

3 The Ford and Carter Years

- TERMS & CONCEPTS
- Gerald R. Ford
 - Jimmy Carter
 - National Endowment for the Humanities
 - Camp David
 - Ayatollah Khomeini

LEARN ABOUT the domestic and foreign policies of the Ford and Carter administrations
TO UNDERSTAND how each man attempted to solve the country's worsening economic crisis and deal with an increasingly complex world.

ONE AMERICAN'S STORY

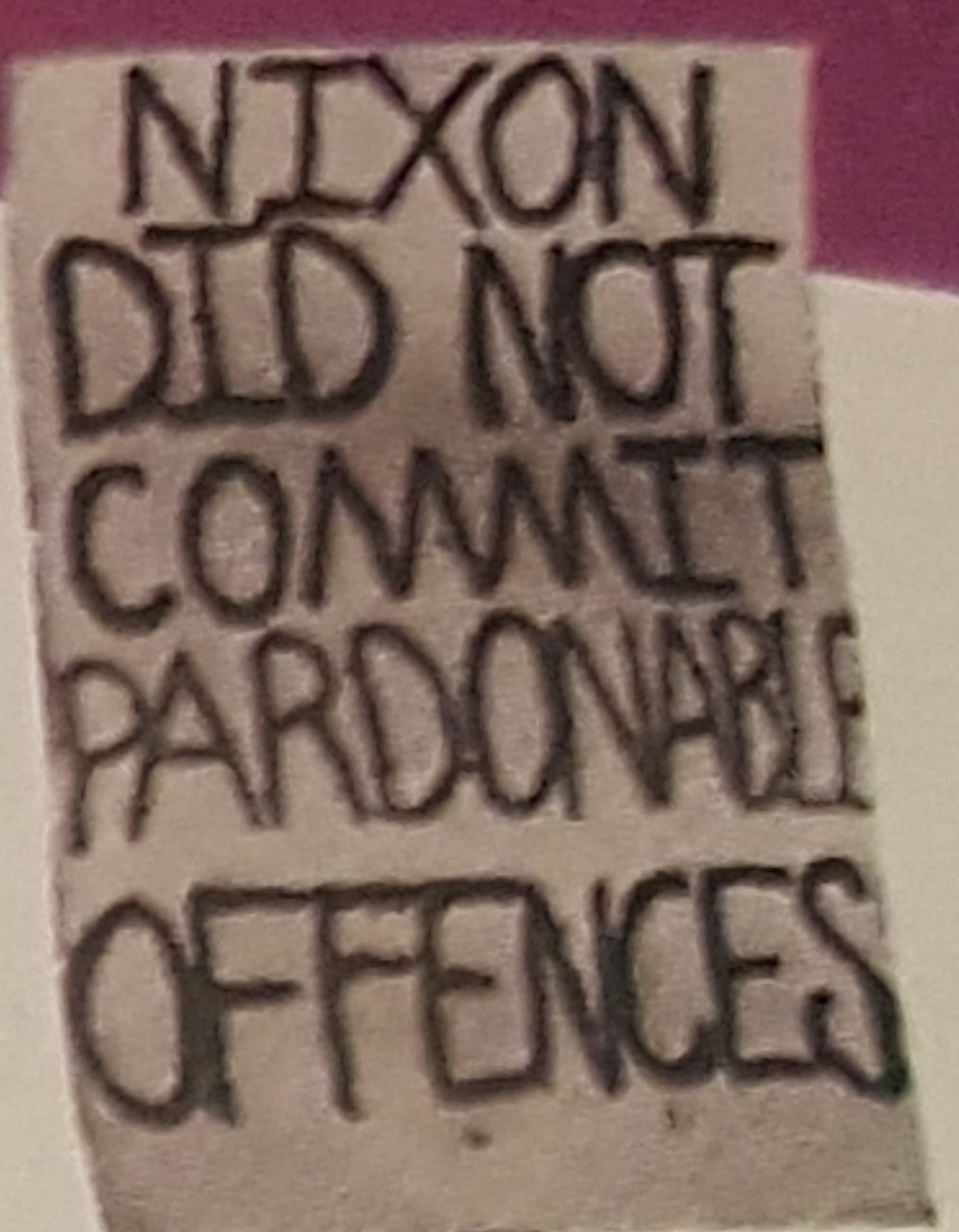
James D. Denney couldn't believe what he was hearing. Barely a month after Richard Nixon had resigned amid the Watergate scandal, President Gerald Ford had granted Nixon a full pardon. "Someone must write, 'The End,'" Ford had declared in a televised statement. "I have concluded that only I can do that." Denney sat down and wrote a letter to the editors of *Time* magazine, in which he voiced his anger at Ford's decision.

A PERSONAL VOICE

Justice may certainly be tempered by mercy, but there can be no such thing as mercy until justice has been accomplished by the courts. Since it circumvented justice, Mr. Ford's act was merely indulgent favoritism, a bland and unworthy substitute for mercy.

JAMES D. DENNEY, *Time*, September 23, 1974

James Denney's feelings were typical of the anger and the disillusionment with the presidency that many Americans felt in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal. During the 1970s, Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter sought to restore America's faith in its leaders. However, both men had to focus much of their attention on battling the nation's worsening economic situation.



Ford Travels a Rough Road

Upon taking office, **Gerald R. Ford** urged Americans to put the Watergate scandal behind them. "Our long national nightmare is over," he declared. However, the nation's nightmarish economy persisted, and Ford's policies offered little relief.

"A FORD, NOT A LINCOLN" Gerald Ford seemed to many to be a likable and honest man. Upon becoming vice-president after Spiro Agnew's resignation, Ford candidly admitted his limitations. "I'm a Ford, not a Lincoln," he remarked. Raised in Grand Rapids, Michigan, Ford was a product of the nation's heartland. Some people called him "square," but Ford saw nothing wrong with this. He once remarked, "It's . . . the straight, the square that accounts for the great stability of our nation. It's a quality to be proud of."

On September 8, 1974, President Ford pardoned Richard Nixon in an attempt to move the country beyond Watergate. The move cost Ford a good deal of public support. The president hoped to rebuild that support by scoring a victory on what many Americans considered to be the most pressing issue facing the nation: the troubled economy.

FORD TRIES TO "WHIP" INFLATION By the time Ford took office, America's economy had gone from bad to worse. Both inflation and unemployment continued to rise. After the massive OPEC oil-price increases in 1973, gasoline and heating oil costs had soared, pushing inflation from 6 percent to 12 percent by the end of 1974. In September 1974, the president invited the nation's top economic leaders to the White House to discuss economic policy.



