

# Chapter 29

## LIMITS OF A SUPERPOWER, THE SEVENTIES: 1969-1980

APUSH Review Guide for AMSCO chapter 29. (other sources covering the 1970's)  
(image: Uncle Sam wading through Asia, public domain)

Directions→ Take notes in the spaces provided. Read through the guide before you begin reading. This step will help you focus on the most significant ideas and information as you read.



### From the College Board Content Outline for Period 8

**Key Concept 8.1:** The United States responded to an uncertain and unstable postwar world by asserting and working to maintain a position of global leadership, with far-reaching domestic and international consequences.

**Key Concept 8.2:** New movements for civil rights and liberal efforts to expand the role of government generated a range of political and cultural responses.

**Key Concept 8.3:** Postwar economic and demographic changes had far-reaching consequences for American society, politics, and culture.

### Guided Reading, Limits of a Superpower, 1969-1980, pp 625-640

Remember (from your last reading) that 1969 is right after 1968... A tumultuous year which witnessed the Tet Offensive.. and, as popular news anchorman, Walter Cronkite, put it: the war is "unwinnable," the Chicago police "riot" during the Democratic National Convention highlighting war protesters and police brutality, the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy, the *Pueblo* was captured by North Korea, an American B-2 Bomber crashed near Greenland which dispersed radioactive waste from its 4 nuclear bombs, war and race riots occurred across the nation including at Columbia University (the government starts a new riot control center in the Pentagon), riots in Paris, Mexico City, and many other international sites, income taxes increased 10%, Western Europe experiencing economic troubles and labor strikes, Arab terrorists attack an Israeli jetliner... Israel responds by destroying 13 Arab planes (U.N. condemns Israel's retaliation; America supports Israel)... etc. This is the year Richard Nixon was elected to office, and he took his oath and began work as President in 1969. Was 1969 better than 1968? As far as the space race was concerned... sure! President Kennedy pledged to put a man on the moon by the end of the decade, and NASA succeeded in doing just that.



*"That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind."*

1. List the seven developments during the 1970s which negatively offset the technological triumphs of the era. (page 625)

1.	2.
3.	4.
5.	6.
7.	

2. Richard Nixon’s Foreign Policy, pp 625-627

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>The United States sought to “<b>contain</b>” Soviet-dominated communism through a variety of measures, including military engagements in <b>Vietnam</b>.</p> <p>As the United States focused on containing communism, it faced increasingly complex foreign policy issues, including decolonization, shifting international alignments and regional conflicts, and global economic and environmental changes.</p> <p>The Cold War fluctuated between periods of direct and indirect military confrontation and periods of mutual coexistence (<b>or détente</b>).</p> <p>Cold War policies led to continued public debates over the power of the federal government, acceptable means for pursuing international and domestic goals, and the proper balance between liberty and order.</p> <p>Americans debated policies and methods designed to root out Communists within the United States even as both parties tended to support the broader Cold War strategy of containing communism.</p> <p>Although the Korean conflict produced some minor domestic opposition, the Vietnam War saw the rise of sizable, passionate, and sometimes violent antiwar protests that became more numerous as the war escalated.</p>	<p>Richard Nixon’s Foreign Policy...</p> <p><b>Vietnam</b>...</p> <p>“Vietnamization” ...</p> <p><i>Nixon Doctrine</i>...</p> <p>Opposition to Nixon’s War Policies...</p> <p><i>Kent State and Jackson State</i>...</p> <p><i>My Lai Massacre</i>...</p> <p><i>Pentagon Papers</i>...</p> <p>Peace Talks, Bombing Attacks, and Armistice...</p> <p><b>Détente</b> with China and the Soviet Union...</p> <p>Visit to China...</p> <p>Arms Control with the U.S.S.R....</p>	<p>How is Schlesinger’s characterization of Richard Nixon as an “imperial president” similar to characterizations of Andrew Jackson and Franklin Roosevelt? Explain.</p> <p>Why was Congressional support for Nixon so different than 1964 support for Johnson?</p> <p>What was the economic impact of the Vietnam War?</p> <p>What was the cultural impact of the Vietnam War?</p> <p>Although Nixon is remember most for the Watergate scandal and resignation, his foreign policy is often assessed as successful. Support or refute (with evidence) the assertion that President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger’s foreign policy was successful.</p>

