Rebellion and Reaction in the 1960s and 1970s

- What characterized the social rebellion and struggles for rights in the 1960s and 1970s?
- How did the war in Vietnam end?
- What was Watergate, and why did Nixon resign?
- How did the Carter administration deal with the foreign policy crises in the Middle East?

- America’s social fabric was in tatters
- Nixon’s combative temperament and policies heightened tensions

The Roots of Rebellion

Youth Revolt

- By the early 1960s the baby boomers were maturing
  - Record number of college and university attendance
  - Universities became dependent on federal government—“multiversities”
  - Student grew wary of military-industrial complex
- The Greensboro sit-ins in 1960 precipitated a decade of civil rights activism and also signaled an end to proposed apathy in campuses
  - Primarily concerned with African American rights
  - Inspiration for other groups: justice, freedom, equality, women, Native Americans, Hispanics, homosexuals
- White students joined African Americans in sit-ins
  - Inspired by Kennedy’s appeals to youth
  - Many enrolled in Peace Corps and VISTA
  - More and more young people grew disillusioned with government
  - By mid-1960s youth revolt had broken out across the country
  - Rebellious students began to flow into two distinct movements: the New Left and the counterculture

The New Left

- Youth revolt originated when Tom Hayden and Al Hayber formed the Students for a Democratic Society SDS
  - Convened a meeting of 60 activists at Port Huron, Michigan
  - Port Huron Statement: expressed discomfort with the state that the current generation was raised in
- Statement focused on absence of individual freedom in modern life
  - Inspired by African American activism
  - Participatory democracy could be obtained by reducing administrative bureaucracy
  - Adopted New Left to distinguish their efforts from Old Left of the 1930s, which had espoused an orthodox Marxism and embraced Stalinism
- Students at UC Berkeley took New West movement to heart
  - Chancellor Clark Kerr announced that political demonstrations would no longer be allowed, student responded with sit-in
  - Administration relented
Student groups formed free-speech movement

Mario Savio was the leader, free speech movement initially protested on behalf of students rights

- Became a more general movement
- Led students into UC Berkeley’s administration building for a sit in
- 600 policemen arrested protestors

Goals and tactics of free speech movement and SDS spread to colleges across the country

- All issues became subject to protest

Escalating US involvement in Vietnam changed student agenda

- Men faced draft
- Vietnam conflict was a poor man’s fight
- Deferments allowed students to finish education before entering military

Opposition to war mounted, men simply refused to obey draft notices

- Many men fled to Canada or Sweden to avoid military service
- Most popular way to avoid the draft was flunk the physical examination

In 1967, war protestors of all ages converged on Manhattan’s Central Park

- Draft card burning rallies
- Sit ins led to arrests
- SDS leaders were growing more militant, centralized, and authoritarian
- Capitalist imperialism was the primary foe

Anti-war movement grew more volatile as ghettos exploded with racial violence

Lyndon Johnson announced in 1968 that he would not run for reelection

- Campus unrest enveloped the country after death of Dr. King
- Turmoil reached climax at Columbia University
- Mark Rudd, SDS leader, led radicals in occupying president’s office and classroom buildings
- Protestors kidnapped dean in protest of university’s decision to displace African American housing in order to build a new gymnasium
- Classes were canceled, University officials finally called New York police
- Police injured bystanders in the process of arrest, angered unaligned students who statged a strike
- Similar strikes occurred everywhere

Democrats nominated Hubert Humphrey

- Yippies were members of the new Youth International party, were determined to create anarchy in the streets of Chicago
- Abbie Hoffman was one of their leaders, conception of revolution is fun

Outlandish behavior of Yippies provoked response from Mayor Richard Daley

- Police officers went berserk
- Bystanders were harmed
- Chaos damaged Humphrey’s presidential candidacy
- Riots helped fragment anti-war movement
- Non violent groups felt betrayed by Yippies and militants

1968 SDS fractured into rival factions

- Most extreme factions was Weathermen
- Campaign of violence and disruption, killing innocent people
By 1971 the New Left was dead as a political movement—it committed suicide by abandoning democratic and pacifist principles.

Larger anti-war movement also began to fade

Large segment of public continued quest for social justice

Many students refocused on environment

New ecological awareness

The Counterculture

Long hair, blue jeans, shirts, scandals, drugs, rock music, and experimental living conditions meant more to the hippies than revolution. They were descendants of the Beats.

