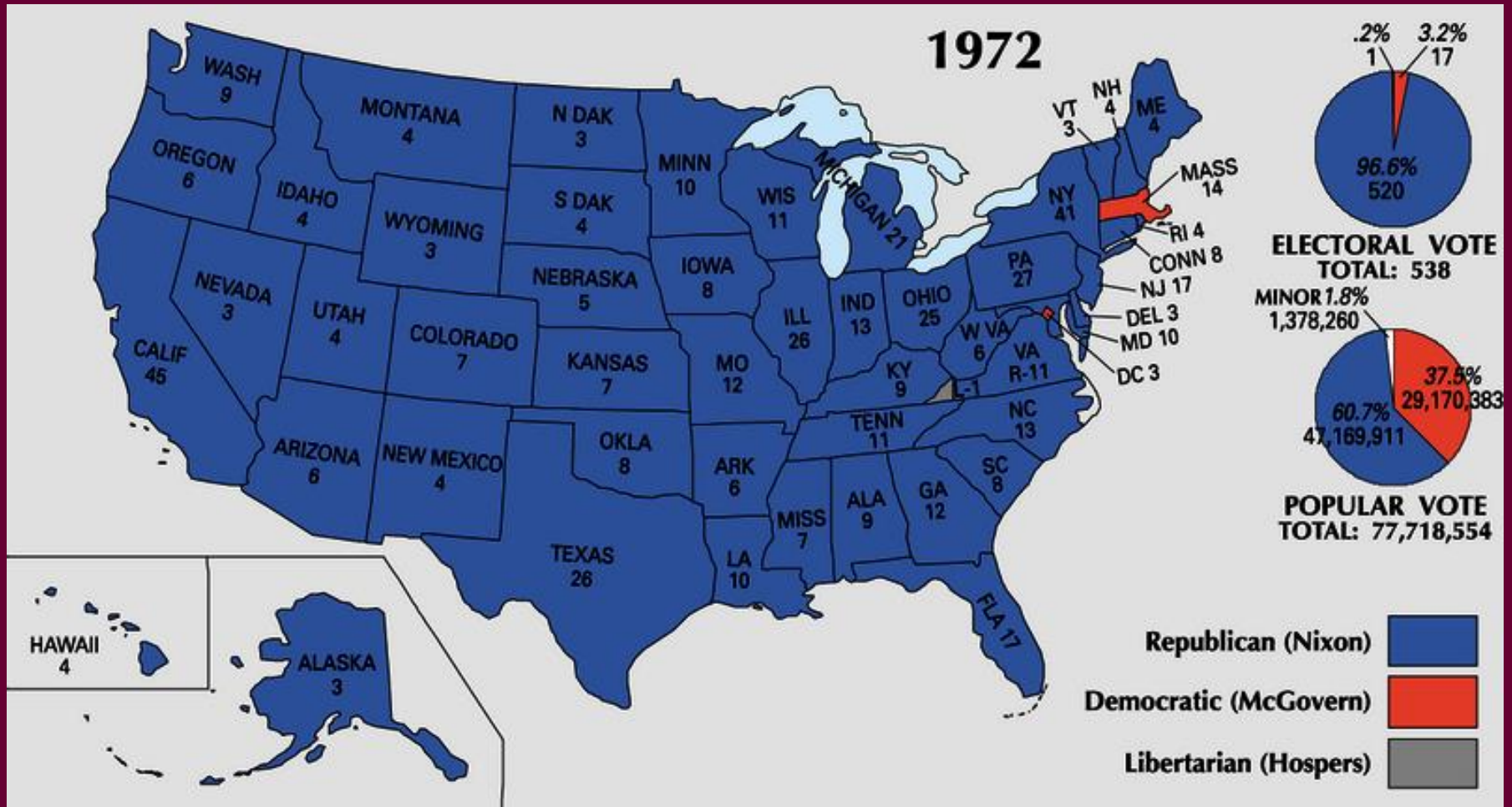
# The Nixon Landslide of 1972

- Nixon's campaign
  - He had wound down the “Democratic” war
    - Troop levels went from 540,000 to 30,000
  - 12 days before the election
    - Kissinger announced that a peace agreement would come within a few days

# The Nixon Landslide of 1972

- Nixon won the election in a landslide
  - Won every state but Massachusetts and District of Columbia
  - 520 votes to 17 electoral votes
  - 47 million to 29 million popular votes
  - McGovern had counted on large numbers of young people
    - Fewer than 1/2 even registered to vote

# The Election of 1972



# The Nixon Landslide of 1972

- Nixon's "peace" in Vietnam
  - Late 1972 – fighting on both sides escalated
    - Nixon ordered furious 2-week bombing campaign of North Vietnam
  - January 23, 1973 – North Vietnamese negotiators agreed to cease-fire
    - US withdrew 27,000 remaining troops and reclaimed 560 prisoners of war
    - North Vietnamese allowed to keep 145,000 troops in South Vietnam; occupied 30% of the country
  - Nixon called the cease-fire "peace with honor"
    - Reality it was an American retreat



“All Right, Forget the Honor—What About the Peace!”



# Dr. Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho Sign the Paris Peace Accords on January 23, 1973



# The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- Secret bombing of Cambodia
  - July 1973 – America learned that US had bombed North Vietnamese in Cambodia 3,500 times since March 1969
  - While the bombing was happening, US officials had repeatedly guaranteed Cambodia's neutrality
  - Americans questioned how representative the US government really was

# The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- Nixon continued large-scale bombing of Cambodia, even after January 1973 cease-fire with North Vietnam
  - Repeatedly vetoed Congress's efforts to stop him
  - Years of bombing destroyed Cambodia



The  
Cambodian  
Landscape  
Shows the  
Damage  
Inflicted by B52  
Bombing

# The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- Cambodia after the US bombing
  - Pol Pot ruled Cambodia from 1976 – 1979
    - Brutal Communist dictator who killed 2 million people
    - Rule ended with Vietnamese invasion in 1978



Pol Pot

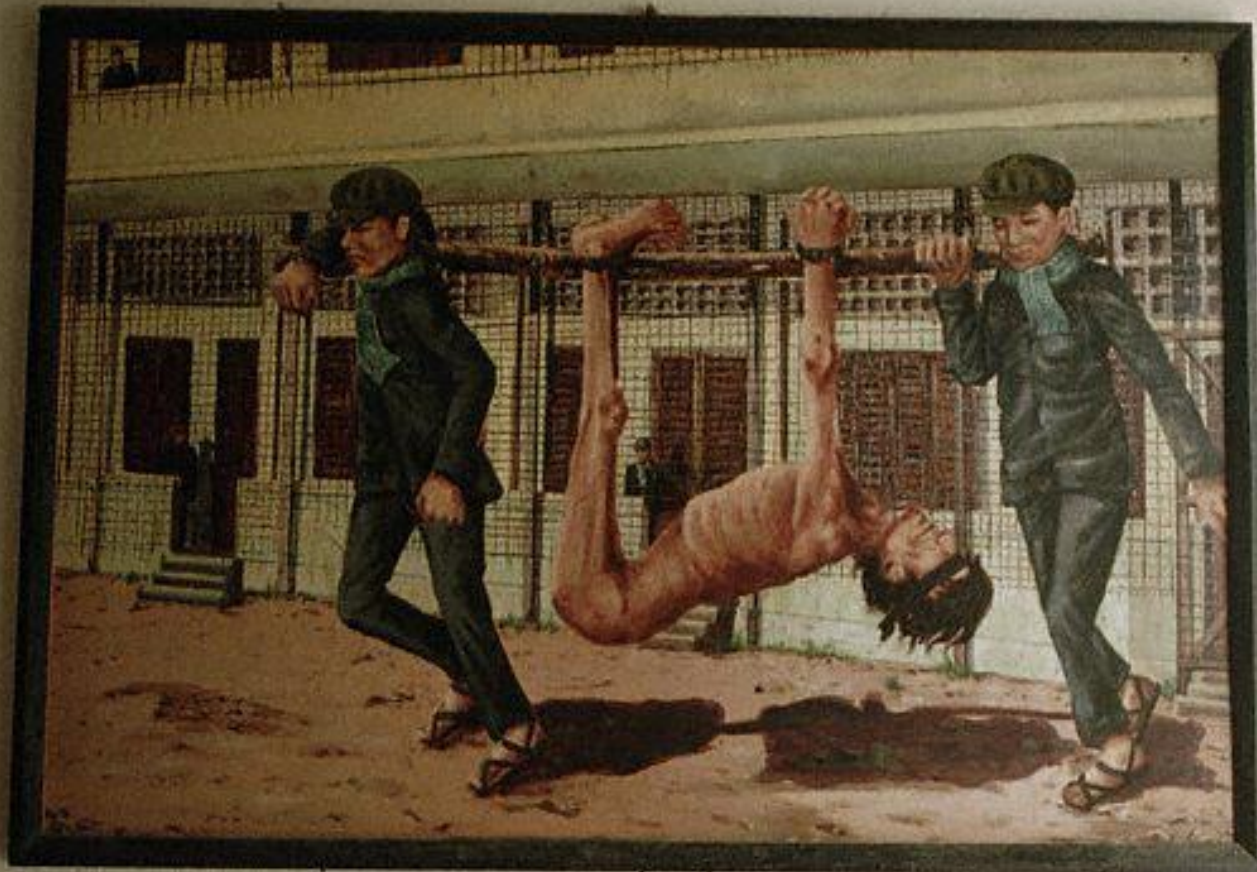
# A Painting Depicting Tortures Committed by the Pol Pot Regime



ព្រះបាទសីហនុ ប្រទានឱ្យយើង រួមមានទាំងស្រុងនៃសិទ្ធិ  
LES TORTURES ROUGES SUR LES SEINS DES FEMMES ; LES SCOLYONS  
ET LES SCOLYONNES FONT LA SUITE DU TRAVAIL.