As this *Time* cover suggests, Americans looked to Gerald Ford to move the country beyond Watergate.

SECTION 3 RESOURCES

PRINT RESOURCES

- IN-DEPTH RESOURCES: UNIT 7**
- Guided Reading, p. 3
 - Geography Application: Oil Consumption in the 1970s, p. 6
 - Literature: from *Memories of the Ford Years*, p. 10

ALTERNATIVE ASSESSMENT BOOK
See forms for supporting and scoring alternative assessments.



TECHNOLOGY RESOURCES

strategies. In the end, Ford promoted a program of massive citizen action, called "Whip Inflation Now" or WIN. The president called on Americans to cut back on their use of oil and gas and to take other energy-saving measures. (See *inflation* on page 936 in the Economics Handbook.)

In the absence of incentives, though, the plan fell flat. Ford then tried to curb inflation through a "tight money" policy. He cut government spending and encouraged the Federal Reserve Board to restrict credit through higher interest rates. These actions triggered the worst economic recession in 40 years.

FORD BATTLES THE CONGRESS

As Ford implemented his economic programs, he continually battled a Democratic Congress intent on pushing its own economic agenda. The Democrats called for a federal jobs program to bring down unemployment, which had climbed to 8.5 percent in 1975. Ford rejected the plan, claiming that pumping more money into the economy would only increase inflation. Throughout his term, Ford vetoed bills to fund programs for health, education, and housing. During his two years as president, Ford vetoed more than 50 pieces of legislation.

In the end, Ford's economic policies received mixed reviews. Inflation had dropped below 10 percent by 1975 and continued to decline slowly. Unemployment also retreated, but by 1976 it remained stuck at around 8 percent. Ford's policies, while holding stagflation steady, seemed to offer no lasting solutions.

FORD'S FOREIGN POLICY

Ford fared slightly better in the international arena. With little experience in diplomacy, he relied heavily on Henry Kissinger, who continued to hold the key position of secretary of state. Following Kissinger's advice, Ford pushed ahead with Nixon's policy of negotiation with China and the Soviet Union. In November 1974, he met with Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev to plan the next round of arms talks. Less than a year later, he traveled to Helsinki, Finland, to discuss the future of East-West relations. There, some 35 nations, including the Soviet Union, signed the so-called Helsinki Accords—a series of agreements that promised greater cooperation between the nations of Eastern and Western Europe.

However, like presidents before him, Ford encountered trouble in Southeast Asia. In 1975, the Communist government of Cambodia seized the U.S. merchant ship *Mayaguez* in the Gulf of Siam. Ford responded with a massive show of military force. He ordered two air strikes against Cambodia and sent a crack team of U.S. marines to rescue 39 crew members aboard the ship. The total operation cost the lives of 41 U.S. troops. Most Americans applauded the action as evidence of the country's strength. However, critics argued that the mission had cost more lives than it had saved and that the president had acted without consulting Congress.

Jimmy Carter Enters the White House

Gerald Ford won the Republican nomination for president in 1976. However, he had to fend off a powerful conservative challenge from former California governor Ronald Reagan. Because the Republicans seemed divided over Ford's leadership, and because Ford's economic policies had failed to provide substantial relief, the Democrats confidently eyed the White House. "We could run an aardvark this year and win," predicted one Democratic leader. The Democratic nominee was indeed a surprise: a nationally unknown peanut farmer and former governor of Georgia, **Jimmy Carter**.

Difficult Decisions IN HISTORY

PARDONING PRESIDENT NIXON

President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon outraged many Americans. The *New York Times* called Ford's decision "a body blow to the president's own credibility and to the public's reviving confidence in the integrity of its government."

President Ford argued that the pardon of Richard Nixon was in the country's best interest. In the event of a Watergate trial, Ford argued, "ugly passions would again be aroused. . . . And the credibility of our free institutions . . . would again be challenged at home and abroad." Ford called the pardon decision "the most difficult of my life, by far."

1. How might the country have been affected if a former United States president had gone on trial for possible criminal wrongdoing?
2. If you had been in President Ford's position, would you have pardoned Richard Nixon? Why or why not?

KEY PLAYER



JIMMY CARTER
1924–

James Earl Carter, Jr., was born into relative prosperity. His father, Earl, owned a large farm and also ran a local store. However, Earl Carter, a disciplinarian who tried to instill a sense of hard work and responsibility in his son, refused to give Jimmy an allowance.

To earn money for himself, Carter and a friend undertook a variety of jobs. Throughout his childhood, Carter sold peanuts, ran a small hamburger and hot dog stand, collected newspapers and sold them to fish markets, and sold scrap iron.

Before entering politics, Carter joined the navy, where he excelled in electronics and naval tactics. In 1952, he joined a select group of officers who helped develop the world's first nuclear submarines. The group's commander was Captain Hyman G. Rickover. Carter later wrote that Rickover "had a profound effect on my life—perhaps more than anyone except my own parents. . . . He expected the maximum from us, but he always contributed more."

THE ELECTION OF 1976 During the post-Watergate era—in which cynicism toward the Washington establishment ran high—an outsider such as Jimmy Carter proved to be the right candidate for the time. The soft-spoken man from Plains, Georgia, promised to restore integrity to the nation's highest office. "I will never tell a lie to the American people," he said with a distinctive Southern drawl.

Throughout the presidential campaign, Carter and Ford squared off over the key issues of inflation, energy, and unemployment. However, Carter gained fewer points for his knowledge of economic issues than for his personality and sense of morality. He openly declared himself a born-again Christian, and he took pride in his pro-civil rights stance. In addition, Carter had a warm, direct campaign style. He would walk up to a stranger on the street, smile, and stick out his hand. "Hello, I'm Jimmy Carter and I'm running for president," he'd say. "I'd like your vote."

Ford began the 1976 campaign well behind Carter in the polls. Although he narrowed the gap by election day, he could not close it. Jimmy Carter won a close election, claiming 40.8 million popular votes to Ford's 39.1 million.

GEORGIA COMES TO WASHINGTON From the very beginning, the new first family brought a down-to-earth style to Washington. Refusing the traditional limousine ride after his inauguration, Carter walked with his wife, Rosalynn, and daughter, Amy, down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. After settling into office, Carter stayed in touch with the people by holding Roosevelt-like "fireside chats" on radio and television. He also held "phone-ins" so that people could talk directly with their president.

