



Section 1

GUIDED READING *A Conservative Movement Emerges*

**A.** As you read about the conservative movement that swept the country, note the individuals, groups, and institutions that fueled it. Then identify issues the New Right emphasized as well as the interests it promoted.

1. Individuals

2. Groups and institutions

3. Issues and interests

**B.** Identify four factors that contributed to Ronald Reagan's victory.

1.	3.
2.	4.

**C.** On the back of this paper, define **entitlement program** and **reverse discrimination**.



**GUIDED READING** *Conservative Policies Under Reagan and Bush*

**Section 2**

**A.** As you read, note the results of “Reaganomics” and of actions taken to achieve important goals of the conservative movement.

<b>Goal: Stimulate the economy</b>	
1. Cut government spending on social programs and lowered income taxes	→ Result(s):
2. Increased military spending	→ Result(s):

<b>Goal: Promote traditional values and morality</b>	
3. Named conservative judges to the Supreme Court and other federal courts	→ Result(s):

<b>Goal: Reduce the size and power of the federal government</b>	
4. Deregulated the savings and loan industry	→ Result(s):
5. Cut the Environmental Protection Agency budget and appointed EPA administrators sympathetic to business	→ Result(s):

**B.** On the back of this paper, define **supply-side economics**. Then identify **Sandra Day O’Connor**, **William Rehnquist**, and **Geraldine Ferraro**.

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**GUIDED READING** *American Society in  
a Conservative Age*

**A.** As you read, identify specific issues in each of the following areas that concerned Americans in the 1980s.

1. Health	2. Education	3. Cities
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**B.** Take notes about the gains, losses, and chief concerns of each of the following groups.

1. Women	2. African Americans	3. Latinos
4. Native Americans	5. Asian Americans	6. Gays and lesbians

**C.** On the back of this paper, note what **L. Douglas Wilder** and **Jesse Jackson** did to advance African Americans politically.

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**GUIDED READING** *Changes in America's Foreign Policy*

As you read about the end of the Cold War, note key persons, events, and trends involved in the nations listed below. Concentrate on political and economic developments as well as on U.S. relations with those countries. Leave the shaded boxes blank.

Nations	Key Individuals	Key Events and Trends
1. Soviet Union		Events: Trends:
2. Poland		Events: Trends:
3. Germany		Events: Trends:
4. Yugoslavia		Events: Trends:
5. China		Events: Trends:
6. Nicaragua		Events: Trends:
7. Panama		Events: Trends:
8. Iran		
9. Iraq		

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Section 1

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Clarifying*

*During the presidential campaign of 1980, the National Review, a conservative magazine, published numerous articles expressing the conservatives' viewpoint in campaign issues. Read the following excerpt from one such article; then fill in the blanks at the bottom of the page to help clarify the meaning of the passage. Feel free to use a dictionary if necessary. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1037.)*

As the election draws near, it is useful to be reminded not only of what is desirable in politics, but also of what is possible. Too much of what is desirable has not even been seriously attempted, because of the belief that it is impossible of achievement. The recent adoption by the Republican Platform Committee of a resolution to prohibit busing for purposes of school integration is a good example: it is a pure velleity if, simultaneously, one does not address how this policy is to be implemented against the Supreme Court's (sometimes) adamantine insistence that such busing is constitutionally obligatory.

*from Anthony Tortora, "Ex Parte McCardle" in National Review (September 19, 1980), 1140.*

Briefly define the following terms in your own words:

- 1. prohibit \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. velleity \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. address \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. implemented \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. adamantine \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. constitutionally obligatory \_\_\_\_\_
- 7. impossible of achievement \_\_\_\_\_

Write your own version of what this paragraph says. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**CHAPTER**  
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**GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION**

