CHAPTER THIRTY
THE OVEREXTENDED SOCIETY, 1974–1980

CHAPTER OVERVIEW
This chapter covers the Ford and Carter administrations and their attempts to respond to national emergencies with a “lick your plate clean” and take personal responsibility approach which did not go over well with the public. Americans discovered the high price of defense in the Cold War but in the aftermath of Watergate had little confidence in the federal-government. Grass roots political activity increased but did not expand nationally. A new conservatism driven by a revived religious right was energetic but failed to solve the nation’s malaise. America’s industrial base would continue to erode. Both the Soviets and Americans would come to realize they could not continue The Cold War. Western Europe, Latin America, and Japan increased their share of the world market while the U.S. floundered with its energy problems, persistent poverty and environmental issues.

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES
After reading this chapter and following the study suggestions given, students should be able to:

2. Explain stagflation, the problems that perpetuated it, and federal government response during the administrations of Ford and Carter.
3. Discuss the basis of the new poverty of the 1970s.
4. Summarize the activities of grass roots politics and the politics of the new conservatism.
5. Outline the various foreign policy problems of the Ford and Carter administrations and how they responded to them.
6. Analyze how all of the above items led to the Republican victory in the 1980 election.
7. Making Connections: How did many of the foreign policy issues Carter dealt with illustrate the consequences of policies dating from the 1870s?

CRITICAL THINKING/READING SKILLS

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES: Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania: What was the near disaster at Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania, and how did the community respond to it? What were NIMBYs and how did they work to prevent another TMI? When did the promotion of nuclear energy begin and what effect did the near-disaster at TMI have on it? How was this symbolic of the chapter title, “The Overextended Society”?

STAGFLATION: What was stagflation and what were the statistics of it in economic growth, unemployment and inflation? How was the U.S. world standing affected? According to polls at the end of the 1970s, what did Americans believe about the future? What were the main economic problems?
**The Oil Crisis:** What was OPEC and how did it precipitate an energy crisis? How did the potential for the crisis already exist since the 1950s? How did Americans respond to the Arabs and to the oil companies?

**The Bill Comes Due:** What conservation measures did President Nixon invoke? What effect did the energy prices have on other prices and how was this different from the previous century? What group’s lifestyle was affected?

**Falling Productivity:** What happened to American productivity in the steel industry compared to Western Europe, Latin America and Japan? What were some of the deeper causes of decline? What amount of steel did America produce in 1975 compared to 1947? What other industries were affected? How did major American corporations respond? What was the grim picture in agriculture?

**Blue-Collar Blues:** What were the causes of the blue-collar blues? What change had occurred in the National Labor Relations Board rulings? What area of the work force did grow in organized labor in this era? How many women were in the work force and what was their experience in wage averages from 1955 to 1980? What gains did African American women make: Latinos? What effect did groups like Nine to Five have? How did the AFL-CIO respond?

**Sunbelt/Snowbelt:** What were the sunbelt and snowbelt and what was happening in each in terms of the economy? Why were more people moving to sunbelt areas? What were America’s three most populous states? What was the down side of the sunbelt?

“LEAN YEARS” PRESIDENTS: Who were the lean years presidents and how did they attempt to deal with the decline? What happened to voter participation and why?

“I’m a Ford, Not a Lincoln:” What was the implication of Gerald Ford’s comment that he was a Ford and not a Lincoln? What problems did Ford face as president and what was his program to rejuvenate the economy? How did Ford respond to emergency bills passed by Congress? How did people respond to First Lady Betty Ford by comparison to the president?

**The 1976 Election:** Who were the candidates in the election of 1976 and what were the issues in the election? Why were the Republicans reluctant to nominate Reagan? What was the proposed program of Carter? How well did each candidate run in various parts of the country and how well did the voters turn out?

**The Carter Presidency:** What problems did Carter run into with the economy and with his own style during his presidency? What was Carter’s sense of political reality? Why was Carter not likely to reinvoke New Deal or Great Society initiatives? What economic elements were Carter’s worst domestic enemies?

THE NEW POVERTY: What was different about the poverty of the mid-1970s? What was Michael Harrington’s evaluation of it?