However, Carter failed to reach out to Congress in a similar way. Because he had run as an outsider, Carter refused to play the "insider" game of compromise and deal making. Relying mainly on a team of advisers from Georgia, Carter even alienated himself from congressional members of his own party. Democrats on Capitol Hill often joined Republicans to sink the president's budget proposals, as well as his ambitious legislative agenda, which included major reforms of tax and welfare systems.

Carter's Domestic Agenda

Like Gerald Ford, President Carter focused much of his attention domestically on battling the country's energy and economic crises. While he met with some successes, Carter could not bring the United States out of its economic downswing.

CONFRONTING THE ENERGY CRISIS Carter considered the energy crisis to be the single most important issue facing the nation. A large part of the problem, the president believed, was America's overreliance on imported oil. On April 18, 1977, Carter sat before the nation and in a fireside chat urged his fellow Americans to cut their consumption of oil and gas.

A PERSONAL VOICE

The energy crisis has not yet overwhelmed us, but it will if we do not act quickly. It is a problem . . . likely to get progressively worse through the rest of this century. . . . Our decision about energy will test the character of the American people and the ability of the president and the Congress to govern this nation. This difficult effort will be the "moral equivalent of war," except that we will be uniting our efforts to build and not to destroy.

PRESIDENT CARTER, quoted in *Keeping Faith*

TEACHING OPTIONS

Teaching Less Proficient Readers

Clarifying As students read pages 802–804, help less proficient readers understand the concepts of inflation and foreign examples. Defi

Carter asked Americans to turn down their thermostats to 65 degrees in the day and 55 degrees at night. He proposed a cabinet-level Department of Energy and presented Congress with more than 100 proposals on energy conservation and development. The battle over the president's energy policy started almost immediately. Representatives from oil- and gas-producing states fiercely resisted some of the proposals. Automobile manufacturers also lobbied against gas-rationing provisions. "It was impossible for me to imagine the bloody legislative battles we would have to win," Carter later wrote.

Out of the battle came the **National Energy Act**. The act placed a tax on gas-guzzling cars, removed price controls on oil and natural gas produced in the United States, and extended tax credits for the development of alternative energy supplies. By 1979, U.S. dependence on foreign oil had eased slightly. Private industry did its part by developing more gas-efficient automobiles and home heating systems. In addition, American citizens helped by lowering their thermostats and reinsulating their homes. A few also took advantage of a tax credit to install solar-heating panels.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS WORSENS Unfortunately, these energy-saving measures could do little to combat a sudden new economic crisis. In the summer of 1979, renewed violence in the Middle East produced a second major fuel shortage in the United States. To make matters worse, OPEC announced another major price hike. In 1979 inflation soared from 7.6 percent to 11.3 percent. (See *inflation* on page 936 in the Economics Handbook.)

Faced with increasing pressure to act, Carter attempted an array of measures. He implemented voluntary wage and price freezes to slow inflation. He also tried to reduce the national debt through spending cuts. To stimulate business, Carter deregulated, or lifted government controls from, trucking, railroad, and shipping industries. To reduce the money supply, he convinced the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates.

None of these measures worked. Worse yet, Carter's scattershot approach convinced many people that he had no economic policy at all. Carter fueled this feeling of uncertainty by delivering his now-famous "malaise" speech, in which he complained of a "crisis of confidence" that had struck "at the very heart and soul of our national will." Carter's address made many Americans feel that their president had given up.

By 1980, inflation had climbed to nearly 14 percent, the highest rate since 1947. The standard of living in the United States slipped from first place to fifth place in the world. Carter's popularity slipped along with it. Polls put his approval rating at a dismal 26 percent, lower than Richard Nixon's lowest figures. The fact that this economic downswing—and Carter's inability to solve

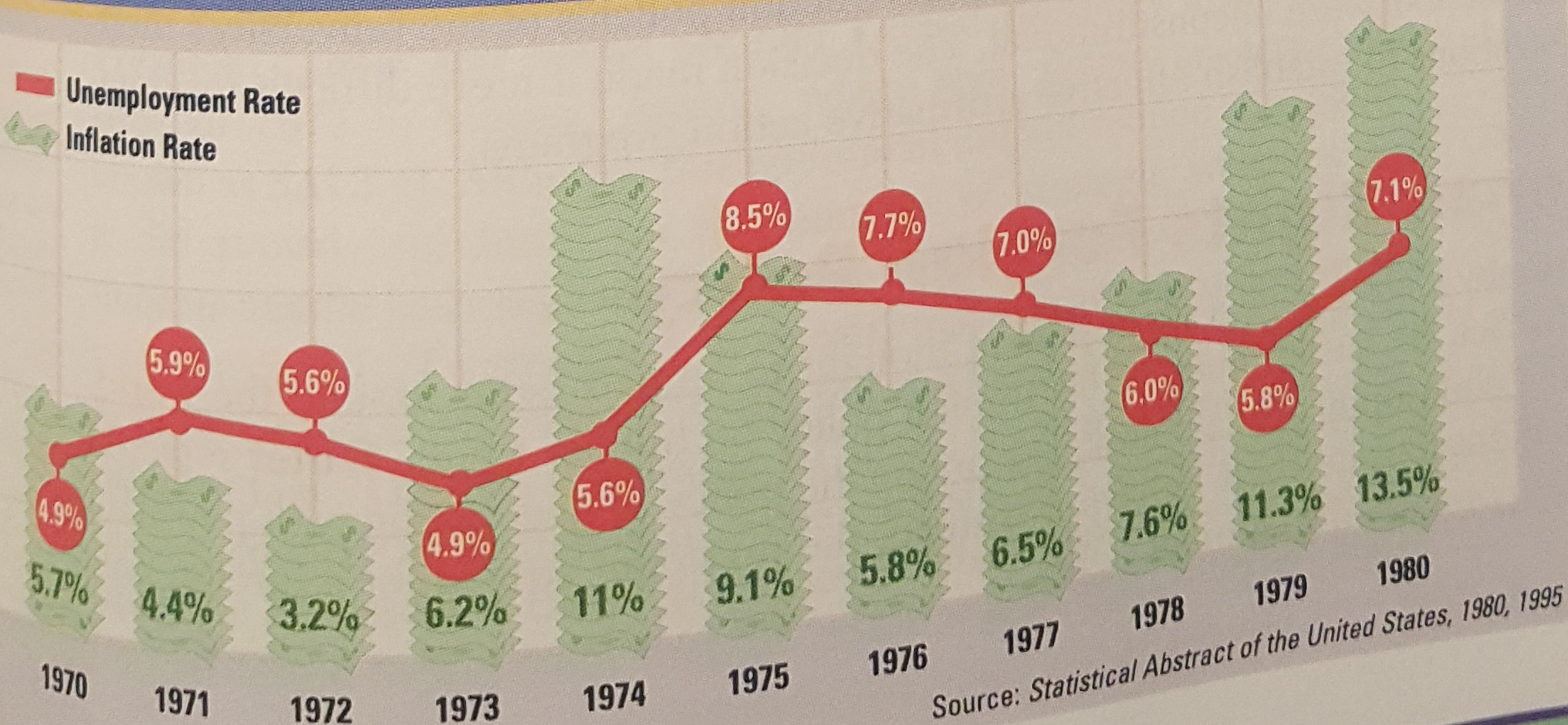
ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

THE 1980S TEXAS OIL BOOM

The economic crisis that gripped the country in the late 1970s was largely caused by the increased cost of oil. The OPEC cartel raised the price of oil by agreeing to restrict oil production. The resulting decrease in the supply of oil in the market caused the price to go up.