**Latino Population in the 1980s**

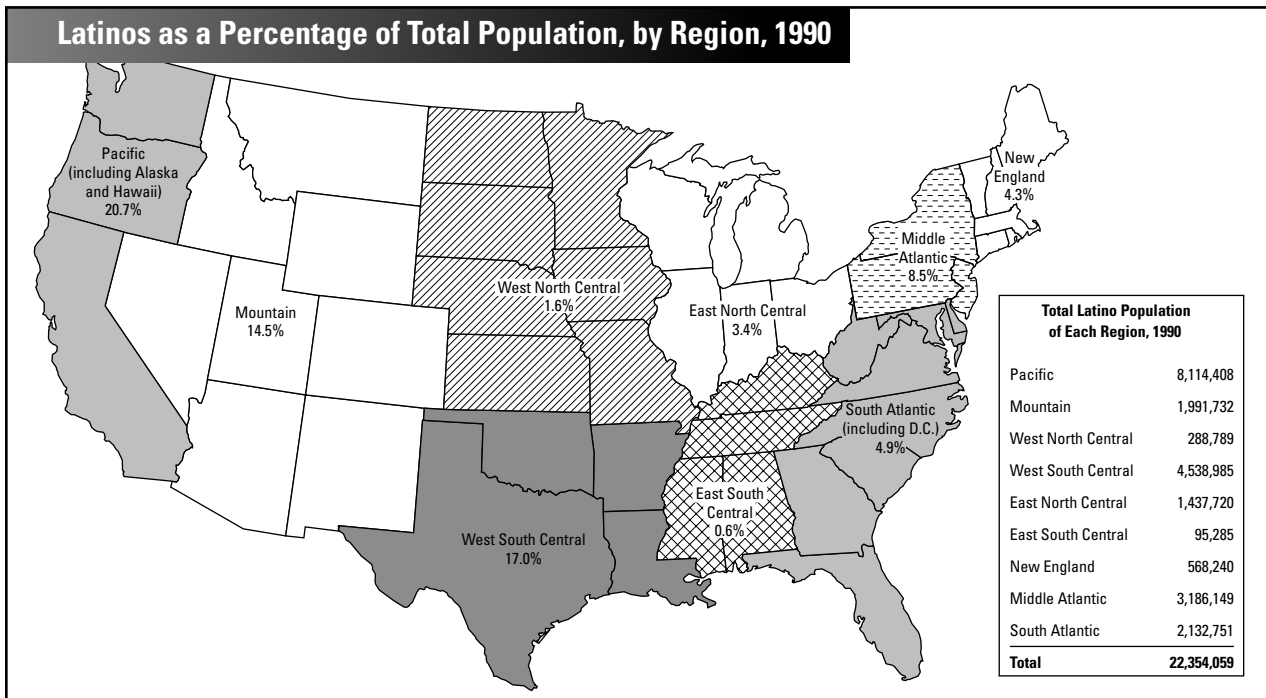
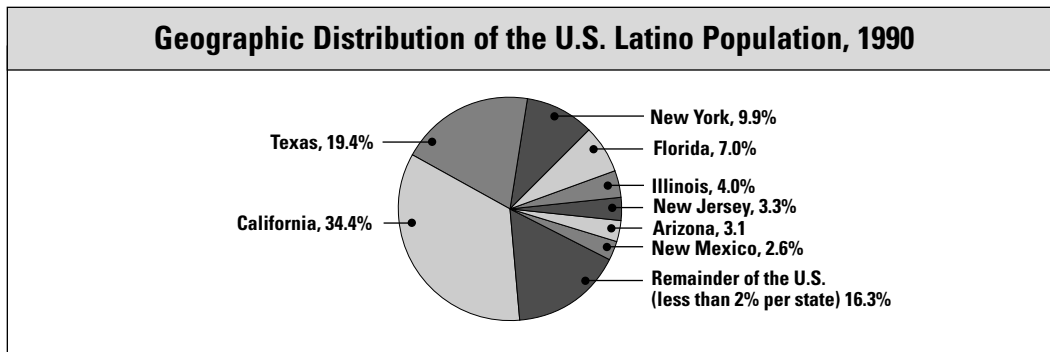
**Section 3**

*Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the graph and the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.*

Between 1980 and 1990, the Latino population in the United States increased by about 53 percent—from 14.6 million to nearly 22.4 million—as compared to only a 6.7 percent increase by non-Latinos. By 1990, in fact, California’s Latino population of nearly 7.7 million ranked higher than the total populations of all but nine states. At current rates of growth, the Latino population in the

United States will double by the year 2020, whereas it will take the non-Latino population more than 150 years to double.

Some states have concentrations of various Latinos of particular national backgrounds—Mexican in California and Texas, Puerto Rican in New York and New Jersey, and Cuban in Florida, for example.



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### Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. What does “Texas, 19.4%” mean on the pie graph? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

2. Into how many regions is the U.S. map divided? \_\_\_\_\_

What does “Middle Atlantic 8.5%” mean on the map? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

3. In the table to the right of the map, what does the number 1,437,720 mean for East North Central? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

4. How many states contained less than 2 percent of the U.S. Latino population in 1990? \_\_\_\_\_

Which state contained nearly 10 percent of the Latino population? \_\_\_\_\_

5. In which region was the percentage of Latinos the smallest? \_\_\_\_\_

6. Which two states together accounted for more than half of the nation’s Latino population? \_\_\_\_\_

7. How did the Mountain region rank among all regions in terms of its percentage of Latinos? How did it rank in terms of its total Latino population? Explain why the two rankings are not the same.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

8. Use your knowledge of geography and economics to suggest reasons for the large Latino populations in the Southwest, in Florida, and in certain states of the middle Atlantic region and east north central regions.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

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**OUTLINE MAP** *U.S. Attention on the Middle East*