### 3. Nixon's Domestic Policy, The Burger Court, and Watergate pp 627-629

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>As many <b>liberal principles</b> came to dominate postwar politics and court decisions, liberalism came under attack from the left as well as from <b>resurgent conservative movements</b>.</p> <p>Liberal ideals were realized in Supreme Court decisions that expanded democracy and individual freedoms, Great Society social programs and policies, and the power of the federal government, yet these unintentionally helped energize a new conservative movement that mobilized to defend traditional visions of morality and the proper role of state authority.</p> <p><b>Conservatives</b>, fearing juvenile delinquency, urban unrest, and challenges to the traditional family, increasingly promoted their own values and ideology.</p> <p>Conservatives and liberals clashed over many new social issues, the power of the presidency and the federal government, and movements for greater individual rights.</p>	<p>Nixon's Domestic Policy...</p> <p>The New Federalism...</p> <p>Nixon's Economic Policies...</p> <p>Southern Strategy...</p> <p>The Burger Court...</p> <p>(busing) <i>Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education...</i></p> <p><b>Roe v Wade...</b></p> <p>The Election of 1972...</p> <p>Watergate...</p> <p>White House Abuses...</p> <p>CREEP...</p> <p>"plumbers"...</p> <p>"enemies list"...</p> <p>Watergate break in...</p> <p>Watergate Investigation...</p> <p><i>The key to this investigation is that Nixon denied knowledge, and then refused to hand over his tape recordings claiming executive privilege. The Supreme Court ordered he turn them over in U.S. v Nixon, 1974).</i></p>	<p>Define federalism.</p> <p>Explain the reasoning behind Nixon's efforts to reduce the impact of the New Deal and Great Society.</p> <p>Although Nixon did not support forced busing, he did enforce the ruling in <i>Swann</i>. He also implemented the Philadelphia Plan which was the first significant federal affirmative action program. Considering this, do you think his Southern Strategy was more about exploiting racism for votes or about fighting for federalism?</p> <p>Was <i>Roe v Wade</i> a victory for liberalism or conservatism?</p> <p>What role did George Wallace have on the outcome of the elections of 1968 and 1972?</p> <p>1968...</p> <p>1972...</p> <p>Why did Nixon replace Vice President Spiro Agnew with Gerald Ford?</p>

4. Other Developments in 1973, pp 631-632

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p><b>Cold War policies</b> led to continued public debates over the power of the federal government, acceptable means for pursuing international and domestic goals, and the proper balance between liberty and order.</p> <p>Americans debated the appropriate power of the executive branch in conducting foreign and military policy.</p> <p>Ideological, military, and economic concerns shaped U.S. involvement in the <b>Middle East</b>, with several oil crises in the region eventually sparking attempts at creating a <b>national energy policy</b>.</p>	<p>Other Developments in 1973...</p> <p><b>War Powers Act...</b></p> <p>October War and <b>Oil Embargo...</b></p>	<p>When Congress first tried to limit the power of the presidency by repealing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolutions in 1970, it failed to pass. Why did the War Powers Act not only pass in 1973 but pass over Nixon's veto?</p> <p>Explain the impact of U.S. policy toward Israel on the American economy and culture.</p>



5. Resignation of a President, page 633

Main Idea	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p><b>Conservatives and liberals</b> clashed over many new social issues, the power of the presidency and the federal government, and movements for greater individual rights.</p>	<p>Resignation of a President...</p> <p>Significance...</p> <p>Gerald Ford in the White House...</p> <p>Pardoning of Nixon...</p> <p>Investigating the CIA...</p>	<p>Explain the similarities and differences between the resignation of President Richard Nixon and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson.</p> <p>Explain the similarity of the alleged "Corrupt Bargain" of 1824 to that of 1974.</p>

## 6. Failure of U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia, page 633

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>The United States sought to “contain” Soviet-dominated communism through a variety of measures, including military engagements in Vietnam.</p>	<p>Failure of U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia...</p> <p><b>Fall of Saigon...</b></p> <p>Genocide in Cambodia...</p> <p>Future of Southeast Asia...</p> <p><b>Additional information:</b> The Helsinki Accords (July 1975) were attended by Gerald Ford. They officially ended World War II by legitimizing the boundaries of Eastern Europe.</p>	<p>Did the domino theory play out? Explain your answer.</p> <p>What was the cultural impact of the fall of Saigon?</p> <p>Was the Helsinki Accords consistent with Nixon’s policy of détente? Explain.</p>

