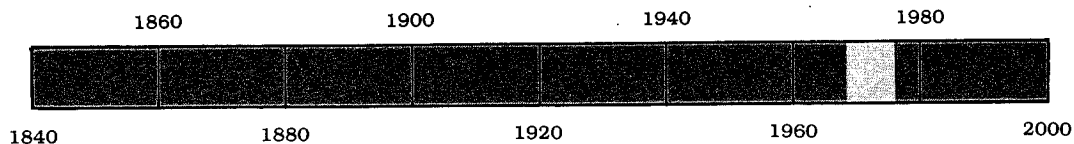


Part **13**

*Searching  
for New  
Values*



# Looking Ahead



One day in 1972, Bob and Lee Light moved to a farm in Vermont. He was 30 years old and she was 28. Neither had any experience in farming. But Bob and Lee had saved their money and bought a farm overlooking a river. The farm had a 150-year-old house and a broken-down barn. They wanted to fix it up, then grow and sell vegetables. Why, you might ask, would anyone leave a comfortable home for the hard life of a farmer?

The Lights were going "back to the land." They wanted to get away from the problems and complications of modern life. A lot of other people were on the move in the 1970's. Census-takers discovered that many Americans were leaving the big cities. They were making their homes in small towns and suburbs. Some

*Could city people be happy living off the land in Vermont? In the 1970's, many tried to find out. They wanted to become more self-sufficient.*

were moving because their jobs had moved. Some were looking for smaller, safer places to raise their children. Still others were looking for places where they could retire.

**Self-sufficiency.** Bob and Lee Light had wanted to grow their own food and not depend on others. "What we want is self-sufficiency," said Bob. "To make and produce as much as we can, so we have to have as few dollars as possible. We don't want to support the factories belching out smoke."

The back-to-the-land movement had quite a following in the 1970's. Many city-bred men and women suddenly wanted to grow their own food and raise their own animals. They wanted to breathe clean air, get more exercise, and make things with their hands. They wanted to be able to live on their own.

Americans in general became more preoccupied with their personal needs and goals in the 1970's. Students seemed to have less interest in

politics and more in the job market. Adults became more health-conscious. Millions gave up smoking and took up jogging. Women's liberation led to greater job opportunities for women than ever before.

**Money problems.** Bob and Lee didn't want to spend—or earn—any more money than they absolutely had to. To most people, this seemed crazy. In the 1970's inflation and high energy costs kept driving prices up. Though wages rose to record heights, they could not keep up with rising prices. Many Americans had a hard time earning enough to support a family. More and more women went to work to increase the family income. People found they had to earn more money or take a cut in their standard of living.

**Pollution.** Bob and Lee worried about polluting the world they lived in. They didn't want to buy factory-made goods. They believed that factories polluted the air with smoke and the water with industrial wastes.

Many other Americans were concerned about pollution. Although they didn't want to do away with the factories, they did want to find ways to control pollution. In the 1970's, new laws set up strict rules on what factories could dump into the air and water. Pollution-control devices had to be installed. But these cost money and made it more expensive to produce some goods. The pollution-control laws came under attack. In some cases, the laws had made it too costly to do business. In others, they had put people out of work. Americans looked for ways of balancing the costs and benefits of pollution control.

**World tensions.** Bob and Lee Light had lived most of their lives in the Nuclear Age. They could not remember a time when the atomic bomb did not exist. And during much of this time, the U.S. and the Soviet Union had maintained a "balance of terror." Each was so powerful it could devastate the other. According to the leaders of the two nations, neither country would start a war that might destroy both the winner and the loser—to say nothing of the rest of the world. This was supposed to make all-out war impossible. But many people worried that the impossible might happen.

As President, Richard Nixon tried to ease world tensions by improving relations with Communist China. He also worked at "thawing" relations with the Soviet Union. The U.S. and Russia signed a treaty in 1972 that was aimed at slowing down the nuclear arms race. Despite these efforts, little was accomplished. The thaw did not last and the arms-control agreements did not put a stop to the growing stockpile of nuclear weapons.

**Leadership.** The Lights had doubts about the quality of political leadership in the U.S. So did a lot of other Americans. President Nixon was at the center of a leadership crisis. A bungled burglary known as Watergate grew into an enormous scandal that involved many members of the Nixon administration. Watergate cast a shadow over the government. It preoccupied President Nixon and the nation for more than two years. It seemed that every day brought new stories of government wrongdoing or misuse of power. Americans were



I'm the only deaf kid  
in my school--

*In recent years, disabled people have formed groups to work for their rights. One result has been easier access to public buildings for people in wheelchairs. Another has been the televising of programs with captions for deaf people.*

shocked, angry, and disappointed. They had lost faith in many political leaders. In the end, the Watergate scandal led to President Nixon's resignation—the first in American history.

**Searching for values.** Bob and Lee and other back-to-the-landers tried to deal with the problems of the 20th century by returning to a simpler way of life. Most people felt it was impossible to go back. The big cities and large industries were not about to vanish. But in many ways, the back-to-the-landers were expressing



*In many places, you will find elevator buttons with numbers in braille so that blind people can more easily be independent.*

the concerns of the whole country in the 1970's. They were a small minority, of course. They did not have all the answers—even most of them. But they were searching for ways to deal with some very complicated problems. And, at the same time, they were trying to preserve some old-fashioned human values in 20th-century America.

## CHAPTER 73

# One Giant Leap

**I**t was early Sunday evening on the West Coast of the U.S. On the East Coast, it was late Sunday night, July 20, 1969. In Europe it was the small hours of Monday morning. In Asia the sun was already up. Wherever they were, about 500 million people were doing the same thing. They were watching the most spectacular TV show in history.

The image on TV sets was ghost-like. There was U.S. Astronaut Neil Armstrong coming out of his spaceship. Slowly he lowered himself down the nine-step ladder. As his foot touched ground, Armstrong's voice buzzed across 240,000 miles (390,000 kilometers) of space:

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

Humans had landed on the moon.