Primarily well-educated, middle class young whites alienated by the Vietnam War, racism, political and parental demands, technology, and corporate mentality

Not attracted to organized political action, instead they eagerly embraced credo outlined by Harvard professor Timothy Leary: “Tune in, turn on, drop out.”

Counterculture entailed practice of Asian mysticism

Drugs

Rural communes attracted bourgeoisie rebels

Romantics flocked the countryside

Utopian homesteads did not last long

Rooted in pleasure principle, hippies produced more babies than bread

Many found themselves depending on society

Many ended up asking for welfare and food stamps

Huge outdoor rock music concerts were a popular source of community for hippies

Woodstock Music and Art Fair was the largest

Carefree spirit

Carefree spirit of Woodstock was short-lived

Counterculture encountered criminal culture

Drunken white motorcyclists beat 18 year old African American to death

Rolling Stones in Altamont Speedway

After 1969 the hippie phenomenon began to wane

Counterculture became counterproductive, developed into a fad

Retailers developed a banner business in faded blue jeans, surplus army jackets, beads, incense

Rock groups made millions from hippie fad

Feminism

Ideals of liberation accelerated women’s rights crusade

New feminism drew much of its inspiration from civil rights movement

Mainstream women’s movement was led by Betty Friedan

*The Feminine Mystique* launched protest on national level

Found that most household women were actually miserable

Women had actually lost ground after WWII, Friedman wrote

Feminine mystique: blissful domesticity

Middle class home had become a concentration camp

Many women were inspired
• Friedman and other activists founded the National Organization for Women (NOW)
  o Sought to end discrimination in the workplace on basis of sex
  o Legalization of abortion
  o Federal support for child care
• NOW advanced cause of gender equality
  o Educational Amendments Act of 1972 required colleges to institute affirmative action
  o Congress approved equal-rights amendment
  o *Roe v. Wade*: Supreme Court struck down state laws forbidding abortions during first 3 months of pregnancy
  o Coeducation began
• Sharp disputes between moderate and radical feminists fragmented women’s movement
  o Failure to broadcast appeal
  o Equal rights amendment was stymied in state legislatures
  o Died in 1982
  o NOWs efforts backlashed among Catholics and Protestants who were pro-life
• Success of women’s movement evaporated
  o Growing presence in labor force
  o Greater economic and political influence
  o More career women did not consider themselves as feminists, only financial consideration
  o Traditional gender roles had changed

The Sexual Revolution and the Pill
• Make love, not war
  o Members of counterculture promoted free love
• Pill was approved by FDA and blocks ovulation
  o Initially, birth control pills were only available to married couples
  o Widespread access to pill allowed sexual freedom
• The pill became the most popular birth control method

Hispanic Rights
• Activism spread to Hispanic peoples
  o The word *Hispanic* became used after 1945 in conjunction with efforts to promote economic and social justice
  o Hispanics were favored by labor shortages during war
• Equality was elusive
  o Hispanics still faced discrimination after war
  o Poverty
  o Activists mirrored African American activists
  o Struggle to increase political influence
• Most popular initiatives was use of the term *Chicano*
  o Also included *Californios*: descendants of Californians before it was seized by US, most were Indians, mixed, and Tejanos
  o *Chicano* originally meant lazy person
  o Hispanic students formed *Young Chicanos for Community Action*
• wore brown berets, protested Hispanics begin killed in Vietnam

• Unlike African Americans, Chicano leaders faced a dilemma: stream of Mexicans across border
  o Hopes were put at risk due to illegal immigrants
  o Mexican leaders ended bracer program in 1964
  o Formed United Farm Workers UFW

• Cesar Chavez founded UFW
  o Joined Community Service Organization CSO

• Chavez left CSO after it refused to back his proposal to establish a union for farmworkers
  o CSO leaders believed it was impossible to organize migrant workers
  o Farmworkers did not get protected by National Labor Relations Act of 1935
  o They were not guaranteed the right to organize

• Chavez resolved to organize farmworkers
  o NFW gained national attention when it joined a strike against corporate grape farmers
  o Insisted on nonviolence tactics
  o Relied on college volunteers
  o Alliance with labor and religious groups

• Grape strike itself brought no gains
  o Chavez organized nationwide boycott of grapes
  o Grape corporations finally recognized UFW
  o Wages increased, conditions improved, bargaining allowed