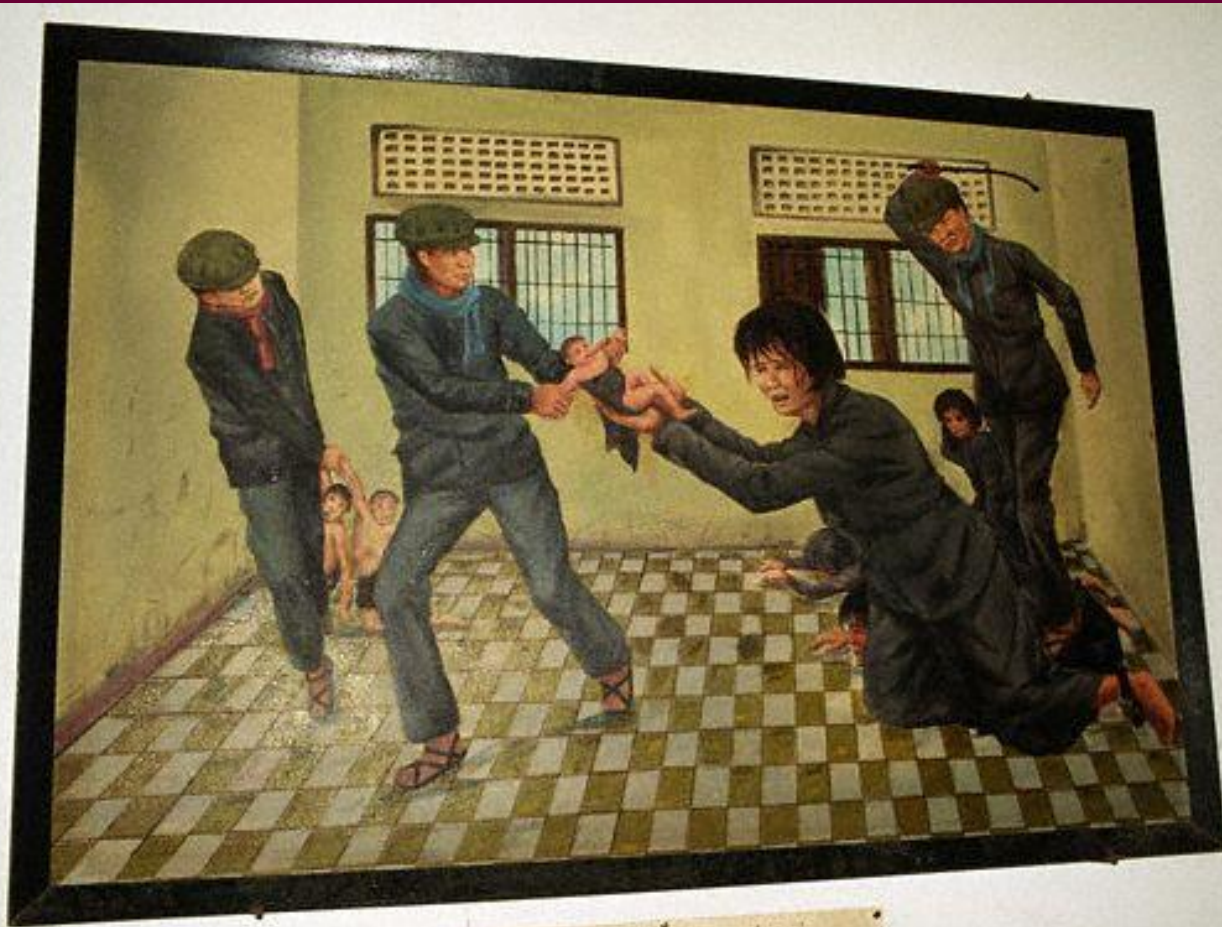


# A Painting Depicting Tortures Committed by the Pol Pot Regime



វិទ្យាស្ថានស្រីសោយាណ  
MENER LE PRISONNIER MOURANT A LA SALLE  
D'ENTRETIEN

# A Painting Depicting Tortures Committed by the Pol Pot Regime



ពួកខ្មែរក្រហមបានដកកូនចេញពីម្តាយរបស់ពួកគេ  
LES POLYOTISTES ARRACHENT LES ENFANTS DE LEURS MÈRES  
POUR LES TUEUR

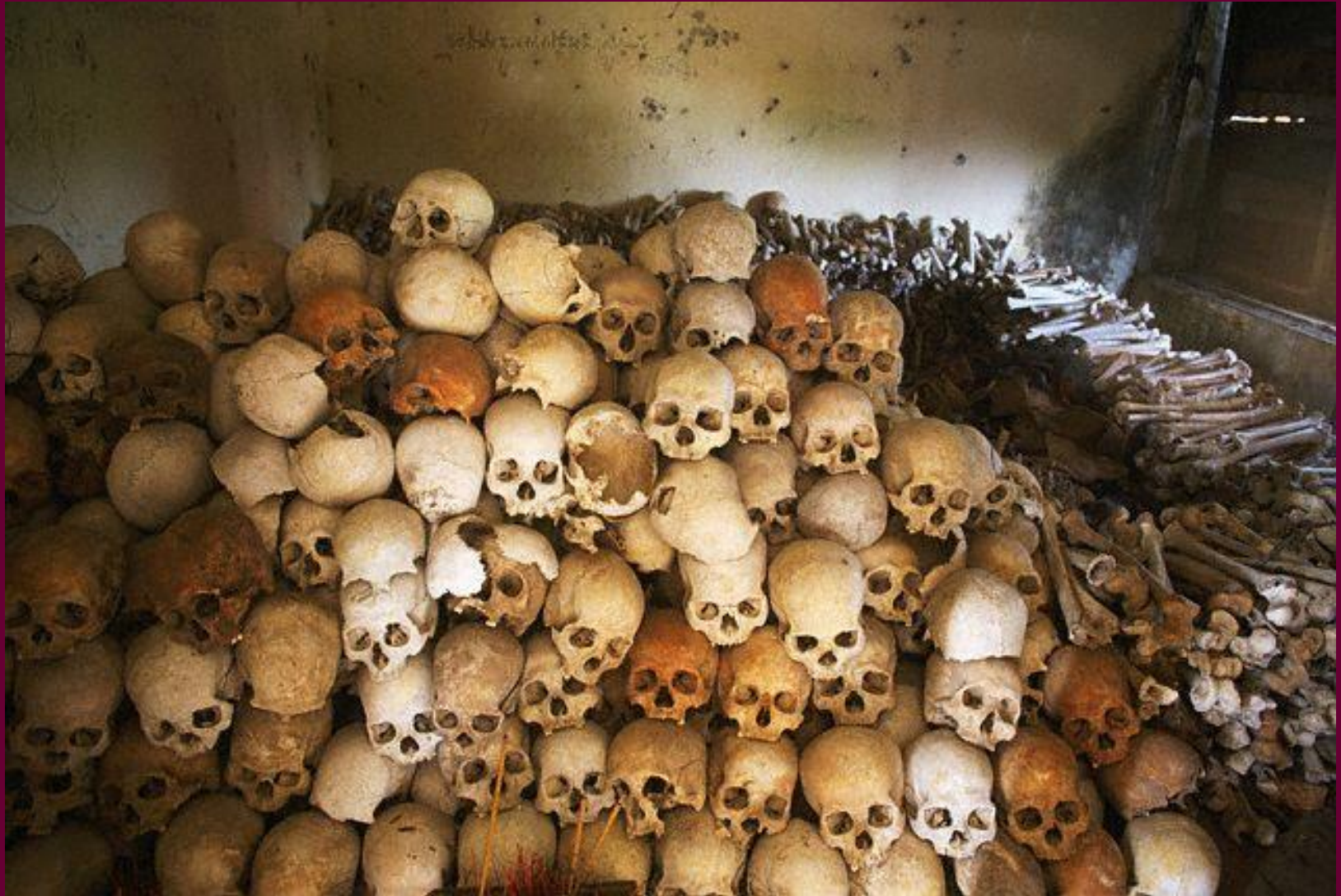
# Victims of Cambodian Genocide, 1979



# A Pile of Skulls in a Deserted School, a Gruesome Reminder of the Pol Pot Regime, Which Killed These People



# Victim's Skulls Killed by the Pol Pot Regime Are Piled up at the Choeng Ek Memorial



# The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- November 1973 – War Powers Act
  - Passed over Nixon’s veto
  - Required president to report to Congress within 48 hours after committing troops to a foreign conflict or “substantially” enlarging US combat units in a foreign country
  - Limited authorization would end in 60 days
    - Congress could grant a 30-day extension