For thousand of years, people had dreamed of exploring beyond Earth. But these dreams had always seemed fanciful—until human beings learned to fly. Then scientists began to invent new ways of flying faster and farther. In 1957 the Soviet

Union put an object into orbit around the Earth. The object was known as an artificial *satellite*. The Space Age had begun.

President Eisenhower started a program to catch up with the Soviets in space. President Kennedy decided to try to beat them to the moon. In May 1961, Kennedy told Congress that the U.S. should put an astronaut on the moon before 1970. That was only nine years away.

Congress liked Kennedy's idea. The race to the moon was on. About 400,000 Americans worked in the space program. It cost more than 24 *billion* dollars.

**Around the Earth.** Many space flights were made, some with astronauts, some without. In 1962 John Glenn became the first U.S. astronaut to orbit Earth in space. In the U.S., astronauts such as Glenn were heroes. Television brought the space flights into American living rooms. Gradually the U.S. caught up with the Soviets.

The last moon practice flight,

Apollo 10, took place in May 1969. Two astronauts flew to within nine miles (about 14 kilometers) of the moon. Everything went well. The stage was set for Apollo 11, the moon landing.

The moon flight was set to blast off from Cape Kennedy, Florida, on Wednesday, July 16, 1969. Nearly a million people crowded nearby beaches to see it. On the launching pad, the huge rocket and spaceship looked like a tall white candle. It was as high as a 36-story building.

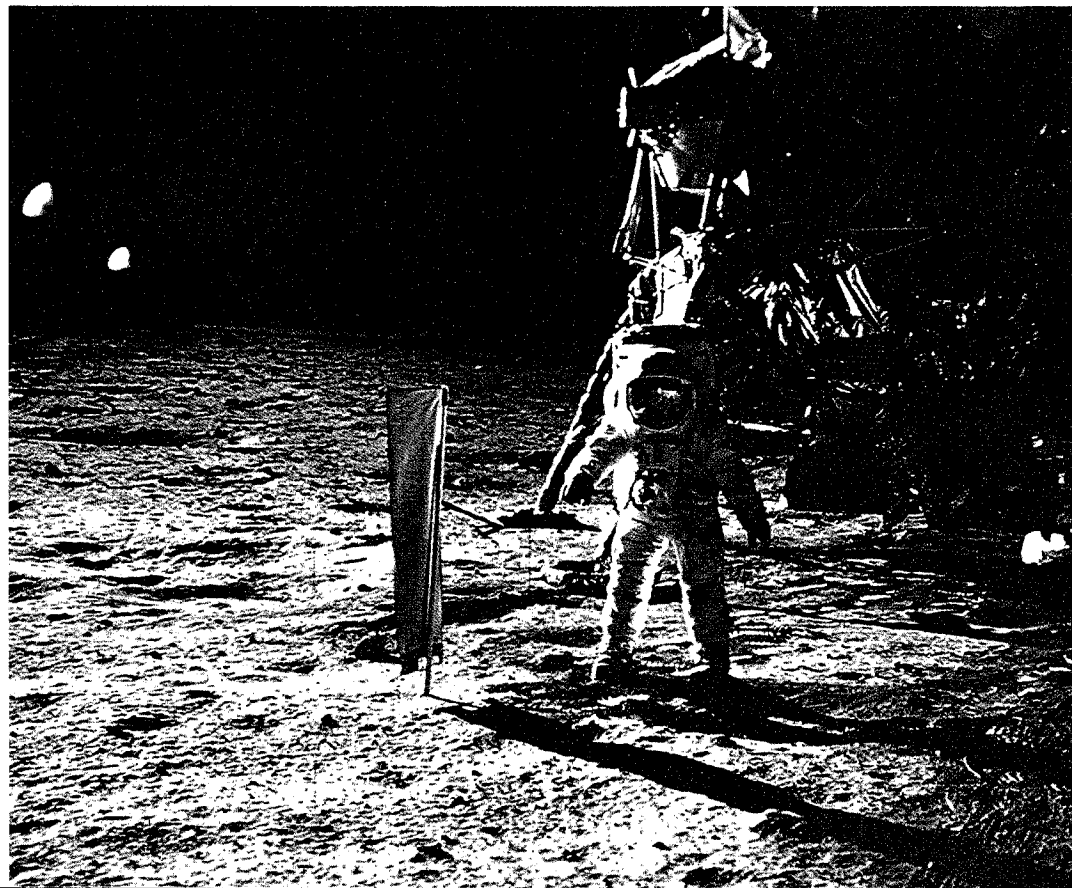
At 6:45 A.M., the three astronauts—Neil Armstrong, Edwin Aldrin, and Michael Collins—stepped into the spaceship. The door was shut and sealed behind them. During the long countdown, ground

crews checked out all equipment. Then a worker pressed a button in the control room. Orange flames and dark smoke shot from under the rocket. A roar like thunder filled the air. Apollo 11 lifted off the ground. Within minutes it was out of sight.

**To the moon.** On Saturday, July 19, Apollo 11 neared the moon and went into orbit around it. The next day, Armstrong and Aldrin entered the machine that would take them to the moon's surface. It was called a Lunar Module (LM). The LM looked like a big bug with four legs. Collins remained in the command ship *Columbia* in orbit around the moon.

The actual landing on the moon was the most dangerous part of the trip. The moon's surface has many

*The Space Age reached its high point in 1969, when two U.S. astronauts landed on the surface of the moon. Here, Edwin Aldrin takes his moon walk. Behind him is Apollo 11's Lunar Module, the Eagle.*



large craters (holes). It also has many large rocks. If the LM had hit a rock or fallen into a crater, it could have been the end for the astronauts. On the way down, they saw that they were headed for a crater. But Armstrong took over the controls from the automatic pilot. He steered the LM to a safe landing. At 4:17 P.M. on July 20, Armstrong radioed a message back to Earth: "The Eagle has landed."

On Earth millions of people shouted with joy.