• Chief strength of Hispanic movement lay in the rapid growth of Hispanic population, not emulation of African American activism
  o Presidential candidates courted Hispanic vote
  o Voting power of Hispanics became key

Native Americans

• American Indians began calling themselves Native Americans, emerged as political force
  o Two conditions combined to make Indian rights a priority:
    ▪ White felt sense of guilt
    ▪ Plight of Native American minority was desperate
  o Indian unemployment was great
  o Suicide rate was higher

• Lyndon Johnson recognized poverty of Native Americans and attempted to funnel federal aid into reservations
  o Militants within Indian community became militant
  o Protests and demonstrations
  o George Mitchell and Dennis Banks founded American Indian Movement AIM to promote “red power”
  o Occupied Alcatraz Island
  o Bureau of Indian Affairs attracted national attention their cause
    ▪ Seen as worst-managed agency

• AIM led Sioux in occupying village in South Dakota
  o Local whites were given light sentences for killing Sioux
  o Attention drawn to reservation there
  o Families dependant on government, alcoholism, poverty
FBI agents surrounded encampment after militants took hostages
  - Standoff for ten weeks
  - Confrontation ended with government promise to reexamine treaty rights

Indian protesters discovered more effective tactic that sit ins
Indians went into federal courts armed with copies of old treaties

Gay Rights
- Homosexuals organized demand for equal treatment
  - Struggle at male gay bar at Stonewall Inn
  - Hundreds of gays joined against police
  - Gay Liberation Front emerged
- Gay rights movement assumed national proportions
  - Main tactic was to encourage people to come out
- Campaign for gay rights soon suffered from internal divisions and conservative backlash
  - Disputes over tactics, religion
  - Lost momentum by end of 1970s

Nixon and Vietnam
- Liberation movements changed tone of social life
  - National mood returned by 1970s
  - Silent majority: white working class who were determined to regain control of society
  - Silent majority believed that Great Society was ineffective

Gradual Withdrawal
- Nixon believed there was no way to win the war
  - During presidential campaign, claimed to have secret plan that would bring peace
  - Insisted that US couldn’t just cut and run
- Nixon and national security adviser, Kissinger, overestimated Soviet power
  - Soviets could not force North Korea to enter negotiations
- Settlement reached in 1973
  - New Vietnam policy of Nixon moved along three separate fronts:
    - US negotiators in Paris demanded withdrawal of Communists from South Vietnam and preservation of President Nguyen Van Thieu
      - No common ground between north and south
    - Nixon tried to quell domestic unrest over the war
      - Growing opposition to war
      - Resolved to defuse war by reducing number of troops
      - Reduction was natural result of Vietnamization: equipping South Vietnamese to assume burden
      - All-volunteer army created
    - Nixon and Kissinger expanded air over Vietnam in effort to persuade enemy to come to terms
      - Heavy bombing of North Vietnam
      - Madman theory: Nixon wanted to make the Vietnamese think that he would do anything to end the war
Secret bombing campaign in communist Cambodia
- Nixon launched incursion into “neutral” Cambodia
- Cambodian president opposed US incursions but he was replaced after coup

Divisions at Home
- Devastating effect on military morale and reputation due to withdrawal
  - Drug abuse in armed forces
  - Fragging fellow officers
- My Lai Massacre: Lieutenant Calley ordered murder of 347 civilians
  - Nixon later granted him parole
- Loudest outcry against Indochina policy was after Cambodia incursion
  - Angry student mobs
  - Kent State University, National Guard called
  - Public supported National Guard: rioters got what they deserved
  - Tragedy at Jackson State College
  - Leaked to press by Daniel Ellsberg
  - Gulf of Tonkin incident revealed to public
  - no plan for bringing war to an end
  - Nixon administration attempted to block publication, Supreme Court ruled against government

War without End
- Kissinger dropped insistence upon removal of North Vietnamese from south
  - Kissinger announced peace was at hand, only a ploy to get votes
  - Thieu regime in South Vietnam rejected Kissinger plan for ceasefire
  - Paris peace talks broke off, re-elected Nixon ordered bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong
  - Christmas bombings aroused worldwide protest
- North Vietnam became more flexible at negotiating table
  - Christmas bombings stopped, talks at Paris resumed
  - US, North and South Vietnam, and Viet Cong signed an agreement on ending war and restoring peace in Vietnam
  - Bombing did not alter Vietnamese stance
  - What changed was the willingness of South Vietnamese to accept terms
  - US promised to defend if Communists violated treaty
  - 1973 US troops left Vietnam
  - Ceasefire collapsed and war resumed, Communists had upper hand
  - Communist domination in Cambodia and Laos
  - North launched attack against South, Congress refused assistance
  - Peace with honor finally proved to be
  - Communists won
- Most veterans readjusted well to civilian life
- Respect for military eroded
  - Suggested democracy was not easily transferable
Nixon and Middle America