Most Americans were hurt by the high energy prices. However, in areas that produced oil, such as Texas, the rise in prices led to a booming economy. Real-estate values—for land on which to drill for oil, as well as for office space in cities like Houston and Dallas—increased greatly. Young geologists right out of school collected large salaries from big oil companies. Meanwhile, the image of the hard-driving, independent Texas oil man was symbolized for much of the world by J. R. Ewing in the highly popular television show *Dallas*. (See *supply and demand* on page 939 in the Economics Handbook.)

Unemployment and Inflation, 1970–1980



SKILLBUILDER
INTERPRETING GRAPHS
Which year saw the greatest degree of stagflation (inflation plus unemployment)?
Skillbuilder Answer 1980.

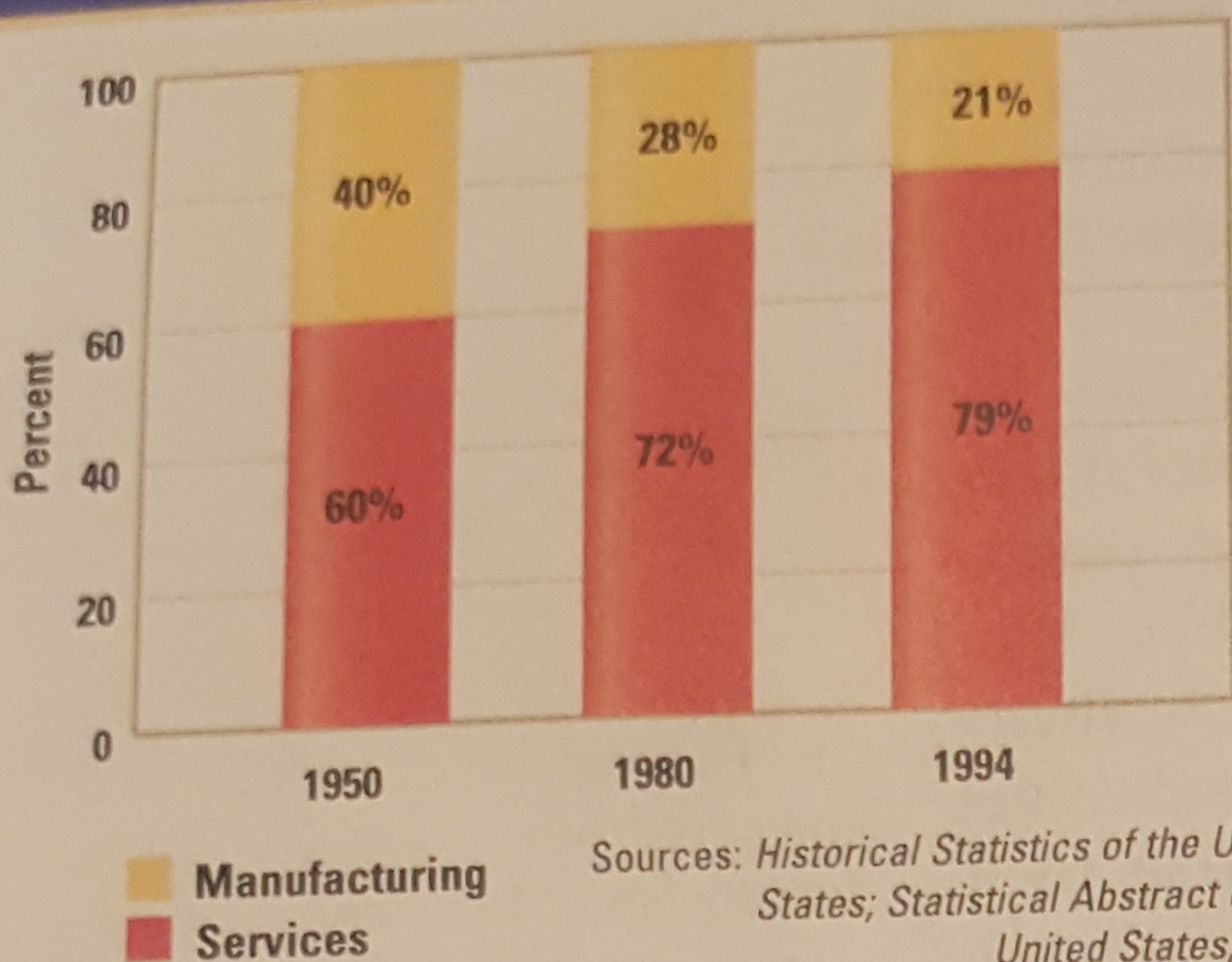
An Age of Limits 803

TEACHING OPTIONS

Making Connections Across

The Economy and Politics
only president to pay a political economy. In 1992, the

Employment in Manufacturing and Service Industries, 1950–1994

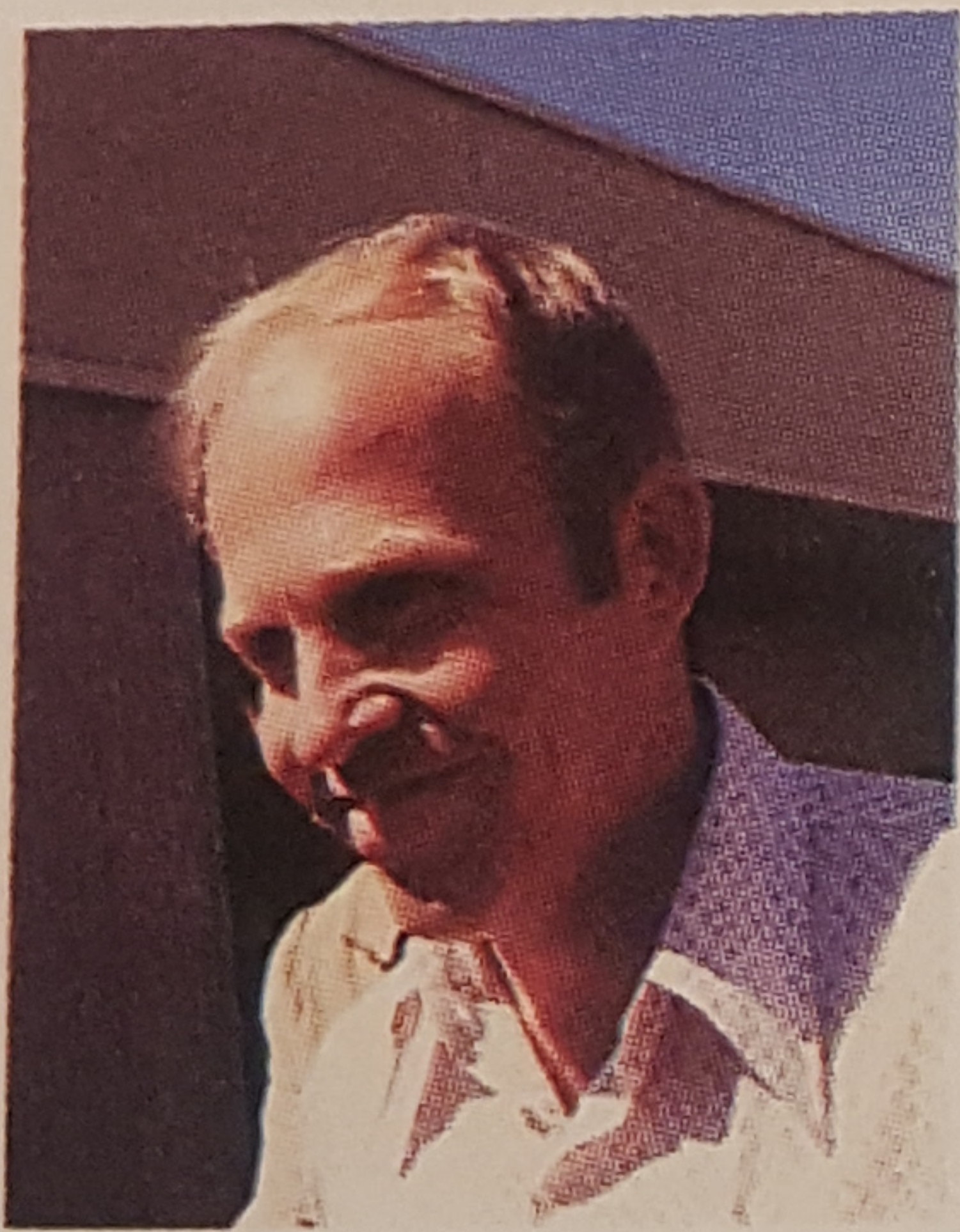


Sources: *Historical Statistics of the United States*; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1995*

SKILLBUILDER INTERPRETING GRAPHS

How much greater was the percentage of employment in service industries in 1994 than in 1950?

Skillbuilder Answer
19 percent.



Allan Paul Bakke successfully sued the University of California at Davis, arguing that the medical school's affirmative-action policies were unconstitutional.

it—visited the nation during an election year was one of the key factors in sending Ronald Reagan to the White House.

A CHANGING ECONOMY Many of the economic problems Jimmy Carter struggled with resulted from long-term trends in the economy. Since the 1950s, the rise of automation and foreign competition had reduced the number of manufacturing jobs. At the same time, the service sector of the economy expanded rapidly. This sector includes industries such as communications, transportation, and retail trade. During the 1970s, the shift toward a service-based economy accelerated, spurred on by the development of the tiny microchip that enabled computers to be cheaply mass-produced.

The rise of the service sector and the decline of manufacturing jobs meant big changes for some American workers. Workers left out of the shrinking pool of manufacturing jobs faced an increasingly complex job market. Many of the higher-paying service jobs required more education or specialized skills than did manufacturing jobs. The lower-skilled service jobs usually did not pay well.

Growing overseas competition during the 1970s caused further change in America's economy. The booming economies of West Germany and countries on the Pacific Rim (such as Japan, Taiwan, and Korea) cut into many U.S. markets. Many of the nation's primary industries—iron and steel, rubber, clothing, automobiles—had to cut back production, lay off workers, and even close plants.