## 7. Gerald Ford in the White House (continued), pp 633-634

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>Ideological, military, and economic concerns shaped U.S. involvement in the Middle East, with several oil crises in the region eventually sparking attempts at creating a national energy policy.</p>	<p>The Economy and Domestic Policy...</p> <p>Bicentennial Celebration...</p> <p>The Election of 1876...</p> <p>Emergence of Jimmy Carter...</p>	<p>To what degree was WIN successful?</p> <p>What caused the inflation of the 1970s?</p>

## 8. Jimmy Carter’s Presidency, pp 634-636

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>Americans debated the appropriate power of the executive branch in conducting foreign and military policy.</p>	<p>Jimmy Carter’s Presidency...</p>	<p>Explain the impact Watergate had on the election of 1976.</p>

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Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>Americans debated the appropriate power of the executive branch in conducting foreign and military policy.</p> <p>Ideological, military, and economic concerns shaped U.S. involvement in the Middle East, with several oil crises in the region eventually sparking attempts at creating a national energy policy.</p> <p>Postwar decolonization and the emergence of powerful nationalist movements in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East led both sides in the Cold War to seek allies among new nations, many of which remained nonaligned.</p>	<p>Foreign Policy...</p> <p>Human Rights Diplomacy...</p> <p>Panama Canal...</p> <p>Camp David Accords (1978)...</p> <p>Iran and the Hostage Crisis...</p> <p>Cold War...</p> <p>Domestic Policy: Dealing with Inflation...</p> <p>Troubled Economy...</p> <p>Loss of Popularity...</p>	<p>What would President Theodore Roosevelt think about Carter's Panama Canal Treaties?</p> <p>The Camp David Accords Carter's greatest achievements. Considering current events in the Middle East, is that assessment still valid? Explain.</p> <p>What is the key difference between SALT I and SALT II?</p> <p>Explain why many Americans were afraid of Russians in Afghanistan?</p> <p>To what extent were President Carter and Chairman Paul Volcker successful in dealing with stagflation (stagnant economy with inflation)?</p>

## 9. American Society in Transition, pp 636-640

Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
<p>Stirred by a growing awareness of inequalities in American society and by the African American civil rights movement, activists also addressed issues of identity and social justice, such as gender/sexuality and ethnicity.</p> <p>Activists began to question society's assumptions about gender and to call for social and economic equality for women and for gays and lesbians.</p> <p>Latinos, American Indians, and Asian Americans began to demand social and economic equality and a redress of past injustices.</p> <p>Internal migrants as well as migrants from around the world sought access to the economic boom and other benefits of the United States, especially after the passage of new immigration laws in 1965.</p>	<p>American Society in Transition...</p> <p>Growth of Immigration...</p> <p>Undocumented Immigrants...</p> <p>Demands for Minority Rights...</p> <p>Hispanic Americans...</p> <p>American Indian Movement...</p> <p>Asian Americans...</p> <p>Gay Liberation Movement...</p>	<p>Explain how the United States looked different demographically in the 1970s?</p> <p><i>Regionally...</i></p> <p><i>Racially...</i></p> <p><i>Age...</i></p> <p>Explain the impact LBJ's Immigration Act of 1965 on 1970s demographics.</p> <p>What did Cesar Chavez and Martin Luther King have in common?</p> <p>How was the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975 different from the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887?</p> <p>To what extent are casinos on Indian reservations the "ultimate revenge?" Explain your answer.</p> <p>Which had the greatest impact on tolerance for homosexuality, end of psychological categorization as mental illness, end of Civil Service ban, or "don't ask don't tell." Explain your reasoning.</p>

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Main Ideas	Definitions/Explanations/Notes	Analysis
As federal programs expanded and economic growth reshaped American society, many sought greater access to prosperity even as critics began to question the burgeoning use of natural resources.	<b>The Environmental Movement...</b>	Although Nixon's motives may have been more about politics than genuine concern for the environment, he was instrumental in many key developments regarding conservation. National Environmental Policy Act , Created the EPA, Clean Air Act, Marine Mammal Protection Act, Safe Drinking Water Act, Endangered Species Act
Responding to the abuse of natural resources and the alarming environmental problems, activists and legislators began to call for conservation measures and a fight against pollution.	<b>Protective Legislation...</b>	Why is Nixon remembered more for Watergate and detente?
	<b>Conservative Shift...</b>	List three causes of growing environmental concern in the 1970s. 1) 2) 3)

#### Additional information and analysis

...In January 1969, Richard Nixon took the oath of office as President. At one of President Nixon's early press conferences, Ms. Vera Glaser stood amid a forest of male colleagues, raised her strong, clear voice, and asked: "Mr. President, since you've been inaugurated, you have made approximately 200 Presidential appointments, and only three of them have gone to women. Can we expect some more equitable recognition of women's abilities, or are we going to remain the lost sex?" The President seemed surprised, but he agreed: "We'll have to do something about that." It was a promise he kept.