**Section 4**

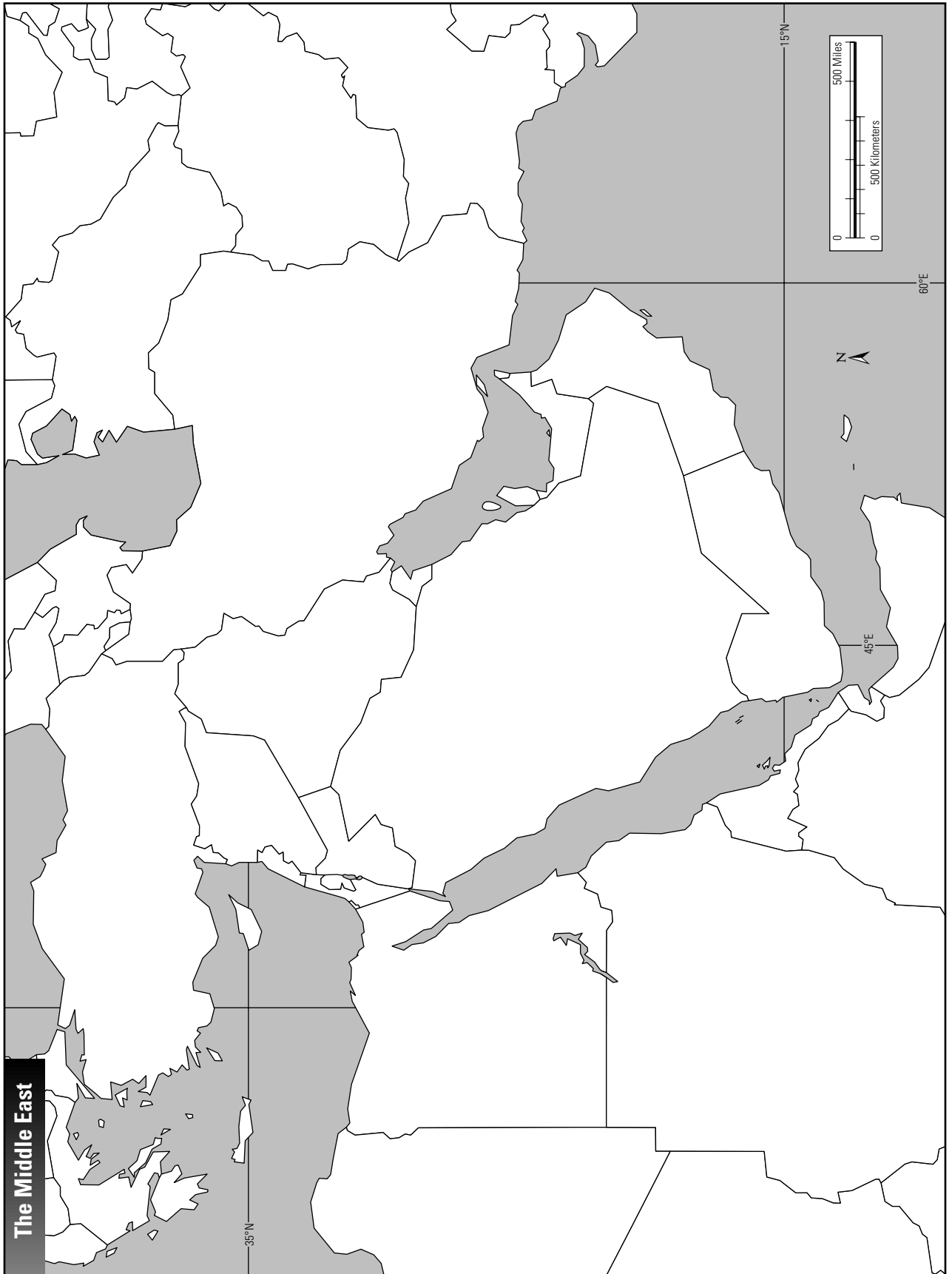
**A.** Review the map “Middle East, 1978–1982” on page 966 of your textbook. To locate some of the African countries not shown on that map and to check for boundary changes in the Gulf of Aden region, also consult the current map of the Middle East on page 1061. Then, on the accompanying outline map, label the following bodies of water, countries, and regions (U.A.E. stands for “United Arab Emirates”) and draw in the Suez Canal. Use arrows to indicate smaller nations and regions if necessary.

<u>Bodies of Water</u>	<u>Countries</u>			<u>Regions</u>
Arabian Sea	Egypt	Syria	Yemen	West Bank
Caspian Sea	Sudan	Lebanon	Bahrain	Sinai Peninsula
Mediterranean Sea	Eritrea	Israel	Qatar	
Strait of Hormuz	Djibouti	Iraq	Iran	
Persian Gulf	Somalia	Jordan	Saudi Arabia	
Red Sea	Greece	Cyprus	Kuwait	
Gulf of Aden	Turkey	U.A.E.	Oman	

**B.** After completing the map, use it to answer the following questions.

- Describe the route a ship leaving a port in Greece would likely take to reach Kuwait. \_\_\_\_\_
- Which countries have Persian Gulf coastlines? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
- Which country has the longest Red Sea coastline? \_\_\_\_\_
- To which nation does the Sinai Peninsula belong? \_\_\_\_\_
- Which two labeled countries are islands? \_\_\_\_\_
- Which two labeled countries, sharing a common border, are almost totally landlocked—that is, without any coastline? \_\_\_\_\_
- The Middle East is not a continent but a large region covering parts of three continents. The region is generally considered to consist of Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. In which three continents are these countries located? Which two countries do you think include parts of two continents? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_





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## CHAPTER

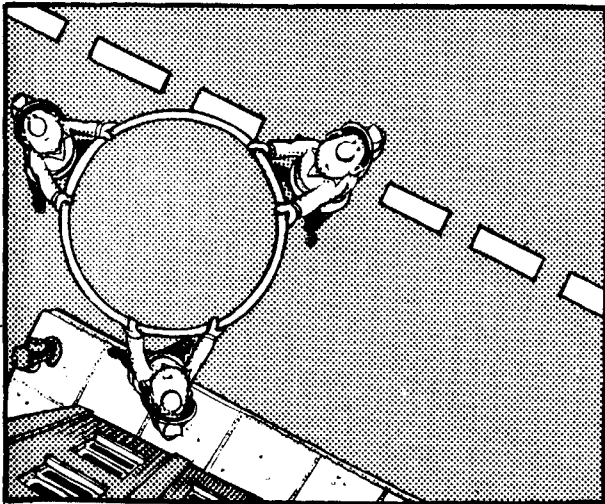
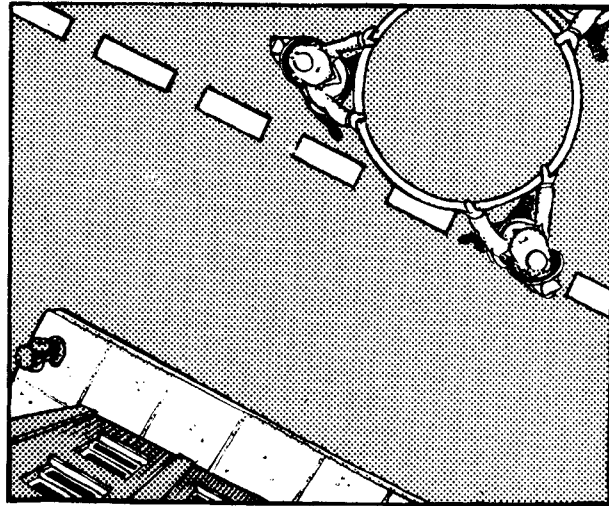
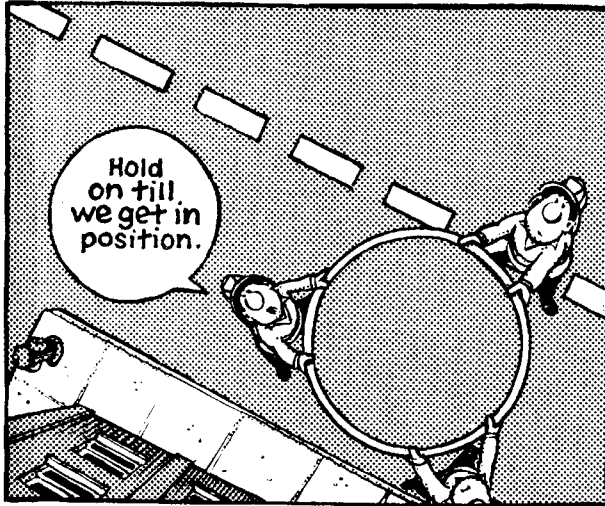
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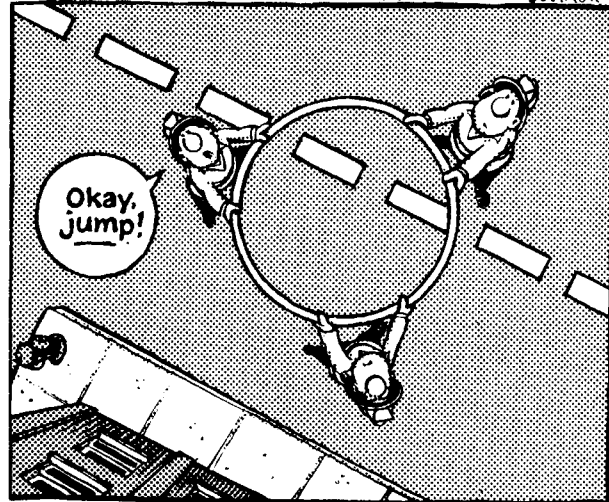
## PRIMARY SOURCE Political Cartoon