Especially hard-hit were the automotive industries of the Northeast. There, high energy costs, foreign competition, and computerized production led companies to eliminate tens of thousands of jobs. As the 1970s drew to a close, a “Rustbelt” of deteriorating older industries stretched from Detroit to New York. To reduce costs, a number of corporations moved overseas or to Southern and Western states, where labor and energy costs were lower.

CARTER AND CIVIL RIGHTS Carter took special pride in his civil rights record. His administration included more African Americans and women than any before. In 1977, the president appointed civil rights leader Andrew Young as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Young was the first African American to hold that post. To the judicial branch alone, Carter appointed 28 African Americans, 29 women (including 6 African Americans), and 14 Latinos.

However, President Carter fell short of what many civil rights groups had expected in terms of legislation. Critics claimed that Carter—preoccupied with battles over energy and the economy—failed to give civil rights his full attention. Meanwhile, the courts began to turn against affirmative action. In 1978, the Supreme Court decided, in the case of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, that the affirmative action policies of the university's medical school were unconstitutional. The decision made it more difficult for organizations to establish effective affirmative action programs.

A Human Rights Foreign Policy

Jimmy Carter gave a great deal of thought to human rights around the world. In fact, he based much of his foreign policy on human rights. Carter rejected the philosophy of *realpolitik*, the pragmatic policy of negotiating with powerful nations despite their behavior. Instead, the president strived for a foreign policy committed to human rights.

ADVANCING HUMAN RIGHTS

Jimmy Carter, like Woodrow Wilson, sought to use moral principles as a guide for U.S. foreign policy. He believed that the United States needed to commit itself to promoting **human rights**—such as the freedoms and liberties listed in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights—throughout the world.

Putting his principles into practice, President Carter cut off military aid to Argentina and Brazil, countries that had good relations with the United States but had imprisoned or tortured thousands of their own citizens. Carter followed up this action by establishing a Bureau of Human Rights in the State Department. “Human rights had become the central theme of our foreign policy in the minds of the press and public,” Carter recalled. “It seemed that a spark had been ignited, and I had no inclination to douse the growing flames.”