# War Powers Bill Passed



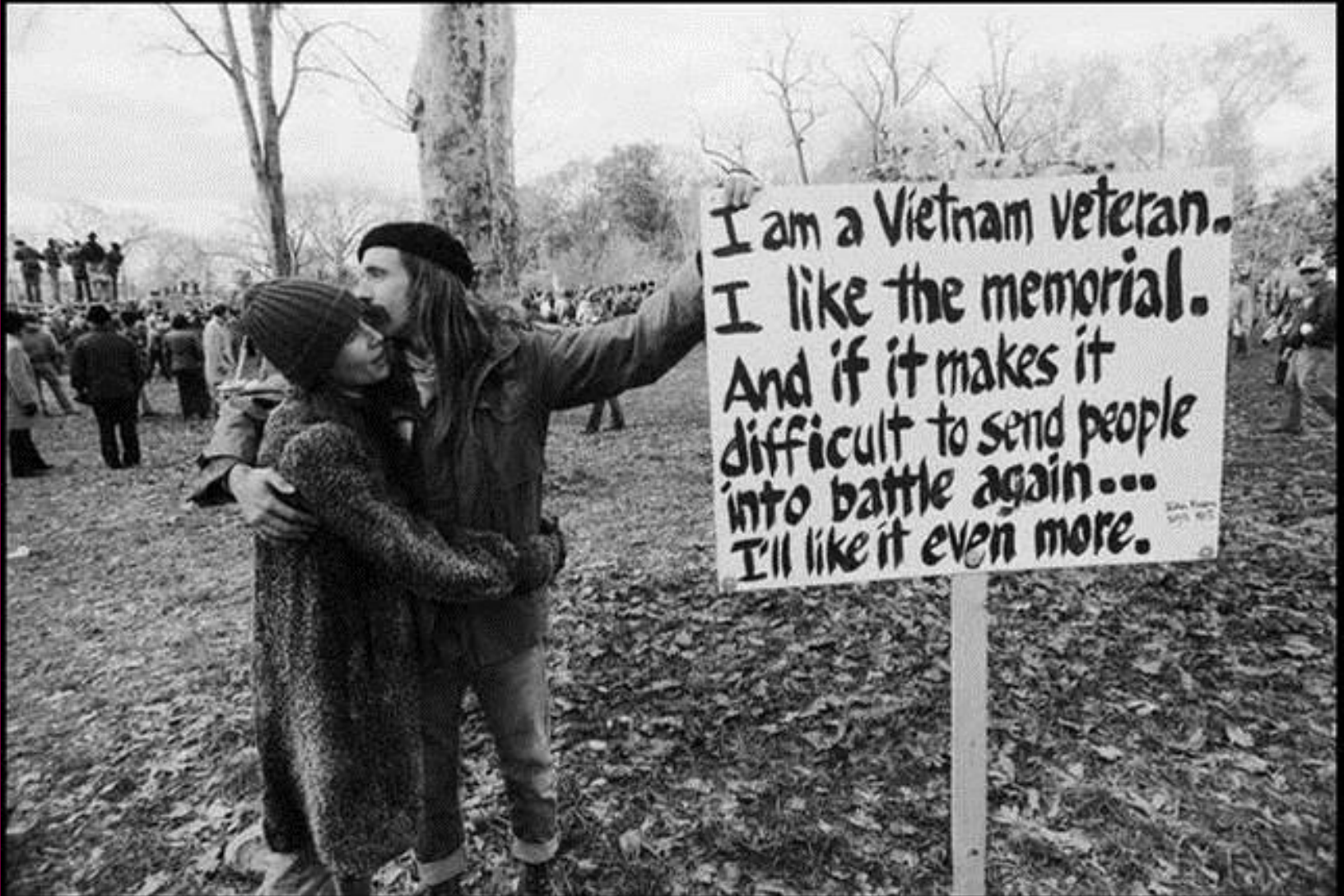
*'Imagine! Congress trying to curb my right to conduct unconstitutional wars! Why, that's unconstitutional!'*

# The Secret Bombing of Cambodia and the War Powers Act

- Effects of Vietnam
  - “New Isolationism”
    - US cautious about foreign affairs after bloody misadventure in Vietnam
  - Volunteer army
    - Draft ended in January 1973
    - Armed forces now all-volunteer



# A Vietnam Veteran in Washington, DC at the Opening of the Memorial



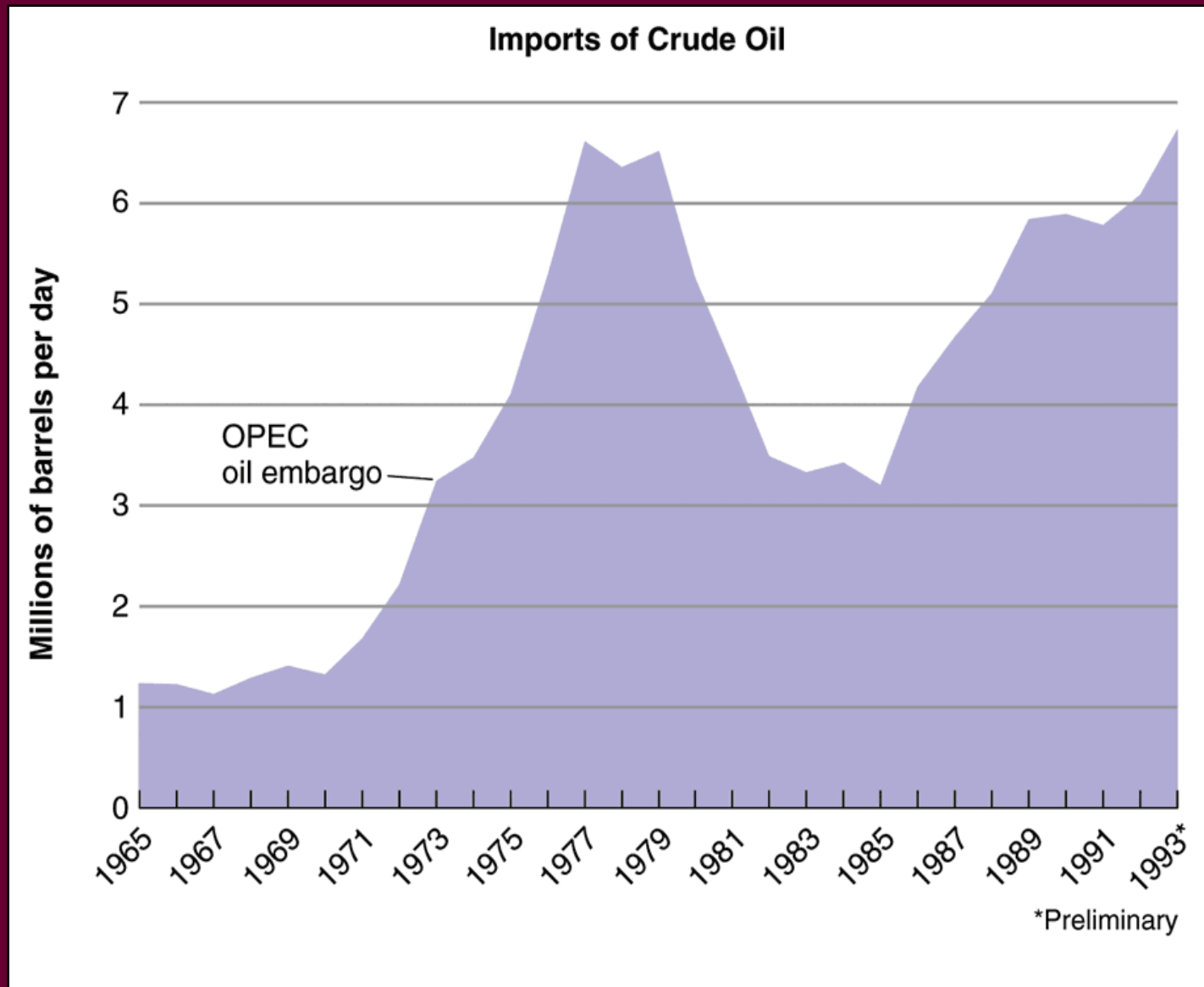
# The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

- October 1973 – Syrians and Egyptians (armed by USSR) launched surprise attack on Israel
  - Wanted to regain territory lost in 1967 Six Day War
  - US airlifted \$2 billion in war materials to help Israel push back the invaders