**A Two-Tiered Society:** What were the two tiers of society in the 1970s and how did that connect to the new poverty? What were the statistics of poverty including the gap race? What differences occurred among black Americans and what were sociologist William Julius Wilson’s observations about it? What did other scholars have to say? What was Boston symbolic of in relation to integration of schools? What was the Bakke decision about affirmative action?

**Feminization of Poverty:** What is the meaning of feminization of poverty and what are the statistics of it? How did the average standard of living of divorced men compare to that of
divorced women? What were these trends like in the African American and Puerto Rican communities? What reinforced this pattern in the black community? What were the findings of sociologist Diana Pearce?

**A Permanent Underclass:** What was the permanent underclass Senator Kennedy referred to? Why was the word permanent used? What were the statistics of the underclass? Which states and/or areas had the poorest people? How did sociologists connect poverty to the rising crime rate? How were Indians affected and what were the statistics of poverty for them? What were the decisions of *United States v. Wheeler* and *Oliphant v. Squamish Indian Tribe*?

**COMMUNITIES AND GRASS-ROOTS POLITICS:** How and why did political activism shift to the community levels? What types of issues were the center of attention? What were the overall effects of these activities?

**The New Urban Politics:** What was the success of urban coalitions and how successful were various minority groups? What was the meaning of Maynard Johnson’s comment about civil rights and politics? What was the significance of Mississippi in minority political success? How did minorities improve their position and how did the fiscal crises of the 1970s limit their gains?

**The City and the Neighborhood:** What efforts were made to save cities and neighborhoods from decline? What was the goal of President Carter’s National Commission on Neighborhoods and how was this stifled or diverted?

**The Endangered Environment:** To what extent was the environment endangered and how did grass roots politics connect to it? What were the points of Frances Moore Lappe’s and Barry Commoner’s works? What successes and defeats did the environmentalists experience?

**Small-Town America:** What trends characterized small-town America? What was the low density “exurbia” trend? Why didn’t this growth rejuvenate small town centers and local merchants? What was the 1974 grass roots campaign in Vermont symbolic of? What small towns declined and what was the “snowball effect” that they experienced?

**THE NEW CONSERVATISM:** What was the new conservatism and what groups made up the growth of conservative voters? What was the symbolism of Proposition 13 in California? How did this affect politics?

**The New Right:** What groups made up the New Right or neo conservatives? What religious groups and new religious organizations gave the New Right a greater boost? Besides communists, who was added to the list of “enemies” by leaders like Jerry Falwell? Who was Jesse Helms and how did he make use of the New Right politically?

**Anti-ERA, Anti-abortion:** Why did the New Right particularly concentrate on the two issues of the ERA and abortion policies? Who was Phyllis Schlafly and her STOP ERA campaign? What was the *Roe v. Wade* decision and what campaign took shape as a result?

**The “Me Decade”**: Who coined the term “me decade” and what did it mean? What observations did historian Christopher Lasch make in this work *The Culture of Narcissism*? What was the human potential movement and what were some of the groups that became popular? What religious cults of the right and left developed? How did popular music reflect changes of the late 1960s and 1970s?

**ADJUSTING TO A NEW WORLD:** What adjustments did Americans make in foreign policy? What was the new realism of Ford and Carter?
A Thaw in the Cold War: Why did a thaw develop in the Cold War for both the United States and the Soviet Union? What was the toll military spending exacted from the U.S. economy? What was the Helsinki conference agreement? Why did SALT II fail to win confirmation from the Senate? What was Walter Lippman’s observation?

Foreign Policy and “Moral Principles:” What connection between morality and foreign policy did President Carter make? How consistent was he? What was the legacy of a century that affected most of Carter’s decisions? What nations were criticized in terms of human rights and which ones were not? What group did Carter try to clean up and what happened to his efforts? What changes were embodied in the Panama Canal treaties?

The Camp David Accords: What success did Carter achieve in the Camp David Accords? What were the terms of the agreement? Why didn’t this achievement extend to the rest of the Middle East?

CARTER’S CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE: What was Carter’s “crisis of confidence” speech and how did the public and the press respond? What might have helped Carter restore his standing and what happened instead?