To downsize the federal government, President Reagan cut the budgets of social programs such as urban mass transit, food stamps, welfare, and Medicaid. These programs represented part of the safety net, or minimum financial security, for the poor. Study this cartoon from the St. Petersburg Times to find out the cartoonist's opinion of Reagan's strategy.

## The Reagan Safety Net



H. CLAY BENNETT  
Courtesy St. Petersburg Times



## Discussion Questions

1. Who are the three characters in this cartoon, and what are they trying to do?
2. What does the last frame of the cartoon reveal?
3. What political message does this cartoon send?

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PRIMARY SOURCE *from* Ronald Reagan's  
Farewell Address

*On January 11, 1989, President Reagan delivered his 34th—and last—address from the Oval Office. As you read this excerpt, think about his assessment of the United States as he prepares to step down after eight years in office.*

You know, down the hall and up the stairs from this office is the part of the White House where the president and his family live. There are a few favorite windows I have up there that I like to stand and look out of early in the morning. The view is over the grounds here to the Washington Monument, and then the Mall and the Jefferson Memorial. But on mornings when the humidity is low, you can see past the Jefferson to the river, the Potomac, and the Virginia shore. Someone said that's the view Lincoln had when he saw the smoke rising from the Battle of Bull Run. I see more prosaic things: the grass on the banks, the morning traffic as people make their way to work, now and then a sailboat on the river.

I've been thinking a bit at that window. I've been reflecting what the past eight years have meant and mean. And the image that comes to mind like a refrain is a nautical one—a small story about a big ship, and a refugee and a sailor. It was back in the early eighties, at the height of the boat people. And the sailor was hard at work on the carrier *Midway*, which was patrolling the South China Sea. The sailor, like most American servicemen, was young, smart, and fiercely observant. The crew spied on the horizon a leaky little boat. And crammed inside were refugees from Indochina hoping to get to America. The *Midway* sent a small launch to bring them to the ship and safety. As the refugees made their way through the choppy seas, one spied the sailor on deck and stood up and called out to him. He yelled, "Hello, American sailor. Hello, freedom man."

A small moment with a big meaning, a moment the sailor, who wrote it in a letter, couldn't get out of his mind. And when I saw it, neither could I. Because that's what it was to be an American in the 1980s. We stood, again, for freedom. I know we always have, but in the past few years the world again, and in a way, we ourselves—rediscovered it.

It's been quite a journey this decade, and we held together through some stormy seas. And at

the end, together, we are reaching our destination.

The fact is, from Grenada to the Washington and Moscow summits, from the recession of '81 to '82, to the expansion that began in late '82 and continues to this day, we've made a difference. The way I see it, there were two great triumphs, two things that I'm proudest of. One is the economic recovery, in which the people of America created—and filled—19 million new jobs. The other is the recovery of our morale. America is respected again in the world and looked to for leadership. . . .

The past few days when I've been at that window upstairs, I've thought a bit of the "shining city upon a hill." The phrase comes from John Winthrop, who wrote it to describe the America he imagined. What he imagined was important because he was an early Pilgrim, an early freedom man. He journeyed here on what today we'd call a little wooden boat; and like the other Pilgrims, he was looking for a home that would be free. . . .

And how stands the city on this winter night? More prosperous, more secure, and happier than it was eight years ago. But more than that; after two hundred years, two centuries, she still stands strong and true on the granite ridge, and her glow has held steady no matter what storm. And she's still a beacon, still a magnet for all who must have freedom, for all the pilgrims from all the lost places who are hurtling through the darkness, toward home.

*from* Ronald Reagan, *Speaking My Mind* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989), 410–418.

### Discussion Questions

1. What two accomplishments was Reagan proudest of?
2. How did Reagan characterize the nation in 1989 as compared to when he became president?
3. Do you agree with Reagan's assessment of how the United States stood at the end of his second term? Why or why not?