- Nixon represented Middle America
  - Middle class was fed up with liberal politics and radicalism
  - Nixon appointed officials with conservative values
  - John Mitchell as attorney general
  - HR Haldeman as chief of staff, replaced by Alexander Haig
  - John Ehrlichman as domestic policy adviser
  - William Rogers as secretary of state

Domestic Affairs

- Major reason for Nixon’s election in 1968 was southern strategy
  - Assured southern conservatives that he would slow federal government enforcement of civil rights and appoint pro-South justices
  - Refused to meet with Congressional Black Caucus, appointed no blacks
  - Launched effort to block renewal of Voting Rights Act
  - Democratic Congress passed renewal of Voting Rights Act over Nixon’s veto
  - Alexander v Holmes Country Board of Education: court ordered end to segregation

- Nixon’s attempt to block desegregation failed
  - Swann v Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education: schools systems must bus students out of neighborhoods if necessary
  - More protest for desegregation in the north, Midwest, NOT south

- Nixon asked Congress to impose moratorium on busing orders by federal courts
  - House agreed to voter outrage at busing to achieve racial integration
  - Senate filibustered and blocked president’s anti-busing bill
  - Miliken v. Bradley: desegregation plan in Detroit was unconstitutional
  - Regents of University of California v Bakke: restricted use of quotas to achieve racial balance

- Nixon had several names for domestic program
  - New Federalism promised power flow to the people, revenue sharing plan that would distribute federal revenues to states
  - New American Revolution hodgepodge of reactionary and progressive initiatives

- Democratic Congress moved forward with new legislation:
  - Allowed all 18 year old to vote under 26th Amendment
  - Increased Social Security benefits
  - Health and Safety Act, Clean Air Act, new bills to control population, Federal Election Campaign Act

Economic Malaise

- Major development was floundering economy, inflation in double digits
  - Unemployment climbed
  - Recession and inflation at the same time: stagflation

- Economic malaise had three root causes:
- Payment for Great Society by federal government without tax increase
- US goods faced competition in international markets
- Economy depended on cheap sources of energy

- Dependence on foreign sources of oil increased
  - Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) formed
  - OPEC announced that it would not sell oil to belligerent nations supporting Israel

- Flood or new workers
  - Mostly baby boomers and women entering labor market
  - Productivity declined

- Stagflation posed new set of economic problems
  - Nixon responded poorly
  - Tried to reduce deficit by raising interest, Federal Reserve to reduce money supply
    - Nixon recession
- Nixon froze wages and prices for 90 days

Environmental Protection
- Support for environmentalism
  - Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*
  - Democratic Congress passed acts to protect clean up
  - Nixon reluctantly signed Endangered Species Act and National Environmental Policy Act
  - Called for Council on Environmental Policy Act
  - Environmental Protection Agency and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

- OPEC oil boycott and price increase led to energy crisis
- Stagflation lasted until late 1970s

Nixon Triumphant
- Nixon was first president since Eisenhower to confront Congress in which both houses were under the control of the opposite party: Democrats
  - Received several major breakthroughs
  - Focused on foreign affairs
  - Supported Apollo program to beat Soviets to moon
  - 1969: Neil Armstrong walked on the moon

- American morale was boosted by moon landing and foreign policy success
  - Relations improved with China and USSR
  - Trust in government

- Multipolar world order was replacing cold war confrontation
  - US lost monopoly on nuclear weapons and influence
  - Rise of competing powers complicated relations
  - China replaced USSR as most threatening competitor

- Nixon announced alteration in foreign policy
  - US could no longer be world policemen against communism
  - **Nixon Doctrine**: opposite of Truman Doctrine but did not completely eliminate internationalism
    - Kissinger argued at US needed to be more realistic and strategic
Selected partnerships with Communist countries in areas of mutual interest