Six hours later, Armstrong and Aldrin stepped on the moon. They set up a U.S. flag. They picked up rocks and sand to take back to Earth for study by scientists. The astronauts spent 21 hours on the moon. Their space suits protected them from the extreme heat and cold. It was 234 degrees Fahrenheit (112 degrees Celsius) in the sunlight and 279 below zero (minus 73 degrees Celsius) in the shade. The space suits also gave them oxygen and water.

The next day, Armstrong and Aldrin climbed back into the LM and took off from the moon's surface. They rejoined the *Columbia*. Then the long trip home began. From 175,000 miles (280,000 kilometers) out in space, the astronauts sent back a television picture of Earth. On Thursday, July 24, they splashed down safely in the Pacific Ocean.

**Far into space.** Five more flights went to the moon. Then the space program began exploring farther reaches of space with unmanned rockets.

By the 1970's, more and more people were becoming critical of the space program. They said it was

wrong for the United States to spend so much money exploring space. The U.S. should take care of its problems on Earth, they said. Poverty, disease, injustice—these were the problems that needed attention, not outer space.

The space program's defenders pointed out its benefits. Humankind gained knowledge about the universe and the creation of Earth. And much of the research done for the space program helped improve life on Earth. Out of this research came devices such as pocket calculators and tiny cells that produce energy from the sun.

But just about everyone agreed that the moon landings were a great achievement. Humans had walked where no mortal had ever set foot before. These courageous explorers had taken human thoughts and feelings to the vast darkness of space.

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## Chapter Check

1. What was the purpose of the Apollo program? Which Presidents were first to see the need for such a program?
2. What were the benefits of the space program?
3. Some critics have said that money spent on the Apollo program should have been used to end poverty, disease, and injustice. Do you agree? How would more money help solve such problems? Would money alone solve them? What else might be necessary? Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea to use the money for the Apollo program?

## CHAPTER 74

# Saving the Environment

**J**anuary is usually a windy month in Santa Barbara, California. The breeze blowing in from the Pacific smells like salt. But on January 31, 1969, the breeze had a strange odor. Some surfers on the beach were the first to notice the smell. Was it oil? The ocean began turning black. It *was* oil. The oil stuck to their surfboards. Soon the beaches began to darken.

Later in the day, Santa Barbara residents found the cause of the trouble. An oil well, six miles offshore, had blown out. Thousands of gallons of oil were spilling into the Pacific. For days the oil floated up to the beaches, turning them black. Birds covered with oil couldn't fly. Their feathers no longer kept them warm. Many lay dying.

The Santa Barbara oil spill wasn't the first accident of its kind in the ocean. But it made Americans more aware of a serious problem—**pollution**.

Pollution had been a threat to humans for centuries. Sewage in water

made people sick. Smoke in the air hurt their eyes and lungs. People had worked to prevent such pollution. But the mid-20th century brought

*"We need offshore drilling so that you people can drive your cars to the beaches and enjoy them," says an agent for oil companies in this 1969 Conrad cartoon for The Los Angeles Times.*





new forms of pollution. It seemed to go hand in hand with progress.

In 1969 scientists were already warning about the new kinds of pollution. Here are some of the things that concerned them:

**Air pollution.** For years factories had belched smoke into the air. People had burned trash in their yards. Cities had burned it at dumps. This kind of pollution made clouds of black smoke. But other kinds of air pollution were invisible. For example, automobiles pumped harmful gases into the air. One such gas was carbon monoxide. People who breathe in too much carbon monoxide in closed areas can die from it. In open air, carbon monoxide can damage human health. As more and more cars crowded streets and highways, such health hazards were growing.

**Water pollution.** For centuries, some towns and cities had dumped raw sewage into rivers. But other kinds of water pollution were quite modern. Clothes-washing detergents cause soap suds to clog some streams. Phosphates (minerals) in the detergents made water plants grow too fast. The plants used up oxygen in streams and lakes and killed plant and animal life. Factories dumped oil and other wastes into rivers. So many wastes built up in Cleveland's Cuyahoga (kie-uh-HO-guh) River in 1969, for example, that it actually caught fire. The fire was intense enough to damage two railroad trestles.

**Nuclear waste.** Nuclear energy began producing electricity for some U.S. homes in 1957. But it produced more than electricity. It also pro-

duced waste. This waste is radioactive. That is, it gives off dangerous rays. These rays can harm or kill animals and plants. The waste continues to give off such rays for hundreds of years. It is so dangerous that it cannot be touched by human hands. Instead, nuclear waste is picked up by machinery inside thick walls. Then it must be stored in tanks or caves deep in the earth or the oceans. The more power we produce in nuclear plants, the more waste we must get rid of. But where can we put it? What happens if an earthquake releases the waste? What if it spreads to underground water supplies or into the air?

**Farm chemicals.** In 1962 a writer named Rachel Carson wrote a book called *Silent Spring*. She sounded a warning about a chemical used in farming. It was called DDT. DDT killed insects that once caused serious crop damage. The chemical helped farmers get bigger harvests. But DDT didn't just disappear. It remained in the soil and in the cells of animals. When a bird ate a poisoned insect, some of the chemical stayed in the bird's body. If it ate enough DDT, the bird might die or be unable to produce offspring. Will one year come, asked Carson, when no birds are alive to greet the arrival of spring with song? And what happens to humans when they eat animals whose flesh contains chemicals such as DDT?

**Industrial chemicals.** Many advances in industry depend on new uses of chemistry. One family of chemicals, called PCB's, came into wide use in the 1930's. They were



*Earlier in this century, autos helped shape new cities such as Los Angeles, California. But by the 1970's, cars were proving to be a mixed blessing. Many autos gave off exhaust fumes that poisoned the air along major city roads.*

put into paint, ink, even hand soaps. PCB's began turning up in rivers, in the soil, in the air. Scientists discovered that PCB's can cause nervous

illness and cancer in animals. Many other chemicals besides PCB's were being used in industry. Many people wondered how safe they were.

Life on Earth is very delicate, scientists said. All forms of life depend on other forms of life to survive. We humans depend on plants to produce our food—and even the oxygen we breathe. We depend on birds to control some insects. We depend on bees and other insects to make many of our crops grow. The environment is a complex balance. Anything we do to one part of this balance will upset other parts. If we kill certain insects, many other kinds of animal and plant life will suffer. The balance is so complex that we cannot fully know what changes we may cause.