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Section 3

PRIMARY SOURCE **Civil Rights in the 1980s**

*When he was interviewed by Studs Terkel, Clarence Page was a 39-year-old columnist and member of the editorial board of the Chicago Tribune.*

I would describe myself as a black baby boomer. I came of age in the sixties, several years after the '54 school desegregation decision. . . .

My folks were not political people. Because they were older, they tended to vote Republican. Lincoln's party that freed the slaves, you know (laughs). My father was the oldest of five brothers and the most conservative. His younger brother jumped to the Democratic Party with FDR.

Seeing the Little Rock incident on television affected me greatly. I'll never forget seeing a couple of National Guard troopers marching with bayonets on their rifles behind a couple of girls. I had not yet heard of Martin Luther King.

My mother and father were very quiet about it. I didn't find out until years later that they were very hopeful. At the same time, their feeling was, Don't make waves, don't rock the boat. Just prepare yourself, because someday the doors of opportunity would open. Be ready to step inside. They never stressed that we should try to bring that opportunity about more quickly. That came from me (laughs). . . .

The late sixties was a great time to be a black journalist. That was how I came to Chicago 18 years ago.

Something's happened in those years, hasn't it? It's become less of a civil rights struggle and more of a class struggle. It's hard for me to talk about social injustice—I'm better off than most white people are in this country. But what about the great many other blacks?

I wonder if we can any longer use civil rights tactics against economic problems. We can march for justice in Forsyth County, Georgia. We can march against apartheid in South Africa. But what do we do against the grinding problems in the black community—illiteracy, teen pregnancy, homelessness, malnutrition? We've got the poorest children of any industrialized country in the world. Civil rights marching is not going to solve it. It has to be a social justice movement in some big way.

What good does it do if you have the right to do a job, but not the education to get it? What good does it do if you have the right to go to a hotel, but

you can't afford it? You have the right to sit at a lunch counter or go to a restaurant, but . . . In some ways, we're worse off as a people today than we were twenty years ago.

There is a rage inside, an anger that certain people have tried to turn these advances around and say whatever advances black people have made have been at the expense of somebody else.

In the new racism, everybody's a victim (laughs). There are no bigots any more. A Southern leader quit the Klan and formed a new group called the National Association for the Advancement of White People. It's predicated on the notion that the whites are an oppressed class now. They borrow the rhetoric of the civil rights movement, but not its essence. Is the ex-Klansman much different from the Reagan administration that puts forth black spokesmen to oppose affirmative action because this oppresses white males?

What concerns me is that I am so alone now. There are so few blacks who have shared in this opportunity. A few of us are allowed in the door and then it's shut. . . .

It's too large for just the black middle class to solve alone. It has to be a society-wide effort. It's not just the black community. It's the Hispanic and certain parts of the white community, as well.

I think these people are worse off than twenty years ago because they are more isolated. There's less a sense of hope. I was not born rich, but as long as my family had hope, that's all that mattered. But if you don't have any hope and all you look forward to is producing more and more generations of welfare kids, you're definitely worse off. That is the big gap, the Great Divide.

*from "Clarence Page," in *The Great Divide: Second Thoughts on the American Dream* by Studs Terkel (New York: Pantheon, 1988), 265–270.*

### Activity Options

1. Make a Venn diagram to compare Page's and Reagan's assessments of the 1980s.
2. With a partner, role-play an informal debate between Page and a member of the New Right.

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PRIMARY SOURCE **The First Day of Desert Storm**

*General H. Norman Schwarzkopf commanded the Allied forces in the Persian Gulf War. This behind-the-scenes account is from his autobiography.*

The first shots of Desert Storm were to be fired at precisely 2:40 A.M. In preparation, weapons crews had labored since the previous afternoon at airfields across Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar, loading warplanes from six nations with hundreds of tons of missiles, rockets, and bombs. American aircraft carriers in the gulf and the Red Sea had steamed northward, putting Iraq within range of their planes. Cruisers and the battleship *Wisconsin* had positioned scores of Tomahawk missiles in their armored box launchers for firing. Meanwhile flights of B-52s, some armed with ultrasophisticated cruise missiles originally designed to fly nuclear warheads into the Soviet Union, were closing in on Iraq from bases as distant as Barksdale, Louisiana.

A dozen high-tech Army and Air Force special-operations helicopters would start the attack. Flying in almost total darkness only thirty feet above the sand, they were to take out two key early-warning radar installations on the Saudi-Iraqi border. Behind the helicopters, eight F-15 fighter-bombers would streak into Iraqi airspace and destroy the nearest air-defense command center. That hit would, in effect, spring the gate into Iraq by opening a corridor for hundreds more airplanes headed toward targets throughout Iraq. Meanwhile, F-117 Stealth fighters were beginning bomb runs in the night sky over Baghdad.

Sitting in headquarters there was no way for us to tell at first what was going on. As each scrap of information came in, I scrawled it down on a yellow pad. . . .

Horner [Lieutenant General Chuck Horner, Air Force commander] called throughout the morning with updates as pilots and crews returned to base. By early afternoon I was able to tell Powell [General Colin Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] in Washington that we'd completed fully 850 missions. We'd clobbered many of the 240 targets on our list: Saddam's heavily defended lakeside palace in Baghdad had been annihilated; the ITT Building downtown was reportedly "glowing"; two major Scud missile sites in western Iraq had been severely damaged; the key suspected biological and nuclear

weapons bunkers had been destroyed. Meanwhile squadrons of A-10 attack jets were shooting up supply dumps along the Iraqi front lines: "They can't get reloaded fast enough," the Air Force told us. The Air Force advised that although flight crews' accuracy had been initially less than predicted—F-117s in the first wave had dropped just fifty-five percent of their bombs on target, and F-111s about seventy percent—their accuracy had been steadily improving throughout the day.