China

- Kissinger made secret trip to Peking to explore US recognition of Communist China
  - US and China agreed to scientific and cultural exchanges, steps toward resumption of trade, reunification of Taiwan with mainland
  - Liaison offices set up in Washington and Beijing
  - Diplomatic recognition formalized in 1979

Détente

- China welcomed the breakthrough in relations with the US because its festering rivalry with the USSR had become bitter
  - Nixon decided to visit Moscow and Brezhnev
- Détente with Soviets offered promise of more orderly and restrained competition between the two superpowers
  - Nixon and Brezhnev signed Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)
  - SALT agreement did not end arms race, but limited ICBMs in each nation
  - No restrictions placed on new weapons systems
  - Soviets were allowed to retain greater number of missiles while US retained lead in total warheads
- Monumental changes in global order

Shuttle Diplomacy

- Nixon-Kissinger initiatives in the Middle East were less dramatic
  - US fundamentally opposed to the existence of Israel
  - US recognized Arab power
  - Sixty Day War: Israeli forces routed the armies of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan and seized territory in all three
  - Palestinian refugees increased after Israeli victory
  - Yom Kippur War of 1973: Kissinger cease fire, exerted pressure to prevent further Israeli conquest
  - Kissinger promoted ties with Egypt, made numerous flights—shuttle diplomacy
  - failed to find formula for peace

The Election of 1972

- Nixon’s foreign policy achievements triumphed
  - Main threat to reelection was George Wallace, Democrat
  - Wallace was shot and left paralyzed from the waist down—withdrawn from campaign
- Democrats ensured Nixon’s victory by nominating George McGovern
  - Liberal, anti war, social welfare
  - AFL-CLO refused to endorse, women and African American support alienated party regulars
- Nixon won as global peacekeeper
  - Nixon used dirty tricks
  - McGovern’s Watergate accusations
  - Burglars were CIA agents
  - Nixon tried to cover up
- Landslide victory for Nixon
**Watergate**

- Judge John Sirica led one of the accused burglars to tell the full story of Watergate
  - James McCord: CIA agent and security chief of Committee to Re-elect the President CREEP

**Uncovering the Cover-Up**

- Never any evidence that Nixon ordered the break-in
  - He used presidential powers to cover up
  - *New York Times* revealed secret Cambodia bombings, Nixon ordered illegal telephone taps on journalists
  - Ehrlichman was in command of dirty tricksters
  - Money to finance tricks were illegally collected through CREEP
- Patrick Gray, director of FBI, confessed that he had confiscated and destroyed several incriminating documents
  - Ehrlichman and Haldeman resigned
  - Nixon: “I am not a crook.”
  - John Dean testified that Nixon had covered up
  - White House aide told committee that Nixon had installed taping system in the White House
- Battle for the Nixon tapes began
  - Archibald Cox took Nixon to court
  - Nixon refused to give up tapes and fired Cox
  - *Saturday Night Massacre*: Attorney General Elliot Richardson and Deputy Attorney General William Ruckelshaus resigned
  - Nixon’s firing of Cox stirred up firestorm of public indignation
  - Call for impeachment
- Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Nixon must surrender all tapes
  - Three articles of impeachment:
    - Obstruction of justice
    - Abuse of power
    - Defiance of Congress
  - Before House could vote, Nixon handed over tapes and resigned

**The Effects of Watergate**

- Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign for accepting bribes
  - Gerald Ford was vice president at time of Nixon’s resignation
  - 25th Amendment provided appointment of a vice president if office became vacant
  - Ford issued a pardon to end national obsession but public was still outraged
- Silver lining of Watergate was vigor of the institutions that brought him down
  - Press, Congress, courts, public opinion
  - Legislation curbed executive power
  - Democratic-led Congress passed *War Powers Act*, which required president to notify within 48 hours if US troops were deployed and to withdraw troops after 60 days
  - New legislation regulated campaign funds
  - *Freedom of Information Act* combated withholding of information
- Deep sense of disillusionment resulted
  - Loss of public confidence
o Renewed public cynicism toward government

**An Unelected President**

- Watergate crisis dominated Washington scene
- Combination of inflation and recession worsened, as did oil crisis
  - Kissinger assumed control of foreign policy
  - South Vietnam crumbled
  - CIA played role in overthrow of Salvador Gossens, Marxist president of Chile
    - Replaced by Augusto Ugarte, military dictator, friendly to US

