**Nixon Administration, 1969-74 (37th)**

**Nixon’s Domestic Policies**

* **Law and Order Politics**
  + **Tumult of 1968**
  + **Catered to the Silent Majority**
  + **FBI, CIA, and IRS took on the New Left – wiretapping, infiltration and subversion, tax audits, fear and intimidation, Enemies List**
* **Nixon Confronts Stagnant Economy**
  + S**tagflation** = high unemployment + high inflation. Causes:
    1. Deficit Spending from Great Society & Vietnam
    2. Rise of West Germany, Japan, etc.
    3. Baby Boomers enter job market
    4. Dependence on foreign oil
  + 1971, facing an election year with inflation and unemployment both at 6%, Nixon issued Executive Order 11615, pursuant to the Economic Stabilization Act of 1970, which imposed three key mandates.
    1. Closed the ‘gold window’. Foreign governments could no longer exchange their dollars for gold
    2. 90-day freeze on wages and prices to counter inflation - first time the government enacted peacetime wage and price controls
    3. An import surcharge was set at 10 percent
    - ‘If you want to buy a foreign car or take a trip abroad, market conditions may cause your dollar to buy slightly less. But if you are among the overwhelming majority of Americans who buy American-made products in America, your dollar will be worth just as much tomorrow as it is today.’ (Nixon)
  + **Arab Oil Embargo** 1973-74
    - **OPEC** (**Oil Producing Exporting Countries**) placed an oil embargo to any nation that supported Israel, creating an alleged US "oil shortage" of fuel, long lines, and short tempers at gas stations.
    - In 1974 the embargo was lifted, having failed to alter US Middle East policy
    - 1979 oil was at peak ($80/barrel)
    - Little was done about US commitments to seek alternative fuel sources
* **Welfare Reform: Family Assistance Planning** 
  + Nixon experienced the sting of poverty as a young man. His family lost their farm when he was 9. He rose at 4am to pick up vegetables for his family’s grocery store. He got an offer from Harvard but had to stay in Whittier to tend to his family.
  + America was experiencing the sting too: ‘In 1965 there had been four major riots and civil disturbances in the country. In 1966 there were twenty-one major riots and civil disorders. In 1967 there were eighty-three major riots and civil disturbances. In the first seven months of 1968 there were fifty seven major riots and disturbances . . . Mayors, governors – presidents – took it as given that things were in a hell of a shape and that something had to be done.’ (Moynihan)
  + Nixon shared many Americans' conviction that the welfare system had grown into an inefficient bureaucracy which fostered dependency and low self-esteem among welfare recipients
  + With Urban Affairs Council secretary **Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, Nixon created the 1969 **Family Assistance Plan**.
  + FAP called for the replacement of bureaucratically administered programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Food Stamps, and Medicaid, with direct cash payments to those in need.
  + Guaranteed $1600 per year for a family of four + up to $4000 in benefits
    - In 1970 the minimum wage was $1.60 per hour
    - Able-bodied adults would have to register for work and be willing to accept “suitable work” (?) or the family would suffer a $300 reduction in benefits. Mothers with children under school age exempt from this.
    - FAP required the federal government to provide child care as a precondition for single mothers’ working
  + Conservatives disliked the idea of a guaranteed annual income
  + Liberals thought $1600 insufficient
  + Caseworkers opposed FAP fearing that many of their jobs would be eliminated.
  + Many concerned about Federal power: previously states paid 2/3 and the federal government 1/3 of welfare benefits. Under FAP the federal government paid $1600.
  + Senate Conservatives reacted swiftly to the 243 to 155 House passage of FAP
  + Liberals killed it. Conservatives killed it. Southerners killed it. The distrust of Nixon engendered by his Vietnam policy killed it.
  + FAP divided Americans. Nixon knew a bad campaign issue when he saw one, and let FAP expire.
  + 1971, Nixon proposed **health insurance reform**—a private health insurance employer mandate
  + Increased Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid payments and made food stamps more accessible
* **New Federalism** 
  + Although revenue sharing was anathema to the federal bureaucrats, whose jobs it threatened, and to the Congressmen who made political hay by dispensing federal (‘pork’) dollars within their districts, it offered great appeal at state/local level.
  + **Revenue Sharing Act**: 5-year program to return to state and local governments $30 billion in federal tax revenues
* **Nixon’s Southern Strategy**
  + In 1968 Alabama George Wallace won 13.5% and 46 EC votes on his ‘segregation now, segregation forever’ pledge.
  + 70% of the black children in the South attended all-black schools. Nixon petitioned the courts on behalf of school districts seeking to delay **busing**
  + As part of New Federalism, set up biracial state committees to implement school desegregation. By 1971, with little fanfare only about 18% of black children in the South attended all-black schools.
  + Opposed extension of Voting Rights Act of 1965. Congress fought him. Nixon got a compromised 1970 bill.
* **Nixon and Women**
  + Momentum of Feminism (see previous lecture)
    - **Equal Rights Amendment** March 1972
    - **Phyllis Schafly** headed a movement tohalt the ERA.
    - ***Roe v. Wade*** 1973
  + Nixon increased the number of female appointments to administration positions
  + Created a Presidential Task Force on Women's Rights
  + Asked the Justice Department to bring sex discrimination suits under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act
  + Ordered the Labor Department to add sex discrimination provisions to the guidelines for its Office of Federal Contract Compliance.
* **Nixon and the Supreme Court**
  + Chief Justice Earl Warren retired. He was despised by John Birchers. Nixon appointed **Warren E. Burger** to replace Earl Warren. Burger was a vocal critic of Warren and an advocate of a literal, strict-constructionism
  + Appointed 3 Associate Justices: Harry Blackmun, Lewis F. Powell, and William Rehnquist.
  + Nixon twice failed to get Senatorial approval. First time since Hoover.
* **Other Significant Events in Nixon Years**
  + 1969 - **Apollo 10 Moon Landing**: **Neil Armstrong** first man to walk on the moon, followed by **Buzz Aldrin**
  + The Environment
    - 1970, Federal programs were consolidated into the **Environmental Protection Agency** (**EPA**)
    - 1970 **Water Quality Improvement Act:** authorized the federal government to clean up oil spills and prosecute those responsible for negligence
    - 1970 **Clean Air Act**: comprehensive air pollution control program which included greater car emission controls for model years 1975 and beyond.
  + **1969- Nixon launches War on Drugs**
  + **1970 - Occupational Safety and Health Act**: work environments "free from recognized hazards to employees"
  + **1971 - 26th Amendment**: lowered the voting age to 18 in state, local and federal elections
* **Election of 1972**
  + **Nixon won with 61% and 520 in EC vs. George McGovern!**
  + **EC count only surpassed by Reagan in 1984**