Most important, only two airplanes had gone down—an astoundingly low number, considering that we'd feared losses as high as seventy-five the first day. Horner and his planners had clearly succeeded brilliantly at undoing Iraq's high-tech defense network. By jamming and bombing its radars, they'd blinded it; by striking at its command centers, they'd paralyzed it. While pilots described how the skies over Baghdad were filled with surface-to-air missiles and antiaircraft shells, the Iraqis were firing at random with very little chance of hitting our planes. Meanwhile we shot down six Iraqi MiG and Mirage fighters. Scores more Iraqi aircraft took off from their bases, but then simply flew around avoiding our planes. . . .

At the evening briefing Burt Moore brought the news I'd been waiting all day to hear: the Army was on the move, relocating in preparation for the ground attack. On Tapline Road, the desolate two-land highway stretching west toward Jordan from the Saudi town of Hafar al-Batin near the southwestern corner of Kuwait, the heavy trucks of the XVIII Airborne Corps and VII Corps had begun moving supplies and equipment west. By the end of the first day of the war, the convoy stretched 120 miles.

*from H. Norman Schwarzkopf, It Doesn't Take a Hero (New York: Bantam, 1992), 413–416.*

### Research Options

1. Research the effects of the Persian Gulf War and make a cause-and-effect diagram.
2. Research a piece of high-tech equipment that the U.S. military used during the war. Then write a brief summary to explain its use.

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Section 2

LITERATURE SELECTION *from The Bonfire of the Vanities*  
by Tom Wolfe

*Set in New York City, this best-selling novel satirizes the greed and excesses of the 1980s. The novel's main character, Sherman McCoy, is the number one bond salesman at the Wall Street investment firm of Pierce & Pierce. As you read this excerpt, consider the traits and qualities that make Sherman a self-proclaimed "Master of the Universe."*

At Seventy-ninth Street and First Avenue the taxis lined up every day to take the young Masters of the Universe down to Wall Street. According to the regulations, every cabdriver was supposed to take you anywhere you wanted to go, but the drivers in the line at Seventy-ninth and First wouldn't budge unless you were going down to Wall Street or close to it. From the cabstand they swung two blocks east and then went down along the East River on the highway, the FDR, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Drive.

It was a ten-dollar ride each morning, but what was that to a Master of the Universe? Sherman's father had always taken the subway to Wall Street, even when he was the chief executive officer of Dunning Sponget & Leach. Even now, at the age of seventy-one, when he took his daily excursions to Dunning Sponget to breathe the same air as his lawyer cronies for three or four hours, he went by subway. It was a matter of principle. The more grim the subways became, the more graffiti those people scrawled on the cars, the more gold chains they snatched off girls' necks, the more old men they mugged, the more women they pushed in front of the trains, the more determined was John Campbell McCoy that they weren't going to drive him off the New York City subways. But to the new breed, the young breed, the masterful breed, Sherman's breed, there was no such principle. *Insulation!* That was the ticket. That was the term Rawlie Thorpe used. "If you want to live in New York," he once told Sherman, "you've got to insulate, insulate, insulate," meaning insulate yourself from those people. The cynicism and smugness of the idea struck Sherman as very *au courant*. If you could go breezing down the FDR Drive in a taxi, then why file into the trenches of the urban wars?

***If his father ever found out how much he had paid for his apartment and how he had financed it, he'd have a stroke!***

The driver was . . . a Turk? An Armenian? Sherman tried to make out his name on the card in the frame on the dashboard. Once the taxi reached the drive, he settled back to read the *Times*. There was a picture on the front page of a mob of people on a stage and the Mayor standing near a podium, staring at them. The riot, no doubt. He began to read the story, but his mind wandered. The sun was beginning to break through the clouds. He could see it on the river, off to his left. At this moment the poor filthy river sparkled. It was a sunny day in

May, after all. Up ahead, the towers of New York Hospital rose straight up from the edge of the highway. There was a sign for the East Seventy-first Street exit, the one his father had always taken when they drove back from Southampton on Sunday evenings. The very sight of the hospital and the exit made Sherman think of—no, not so much think of as *feel* the

house on Seventy-third Street with its Knickerbocker-green rooms. He had grown up in those pale grayish-green rooms and trudged up and down those four flights of narrow stairs believing that he was living in the height of elegance in the household of the mighty John Campbell McCoy, the Lion of Dunning Sponget & Leach. Only recently had it dawned on him that back in 1948, when his parents had bought and renovated that house, they had been a mildly adventurous young couple, tackling what at the time was an old wreck in a down-at-the-heels block, keeping a stern eye on costs every step of the way, and taking pride in what a proper house they had created for a relatively modest amount. Christ! If his father ever found out how much he had paid for his apartment and how he had financed it, he'd have a stroke! Two million six hundred thousand dollars, with \$1,800,000 of it borrowed . . . \$21,000 a month in principal and

interest with a million-dollar balloon payment due in two years . . . The Lion of Dunning Sponget would be appalled . . . and, worse than appalled, wounded . . . wounded at the thought of how his endlessly repeated lessons concerning duty, debt, ostentation, and proportion had whistled straight through his son's skull . . .

Had his father ever played around? It wasn't out of the question. He was a handsome man. He had the Chin. Yet Sherman couldn't imagine it.

And by the time he saw the Brooklyn Bridge up ahead, he stopped trying to. In a few minutes he would be on Wall Street.