But as time went on, that flame cooled. Although many people favored Carter’s idealism, supporters of the containment policy felt that the president’s policy undercut allies such as Nicaragua, a dictatorial but anti-Communist country. Others argued that by supporting dictators in South Korea and the Philippines, Carter was acting inconsistently. In 1977, Carter’s policies drew further criticism when his administration announced that it planned to give up ownership of the Panama Canal.

YIELDING THE PANAMA CANAL

Since 1914, when the United States obtained full ownership of the Panama Canal, Panamanians had resented having their nation split in half by a foreign power. Shortly after 1964, President Lyndon Johnson began negotiations with the Panamanians to help ease tensions. Negotiations continued off and on into the Carter administration.

In 1977, the nations finally agreed to two treaties, one of which promised to turn over control of the Panama Canal to Panama on December 31, 1999. In 1978, the U.S. Senate, which had to ratify each treaty, approved both treaties by a vote of 68 to 32—one more vote than the required two-thirds. Public opinion also was divided. According to a Gallup poll, 45 percent of Americans favored the pacts, while 42 percent opposed them. Despite their cool reception by the American public, the treaties did bring about a warmer relationship between the United States and Latin America.

THE COLLAPSE OF DÉTENTE

When Jimmy Carter took office, détente—the relaxation of tensions between the world’s superpowers—had reached a high point. Beginning with President Nixon and continuing with President Ford, U.S. officials had worked to ease relations with the Communist superpowers of China and the Soviet Union.

However, Carter’s firm insistence on human rights led to a breakdown in relations with the Soviet Union. President Carter’s dismay over the Soviet Union’s treatment of dissidents, or opponents of the government’s policies, delayed a second round of SALT negotiations. President Carter and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev finally met in June of 1979 in Vienna, Austria, where they signed an agreement known as SALT II. Although the agreement did not reduce armaments, it did provide for limits on the number of strategic weapons and nuclear-missile launchers that each side could produce.

The SALT II agreement, however, met sharp opposition in the Senate. Critics argued that it would put the United States at a military disadvantage. Then, in December 1979, the Soviets invaded the neighboring country of Afghanistan. When President Carter heard of the invasion, he activated the seldom-used White House–Kremlin hot line and protested to Brezhnev that the action was a “gross interference in

ON THE WORLD STAGE



THE SOVIET–AFGHANISTAN WAR

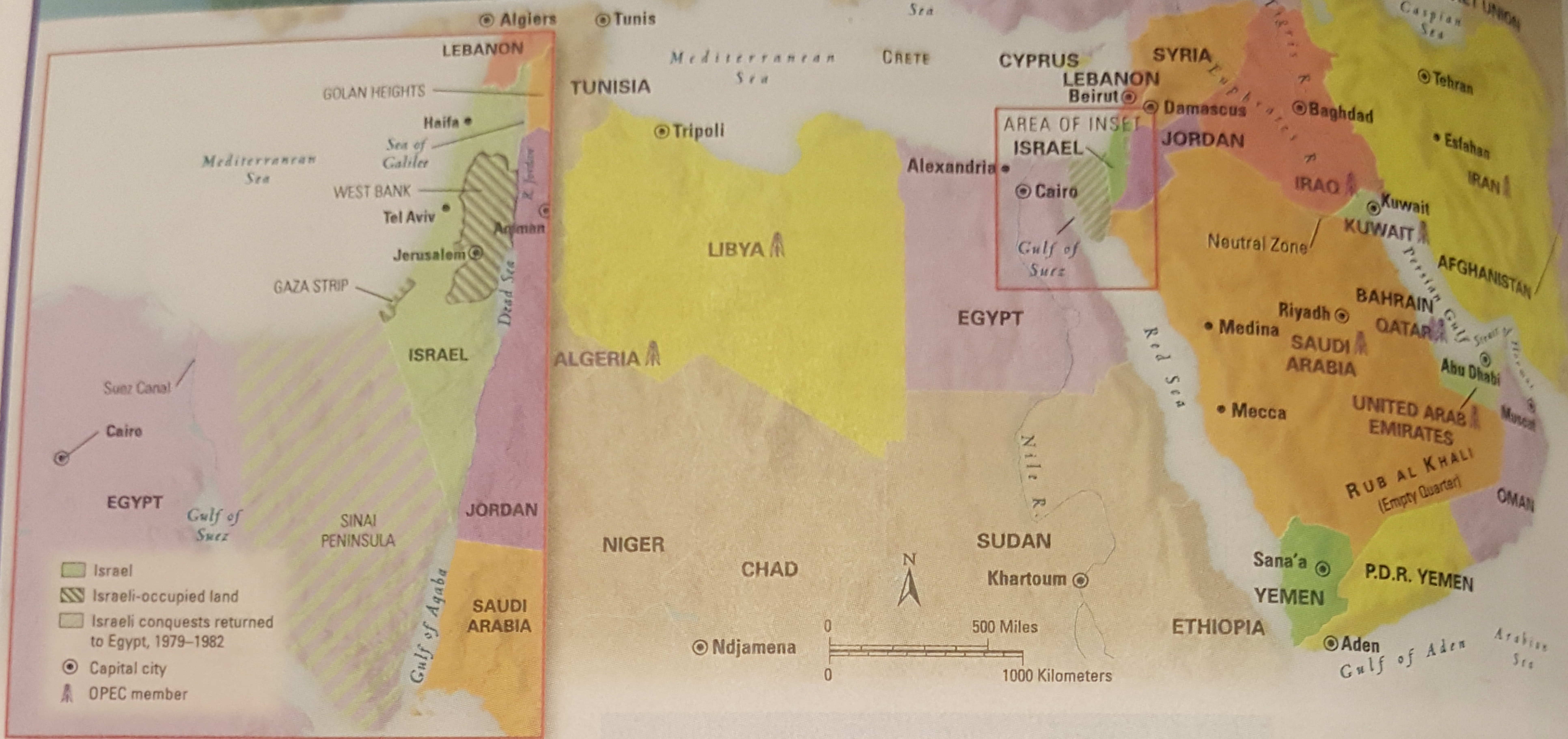
Afghanistan, an Islamic country along the southern border of the Soviet Union, had had a pro-Soviet government for a number of years. However, a strong Muslim rebel group was intent on overthrowing the Afghan government.

Fearing that a rebel victory in Afghanistan might embolden the many Muslims living under Soviet rule, the Soviet Union sent troops to Afghanistan in late 1979 to try to crush the Muslim rebels.

While the Soviets had superior weaponry, the rebels fought the Soviets to a stalemate by using guerrilla tactics and a keen knowledge of the country’s mountainous terrain.