President Nixon's pledge ... led to the appointment of a **White House Task Force on Women's Rights and Responsibilities**. ... Within nine months, [the number of women working in policy jobs doubled]. In April 1972...the number of women in policy-making jobs had tripled from 36 to 105. Even more importantly perhaps was the nature of the jobs themselves. There were many "breakthroughs" – jobs women had never held before. In other words, we were blasting through glass ceilings. ...Thanks to the President's support, more than 1,000 women were hired or promoted into the middle management ranks of the career civil service, at a time when the Federal Government was reducing employment by 5%. For the first time, women were serving as generals, admirals, forest rangers, FBI agents, and even tugboat captains. By March 1973, just two years after the effort began; the number of women in top jobs had quadrupled... President Nixon's efforts to lift up women in the Federal Government spilled over into the rest of American society as he challenged the private sector, as well as, state and local governments "to follow our lead and guarantee women equal opportunity for employment and advancement..." President Nixon threw himself unmistakably behind the cause of change, telling the nation in his 1972 State of the Union address, "While every woman may not want a career outside the home, every woman should have the freedom to choose whatever career she wishes, and an equal chance to pursue it." That was a bold statement by a man of that time and that generation. (Excerpt from Barbara Hackman Franklin's "President Richard Nixon: The Unlikely Champion of Advancing Equality for Women")

In addition, On June 23, 1972, President Richard Nixon signed the **Educational Amendments of 1972** which included **Title IX** which stated, "No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance."

Although the **Equal Rights Amendment** was endorsed by Nixon, it failed to be ratified by a majority of states. Although he appointed more women than LBJ, most textbooks fail to mention these accomplishments. *Explain why. (think historiography)*



## 10. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, page 640

After reading "End of the Imperial Presidency?" address the following question in the space below: Support, modify, or refute the assertion that **Cold War presidents** undermined the Constitution.

In a recent New York Times article, Ross Douthat explained why the American presidency has become increasingly "imperial." He wrote, "Across the last century, the presidency's powers have increased in a symbiosis with changing public expectations about the office. Because Congress is unsexy, frustrating and hard to follow, mass democracy seems to demand a single iconic figure into who desires and aspirations and hatreds can be poured. And so the modern president, the Cato Institute's Gene Healy has written, is increasingly seen as "a soul nourisher, a hope giver, a **living American talisman** against hurricanes, terrorism, economic downturns and spiritual malaise."

In current events, President Barack Obama recently issued an executive action reforming immigration policy. He defended this action as necessary because Congress was unable or unwilling to accomplish immigration reform. Below is a list of executive actions. Highlight each one that you feel threatens the Constitution and federalism by bestowing "too much" power to the president, thus creating an "**imperial president**."

**Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation** freeing slaves in all Confederate states. (they didn't number them back then)

**Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066** establishing internment camps for many Japanese-Americans, German-Americans, and Italian-Americans.

**Lyndon Johnson's** Executive Order 11130 which created the **Warren Commission** to investigate the assassination of president Kennedy.

**Richard Nixon's** Executive Order 11478 which **Prohibited discrimination** based on race, color, religion, sex, national origin, handicap, or age in the armed forces and federal contractors.

**George W. Bush's** executive order **allowing the government to monitor, without search warrants, the phone calls, Internet activity** (Web, e-mail, etc.), text messaging, and other communication **among suspected terrorists**.

**Barack Obama's** executive "actions" to **halt the deportation of millions of illegal immigrants**.

*BTW... the top three executive order presidents are **FDR with 3,721!** Woodrow Wilson comes in second with **1,803**, and **Theodore Roosevelt with 1,081**. Lincoln had 48, LBJ had 325, Nixon had 346, George W. Bush had 291. Barack Obama currently has 228.*