

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

The Sexual Revolution and the Pill

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

Hispanic Rights

- **Activism spread to Hispanic peoples**
 - The word *Hispanic* became used after 1945 in conjunction with efforts to promote economic and social justice
 - Hispanics were favored by labor shortages during war
- **Equality was elusive**
 - Hispanics still faced discrimination after war
 - Poverty
 - Activists mirrored African American activists
 - Struggle to increase political influence
- **Most popular initiatives was use of the term *Chicano***
 - Also included **Californios:** descendants of Californians before it was seized by US, most were Indians, mixed, and Tejanos
 - **Chicano** originally meant lazy person
 - 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**
 - Hopes were put at risk due to illegal immigrants
 - Mexican leaders **ended bracer program in 1964**
 - **Formed United Farm Workers UFW**
- **Cesar Chavez founded UFW**
 - Joined Community Service Organization CSO
- **Chavez left CSO after it refused to back his proposal to establish a union for farmworkers**
 - CSO leaders believed it was impossible to organize migrant workers
 - Farmworkers did not get protected by National Labor Relations Act of 1935
 - They were not guaranteed the right to organize
- **Chavez resolved to organize farmworkers**
 - NFW gained national attention when it joined a strike against corporate grape farmers
 - Insisted on nonviolence tactics
 - Relied on college volunteers
 - Alliance with labor and religious groups
- **Grape strike itself brought no gains**
 - Chavez organized nationwide boycott of grapes
 - **Grape corporations finally recognized UFW**
 - **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**
 - Presidential candidates courted Hispanic vote
 - Voting power of Hispanics became key

Native Americans

- **American Indians began calling themselves Native Americans, emerged as political force**
 - **Two conditions combined to make Indian rights a priority:**
 - **White felt sense of guilt**
 - **Plight of Native American minority was desperate**
 - Indian unemployment was great
 - Suicide rate was higher
- **Lyndon Johnson recognized poverty of Native Americans and attempted to funnel federal aid into reservations**
 - Militants within Indian community became militant
 - Protests and demonstrations
 - **George Mitchell and Dennis Banks founded American Indian Movement AIM to promote “red power”**
 - Occupied Alcatraz Island
 - **Bureau of Indian Affairs attracted national attention their cause**
 - Seen as worst-managed agency
- **AIM led Sioux in occupying village in South Dakota**
 - Local whites were given light sentences for killing Sioux
 - Attention drawn to reservation there
 - 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 protestors 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
- **New York Times published excerpts from *The History of the US Decision Making Process in Vietnam*, secret study commissioned by McNamara—Pentagon Papers**
 - 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

- Fissures in Democratic party
- **Affairs elsewhere: Middle East, etc**

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 of 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-CIO 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 French Smith 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

- 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 refugee 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

- **SALT II put Carter's leadership to the test**
 - Ceiling placed on bombers and missiles, warheads and new weapons
 - SALT II became moot when Soviet Army invaded Afghanistan to prop up Communist governments
 - **Carter suspended SALT II in response**
 - **International boycott of 1980 Olympics in Moscow**

Iran

- **Iranian crisis**
 - Fall of shah in 1979
 - Revolutionaries toppled shah's government
 - Shah favored western ways, **new Ayatollah Khomeini favored fundamentalism**
 - Hatred of US
 - Mob stormed US embassy in Tehran, Khomeini endorsed mob action
- **Indignant Americans demanded a military response**
 - Carter appealed to UN
 - Carter froze trade with Iran—only partially effective
 - **Secretary of State Cyrus Vance resigned in response to rescue attempt and Carter's sharp turn toward hawkish foreign policy**
 - Rebels got popular support
 - **Carter released several billion dollars of Iranian assets to ransom kidnapped hostages**
- **Crisis of confidence**
 - American power in decline
 - Reagan brought revival