In the late 1960's, scientists' warnings were beginning to sink in. But what could be done to save the environment?

Some people said the environment must be protected at all costs. These people were known as **environmentalists**. The best way to clean up the environment, they said, was to stop pollution at its source. They wanted strict laws against pollution. If an industry caused pollution, they said, it should pay to clean it up and prevent it for the future.

Others took issue with the environmentalists. They agreed on one point—that pollution must be cut. But they disagreed on how this should be done, and on who should pay for it. Business leaders argued that tax money should be used to help industries stop polluting. Otherwise, they said, some businesses could not afford pollution controls.

They might have to close down. Then workers would lose their jobs.

Moreover, some people argued that not all pollution *could* be stopped. A certain amount of pollution, they said, cannot be avoided in modern life. We must strike a balance between purity of environment and progress, they said.

Some people argued, "People cause pollution, and people can stop it." They urged each individual to examine his or her own life. They stressed, for instance, that people should be more careful about throwing cans away. Find out how you are polluting, they said. Then change your ways.

As the debate went on, the federal government began taking steps against pollution. Congress passed new laws. The government laid down new rules about what could be dumped into rivers and oceans. It ordered pollution controls on cars. It required factories to stop much of the pollution from smokestacks. It banned most uses of DDT. It set up new procedures for testing other chemicals.

Perhaps the most far-reaching action was the *National Environmental Policy Act of 1969*. This act didn't tell anyone to stop doing anything. What it said was: Look before you leap. The law required a study before any federal project could begin. The study asked: How will this project affect the environment? Will it improve the environment? Will it hurt it? A project didn't have to be abandoned just because it might hurt the environment. But the cost to the environ-

ment had to be taken into account.

As time went on, the new laws came more and more under attack. Critics said the laws held down economic growth. Business people complained of extra paperwork. An oil company planning a pipeline had to seek 85 permits from 10 U.S. agencies. It tried for four years. Then it abandoned the project.

In the 1980's, political leaders eased up on some pollution rules. They asked two questions: What did the rule cost? How much good did it do? If they judged the cost greater than the good, they changed the rule. Still, controversy went on. Americans asked: What is a clean environment worth? What is the alternative?

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## Chapter Check

1. What are some different types of pollution? Where do they come from?
2. What actions has the government taken to control pollution? Do these actions seem sensible to you? Explain your answer. Are stronger actions needed? If so, what actions would you suggest?
3. Some environmentalists charge that our modern desire to "conquer nature" causes pollution. Primitive peoples didn't pollute, they argue. Neither did the first Americans. Do you agree? Is it possible to have the comforts of modern life without pollution? Discuss.

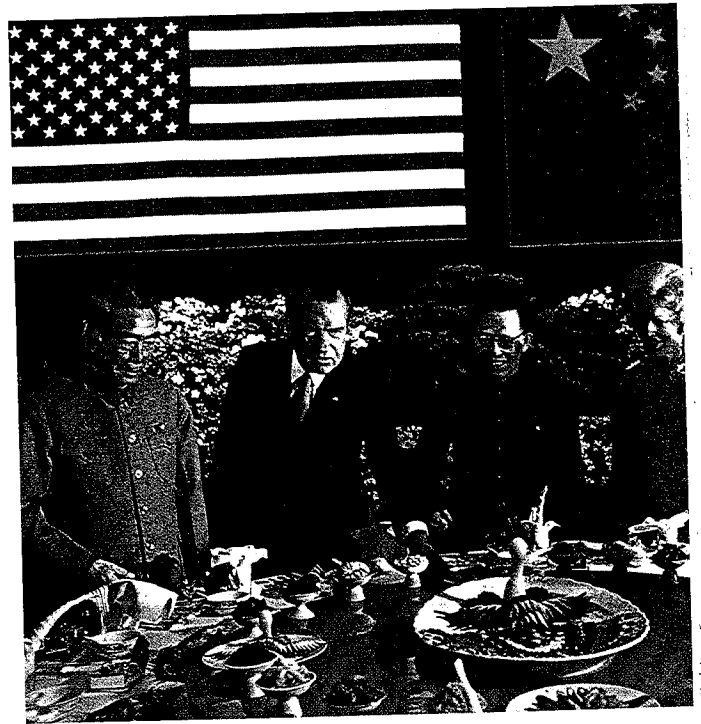
## CHAPTER 75

# Time for a Thaw?

**H**enry Kissinger was sick in bed. At least that is what reporters traveling with President Nixon's top foreign policy adviser were told. No news today, they thought. But they were wrong. Kissinger was not really in a sick bed at all.

Henry Kissinger had slipped away from the press. He was no longer in Pakistan on a trip around the world. Instead, at two o'clock one July morning in 1971, he was in a plane flying over the Himalaya (him-uh-LAY-uh) Mountains. For the first time in 22 years, a high official of the U.S. government was going to China.

The United States and China had been quarreling since 1949. In that year, a long Chinese civil war ended. Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung (MAH-oh dzay-DOONG), took power. A year later, U.S. and Chinese troops were shooting at each other in Korea (see Chapter 59). After Korea, the U.S. and China exchanged little but threats. Now was the time, Kissinger thought, to patch up the quarrel.



*Chinese premier Chou En-lai (left) welcomed President Nixon (second from left) on his trip to China. Here the two dine in Shanghai with a local leader, Chang Chun Ciao, and Pat Nixon.*

Kissinger was in China only two days. But those two days began a new series of events. The U.S. and China began to patch up their quarrel. This affected U.S. dealings with the Soviet Union. And it led to a thaw in the Cold War.

**Dangers of war.** Richard Nixon had thought about the Cold War for many years. When he became President in 1969, he asked Henry Kissinger to help him guide U.S. foreign policy. Kissinger already had some strong opinions. As a college professor, he had written an important book on nuclear weapons. In it, he had taken a hard line against Communist nations. But he had also stressed the dangers of modern weapons. He had urged the U.S. to find a way to avoid all-out war with the Communist world.