**Nixon’s Foreign Policy**

* Secretary of State, **Henry Kissinger**, chief architect of the **Grand Design**
* **Nixon Doctrine** 1970
  + Acknowledged limits of US power
  + Nixon repudiated Truman, indicating that the US did not have unlimited resources unconditionally and unceasingly aid the “cause of freedom”
  + US allies must rely more on their own resources for their own defense.
* **Vietnam War (see Vietnam War Lecture)**
  + **Vietnamization:** Nixon Doctrine applied to Vietnam
  + **Mad Man Theory:** “I call it the Madman Theory, Bob [Haldeman]. I want the North Vietnamese to believe I've reached the point where I might do anything to stop the war. We'll just slip the word to them that, ‘for God's sake, you know Nixon is obsessed about communism. We can't restrain him when he's angry—and he has his hand on the nuclear button’ and Ho Chi Minh himself will be in Paris in two days begging for peace.”
  + **1971 – Pentagon Papers leaked to *NYT* by Daniel Ellsberg. The Johnson Admin** "systematically lied, not only to the public but also to Congress."
  + **Operation Freedom Deal dropped 2.7 mil tons on Cambodia (dropped 2 million in all of WWII).**
  + Jan 1973 – **Paris Peace Accords**. NVN’s Le Duc Tho and Kissinger win Nobel Peace Prize. Tho refuses to accept prize and Treaty not signed by Senate
* **Normalization** of the US-PRC Relationship
  + 1960 Sino-Soviet Split.1969 Sino-Soviet Border Clashes.
  + Ping Pong Diplomacy – Mao invites US table tennis players
  + Kissinger’s ***Realpolitik*** provided a balance of power via **triangulation** and offered an incentive to the Soviets
  + After Kissinger made a secret trip to PRC in 1971, Nixon visited China in 1972 and diplomatic relations were established between China and the US, while not weakening US commitment to Taiwan.
* **Detente** with USSR-
  + **New era of Peaceful Coexistence** a relaxation of tensions between the East and West
  + US and USSR could come to mutually beneficial terms
  + 1972 Nixon visited Moscow. Returned in 1974.
    - 1972 **Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty** (ABM)
    - **1972 - S** (trategic) **A** (rms) **L** (imitation) **T** (reaty)
* **The Chilean Coup**
  + **Chile was among the more democratic nations in Latin America**
  + **1970 - Nixon Administration tried and failed to prevent election of Marxist Salvador Allende**
  + **US supported the conservatives in Congress and the military**
  + **1973 CIA coup of Allende**
    - CIA paid U.S. $7-8 million to right-wing opposition groups to "create pressures, exploit weaknesses, magnify obstacles, and hasten Allende's ouster." (Letter of Deputy CIA Director to Kissinger, from NSA Archives)
    - Kissinger's ordered CIA station chief in Santiago, Henry Hecksher: "It is firm and continuing policy that Allende be overthrown by a coup." The "American hand" must be hidden from uninformed US Ambassador to Chile, Edward M. Korry.
    - 1975 - In response to Watergate, **Church Committee** convenes to review roles of CIA, NSA, and FBI.
* Middle East
  + Nixon substantially increased U.S. aid to Iran, Israel, and Saudi Arabia
  + 1973 **Yom Kippur War** - Arab coalition led by Syria and Egypt attacked Israel, supported by USSR. Israel lost lots of ground. Nixon sent airlifts which put Israel to the offensive. Brezhnev threatened to unilaterally enforce a peacekeeping mission. Nixon ordered the U.S. military to DEFCON3! Brezhnev backed down.
  + OPEC now refused to sell crude oil to US, resulting in an oil crisis