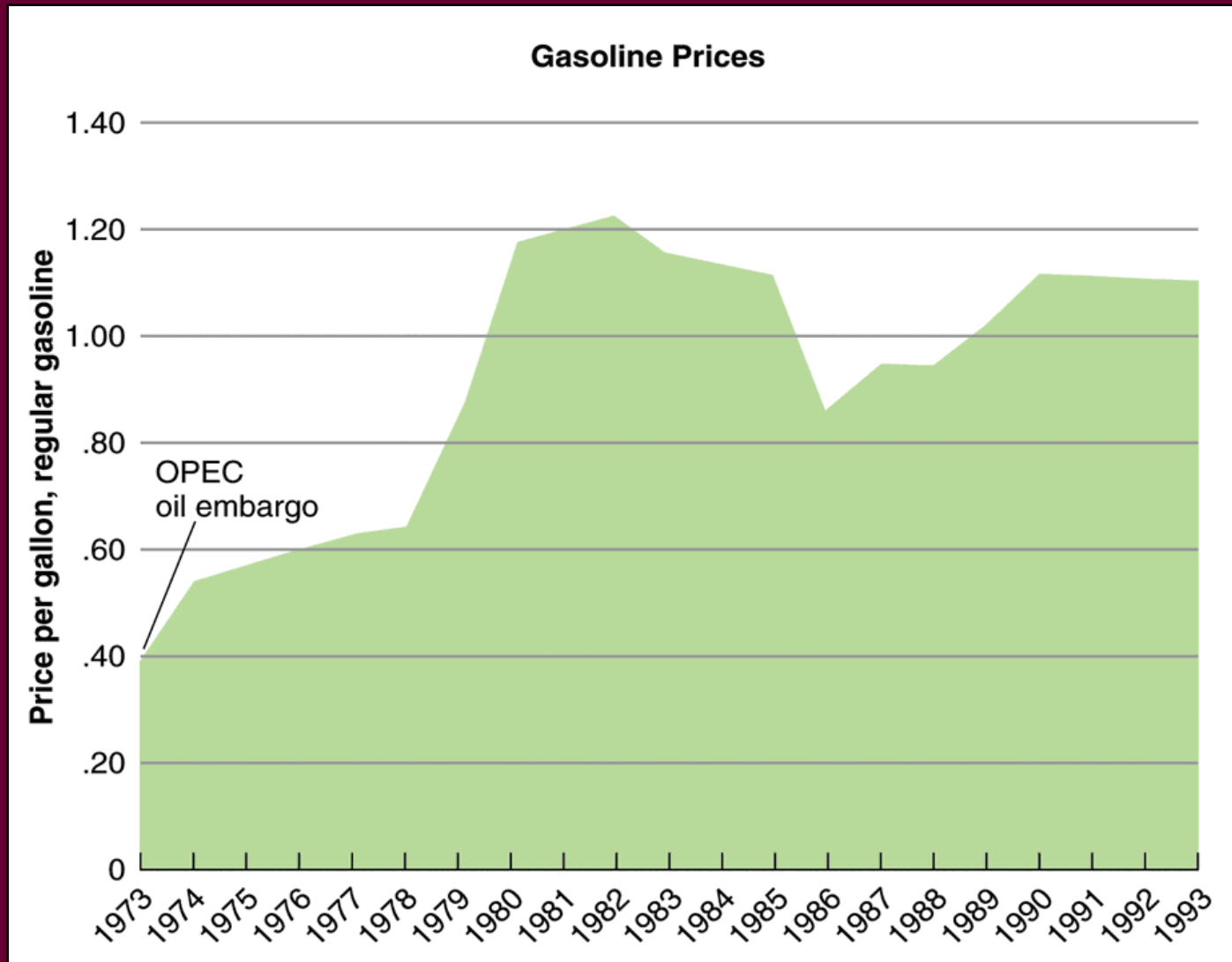
# The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

- Late October 1973 – Arab nations put embargo on oil to US and other nations supporting Israel
  - Led to a brutal energy crisis that hit homes (heating), cars, and businesses

# The Energy Crisis: Crude-Oil Imports



# The Energy Crisis: Gasoline Prices



# Many Gas Stations Closed on Sundays During the Gas Shortage in Order to Conserve Gas, 1973



# The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

- Effects of the energy crisis
  - US built Alaskan pipeline to transport oil
  - National speed limit of 55 to conserve fuel
  - Increased use of coal and nuclear power
  - US formed International Energy Agency (1974) as counterweight to OPEC
  - US economy adjusted to use less oil over time



# A Nuclear Power Plant



# The Arab Oil Embargo and the Energy Crisis

- End of cheap and abundant energy
  - Since 1948 – US had been net importer of oil
  - US tripled oil consumption between WWII and 1970
    - Number of cars increased 250%; Detroit did not care about fuel efficiency
  - Middle East became central to US foreign policy after 1973
  - OPEC quadrupled price of oil after embargo lifted in 1974
    - Hurt US balance of trade and worsened inflation

# The Middle East, 1948-1989



# Highway Traffic on a Highway, 1969



# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- June 17, 1972 – 5 men arrested in Watergate apartment-office complex
  - Trying to bug the Democratic headquarters
  - Revealed they were working for Committee for the Re-election of the President (CREEP)

# The Watergate Hotel, Site of the Infamous Watergate Break-Ins

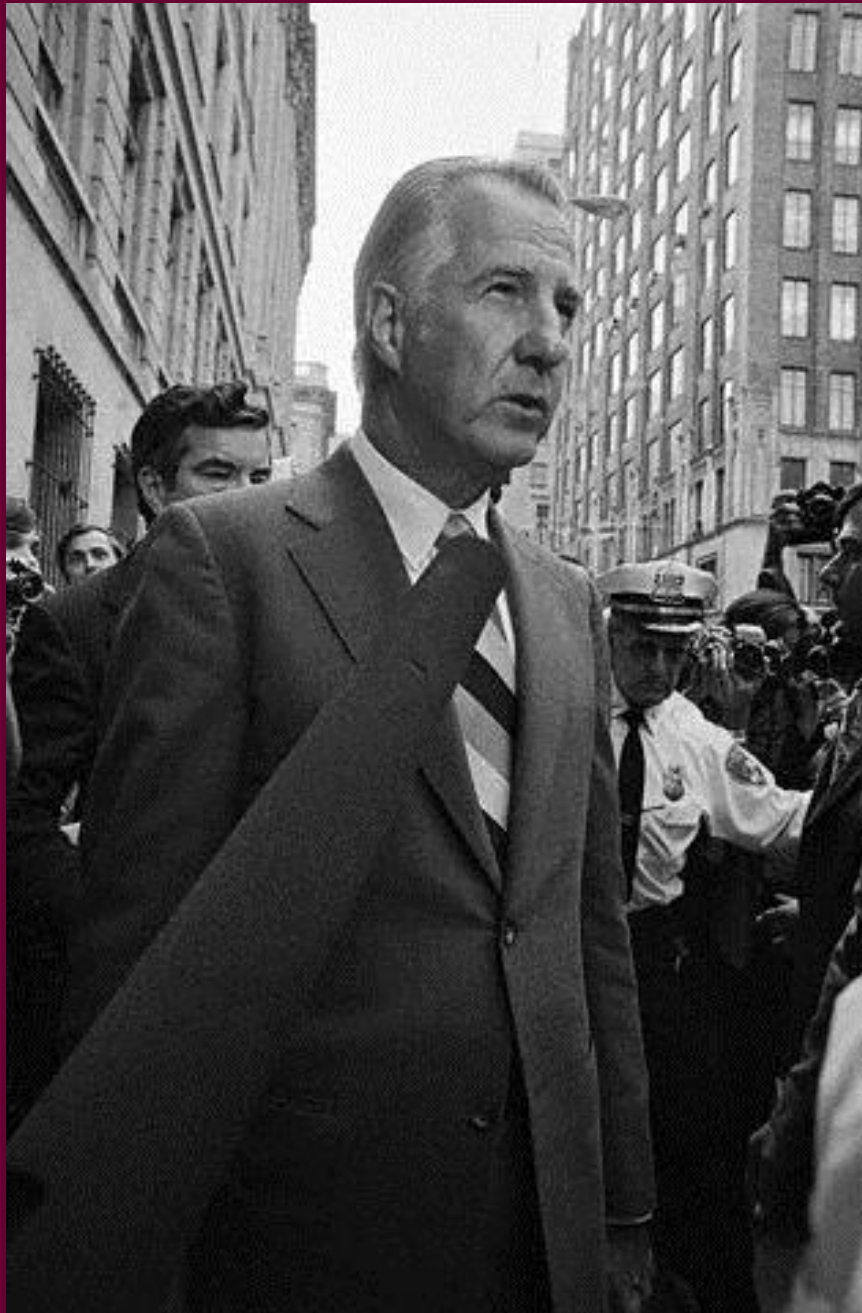


# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- Other “dirty tricks” Nixon carried out against enemies
  - Forging documents to discredit Democrats
  - Used IRS to harass people on “enemies list”
  - Burglarizing office of psychiatrist who treated Daniel Ellsberg (leaker of Pentagon Papers)
  - Using FBI and CIA to prevent investigations

# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- Vice President Spiro Agnew
  - October 1973 – forced to resign for taking bribes from a contractor as governor and vice president
- Congress used 25<sup>th</sup> amendment (president nominated a successor and both houses confirmed him)
  - Replaced Agnew with Gerald Ford, congressman from Michigan



Vice President  
Spiro T. Agnew  
Announces His  
Resignation to  
Newsmen,  
1973



# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- 1973 – 1974 – Senate committee conducted televised hearings about Watergate
  - Nixon denied any prior knowledge of the break-in or any involvement in legal proceedings against the burglars
  - John Dean accused president and others in White House of trying to cover up Watergate and silence the burglars
  - Another aid revealed existence of secret taping system in White House (that could verify Dean's testimony)
  - Nixon refused to produce the tapes

# The Select Senate Watergate Committee Begins Its Investigation into the Watergate Scandal



# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- October 20, 1973 – “Saturday Night Massacre”
  - Nixon fired his own special prosecutor appointed to investigate Watergate
  - He also fired his attorney general and deputy attorney general because they refused to go along with the firing
    - Because special prosecutor was part of Justice Department, attorney general is person who had to actually fire him



Former U. S.  
Attorney General  
Elliot Richardson  
Describes the  
Circumstances of  
His Resignation  
When He Refused  
to Fire Watergate  
Special  
Prosecutor  
Archibald Cox

# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- Spring 1974 –House Judiciary demanded Watergate tapes
  - Nixon finally agreed to publication of “relevant” parts of the tapes, with many parts missing
- July 24, 1974 – Supreme Court unanimously ruled that “executive privilege” gave president no right to withhold evidence relating to possible criminal activity

# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- Nixon made 3 tapes public of conversations with an aide on June 23, 1972
  - One contained Nixon ordering the aide to use the CIA to impede an inquiry by the FBI
    - Convicted Nixon of being active part of the cover-up
- House Judiciary Drew up articles of impeachment
  - Obstruction of justice, abuse of power as president, contempt of Congress

# Nixon's Tapes



# Watergate and the Unmaking of a President

- Nixon resigns
  - Public turned against president
  - Republican leaders in Congress informed Nixon that impeachment was inevitable
  - August 8, 1974 – Nixon announced his resignation on TV
    - Admitted some “judgments” that “were wrong”
    - But claimed he had always acted “in what I believed at that time to be the best interests of the nation”





President Nixon  
Gives His  
Famous Wave  
from the Steps  
of Marine One  
after His  
Resignation as  
President of the  
United States

# The First Unelected President

- August 1974 – Gerard Ford became president
  - Only person never elected – had been appointed to vice presidency when Agnew resigned
  - Seen as unintelligent college football player



Gerald Ford

# The First Unelected President

- September 8, 1974 – Ford pardoned Nixon for any crimes committed as president
  - Democrats and the public were outraged
  - Made it unlikely Ford would be elected in 1976

# One Month after Richard Nixon's Resignation over the Watergate Scandal, President Ford Signs Nixon's Pardon



# The First Unelected President

- July 1975 – Helsinki Accords
  - US legitimized Soviet-dictated boundaries in Eastern Europe (set after WWII)
  - USSR promised more liberal exchanges of people and information between East and West and to protect basic human rights

# Ford, Brezhnev, and Others at the Conclusion of the Helsinki Accords



# The First Unelected President

- Criticism of Helsinki Accords (and détente in general)
  - US grain and technology shipped to USSR
  - USSR continued human rights abuses and restrictions on Jewish emigration (to Israel)
- US – USSR relations grew worse because of USSR's refusal to live up to agreements



# Defeat in Vietnam

- Early 1975 – North Vietnam began drive to conquer South Vietnam
  - President Ford asked Congress for more military aid to South Vietnam
    - Congress refused
  - Without massive US aid, South Vietnam quickly collapsed

# North Vietnamese Troops Enter Saigon, Ending the Vietnam War, 1975



# Defeat in Vietnam

- 1975 – Americans had to be quickly evacuated as North Vietnamese advanced
  - April 29, 1975 – last Americans airlifted out of Vietnam
    - 140,000 Vietnamese also evacuated because they had collaborated with US; fear of reprisals after communists took over government
    - Eventually 500,000 Vietnamese arrived in US, fleeing communists

Vietnamese Civilians Climbing on Board a U.S. Bus Carrying Evacuees into the U.S. Embassy, While Hundreds Waited Near the Gate, Trying to Get in to Join the American Evacuation from Saigon



# Vietnamese Evacuees Board an Air America Helicopter from the Top of a Building Near the U.S. Embassy, 1975



# Boat People Stranded off the Coast of Manila after Leaving Vietnam



# Defeat in Vietnam

- US had technically not lost the war, its client state had
  - US had fought war to standstill and then withdrawn in 1973
  - South Vietnamese then fought their own war, with huge amounts of US aid
    - US could give them everything except will to win

# Defeat in Vietnam

- Costs of the Vietnam war to US
  - \$118 billion (in current US dollars)
  - 56,000 killed; 300,000 wounded
  - US lost its self-esteem, confidence and economic power



# A Veteran of the War In Vietnam Visits the Wall



# Feminist Victories and Defeats

- Feminism as a protest movement won important victories in the 1970s
- 1970 – Women’s Stride for Equality
  - March commemorating 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of suffrage
- 1972 – Congress passed Title IX of Education Amendments
  - Prohibited sex discrimination in any federally assisted educational activity (including sports)

# Feminist Victories and Defeats

- 1972 – Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) won congressional approval
  - “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”
  - First proposed by feminists in 1923
  - 28 states ratified the amendment, making approval seem likely

# Feminist Victories and Defeats

- Reed v. Reed (1971) and Frontiero v. Richardson (1973)
  - Court challenged sex discrimination in legislation and employment
- Roe v. Wade (1973)
  - Court struck down laws against abortion, based on woman's right to privacy

# Feminist Victories and Defeats

- Feminists experienced a powerful backlash against more radical proposals
- 1972 – Nixon vetoed a proposal to set up national public day care because it would weaken American family
- Antifeminists blamed women's movement for rising divorce rate
- Religious Protestants and Catholics organized to oppose right to abortion

# Feminist Victories and Defeats

- ERA defeat was feminists' most bitter defeat
  - Needed 38 states to be ratified
  - Conservative Phyllis Schlafly led campaign against ERA
    - ERA supporters were just “bitter women seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems”
    - ERA would lead to vast expansion of federal power, drafting of women into military, taxpayer-funded abortions, and same-sex marriages
  - 1979 – Congress extended deadline for ratification (initially 7 years, extended 3 more)
  - 1982 – ERA died, 3 states short of 38 needed

# States Ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972-1977



# Proponents of the Equal Rights Amendment Demonstrate in Front of the White House







Phyllis  
Schlafly,  
National  
Leader of the  
Stop the  
Equal Rights  
Amendment □

# The Seventies in Black and White

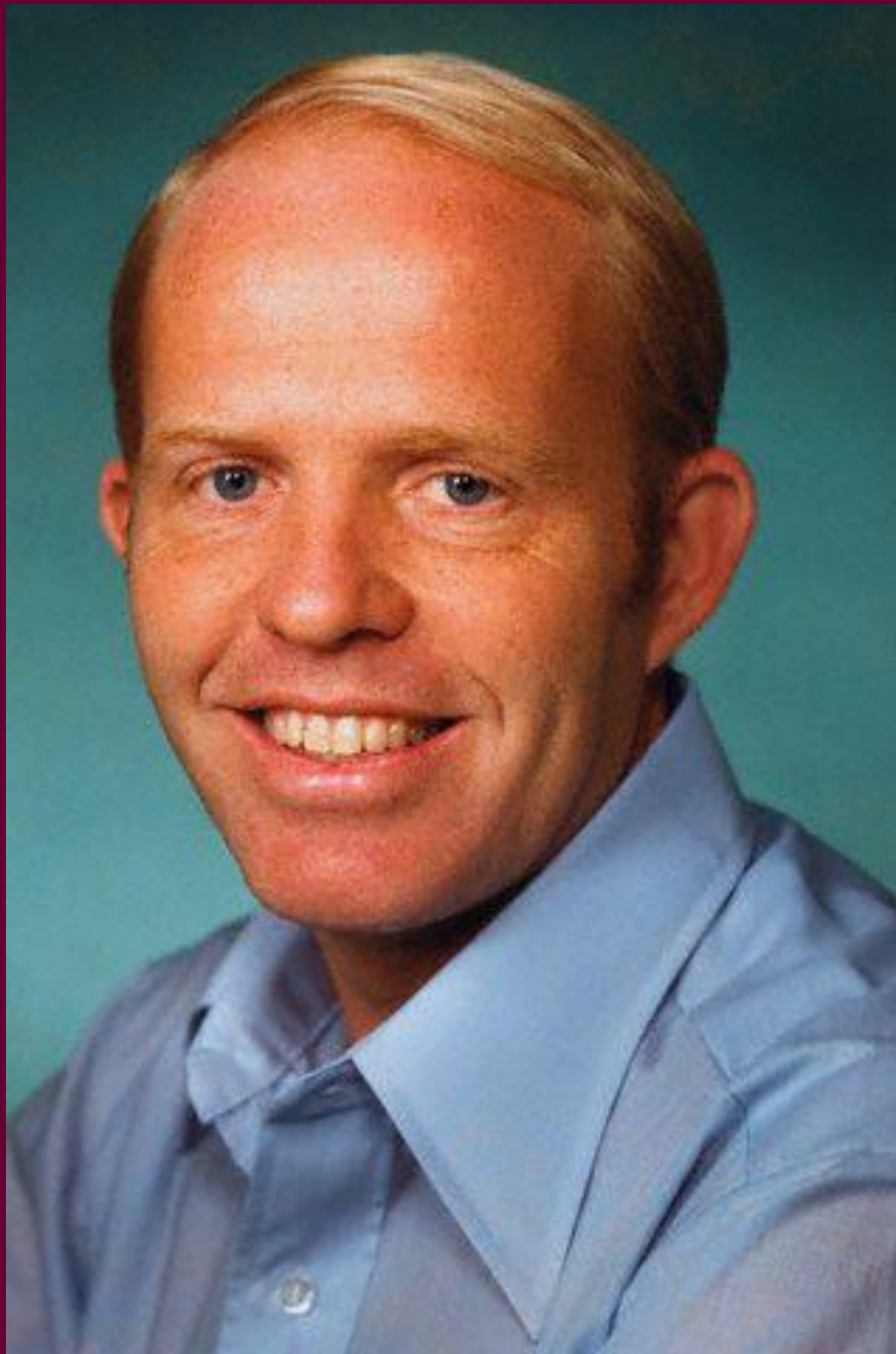
- School desegregation
  - Milliken v. Bradley (1974)
    - Desegregation plans could not require students to move across school-district lines
    - Exempted suburban districts from burden of desegregation
    - Reinforced “white flight” from cities to suburbs
    - All problems of desegregation put on poorest districts, pitting poorest white and black communities against each other