This same theme would be sounded by President Nixon. The goal was called **détente** (day-TAHNT), a French word meaning "relaxation." The idea was to relax the tensions of the Cold War. The plan was to improve U.S. relations with the Soviet Union and China.

There were obstacles to the new plan, though. Soviet and Chinese leaders were suspicious of the United States. They said that the U.S. had been an "international bully." Most Americans, for their part, were suspicious of Communists. For decades, U.S. leaders had been speaking out strongly against communism. Richard Nixon had been one of them. In time, Nixon's stand against communism helped him to sell *détente* to the American people. His supporters said he could be trusted to bargain with Communists.

It took some changes in the Communist world, though, to give Nixon his chance. The Soviet Union and China had been close allies during the early years of the Cold War. Then, during the 1960's, they began to quarrel. Mao Tse-tung accused the Soviets of straying from true communism. China and the Soviet Union argued over where their nations' boundary ran. By 1969 Soviet and Chinese soldiers were shooting at each other from time to time along their shared boarder.

**Invitation to talk.** President Nixon realized that China was ready for a change. He saw a chance to work out new agreements with both China and the Soviet Union. The planning was done in secret. Any change in the relations between superpowers would create a big stir. Kissinger went on his secret trip to China in 1971. For two days, he met with Chinese Premier Chou En-lai (joe en-LIE). The Premier gave Kissinger an invitation for President Nixon to visit China. Then Kissinger flew back to Pakistan. He "recovered" from his illness.

When Kissinger returned home, Nixon went on TV with the dramatic news about China. The news created shock waves around the world. The Soviets were unhappy. Many Americans were bewildered. But many other Americans were delighted about the "opening to China."

Nixon, Kissinger, and other officials flew to China in February 1972. With them went swarms of news reporters. Every word, every gesture was recorded for history. At home, Americans watched on TV as Nixon clinked glasses with Chou En-lai at a

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FROM THE DENVER POST



Burdened by the danger and expense of the arms race, the U.S. and the Soviet Union talked about slowing it down. "Do me a favor—help me drop it," says the U.S. in Oliphant's 1970 cartoon for The Denver Post.

glittering banquet. Arm in arm, Nixon and Chou marched from table to table. Six dozen times the glasses clinked as the once-hostile leaders exchanged toasts. Chou and Nixon did not iron out all the differences between their two countries. But they did put stress on the hopes that now united them.

**Limit on weapons.** The new warmth between the U.S. and China worried the leaders of the Soviet Union. They didn't want China and the U.S. to team up against them. They decided to seek new agreements with the United States too.

Ever since World War II, the U.S. and the Soviet Union had been building bigger and bigger weapons. Neither nation wanted to fall behind the other. Each feared that the other would destroy it if given half a

chance. But each year, the arms race became more costly. It drained away money that might have gone for homes or hospitals. It posed a constant threat to peace.

In May 1972, President Nixon traveled to Moscow to confer with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev (BRESH-n'yev). It was the first time a U.S. President had visited the Soviet Union in peacetime. The two leaders signed a historic document. It was a treaty aimed at slowing down the arms race. For the first time, it put limits on how many **strategic** (major) weapons each side could have. It was called the *Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT)*.

The **SALT pact** did not stop the arms race. It merely slowed it down. More talks were held later in the 1970's. A second treaty, SALT II, was

drawn up. But the time of *détente* was past. Tensions rose when Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan in 1979. The U.S. refused to ratify SALT II. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union added deadly new weapons to their arsenals.

**Feuds go on.** The world contained many trouble spots. Some were especially dangerous. Disputes in these spots threatened to grow and bring a clash between major powers. One key trouble spot was the Middle East. At issue was a slice of land on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea. This land became known as Palestine. In Biblical times, it was the home of the Jews. But the Jewish people were driven out of it by waves of conquerors. Arabs moved into Palestine. In time, they came to regard the area as their home.

After World War II, the United Nations recommended that Palestine be divided into separate Jewish and Arab nations. The Jews accepted the decision. The Arabs did not. Arab leaders insisted that the U.N. had no right to give away land that the Arabs regarded as theirs by right of historic possession.

The Jewish state of Israel was born in 1948. It had hardly been created when Arab armies attacked it from all sides. Since then the area has often been the scene of bitter fighting—war after war after war.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union took

opposite sides from the first. The Soviets backed the Arabs. The U.S. backed Israel. Later the U.S. formed closer ties with the oil-rich Arab nations. In 1979 U.S. leaders helped work out a peace treaty between Israel and one Arab neighbor, Egypt. Other Arabs denounced the treaty. But to U.S. leaders the pact was a hopeful first step.

The Nixon-Kissinger policy of *détente* proved short-lived. By the early 1980's there was talk of a "Second Cold War" with the Soviets. But *détente* had left its mark, and Nixon's successors kept up his policy of dealing with Communist China.

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## Chapter Check

1. Why did the United States quarrel with China in the 1950's and the early 1960's? What changes made an "opening to China" possible in 1972?
2. What is the meaning of *détente*? How did *détente* represent a change in U.S. foreign policy? What are some possible advantages of *détente*? What do you suppose might be some of its drawbacks? Do you think a policy of *détente* was wise? Why or why not?
3. What was the importance of the SALT agreement? Did the treaty work? Explain your answer.

## CHAPTER 76

# Watergate

“**O**f course I am not dumb and I will never forget when I heard about this—forced entry and bugging. I thought: What is this? What is the matter with these people? Are they crazy?”

The above statement was made by President Nixon on March 21, 1973. He was talking to a member of his White House staff, John Dean. Nobody else was in the President's office on that spring morning in March. But a tape recorder was turned on. It was recording every word the President said.

Nixon and Dean were talking about a scandal that had been making news for almost one whole year. It would continue to make news for another year. Finally the scandal—and the tapes of the President's conversations—would ruin Nixon's career. The name for this scandal was **Watergate**.