**Questions:**

1. In the modern era, exactly what powers should be the prerogative of the federal government vis*-à-*vis state governments?
2. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the Nixon administration? Consider foreign and domestic policies in your response.
3. What were the causes and effects of stagflation and what was Nixon’s response?
4. To what extent did Nixon fulfill his campaign promise to mend the divisiveness in American culture?
5. To what extent were Kissinger’s *realpolitik* and the Nixon Doctrine a dramatic shift in United States foreign policy?
6. Evaluate: Nixon was a remarkably successful president whose legacy is undermined by Watergate.

**Watergate and the Cover-up**

1. Prior to the election of 1972, on 17 June five men burglarized the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate complex in DC

2. A link was soon established between the break-in and two members of **CREEP**, (**Committee to Reelect the President)**, **E. Howard Hunt** and **G. Gordon Liddy,** although the White House began almost immediate denials of knowledge of the "third-rate burglary."

3.White House Staff was soon implicated in an attempt to cover up the burglary  
a. Documents were destroyed in White House Chief of Staff **H.R. Haldeman**'s office  
b. Hunt's White House safe was emptied.  
c. The FBI was pressured to limit the investigation to avoid compromising the CIA  
d. Money was raised to support burglary defendants, indicted on 15 Sept  
e. A grand jury indicted CREEP Deputy Director **Jeb Stuart Magruder** for perjury

**4.Bob Woodward** and **Carl Bernstein** , Washington Post investigative reporters, uncovered evidence implicating Attorney General **John Mitchell** in a secret operation to spy and sabotage Democratic primary campaigns by forging campaign correspondence, making false leaks to the press and seizing confidential files from Democratic offices.

5.Jan 1973 - Trial of 7 men for the Watergate break-in began under chief judge for the US District Court in Washington DC, **John J. Sirica**   
a. Five defendants pled guilty and two were convicted by a jury  
b. After the trial, one defendant **James W. McCord**, former security coordinator for CREEP, revealed that the defendants had been pressured into pleading guilty, that others were involved and that perjury had occurred at the trial.

6.30 April 1973 - White House aides, Haldeman and **John Erlichman**, Nixon's advisor on Domestic Affairs, and Attorney General **Richard Kleindienst**, resigned, and **John Dean** , presidential counselor, was dismissed  
a. At the same time, Nixon conceded that a White House cover-up had occurred, although denying that he had any personal knowledge of or involvement in it.  
b. **Elliot L. Richardson** was appointed Attorney General and Professor **Archibald Cox** was appointed Special Prosecutor.