(Mis) Handling the Unexpected: What series of unexpected crises in foreign policy occurred and how was each handled? What feud between Cyrus Vance, Secretary of State, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, National Security Advisor, made the situations worse? What happened to the Cold War under President Carter?

The Iran Hostage Crisis: How did the Iran hostage crisis occur? What policy did the U.S. have in Iran and how did Carter continue it? What advice did Carter follow and what happened? What was the political and economic fallout?

The 1980 Election: What prospects did Carter have for re-election? What other surprise developed in foreign policy? What unified opposition did Carter face from Republicans? What were the results of the election? What was the voter turnout?

CONCLUSION: What debacle and what hopeful signs marked the end of the Nixon, Ford, and Carter years? What continued to make U.S. economic problems worse?

KEY TERMS/VOCABULARY
Identify the following terms:

1. Three Mile Island
2. overextended society
3. stagflation
4. OPEC
5. energy czar
6. Department of Energy
7. steel production
8. Lordstown
9. outsourced
10. AFL-CIO
11. golden age migration
12. Silicon Valley
13. Rustbelt
14. Betty Ford
15. WIN
16. Election of 1976
17. Jimmy Carter
18. superfund
19. Michael Harrington
20. William Julius Wilson
22. underclass
23. United States v. Wheeler
24. Oliphant v. Squamish Indian Tribe
25. Maynard Johnson
27. Community Development Act of 1914
28. COPS
29. ACORN
30. France Moore Lappe
31. Barry Commoner
32. Love Canal
33. Audubon Society
34. Wilderness Society
35. Sierra Club
38. Alaska Pipeline  50. SALT II  63. Presidential Directive 59
39. new conservatism  51. Human rights  64. Ayatollah Ruholla Kohmeini
40. Proposition 13  52. Panama Canal Treaty  65. Mohammed Reza Pahlavi
42. Jerry Falwell  54. Menachem Begin  67. Iran hostage crisis
43. Moral Majority  55. Anwar el-Sadat  68. Marielitos
44. televangelists  56. “crisis of confidence”  69. 1980 Olympics
45. ERA  57. Cyrus Vance  70. Conservative Revolution
47. Hyde Amendment  59. Andrew Young  60. Nigeria and Angola

STUDY SKILLS ACTIVITIES:

1. Cooperative Learning: Divide students into six groups to create a bumper sticker indicative of the 1970s. Each group should cover one of the following subjects: environmental issues, foreign policy, domestic policy, the Election of 1976, the Election of 1980, and Supreme Court cases. Make this a timed activity. Students are forced to reach consensus as to how to illustrate the main ideas of the topic. Place the bumper stickers on the bulletin board for reinforcement and review for Chapter Thirty.

2. Make Connections: As students approach the Advanced Placement United States History Exam, the era of the 1970s and 1980s offers an opportunity to connect their knowledge from earlier in the year to the present. Have students make the following connections:
   a. Compare the new poverty to the poverty issues discussed in the Great Society, Chapter Twenty-Eight.
   b. Compare the decline of the civil rights movement to the decline after Reconstruction in Chapter Seventeen.
   c. Compare the South’s share of sunbelt success to the idea of the New South in Chapter Nineteen.

3. Supreme Court Cases: Read the cases in Chapter Thirty and the synopsis included on pp. 404–405. Why did the 1970s produce such Supreme Court decisions?

4. Writing Skills: The essay prompt at the end of Chapter Thirty asks students to evaluate the presidencies of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. NOTE TO TEACHERS: Here you have a traditional political question. Students must select and analyze two events in the presidential terms of each man and determine how those events contributed to the defeat of that president for a second term bid. Emphasis will still have to be maintained on a strong thesis statement and good use of facts.

5. Document Analysis: Make copies of selected readings in the Documents Set. Roe v. Wade, Affirmative Action, and one article by Gloria Steinam will give students an overview of the era. Have students read the articles then discuss each article as a class activity.
**Supreme Court Cases**

*United States v. Wheeler, 1978*

Wheeler was a member of the Navajo tribe who had pleaded guilty in Tribal Court to a crime and was sentenced. Subsequently, he was indicted by a federal grand jury for the same incident. Wheeler moved to dismiss the indictment on the ground that he had received sentencing from the Tribal Court and this barred federal prosecution. The Supreme Court ruled that tribal sovereignty was recognized except where limited by treaty or Congress. The Court determined that through the treaties between the Navajo tribe and the United States that the Navajo Tribe had never given up its sovereign power to punish tribal offenders.