# The Seventies in Black and White

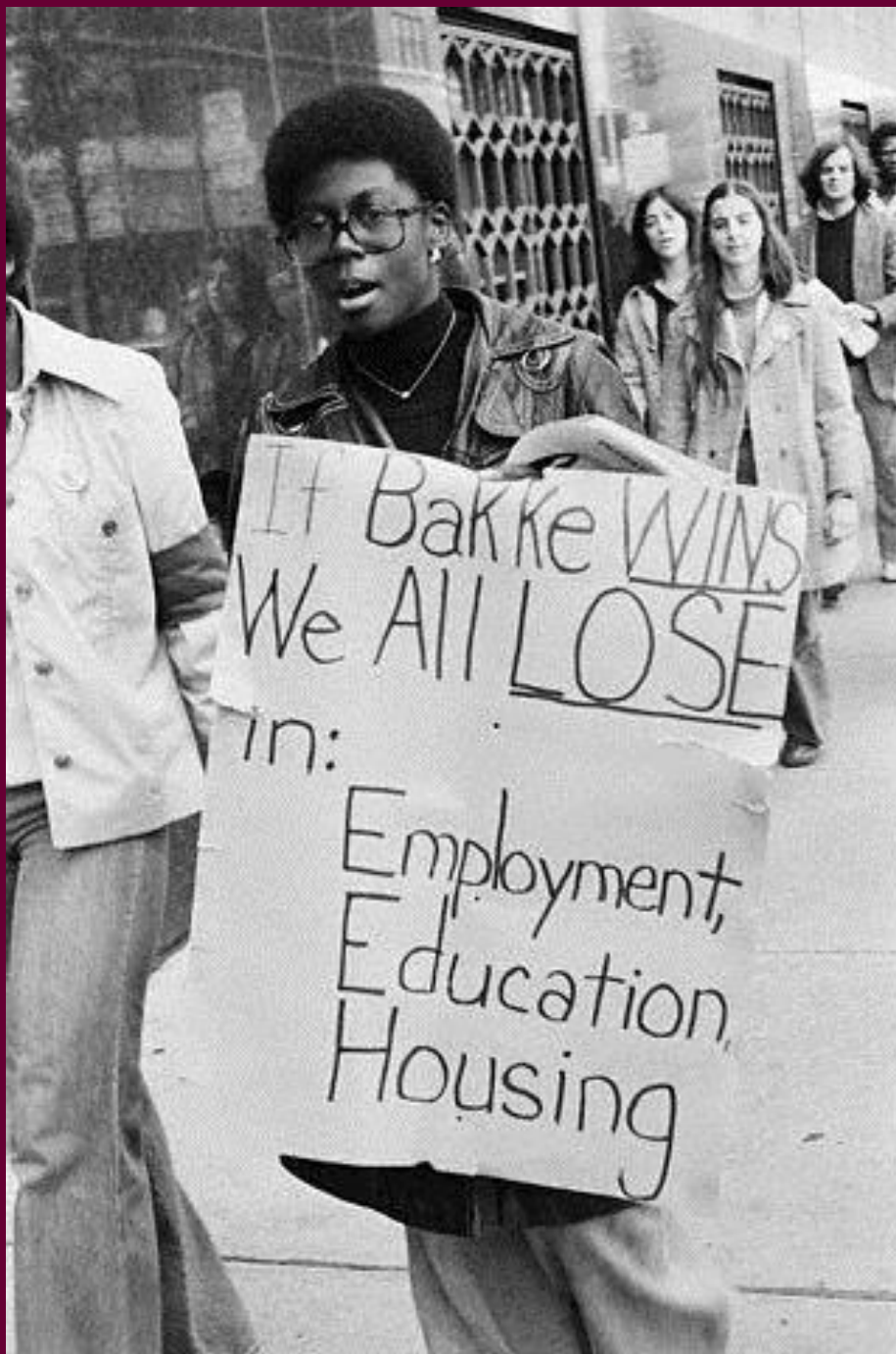
- Affirmative action
  - Whites denied jobs or college admissions charged “reverse discrimination”
    - Charge that employers and admissions officers put more weight on race than ability or achievement

# The Seventies in Black and White

- University of California Regents v. Bakke (1978)
  - Allan Bakke sued because his admissions to medical school was denied in favor of a minority
  - Court ruled that Bakke must be admitted and that preferences in admissions could not be made based on ethnicity or race alone (quotas)
    - However, race could be used as part of a school's overall admissions policy to assemble a diverse student body
  - Thurgood Marshall vigorously dissented
    - Denial of racial preferences might erase years of progress
  - Conservatives applauded the decision as a win against affirmative action