The Watergate story is complicated. People still disagree about how deeply the President was involved in it. But these are the basic facts:

Watergate was the name of a fancy hotel, apartment, and office complex in Washington, D.C. In 1972 offices at Watergate were used by the Democrats to run their election campaign against Richard Nixon, the Republican President. At the time, Nixon was hoping to be re-elected to a second term. He was relying on a special committee to plan his campaign and beat the Democrats. The group was called the *Committee to Re-Elect the President*. It met in an office building across the street from the White House. The head of the committee was John Mitchell. Mitchell had been U.S. Attorney General until February 1972.

**Bungled burglary.** In January 1972, Mitchell met with a professional spy, Gordon Liddy. Also present at the meeting was John Dean of Nixon's White House staff. Liddy described his plan for spying on the Democrats. He said his plan would cost a million dollars. Mitchell objected that the plan was too expensive. About two months later, Liddy proposed a



less costly plan that involved spying on Democrats in Watergate. This time Liddy's plan was approved.

Liddy and another government spy, Howard Hunt, hired two Americans and three Cuban refugees to do the work for them. Late one Friday night in June 1972, the five burglars broke into the Democrats' offices in Watergate. But a night watchman became suspicious and called the police. The burglars were caught in the act of tampering with the Democrats' telephones. On Sunday morning, a Washington newspaper told the story of the break-in.

At first, few people took the matter seriously. Only a tiny group knew then about John Mitchell's meeting with Gordon Liddy. The Democratic candidate for President, George McGovern, blamed the Republicans for planning the burglary. But Mitchell insisted that Liddy and Hunt had acted on their own. Nixon was re-elected by a big vote.

The wheels of the law had been set in motion, however. Even before the election, a federal grand jury had begun an inquiry. Liddy, Hunt, and the burglars were sent to jail. Still, some nagging questions remained.

**Secret fund.** Did Liddy and Hunt in fact plan the burglary alone? Or were higher-ups involved? Newspaper stories in *The Washington Post* said that Mitchell had used a secret fund of money to pay for the burglary. If this were true, then what about the President himself? As a close friend of Mitchell, could Nixon have known about the burglary beforehand? Could he have tried to cover up Mitchell's guilt after the burglars' arrest? Nixon assured people that no-

body in the White House was involved in Watergate. But many people now began to wonder. Was Richard Nixon telling the whole truth?

In 1973 a special Senate committee started to look into Watergate. Its hearings were broadcast on TV. The committee sent for the key members of Nixon's White House staff as witnesses. One of the most important witnesses was John Dean.

Dean told the Senate committee about his meeting with John Mitchell and Gordon Liddy. He told of his own attempts to cover up his guilt and the guilt of others. Dean said Nixon knew about the cover-up efforts as early as the autumn of 1972. If this were so, then the President was helping to hide a crime. And, by law, this itself was a crime—"obstructing justice."

The President said he first learned about Dean's cover-up in March 1973. Nixon claimed to be trying to get to the bottom of things. Who was lying—Dean or the President?

**Hidden recorders.** Next the Senate committee learned something even more surprising. A witness revealed that the President had hidden tape recorders in the White House. Nixon had wanted a record for history. He had taped his conversations with almost everyone. There were hundreds

*John Dean tells a Senate committee—and the nation—his version of Watergate.*



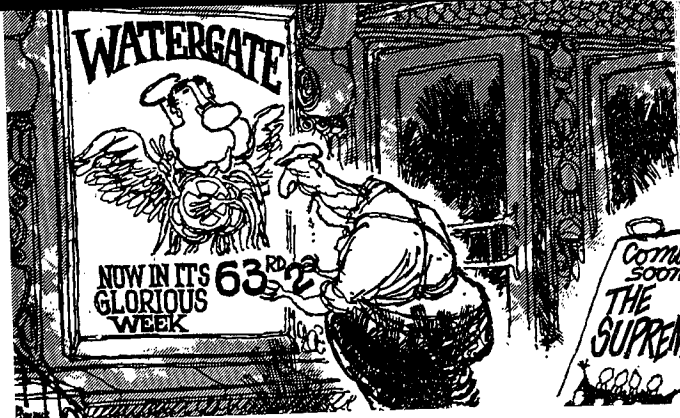
of tapes of the President's past meetings and phone conversations. By listening to these tapes, the committee might at last know the full truth.

But the President refused to give up the tapes. The U.S. Constitution, he said, had created three equal branches of government—the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial. Congress was part of the Legislative Branch. It could not tell the Executive Branch what to do.

Many members of Congress rejected Nixon's argument. They said that the Constitution made the three branches of government equal but not independent. If the President knew something about a crime, they argued, it was his duty to say so. If he refused, it was Congress' duty to find out the truth. To do this, the Congressional committee had a right to the tapes. This was the law, these people argued, and not even the President was above the law.

Now the battle lines were drawn. Nixon's own lawyers were firm. Congress has only one power over the President, they argued. It is spelled out in the Constitution. First, the House of Representatives must impeach (accuse) the President of "high crimes and misdemeanors." Then the Senate must decide whether the President is guilty of the House's charges against him. If two thirds of the Senators find him guilty, the President must leave office.

Impeachment is a most serious matter. Only one President had ever been impeached—Andrew Johnson in 1868. He had not been found guilty. But now talk of impeachment began to spread. Some members of Congress demanded it. Newspaper



Television gave close coverage to the Senate hearings on Watergate. As they continued, some people compared them to other "shows." This cartoon is by Mike Peters of The Dayton Daily News.

editorials said Nixon should resign to prevent impeachment. Opinion polls showed that a majority of Americans distrusted their President. What was he to do?

## Chapter Check

1. Who was responsible for planning the Watergate burglary? If Nixon did not plan it, why did the burglary cause him such trouble?
2. What was the purpose of the hidden tape recorders in the White House? Why didn't President Nixon let the Senate committee have the tapes?
3. In your judgment, what was the worst part about the Watergate scandal: (a) The burglary itself? (b) The fact that it was not taken seriously until after the election of 1972? (c) Richard Nixon's failure to tell people the complete truth about Watergate? (d) The way John Dean testified against the President? Explain your answer.