**The Ford Years**

- Gerald Ford assumed office, inherited problems
  - Believed federal government had too much power
  - Vetoed 39 bills
  - Resisted reduction of taxes and increased federal spending
  - Succeeded in plummeting the economy into the deepest recession since Great Depression
  - Rejected wage and price controls to curb inflation
  - Whip Inflation Now: WIN buttons became a national joke and symbol of Ford’s ineffectiveness
- Ford retained Kissinger as secretary of state and pursued Nixon’s goals of stability in the Middle East, relations with China, and détente with USSR
  - Met with Brezhnev, accepted SALT II agreement
  - Kissinger’s travels between Cairo and Tel Aviv produced important agreement:
    - Israel promised to return territory to Egypt, nations agreed to rely on negotiations
  - These achievements were downsized in sea of criticism of Ford
- Cambodian Communist movement won victory
  - Khmer Rouge was leader in Cambodia
  - Genocidal campaign to destroy opponents
  - OPEC oil cartel threatened worldwide boycott
  - Ford sent marines to Cambodia to rescue crew of Mayaguez
    - Got support until Cambodian government released that they would release them anyway

**The Election of 1976**

- Republicans nominated Gerald Ford
  - Fended off nomination of Ronald Reagan
- Democrats chose Jimmy Carter
  - Campaigned harder
  - Assured people that he wouldn’t repeat corruption
- Carter revived New Deal coalition of southern whites, blacks, urban labor, ethnic groups
  - Heavy turnout of African Americans
  - Appeal of Walter Mondale; favorite among blue collar workers and urban poor
- Low voter turnout
The Carter Interregnum

Policy Stalemate

- Carter faced domestic and international problems
  - Economic recession
  - Inflation
  - America’s global power
- Carter enjoyed several successes
  - Administration included African Americans and women
  - Offered amnesty to men who fled the country to avoid war
  - New Departments of Energy and Education
  - Environmental initiatives
- Success was short-lived
  - Debate over energy policy
  - Clumsy political maneuvers
- Violence in Middle East produced fuel shortage in US
  - Carter’s approval rating fell
- Foreign policy initiatives got caught in political crossfire
  - Human rights campaign aroused opposition from both parties
- Carter’s successful negotiation of treaties to turn over control of the Panama Canal to government of Panama generated criticism
  - Carter argued colonial resentment in central America
  - Senate ratified by thin margin
  - Conservative criticism

The Camp David Accords

- Crowning foreign-policy achievement was peace between Israel and Egypt
  - Anwar el-Sadat (Egypt) met with Menachem Begin (Israel)
  - Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Carter pursued diplomacy
  - Presidential retreat at Camp David, Maryland, negotiations held
  - Agreement called for Israel to return territory to Egypt in exchange for recognition of sovereignty
  - Agreement called for Israel to negotiate with Sadat to resolve Palestinian refuge dilemma
- Begin and Sadat returned to Washington to sign treaty
  - Most Arab nations condemned Sadat
  - Islamic extremists assassinated Sadat

Mounting Troubles

- Carter’s crowning failure was mismanagement of economy
  - Same policies as Nixon and Ford
  - Preferred to fight unemployment with tax cut and increased public spending
  - Inflation soared even though unemployment decreased slightly
  - Budget deficits caused by sagging economy
  - Delayed tax reductions, vetoed government spending
  - Deepening recession and inflation

Ishmam Ahmed; Ishmam.com
• **SALT II put Carter’s leadership to the test**
  o Ceiling placed on bombers and missiles, warheads and new weapons
  o SALT II became moot when Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan to prop up Communists governments
  o **Carter suspended SALT II in response**
  o International boycott of 1980 Olympics in Moscow

**Iran**

• **Iranian crisis**
  o Fall of shah in 1979
  o Revolutionaries toppled shah’s government
  o Shah favored western ways, **new Ayatollah Khomeini favored fundamentalism**
  o Hatred of US
  o Mob stormed US embassy in Tehran, Khomeini endorsed mob action

• **Indignant Americans demanded a military response**
  o Carter appealed to UN
  o Carter froze trade with Iran—only partially effective
  o **Secretary of State Cyrus Vance resigned in response to rescue attempt and Carter’s sharp turn toward hawkish foreign policy**
  o Rebels got popular support
  o **Carter released several billion dollars of Iranian assets to ransom kidnapped hostages**

• **Crisis of confidence**
  o American power in decline
  o Reagan brought revival