The investment-banking firm of Pierce & Pierce occupied the fiftieth, fifty-first, fifty-second, fifty-third, and fifty-fourth floors of a glass tower that rose up sixty stories from out of the gloomy groin of Wall Street. The bond trading room, where Sherman worked, was on the fiftieth. Every day he stepped out of an aluminum-walled elevator into what looked like the reception area of one of those new London hotels catering to the Yanks. Near the elevator door was a fake fireplace and an antique mahogany mantelpiece with great bunches of fruit carved on each corner. Out in front of the fake fireplace was a brass fence or fender, as they called it in country homes in the west of England. In the appropriate months a fake fire glowed within, casting flickering lights upon a prodigious pair of brass andirons. The wall surrounding it was covered in more mahogany, rich and reddish, done in linen-fold panels carved so deep, you could *feel* the expense in the tips of your fingers by just looking at them.

All of this reflected the passion of Pierce & Pierce's chief executive officer, Eugene Lopwitz, for things British. Things British—library ladders, bow-front consoles, Sheraton legs, Chippendale backs, cigar cutters, tufted club chairs, Wilton-weave carpet—were multiplying on the fiftieth floor at Pierce & Pierce day by day. Alas, there wasn't much Eugene Lopwitz could do about the ceiling, which was barely eight feet above the floor. The floor had been raised one foot. Beneath it ran enough cables and wires to electrify Guatemala.

The wires provided the power for the computer terminals and telephones of the bond trading room. The ceiling had been lowered one foot, to make room for light housings and air conditioning ducts and a few more miles of wire. The floor had risen; the ceiling had descended; it was as if you were in an English mansion that had been squashed.

No sooner did you pass the fake fireplace than you heard an ungodly roar, like the roar of a mob. It came from somewhere around the corner. You couldn't miss it. Sherman McCoy headed straight for it, with relish. On this particular morning, as on every morning, it resonated with his very gizzard.

He turned the corner, and there it was: the bond trading room of Pierce & Pierce. It was a vast space, perhaps sixty by eighty feet, but with the same eight-foot ceiling bearing down on your head. It was an oppressive space with a ferocious glare, writhing silhouettes, and the roar. The glare came from a wall of plate glass that faced south, looking out over New York Harbor, the Statue of Liberty, Staten Island, and the Brooklyn and New Jersey shores. The writhing silhouettes were the arms and torsos of young men, few of them older than forty. They had their suit jackets off. They were moving about in an agitated manner and sweating early in the morning and shouting, which created the roar. It was the sound of well-educated young white men buying for money on the bond market.

***The wall surrounding [the fireplace] was covered in more mahogany . . . done in linen-fold panels carved so deep; you could feel the expense in the tips of your fingers by just looking at them.***

## Research Options

1. Sherman McCoy is a top bond salesman. Find out more about the bond market. What are bonds? What are the different types of bonds? How are they bought and sold? Report your findings to your classmates.
2. A wave of financial scandals erupted in the 1980s. Research one of the people involved in these scandals, such as Ivan Boesky, Charles Keating, or Michael Milken. Then discuss with your classmates how this person compares with the fictional Sherman McCoy.

CHAPTER  
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AMERICAN LIVES **Sandra Day O'Connor**  
*The Independent Moderate*

Section 2

*"As a judge, it is not my function to develop public policy."—Sandra Day O'Connor at her Senate confirmation hearings, 1981*

Sandra Day O'Connor (b. 1930) has always held moderate to conservative political views. However, she has never followed a rigid ideology. As a politician and a judge, she has decided issues on their merit.

Sandra Day was an excellent student. She finished college and law school—which normally take seven years—in just five. She graduated third in her law school class—just two spots behind another future Supreme Court justice, William H. Rehnquist. Though she had a strong record, she could not find a California law firm willing to hire a woman. One firm did offer her a job—but only as a legal secretary. By the late 1950s, she and her husband—John O'Connor—had returned to Arizona. She was balancing her own practice with raising their children.

Sandra O'Connor entered politics in the early 1960s, working in the state Republican Party. She became an assistant attorney general for the state of Arizona and then entered the state Senate. She earned a reputation as a hard worker with a brilliant mind. In 1972 she made history, becoming the first woman ever elected majority leader of a state legislature. Though she usually agreed with conservative views, she often took a more independent course.

In 1974, O'Connor won election as a state judge. In 1981, President Ronald Reagan made history when he announced that he was nominating O'Connor to the Supreme Court. Reagan praised her "fairness, intellectual capacity, and devotion to the public good." In the Senate hearings held prior to her confirmation, O'Connor refused to say how she would rule on particular issues. The ruling would depend on the facts of the case. She did say, though, that elected legislators, not judges, make public policy. A judge's job is to interpret whether laws are constitutional, not whether they are good or bad laws. O'Connor won overwhelming support—99 Senators voted for her to become the first woman to sit on the Supreme Court.

On the Court, O'Connor has followed her moderate to conservative philosophy. She has often

voted with conservatives on the Court. She joined them in a 1995 ruling that overturned an affirmative action law. In writing the decision, O'Connor argued that a legislature can pass laws to try to fix the effects of past discrimination. It cannot, however, pass laws that aim to shape the future makeup of a workplace or school. In another case, she joined with conservatives to strike down a Georgia plan that drew legislative districts. She objected because the plan created a district solely on the basis of race.

O'Connor does not always agree with conservative justices, however. Especially on cases that touch women's rights, she sides with the more liberal members of the Court. In one of her first opinions for the Court—*Mississippi University for Women v. Hogan*—O'Connor came out squarely against sex discrimination. The decision held that a nursing school could not discriminate against men. By preventing men from entering that school, she wrote, the state was actually hurting women by keeping alive the stereotyped notions of women in society. Several times she voted to uphold abortion rights.

Over time, O'Connor's vote has become increasingly important on the Court. She and two other justices have come to occupy a center position that make them swing votes. They move toward the more liberal wing for some decisions and vote with the conservatives on others. In 1993 the *American Bar Association Journal* wrote that O'Connor is "arguably the most influential woman official in the United States."

## Questions

1. Who does O'Connor think should "develop public policy"? Why?
2. What do you think of the distinction that the Court made on affirmative action in the 1995 case?
3. How has O'Connor's position in the center made hers an important vote on the Court?