## CHAPTER 77

# A President Resigns

**I**t was Sunday evening, April 29, 1974. Richard Nixon was calm as he faced the TV cameras. Beside him on a table were 38 notebooks. They contained the transcripts (typed records) of many of his White House tapes. Nixon pointed to the notebooks and said that everyone could now read them. "I want there to be no question remaining," he declared, "about the fact that the President has nothing to hide."

Nixon was going part way to meet Congress' demands. He was releasing only transcripts—not the tapes themselves. The transcripts, he said, had been edited to remove bad language. But Nixon said they contained all the important parts of his conversations. He asked Americans to judge for themselves whether he was telling the truth about Watergate.

Up to this time, Nixon had thought he could fight off impeachment. He thought it was a party issue. He thought Democrats would vote against him, but that Republicans would stand by him. The Democrats

alone did not have enough votes to remove him from office.

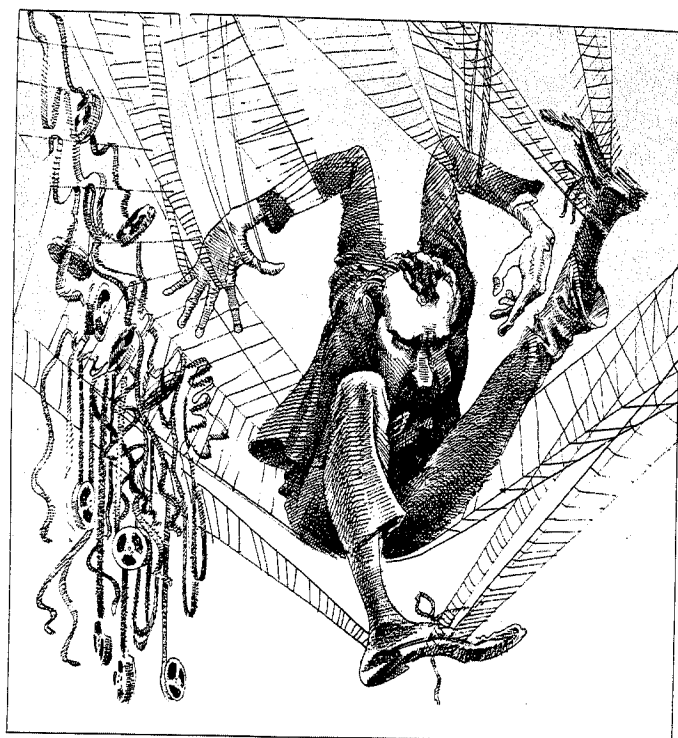
Since January 1974, a committee of the House had been meeting to decide whether Nixon should be impeached. There were 21 Democrats on this committee and 17 Republicans. Only one Republican had been expected to vote for impeachment. But now Republican committee members read the transcripts of Nixon's tapes over and over. Six of them concluded that the President deserved to be impeached.

**Court order.** There was still worse news for Nixon. The Supreme Court ruled that he would have to surrender 64 more of his tapes. It said he had no right to keep this evidence from being used in a court trial. Nixon had appointed four of the Supreme Court Justices. In a sense, then, they owed their jobs to him. Yet three of these men agreed with five other Justices on the point. Now Nixon had to give in or else openly defy the law. He turned over the tapes.

The President had had good reason to be worried. One of the tapes recorded a meeting between himself and a close adviser, H. R. Haldeman (HALL-duh-man). This meeting had occurred in June 1972, only one week after the Watergate burglary. Haldeman had told Nixon that leading Republicans had paid for the burglary. Haldeman had said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) was working on the case. He had warned that the FBI might soon find out who was involved. Nixon had then told Haldeman to make the FBI drop its work on the case. In other words, Nixon was part of the cover-up of the Watergate burglary almost from the beginning.

Listening to this tape of the Haldeman meeting, President Nixon's lawyers were shocked. His Republican friends in Congress were even more shocked. They realized now that he had been misleading them all along. Republican Senators came to see Nixon in the White House. They told him that the House would certainly impeach him. But there was at least one way Nixon could stop this from happening. He could resign immediately. And this, finally, was what Richard Nixon decided to do.

**Family ordeal.** On August 7, 1974, the President gathered his family about him. He told them of his decision. At noon on Friday, August 9, he would resign. The President wanted one last photograph taken of himself and his family in the White House. He linked arms with his wife, Pat, and his two daughters, Tricia and Julie. He told them to smile, even though they all felt like crying. They smiled, and the picture was



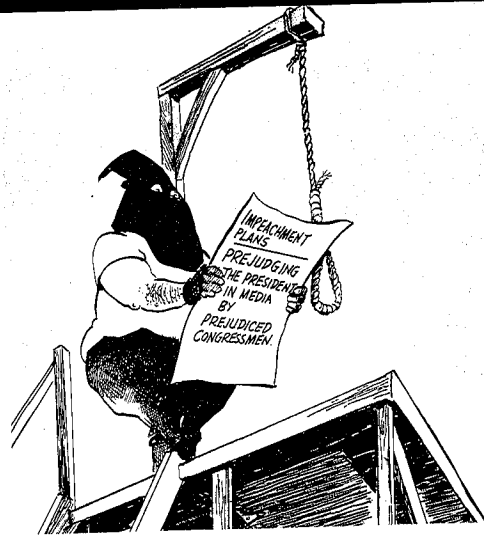
*Cartoonist Robert Pryor believed that Nixon had caught himself in a web made from tape recordings of his conversations with aides.*

taken. Then Julie burst into tears. Her father tried to comfort her.

No President in U.S. history had ever resigned before. No President had ever been forced to leave office before his term ended. For the Nixon family, and for the nation, it was a tragic time.

On August 9, Richard Nixon and his family flew home to California. A new family prepared to move into the White House. It was the family of the new President, Gerald Ford.

Only a year before, Ford had been a Republican Congressman from Michigan. Then Nixon chose him to be



Did Nixon get a "fair trial"? Cartoonist Hy Rosen thought he did not.