In 1988, after suffering thousands of casualties, the Soviets began pulling out. Fighting within the country continued, and in 1992 the rebels overthrew the government. Some observers have considered Afghanistan to be “the Soviet Union’s Vietnam.”

Middle East, 1978–1982



Skillbuilder Answer

Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Qatar, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, and Libya.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER LOCATION

What OPEC countries are shown on the map?

the internal affairs of Afghanistan.” As a result of the invasion, Carter refused to fight for the SALT II agreement, and the treaty died.

Triumph and Crisis in the Middle East

Through long gasoline lines and high energy costs, Americans became all too aware of the troubles in the Middle East. In that area of ethnic, religious, and economic conflict, Jimmy Carter achieved one of his greatest diplomatic triumphs—and suffered his most tragic defeat.

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS Jimmy Carter enjoyed a shining moment in a historic handshake between two long-time enemies—Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin. Through negotiation and arm-twisting, Carter helped forge a peace between the two nations that marked the first major break in Middle Eastern hostilities since the creation of Israel in 1948.

In 1974, Henry Kissinger’s shuttle diplomacy had helped end the Yom Kippur War between Egypt and Israel. At that time, Sadat and Begin had begun discussing an overall peace between the two nations. In the summer of 1978, Carter seized on the peace initiative. When the peace talks stalled, Carter invited Sadat and Begin to Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland.

After 13 days of intense negotiations, the three leaders reached two agreements known as the **Camp David Accords**. The first agreement provided for a five-year transition period during which Israel and Jordan would work out the issue of self-rule for the Palestinians, Arabs living on the West Bank and Gaza Strip—areas captured by Israel during earlier wars. The second agreement was aimed specifically at end-

A jubilant President Carter shakes hands with President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt (left) and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel (right) after the two Middle East leaders reached a peace agreement.



ing hostilities between Israel and Egypt. During a White House ceremony in March of 1979, Sadat and Begin signed a detailed peace treaty based on the accords. Under the treaty, Israel agreed to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula, which it had seized from Egypt during the Six-Day War in 1967. In exchange, Egypt became the first Arab nation to recognize Israel's existence as a nation.

The treaty left many issues unresolved. For example, the document said little about the independence claims of Palestinians. Joking at the hard work ahead, Carter wrote playfully in his diary, "I resolved to do everything possible to get out of the negotiating business!" Little did the president know that his next Middle East negotiation would be his most painful.

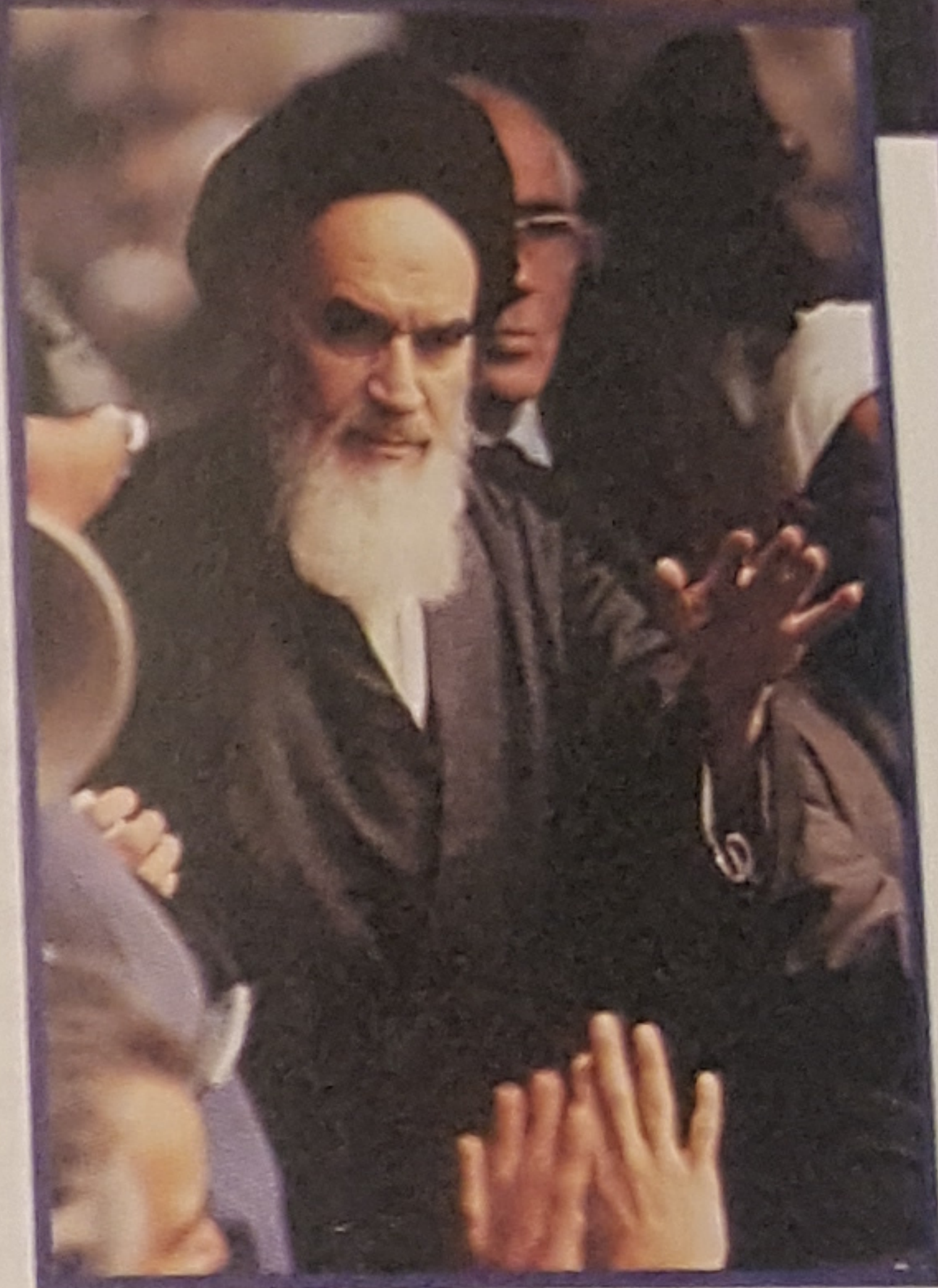
THE IRAN HOSTAGE CRISIS Since the 1950s, the United States had provided political and military assistance to the government of the shah of Iran. America wanted an ally against communism and access to Iran's oil. By 1979, however, the shah's regime was in deep trouble. Many Iranians resented the regime's widespread corruption and dictatorial tactics. The shah's secret police, for example, tortured thousands of prisoners and executed many others without trial.