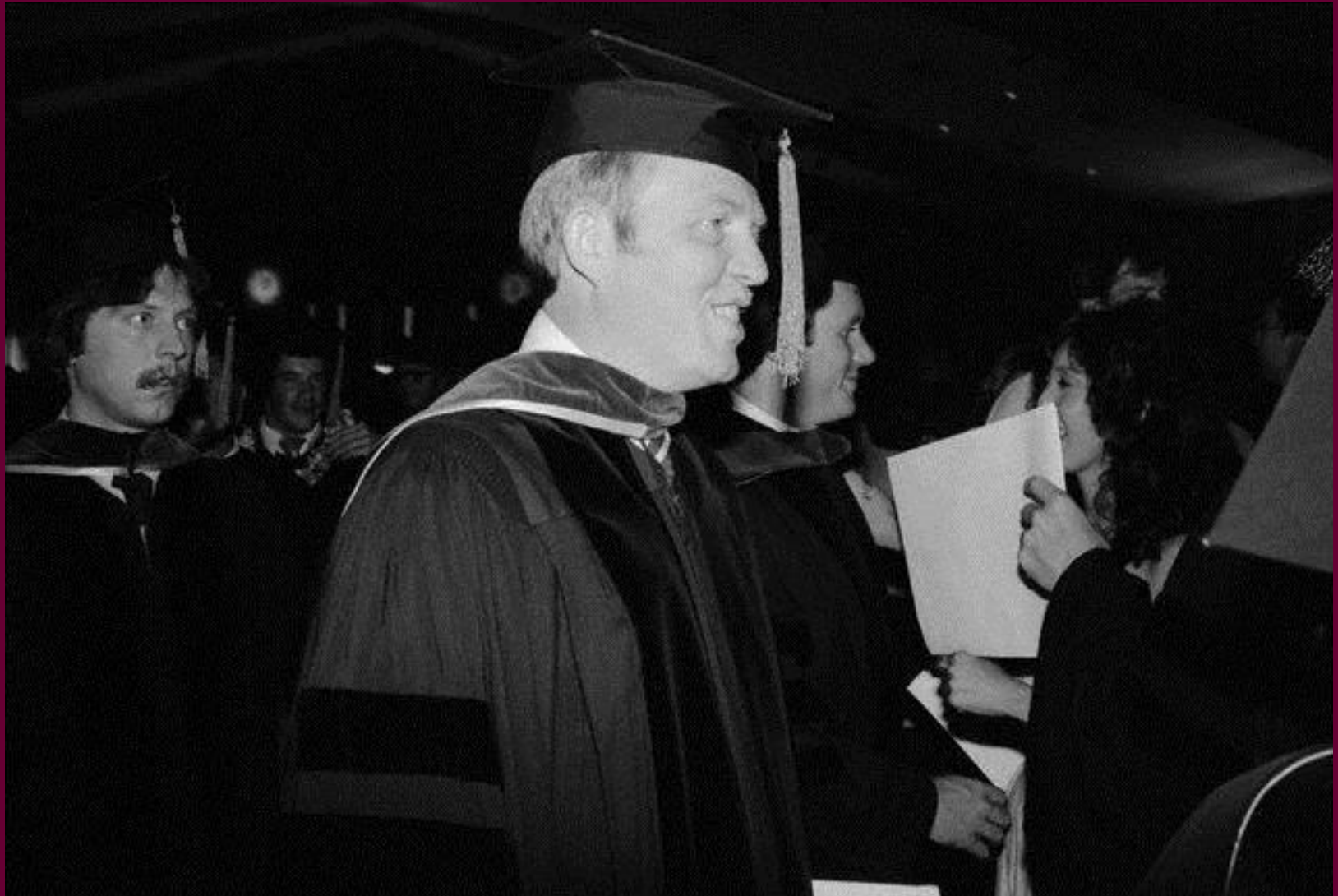


Allan  
Bakke

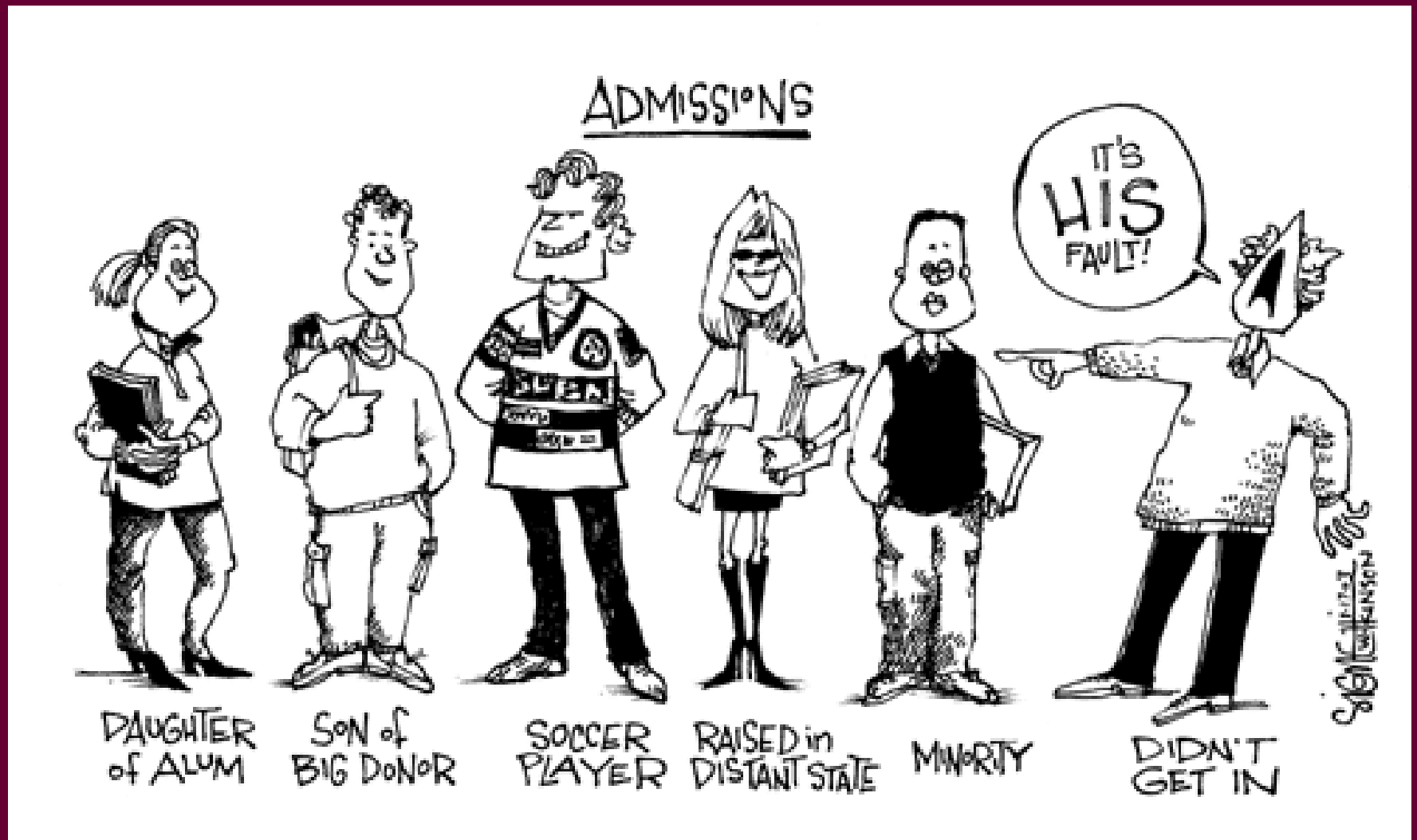


Protesters  
March During  
Supreme Court  
Deliberations  
on the Allan  
Bakke Case,  
1977

# Allan Bakke at University of California Graduation, 1982



# Pro-Affirmative Action Cartoon





# Pro-Affirmative Action Cartoon



# The Seventies in Black and White

- Native Americans in the 1970s
  - Used tactics of civil rights movement to gain recognition as separate semi-sovereign peoples
    - As opposed to blacks who fought to be admitted into mainstream American society
  - 1970 – seized island of Alcatraz
  - 1972 – seized village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota
  - 1978 – United States v. Wheeler
    - Indian tribes possessed “unique and limited” sovereignty, subject to Congress, but not individual states



# Indians at Liberation Day on Alcatraz Island

# American Indians in Wounded Knee During the Occupation





An Indian  
Stands Guard  
Outside the  
Sacred Heart  
Catholic  
Church at  
Wounded  
Knee

# American Indian Reservations



# The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory

- 1976 – US's 200<sup>th</sup> birthday
- Republicans
  - Nominated Gerald Ford
- Democrats
  - Nominated Jimmy Carter
  - Georgia peanut farmer, former governor of Georgia, born again Baptist
  - Ran against Nixon and Watergate as much as Ford
    - “I’ll never lie to you.”
  - Untainted by corruption and scandal in Washington



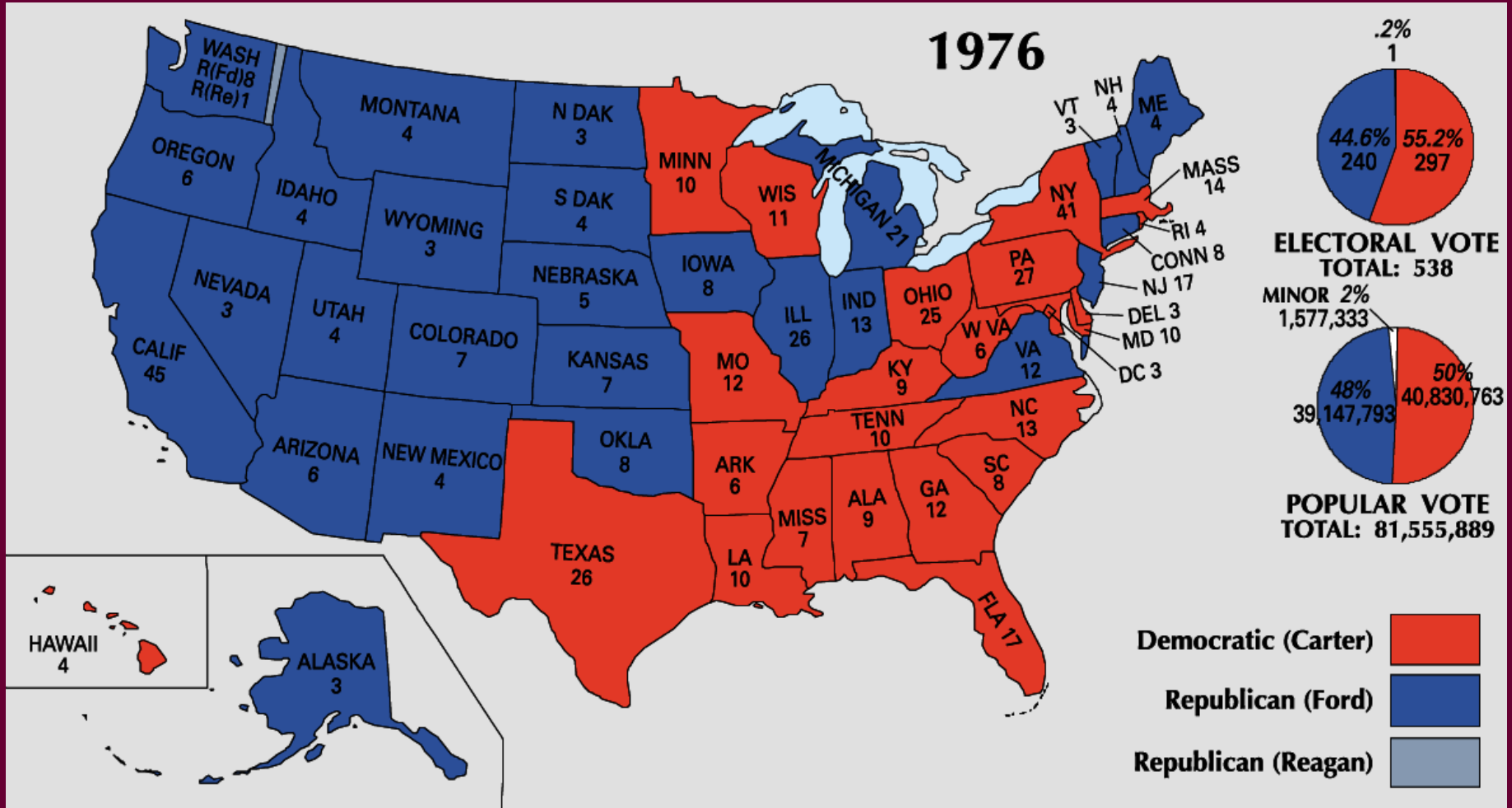
Jimmy  
Carter



# The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory

- Results of the 1976 election
  - Carter won close election with 51% of the popular vote; electoral vote of 297 to 240
    - Carter won every state except Virginia in South
    - 97% of blacks voted for Carter

# The Election of 1976



# The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory

- Carter's honeymoon period
  - Democratic majorities in House and Senate; Carter's popularity high
  - New cabinet-level Department of Energy created
  - Substantial tax cuts
  - Kept campaign promise to pardon thousands of draft evaders during Vietnam

# 3 Young Americans in Canada; They Came to Canada to Avoid Being Drafted for Service in Vietnam



# The Bicentennial Campaign and the Carter Victory

- Carter's weaknesses
  - Relied too much on small group of Washington outsiders from Georgia
  - Angered Congress by not consulting with leaders

# Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

- Carter's Christianity influenced his foreign policy
- Fought for human rights in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa

# Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

- September 1978 – Camp David peace accords between Egypt and Israel
  - President Anwar Sadat (Egypt) and Prime Minister Menachem Begin (Israel) invited to presidential retreat in Maryland
  - Israel agreed (in principle) to withdraw from territory conquered during 1967 Six Days War
  - Egypt promised to respect Israel's borders
  - Both sides promised formal peace treaty within 3 months

# Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat, US President Jimmy Carter, and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin Sign the Peace Treaty Based on the 1978 Camp David Accords





# Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat, US President Jimmy Carter and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin Shake Hands at the Signing of the Camp David Accords, 1979



# Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

- 1979 – Carter restored full diplomatic relations with China
  - US had not had relations with China since communists had taken over in 1949
- September 1977 – treaty handing over control of Panama Canal to Panama by 2000
  - Response to increasing hostility among Panamanians to US

# Anti-American Protest in Panama City, Panama



# A Suggestion to Give Panama President Carter's Home Town of Plains, Georgia, Instead of the Panama Canal



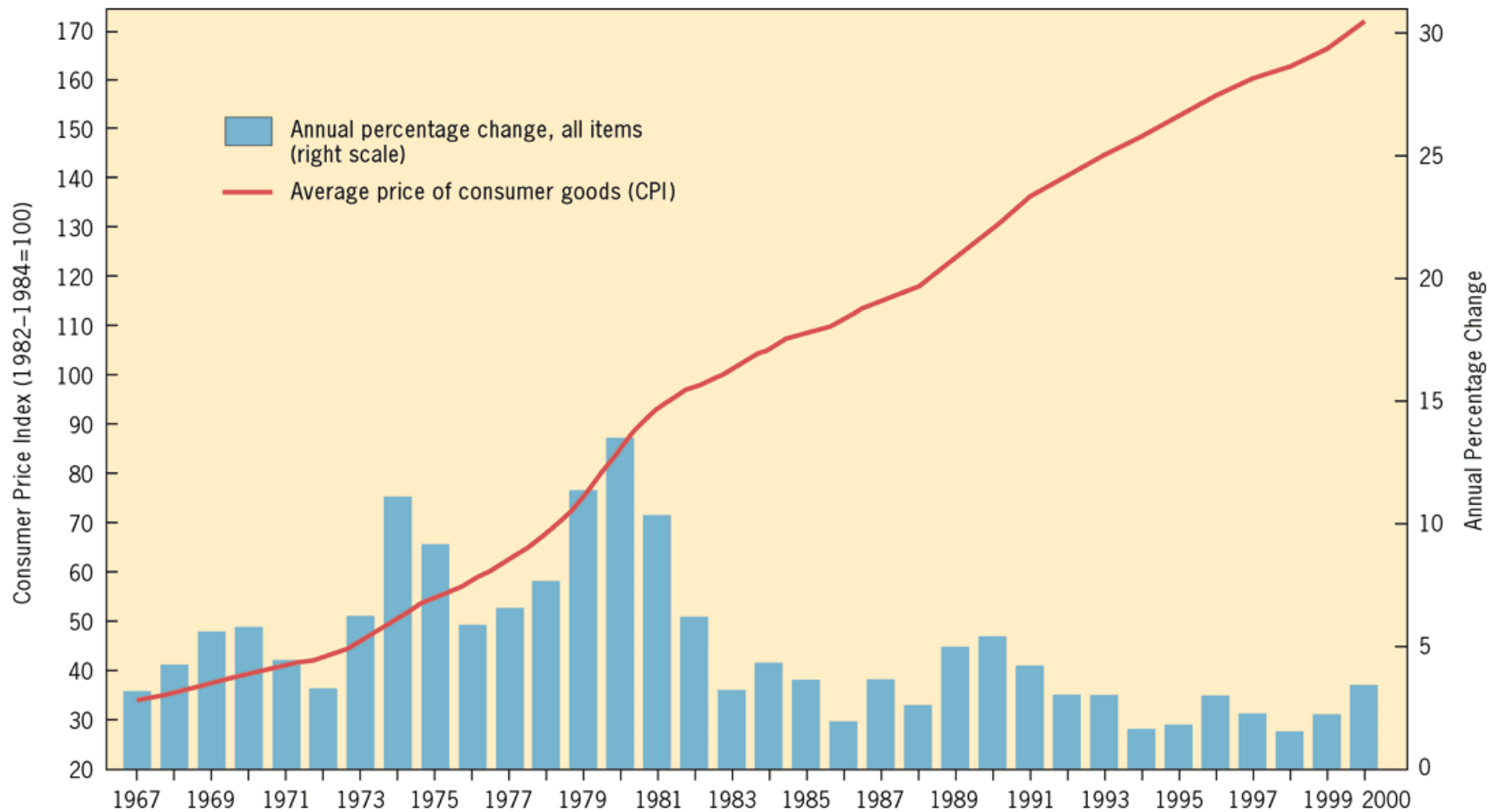
# Carter's Humanitarian Diplomacy

- End of détente as relations with USSR worsened
  - Thousands of Cuban troops worked with USSR in Angola and Ethiopia to support communist revolutions
  - Arms-control negotiations stalled in response

# Economic and Energy Woes

- Unprecedented economic problems hit US economy under Carter
- Inflation
  - Went up to 13% per year by 1979
  - Especially hurt people on fixed incomes (like elderly)
- Balance of payments (trade deficits)
  - \$40 billion deficit in 1978 because of super high oil prices
- Increased foreign trade
  - Through 1960s, foreign trade was only 10% of GNP; 1970s – present, foreign trade was 25% - 30% of GNP
  - Brought US into a global economy that it could not control (unlike after WWII)

# The History of the Consumer Price Index, 1967–2000



# Economic and Energy Woes

- Huge budget deficits
  - \$60 billion by 1980
- High interest rates
  - Had to be higher than inflation rate to make money
  - Prime rate (rate charged to best customers) reached 20% in early 1980
  - Hurt small businesses and construction industry



# Economic and Energy Woes

- Carter believed most of US's problems came from dependence on foreign oil
  - 1977 – made proposals for energy conservation
  - US public refused to conserve

# Economic and Energy Woes

- January 1979 – Iran’s shah (Mohammed Reza Pahlevi) overthrown
  - Shah had been installed by CIA in Iran in 1953 and ruled as brutal dictator
    - Westernized and secularized Iran, kept good relations with Israel and US
  - Muslim fundamentalists under leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew government
  - Iran’s oil stopped flowing during revolution
    - OPEC raised prices
    - Americans experienced 2<sup>nd</sup> gas shortage during 1970s

# Ayatollah Khomeini Waves to a Crowd of Enthusiastic Supporters



# Cars Line up for Gas During the 1979 Fuel Shortage



# Gasoline Shortage in New York, 1979



# Economic and Energy Woes

- Carter's response to the problems
  - July 1979 – retreated to Camp David to deliberate; over 100 leaders came and talked with him about the problems of the country
  - July 15, 1979 – Carter's speech about US's problems stunned Americans
    - Scolded Americans for a “moral and spiritual crisis” and for being too concerned with “material good”
  - Carter then fired 4 cabinet secretaries and increased power of his Georgia advisers
  - Seemed Carter was out of touch with mood of America

# Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglia

- June 1979 – Carter signed SALT II agreements with Leonid Brezhnev (Soviet leader) in Vienna
  - Limited levels of strategic nuclear weapons
  - Conservatives in the US did not want to deal with the USSR
  - US Senate never ratified SALT II, although both sides honored the agreements

# Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglia

- November 4, 1979 – anti-American Muslim militants stormed US embassy in Iran
  - All the occupants were taken hostage
  - Muslims demanded the exiled shah be shipped back to Iran for trial
    - Shah had arrived in US 2 weeks before for medical treatment



# Storming of the Embassy in Tehran



# Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglia

- December 27, 1979 – USSR invaded Afghanistan (next door to Iran)
  - Done in order to prop up communist government against Muslim militants
  - Appeared that USSR was surrounding Middle East to control area's oil

# Column of Armored Vehicles and Trucks of the Soviet Army Arrives at Kabul, Afghanistan, 1979



# Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglia

- Carter's reaction to Iran and Afghanistan
  - Embargo placed on grain and technology to USSR
  - Boycott of summer Olympics in Moscow
    - 64 other nations followed US
  - US would use “any means necessary, including force” to protect Persian Gulf against Soviet invasion
    - Threat never materialized because USSR met stiff resistance in Afghanistan (“Russia’s Vietnam”)
  - SALT II officially dead in Senate because of invasion
  - Proposed “Rapid Deployment Force” to respond quickly to crises in faraway places
  - Registration of young people (including women) for possible draft

# Foreign Affairs and the Iranian Imbroglia

- The Iranian hostage crisis
  - 52 US citizens held captive for 444 days in Iran
    - 14 others had been held for a few months and then were released
  - Nightly TV news showed Iranians burning US flags and spitting on effigies of Uncle Sam
  - Carter tried sanctions until a stable government emerged with which to negotiate (which did not happen)
  - Carter then ordered a tactical team to rescue the hostages
    - Equipment failures forced the team to withdraw
    - 2 of their aircraft collided, killing 8
- Carter's powerlessness in rescuing the hostages perfectly summed up the national mood

# US Hostages in Iran



# Iranians Burn an American Flag



# Demonstrators Jam Street Outside the U S. Embassy in Iran, Where 49 American Hostages Were Being Held





# Wreckage Strewn After a Helicopter Crashed into a Parked Transport, Killing 8 Members of an Aborted Mission to Rescue American Hostages in Tehran