Vice-President. It was not an election year. But Nixon's first Vice-President, Spiro Agnew, had resigned in October 1973. Agnew had been accused of taking part in a bribery scandal. He had been found guilty of tax evasion. Ford became Vice-President when Congress approved him. And this put Ford in line to take over when Nixon resigned.

**Presidential pardon.** Americans seemed relieved to have Gerald Ford as their President. He was not controversial, as Richard Nixon had been. He seemed honest and straightforward, somebody you could trust. Ford wanted to end the nation's anguish over Watergate. Many people expected to see Richard Nixon face trial for the crime of "obstructing justice."

Then President Ford made a surprise announcement. He said he was pardoning Richard Nixon for any illegal acts that he might have committed as President. He said Nixon had suffered enough punishment. Nixon was now a sick man. There was no

point making him suffer through a trial. The nation, Ford said, must forget Watergate and get on with its other business.

Some Americans accepted Ford's decision. Some even praised Ford for showing mercy. But other Americans wondered: What kind of justice is this? Other people had gone to jail for crimes less serious than those Nixon was accused of. Why should a former President get special treatment?

After a while, the anger died down. Some Americans even congratulated themselves about the Watergate affair. After all, hadn't the nation proved that a President must also obey the law? The Constitution still worked. The U.S. system of government had been tested to the utmost by the Watergate scandal. And it had survived the test.

## Chapter Check

1. Why did Richard Nixon decide to resign from the Presidency? Why was this an important historic occasion?
2. Who succeeded Nixon as President? How did the new President treat former President Nixon? What opinions did the American public express about this treatment? What, in your opinion, should have been done about Nixon?
3. If a President is guilty of a crime, should the President be sent to jail? Should the President be pardoned instead? Or does it all depend on what kind of crime the President commits? Explain your answers.

# Looking Back: Searching for New Values

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## MAIN EVENTS

1. On July 20, 1969, U.S. Astronaut Neil Armstrong became the first person to walk on the moon.
2. The space program took off in the 1970's. Many people believed that it was wrong to spend so much money in space. They said the problems of hunger and poverty on Earth should be taken care of first.
3. Scientists warned of the health hazards of pollution. Environmentalists called for strict laws against pollution.
4. As President, Richard Nixon tried to improve relations with Communist nations. Nixon made trips to both China and the Soviet Union in 1972.
5. During the 1972 Presidential campaign, some people broke into the Democratic campaign headquarters in Washington, D.C. It was discovered that these burglars had been hired by Nixon's campaign committee to spy on the Democrats.
6. During the course of the investigation, it came out that Nixon had known about the break-in almost from the start. He had ordered a cover-up. People began to call for his impeachment.
7. President Nixon resigned on August 9, 1974.
8. Gerald Ford became President. Ford pardoned Nixon for any crimes he may have committed.

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## WORDS TO KNOW

The sentences below contain vocabulary terms used in Part 13. Number your paper from 1 to 7, and then explain in writing each of the terms shown in **bold** print.

1. In 1957, the Soviet Union put the first artificial **satellite** into space.
2. In the 1970's, Americans became more aware of the dangers of **pollution**. Many tried to do something about it.

3. **Environmentalists** wanted strict laws against pollution.
4. Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon recommended a policy of **détente** with the Soviet Union.
5. In 1972, President Nixon and Soviet leader Brezhnev signed the **SALT pact**.
6. Some people believe that **strategic** weapons are a constant threat to peace.
7. President Ford wanted the nation to forget **Watergate** and get on with its other business.

## THINKING AND WRITING

### A. A Letter of Application

In 1962, John Glenn became the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the Earth. Since then, dozens of U.S. astronauts have traveled on space missions. Recently, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has sent scientists and people in other fields into space. Someday soon, NASA may decide to send a high school student into space. When the time comes, there will be a lot of applications.

Write a letter to the people at NASA telling them why they should choose you. In your letter, answer the following questions: (a) Why do you want to go? (b) What do you have to offer to the space program? (c) What do you hope to learn? (d) How will you use this experience in the future?

### B. Conducting an Interview

Imagine that you are a reporter for a local television station. Former President Richard Nixon will be in town for the day, and you have been assigned to interview him. Prepare the questions you plan to ask him.

First list three topics that you will cover in the interview. Second, write at least two questions for each topic. Then, think about the possible answers to each question, and write some possible follow-up questions.

### C. Fighting Pollution

In this exercise, you will make a chart about pollution in your community.

First, make a list of the different types of pollution found in your community. Review Chapter 74 on the different types of pollution. There may be some kinds of pollution in your community that are not mentioned in the book. Be sure to include these on your list.

Then, construct a chart with four columns. Use the following as headings for the columns: (a) Type of Pollution; (b) Source of Pollution; (c) Current Community Policy; (d) Suggestions for the Future.

Use the items on your list to fill in the first column, "Type of Pollution." Then, try to complete the second column, "Source of Pollution."

In the third column, "Current Community Policy," tell what the government, the industries, and the people of your community are doing to deal with each type of pollution.

In the fourth column, "Suggestions for the Future," give *your* suggestions for the future. These should include controlling each type of pollution, cleaning up the damage that has been done, and preventing future pollution.

## SHARPENING YOUR SKILLS

The map on this page shows some shifts in the U.S. population between 1970 and 1975. Study the map, then answer the questions.

1. Which state grew the most between 1970 and 1975: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, or Vermont?
2. Which grew the least: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, or South Carolina?
3. Most of the cities shown on the map are located in the South or Southwest. Which of these South-

ern or Southwestern cities is farthest north?

4. Consider the following events: (a) In 1971 an earthquake struck southern California, taking 62 lives and causing billions of dollars in property damage. (b) In 1968 oil was discovered in part of Alaska facing the Arctic Ocean. (c) In 1977 a flash flood took the lives of 68 people in Johnstown, Pennsylvania. Which event do you think had an effect on the growth pattern shown on the map? Why?

### Shifts in U.S. Population, 1970–1975