*Regents of University of California v. Bakke*

Allan Bakke, a white male, had twice applied for admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis. He was rejected both times. The school reserved sixteen places in each class of one hundred for qualified minorities as part of the university’s affirmative action program. Bakke’s test scores and college GPA exceeded those of any of the minority students admitted in the two years that Bakke applied. Bakke contended that he was excluded from admission solely on the basis of race. Bakke sued on the basis that the University of California’s affirmative action program violated his Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection of the laws.

The Court ruled in two 5 to 4 rulings. In the first ruling the majority said that the university’s quota system was a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Reverse discrimination was illegal in any program receiving federal funds and Bakke was entitled to be accepted to the medical school. In the second 5 to 4 ruling the Supreme Court approved affirmative action programs based on race as long as no rigid quotas were involved.

*Roe v. Wade, 1973*

In a 7 to 2 majority the court recognized that a woman’s right to an abortion fell within the right of privacy protected by the Fourteenth Amendment. The decision gave a woman total control over the pregnancy during first trimester. The decision struck down a Texas law that banned nearly all abortions. The Court said that a woman had the right to end a pregnancy, but declared there were limits to the right. A state could still prevent women from having abortions during the final three months of pregnancy in order to protect the life of the unborn child.

Several other cases since Roe has seen the Court make it possible for state legislatures to adopt stricter regulation of abortions. For more information research the cases of *Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health* and *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey.*
Accused Rights

**Gideon v. Wainwright, 1963**

Clarence Gideon was too poor to hire a lawyer and asked the judge to appoint a lawyer. The judge denied his request. Gideon was forced to represent himself and was convicted of breaking into a poolroom with the intent to steal and was sentenced to five years in prison. From jail he filed a petition with the Supreme Court to have his case reviewed. The Court accepted his petition and unanimously ruled in Gideon’s favor. An accused person’s Sixth Amendment right to have a lawyer, even if he or she cannot afford one, applied to state courts as well. Gideon was granted a new trial where he had an attorney to represent him, and he was found not guilty. The Court ruled that every accused person has the right to a lawyer.

**Miranda v. Arizona, 1966**

After his arrest, Ernesto Miranda confessed to charges of kidnapping and rape. The police had not told him of his right to remain silent and to have a lawyer with him during questioning. His confession was later used to convict him. The Supreme Court reversed Miranda’s conviction and established certain guidelines that police must follow before they can question suspects.

**Engle v. Vitale, 1962**

The Supreme Court banned the practice of voluntary school prayer.
MAP SKILLS/Critical Viewing Activities

1. 1970s: Oil Consumption: Locate in Chapter Thirty the section of History and the Land
   a. What does OPEC mean and what countries are part of it?
   b. What happened to the price of oil and energy prices in the 1970s?
   c. What happened in the economy?
   d. What two unanticipated consequences happened?

   a. What overall shifts occurred in the population?
   b. What two events coincided to cause this?
   c. What states gained 20% or more in population?
   d. What states had a loss?

3. Election of 1976
   a. What areas of the country did Carter carry?
   b. In which sections was Ford successful?

4. Gallup Polls on the Equal Rights Amendment, 1975
   a. Did the majority of people favor the ERA?

5. Nuclear Arsenals, the United States and the Soviet Union
   a. When did the Soviet Union surpass the United States in the production of nuclear weapons?
   b. Why did both countries decline in producing nuclear weapons after 1990?
   c. Which treaties aided nuclear disarmament?

Reading Quiz

1. The events at Three Mile Island reinforced a wave of
   a. community-based mobilizations against nuclear power.
   b. construction of new nuclear plants in the far West.
   c. desire to be free of foreign energy sources.
   d. stagnation.

2. Which one of the following is NOT an example of the economic problems of the United States in the early to mid-1970s?
   a. U.S. standard of living dropped to fifth in world rankings.
   b. U.S. dependence on foreign oil grew to 36 percent.
   c. U.S. steel production dropped from 60 to 17 percent.
   d. U.S. Silicon Valley lost production edge to Japan.