In January 1979, revolution broke out. The Muslim religious leader **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini** led the rebels in overthrowing the shah and establishing a religious state based on strict obedience to the Qur'an, the sacred book of Islam. Carter had supported the shah until the very end. In October of 1979, the president allowed the shah to enter the United States for cancer treatment.

The act infuriated the revolutionaries of Iran. On November 4, 1979, armed students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took 52 Americans hostage. The militants demanded that the United States send the shah back to Iran in return for the release of the hostages.

Carter refused, and a painful year-long standoff followed. The president banned all trade with Iran and eventually severed diplomatic relations with the nation. Through it all, the United States continued quiet but intense efforts to free the hostages. Those efforts finally paid off in late 1980. However, because of last-minute delays and perhaps deliberate stalling by the Iranians, the hostages were not released until January 20, 1981, shortly after the new president, Ronald Reagan, took the oath of office.

Despite the hostages' release after 444 days in captivity, the crisis in Iran seemed to underscore the limits that Americans faced during the 1970s. Americans also realized during the 1970s that there were limits to the nation's environmental resources. This realization prompted both citizens and the government to actively address environmental concerns.



U.S. hostages were blindfolded and paraded through the streets of Tehran (top). Iran's ruler, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (above), supported the taking of the hostages.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

I. Analyzing Issues How was Carter's treatment of the shah of Iran inconsistent with his foreign-policy philosophy?

Answer Carter supported the shah, even though his regime was repressive and abusive toward its citizens.

THINK THROUGH HISTORY

H. Making Inferences How might the Nixon administration's efforts have helped President Carter forge the Camp David Accords?

Answer Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy initiated peace talks between Egypt and Israel.

Section 3 Assessment

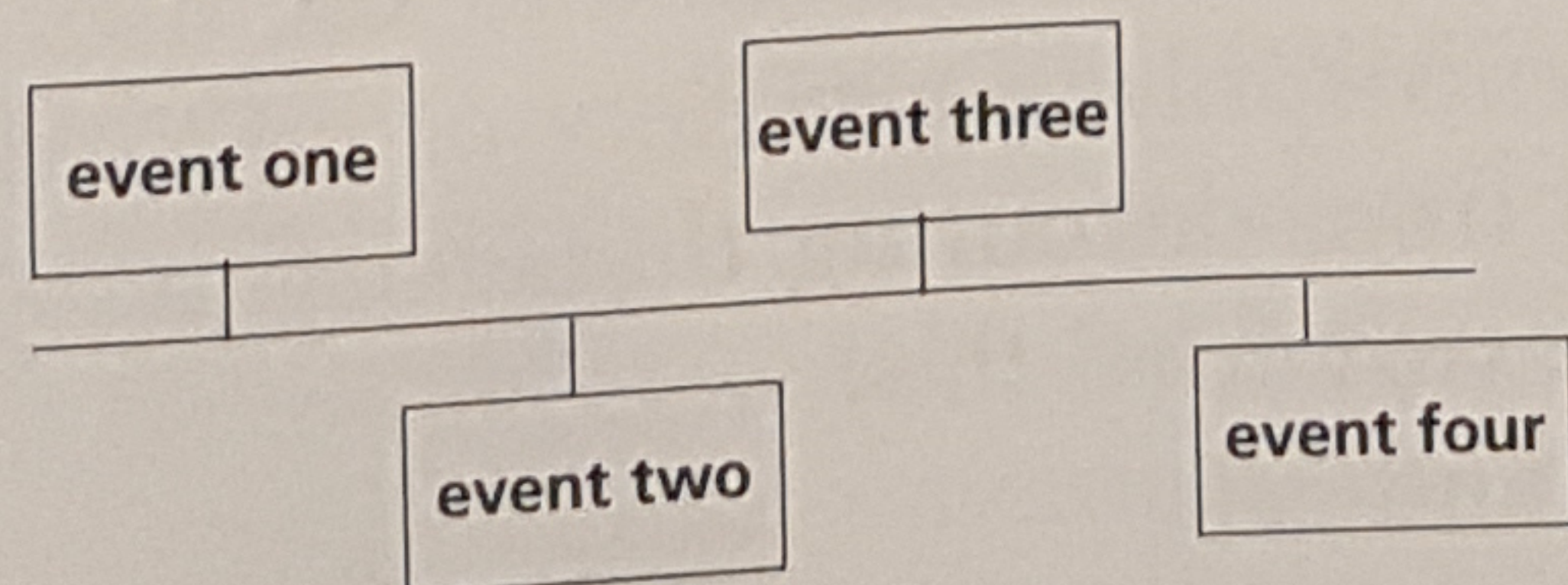
1. TERMS & NAMES

Identify:

- Gerald R. Ford
- Jimmy Carter
- National Energy Act
- human rights
- Camp David Accords
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini

2. FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Create a time line of the major events of the Ford and Carter administrations, using a form such as the one below.



Which two events do you think were the most important? Why?

3. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

How were the actions taken by Presidents Ford and Carter to address the country's economic downturn similar? How did they differ?

THINK ABOUT

- Ford's "Whip Inflation Now" policy
- Carter's "moral equivalent of a war" speech
- Carter's legislative agenda

4. FORMING OPINIONS Do you agree with President Carter that human rights concerns should steer U.S. foreign policy? Why or why not?

THINK ABOUT

- the responsibility of promoting human rights
- the loss of good relations with certain countries
- the collapse of détente with the Soviet Union

ANSWERS

1. TERMS & NAMES

- Gerald R. Ford, p. 800
- Jimmy Carter, p. 801
- National Energy Act, p. 803
- human rights, p. 805
- Camp David Accords, p. 806
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, p. 807

2. FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Possible Answers:

- Sept. 8, 1974: Ford pardons Nixon.
- 1975: Helsinki Accords signed.
- 1977: U.S. and Panama sign treaty.
- March 1979: Sadat and Begin sign peace treaty.
- Dec. 1979: Soviets invade Afghanistan.

3. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING

Both emphasized the importance of energy conservation; both had trouble working with Congress; and both were largely unsuccessful. Ford put more emphasis on voluntary citizen action while Carter emphasized government action.

4. FORMING OPINIONS

Students may agree with President Carter and argue that the United States has a duty to stand up for human rights throughout the world. Others may disagree and contend that strict foreign policy of any kind drives away allies and that the U.S. supported some countries with poor human rights records.