**CHAPTER**  
**33****Section 4****AMERICAN LIVES** **Daniel Inouye**  
*Honor in Times of Crisis*

*"Inouye was perhaps the most patriotic person I had ever met in the sentiments that he had expressed, and I wondered how they chose this chairman—somebody who was prepared to truly be as above partisan politics as he was in this kind of affair."*  
—Arthur Liman, chief counsel to Senate Iran-Contra investigating committee, quoted in *Sleepwalking Through History: America in the Reagan Years (1991)*

**D**aniel Inouye (b. 1924) has been called on to help his country in three crises. He has served with honor and distinction each time.

Inouye was born to Japanese immigrants in Hawaii. Like other Japanese Americans, he was denied the right to join the armed forces when the United States first entered World War II. In 1943, the government finally yielded to Japanese Americans' pressure to allow them to enlist. Inouye volunteered for the army that same year. He served bravely in Europe. He won a battlefield commission as a lieutenant. Just two days before Germany surrendered, his unit was pinned down by three German machine guns. Inouye destroyed the guns despite being shot several times and having his right arm shattered by a grenade. His arm later amputated, he won several medals including the Distinguished Service Cross.

No longer able to become a surgeon as he had planned, Inouye attended law school. He entered politics and served in the last years of Hawaii's government as a territory. In 1959, Hawaii became a state, and Inouye was elected its first member of the U.S. House of Representatives. As a result, he became the first Japanese American ever to serve in Congress. Three years later, he entered the Senate.

Inouye became known as a quiet and capable senator. He backed civil rights and consumer rights legislation. After early support of the Vietnam War, he opposed further American involvement. He always voted for bills that would strengthen the nation's defenses, though. He maintained staunch support for Israel and became a leading Senate expert on foreign aid programs. Most of all, he won respect in both parties for being honest, fair, and able to work with members from both parties. It was his work on three separate committees, though, that called upon Inouye's greatest efforts.

In 1973, the Senate voted to probe the Watergate break-in and its cover-up. Inouye was

named one of the Democratic members of the Senate committee investigating the matter. His fair but tough questioning earned him high regard in the Senate and with the public.

Just two years later, the nation was rocked by scandals involving the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). When the Senate formed a new committee to oversee intelligence agencies, Inouye was named to chair the committee. He worked carefully to set up reasonable controls for intelligence work. After one term in charge of the committee, he stepped down. He feared to stay on longer because he might develop "too close a relationship" with CIA officials.

A few years later, the Iran-Contra affair hit the news. Inouye was named to chair the special committee charged with investigating this affair. He set up rules that ensured that the investigation would not be marred by partisan politics. He also pushed to resolve the investigation as quickly as possible. The longer that President Reagan had the Iran-Contra issue hanging over his head, the senator worried, the worse it would be for the country. Inouye ran the investigation in a fair and serious way. When it concluded, he sharply criticized Reagan aides for their actions. They had stepped beyond the bounds of the law to set up a "shadowy" government, he said. In the United States, he reminded them, "the people still rule."

## Questions

1. Why would it be bad for Inouye to have a close relationship with people in intelligence?
2. How would Inouye's fairness and spirit of cooperation be effective in a legislative body such as the Senate?
3. Why do you think Inouye was named to head the committee investigating Iran-Contra?

**CHAPTER**  
**33**  
**Project**

**LIVING HISTORY** *Researching Political Positions*

**LOCATING AN INTERVIEW** Watch the TV news to help you become better acquainted with political leaders who voice conservative views on key social and economic issues. After choosing a conservative politician you find interesting, locate an interview featuring that person in a print or audio-visual source. Here are some possibilities:

**Magazines:** *Time, Newsweek, National Review*  
**Newspapers:** *New York Times, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal*  
**Television:** *Face the Nation, Meet the Press, Nightline, NewsHour with Jim Lehrer*  
**Radio:** various news shows on National Public Radio  
**Internet:** Research engines such as *Lycos, Yahoo!, Infoseek, WebCrawler, and Magellan*

**TAKING NOTES** The following guidelines can help you take notes as you read or listen to the interview.

- Jot down only relevant information.
- Keep notes brief.
- Copy or record direct quotations word for word.
- Distinguish between fact and opinion.

**CREATING YOUR CHART** Think about ways in which Ronald Reagan or George Bush is similar to and different from the politician you have investigated. Refer to your notes as you organize the details in a comparison-and-contrast chart. You may wish to model your own chart after the one below.

**Reminder: Reagan's Four Conservative Objectives**

- Ronald Reagan set forth a conservative political agenda, and his successor, George Bush, continued those goals:
- Stimulate business by lowering taxes.
  - Promote traditional values.
  - Reduce the size and power of the federal government.
  - Strengthen national defense.

Issues	Ronald Reagan	[Name of Current Politician]
<b>Social Issues</b> Welfare Public Health Equal Rights Social Security Education Family Values <b>Economic Issues</b> Taxes Domestic Spending Promoting New Businesses Providing Tax Incentives Balanced Budget		



**LIVING HISTORY**

# *Standards for Evaluating a Chart of Political Positions*

<b>IDEAS AND CONTENT</b>	<b>Exceptional</b>	<b>Acceptable</b>	<b>Poor</b>
1. Draws information from a published or broadcast interview			
2. Makes good use of accumulated notes			
3. Compares Reagan or Bush with an important conservative politician of today			
4. Provides details about the two politicians compared			
5. Explains each politician's position objectively			
6. Presents differences and similarities clearly			
<b>STRUCTURE AND FORM</b>			
7. Maintains a consistent focus			
8. Organizes material in an easy-to-read format			

Comments \_\_\_\_\_  
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Overall Rating \_\_\_\_\_