3. Critics called Carter a Democrat who talked and thought like a Republican. Which one of the following was NOT one of his actions that seemed to reinforce that?
   a. He sought to reduce the scale of federal government.
   b. He deregulated airlines and banks from federal control.
   c. He created a superfund to clean up abandoned toxic waste sites.
   d. He did not feel redistributing power and wealth would help problems.
4. While the Sunbelt states experienced growth, this state was still among those that accounted for the largest pockets of poverty nationwide:
   a. Texas
   b. New Mexico
   c. Florida
   d. Mississippi

5. Frances Moore Lappe and Barry Commoner both argued that people had to accept the
   a. “politics of the possible.”
   b. restoration of “traditional family values.”
   c. balance and limits of “small is beautiful.”
   d. fact that the U.S. could not run and police the whole world.

6. Which one of the following was NOT an example of the new conservatism?
   a. passage of Proposition 13 in California
   b. decrease in voter participation among conservatives
   c. popularity of the Moral Majority
   d. Phyllis Schafly’s STOP ERA

7. The first major politician to realize the power of the New Right and appeal directly to it for fundraising was
   b. Jerry Ford.
   c. Jesse Helms.
   d. George Bush.

8. In terms of conservatism, which one of the following has the LEAST in common with the other three?
   a. Sun Myung Moon
   b. Jim Jones
   c. Pat Robertson
   d. Jerry Falwell

9. The 1975 conference in Helsinki, Finland moved away from the Cold War days by
   a. establishing a second SALT treaty.
   b. accepting the boundaries of countries drawn after World War II.
   c. having all major powers agree to stay neutral in the Arab-Israeli conflict.
   d. limiting world arms sales.

10. Which one of these areas came out successfully for Carter in terms of his policies?
    a. Iran
    b. Panama
    c. Nicaragua
    d. Cuba

11. Which one of the following was NOT a part of the Camp David Accords?
    a. Egypt recognized the existence of Israel as a state.
    b. Israel gave the Sinai Peninsula back to Egypt.
    c. Egypt agreed to supply oil to the United States.
    d. The “legitimate rights of the Palestinians” were vaguely agreed to.

12. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan prompted critics to call it the “Russian Vietnam” because of this similarity:
    a. they got caught in an unwinnable civil war with guerrillas against them.
    b. they fabricated a pretext for moving in there in the first place.
    c. they were trying to counter U.S. influence in Afghanistan.
    d. major protests broke out in the Soviet Union.
13. The commonality between Cyrus Vance and William Jennings Bryan resigning as secretary of state was that they both
   a. advocated negotiation instead of any seemingly belligerent action.
   b. believed in staying out of the issue in the first place.
   c. were in favor of the League/United Nations dealing with the problems.
   d. were compromised by scandalous involvement in clandestine activities.

14. Which one of the following Supreme Court cases is NOT correctly matched with the decision?
   a. Bakke/affirmative action could operate only when a legacy of unequal treatment could be proven.
   b. Roe v. Wade/state laws prohibiting abortions in the first two trimesters constituted a violation of a woman’s right of privacy.
   c. Oliphant v. Squamish Indian Tribe/tribes could not arrest or punish trespassers who violated their laws.
   d. United States v. Wheeler/National Labor Relations Board had to take management needs into account.

CHRONOLOGY AND MAPS:

15. Which one of the following did NOT occur in 1978?
   a. Bakke v. University of California decision
   b. Panama Canal treaties
   c. Middle East peace accord at Camp David
   d. Three Mile Island nuclear accident

16. The only northern state to experience a high gain of population in the 1970s was

SHORT ESSAY:

17. What factors contributed to the economic problems of the 1970s?
18. What problems plagued the Ford Administration?
19. What contributed to the widening gap between the rich and the poor in the 1970s?

EXTENDED ESSAY:

20. Analyze the emergence of American conservatism in the late 1970s.
22. In retrospect, was the Republican Party’s decision to reject Ronald Reagan as its candidate in 1976 a poor one? Defend your answer.