7.May-Sept 1973 - Senator **Sam Ervin Jr.** (NC) heads 7-man Select Senate Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, began televised public hearings, which discovered:  
a. Magruder confessed perjury before a grand jury, indicating Mitchell planned the burglary  
b. Dean indicated that Nixon had been a party to the cover-up for 8 months, revealing that a **White House Enemies List** existed.  
c. Mitchell related a plan to forge State Department documents in order to implicate Kennedy in the assassination of Diem in order to discredit Ted Kennedy.  
d. **Alexander Butterfield**, former deputy White House assistant, revealed that tape recordings of White House and Executive Office Building conversations existed, after which Nixon increasingly claimed Executive Privilege, refusing to release the tapes to Cox or Ervin.  
e. **Herbert Kalmbac** , Nixon's former personal lawyer, admitted to raising $220,000 for Watergate defendants.  
f. Ehrlichman asserted that Ellsberg psychiatrist's burglary was within Presidential powers

8.10 Oct 1973 - Vice-President **Spiro Agnew** resigned after it was revealed that he had accepted payoffs from construction company executives while Governor of MD and Vice-President  
a. He pled nolo contendere to a single charge of income tax invasion  
b. 12 Oct - Using the 25th Amendment for the first time, Nixon nominated House Minority Leader **Gerald R. Ford** for Vice-President and he was confirmed in the Senate 92-3 and the House 387-5 on 27 Nov and 6 Dec.

* + **Saturday Night Massacre** Oct 1973  
    a. When Cox did not agree to the compromise, Nixon ordered the Attorney General to fire Cox, but he resigned after which Nixon ordered deputy Attorney General, **William D. Ruckelshaus** to fire Cox but he also resigned.  
    b. Acting Attorney General **Robert Bork** then fired Cox.  
    c. Senator **William Saxby** (OH) was appointed Attorney General and **Leon Jaworski** , Houston lawyer, Special Prosecutor.  
    d. Adverse public reaction caused Nixon to agree to turn over the tapes, although he claimed that two never existed and an eighteen-minute gap appeared on one.
  + Additional Scandals Surfaced  
    a. Presidential involvement in the settlement of an antitrust suit against **ITT** (International Telephone and Telegraph) in 1971  
    b. Major campaign contributions were made under CRP pressure by major corporations.  
    c. March 1971 - **Milk Fund** suggested a link between Nixon's support for increased price supports in exchange for large campaign contributions by the dairy industry.  
    d. Large cash gifts from **Howard Hughes** to Nixon's close friend **Charles C. "BeBe" Rebozo** and whether Nixon knew about them.  
    e. The method used by the President to purchase two estates at **San Clemente** and **Key Biscayne**, if proper, and whether Nixon profited from the $10 million in improvements used to secure both residences.  
    f. Possible tax fraud on Nixon's 1969-72 returns  
    (1) At Nixon's request, an investigation was made and revealed that he owed $476,531 in back taxes and interest, which Nixon promptly paid.  
    (2) No suggestion of fraud was contained in the report.  
    g. **Vesco Case** - 2 Nixon administration officials, John Mitchell/ **Maurice H. Stans**, former Secretary of Commerce and finance chairman of CREEP, were cleared of charges of perjury, obstruction of justice and soliciting a campaign contribution in exchange for intervening in behalf of **Robert Vesco**, who faced an SEC investigation.  
    h. Pressure came from CREEP on major corporations to make campaign contributions.
  + Removal of Nixon  
    a. 16 impeachment resolutions introduced in the House were sponsored by 84 Representatives  
    b. Oct 1973 - House Judiciary Committee, chaired by **Peter Rodino** (NJ), began investigating   
    c. Apr 1974 - Nixon refused to hand over tapes but released 1,200 pages of edited transcripts of 42 taped conversations to the Committee  
    d. Judge Sirica gave the Judiciary Committee a sealed Grand Jury report naming Nixon as co-conspirator in Watergate cover-up, ordering 64 tapes requested by Jaworski be released  
    e. 27 July - House Judiciary Committee voted 3 articles of impeachment, recommending 27-11 that Richard Nixon be impeached, for actions which delayed, impeded and obstructed an investigation into the Watergate break-in, to cover-up, conceal and protect those responsible, and to conceal the existence of other unlawful covert activities.  
    f. 5 Aug - released transcripts of three tapes revealed that Nixon knew long before 21 Mar 1973 of a "cover-up" and had personally ordered a halt to the FBI investigation.  
    g. Republicans abandoned Nixon, considering the latest revelation a **smoking gun**   
    h. 8 Aug - Nixon announced his resignation effective on 9 Aug 1974