

CHAPTER
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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**.

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Section 2

GUIDED READING

Conservative Policies Under Reagan and Bush

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

Goal: Stimulate the economy

1. Cut government spending on social programs and lowered income taxes → Result(s):

2. Increased military spending → Result(s):

Goal: Promote traditional values and morality

3. Named conservative judges to the Supreme Court and other federal courts → Result(s):

Goal: Reduce the size and power of the federal government

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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Section 3

GUIDED READING *Social Concerns
in the 1980s*

- 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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Section 4

GUIDED READING

*Foreign Policy After
the Cold War*

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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BUILDING VOCABULARY *The Conservative Tide*

A. Multiple Choice Circle the letter before the term or name that best completes the sentence.

1. Televangelist Jerry Falwell formed the organization known as the (a) New Right (b) Moral Majority (c) conservative coalition.
2. Sandra Day O'Connor was the first woman to be appointed to the (a) Supreme Court (b) cabinet (c) federal bench.
3. Ronald Reagan's successor was (a) Jimmy Carter (b) Colin Powell (c) George H.W. Bush.
4. The nation's first African American governor was (a) Jesse Jackson (c) Colin Powell (c) L. Douglas Wilder.
5. The anti-Communist guerrilla forces in Nicaragua backed by the United States were known as the (a) *Contras* (b) *Sandinistas* (c) *perestroika*.

B. Matching Match the description in the second column with the term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| _____ 1. Tiananmen Square | a. guaranteed benefits to particular groups |
| _____ 2. Strategic Defense Initiative | b. effort to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi control |
| _____ 3. Geraldine Ferraro | c. Russian term meaning <i>openness</i> |
| _____ 4. Lauro Cavazos | d. proposed missile defense system |
| _____ 5. reverse discrimination | e. site of bloody clash in China |
| _____ 6. Operation Desert Storm | f. favoring groups on the basis of race or gender |
| _____ 7. <i>glasnost</i> | g. ran for vice-president in 1988 |
| _____ 8. entitlement programs | h. secretary of education under first Bush |

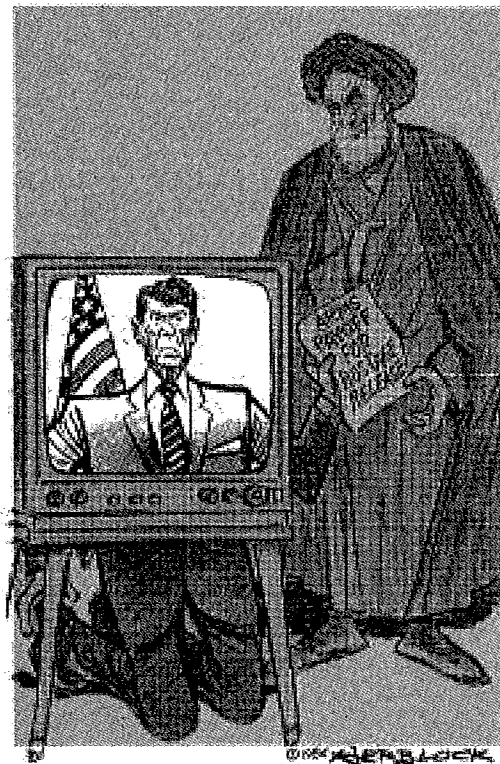
C. Writing Write a paragraph about Ronald Reagan's major domestic goals using the following terms.

Reaganomics supply-side economics deregulation

CHAPTER
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Section 4

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Political Cartoons*

Political cartoons are cartoons that use humor to make a serious point. They normally address political matters and other issues of national interest. Political cartoons seek to convey the main point of what are often complex matters in a concise and straightforward manner. Thus, the ability to analyze political cartoons and determine their message will help you to better understand significant events about which you read. Below is a political cartoon regarding the Iran-Contra scandal. Examine the cartoon and then answer the questions that follow. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R24.)



1. Who is the person pictured in the television? What does presence on the television signify?

2. Who is the person standing to the right?

3. What is the main message of the cartoon?



Section 1

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *A Conservative Movement Emerges*

Completion

A. Complete the chart below by defining each group and summarizing their views.

New Right	Conservative Coalition	Moral Majority
Definition:	Definition:	Definition:
Views:	Views:	Views:

Main Ideas

B. Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. What jobs did Ronald Reagan hold before running for president?

2. What issues in the 1980 presidential election hurt President Carter

3. Why was Ronald Reagan known as the Great Communicator?



Section 2

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *Conservative Policies Under Reagan and Bush*

Finding Main Ideas

The following questions deal with counterculture movement. Answer them in the space provided.

1. What were the three goals of "Reaganomics"?

2. How did President Reagan's budget cuts hurt the economically depressed members of society?

3. What factors led to the nation's recovery from the recession of the early 1980s?

4. How did the appointments by Reagan and Bush impact the Supreme Court?

5. Why was the Reagan administration viewed as anti-environmentalist?

6. Who made up Ronald Reagan's 1984 coalition and why?



Section 3

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *Social Concerns in the 1980s***Reading Comprehension**

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- _____ 1. In an attempt to improve education in America, a federal commission in 1983 recommended all of the following except
- more homework.
 - longer school days.
 - shorter lunch periods.
 - an extended school year.
- _____ 2. The city that exploded in racial violence in 1992 after the acquittal of white police officers accused of beating an African-American man was
- Chicago.
 - Los Angeles.
 - New York City.
 - Miami.
- _____ 3. The nation's fastest growing minority during the 1980s were
- Latinos.
 - Asians.
 - Africans.
 - Native Americans.
- _____ 4. Perhaps the nation's most prominent health epidemic during the 1980s was
- AIDS.
 - hepatitis.
 - tuberculosis.
 - chronic fatigue syndrome.
- _____ 5. The African American leader who ran for Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988 was
- L. Douglas Wilder.
 - Jesse Jackson.
 - Andrew Young.
 - Colin Powell.
- _____ 6. The operating of gambling casinos was a significant way of bringing in money for
- Latinos.
 - Asian Americans.
 - African Americans.
 - Native Americans.

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33**Section 4****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *Foreign Policy After
the Cold War***Completion**

A. Complete each sentence with the appropriate term or name.

Watergate	Jordan
Berlin Wall	Grenada
Panama	Commonwealth of Independent States
Kuwait	Iran-Contra

1. In 1989, the people of Berlin tore down the _____, one of the most prominent symbols of the Cold War.
2. The Reagan administration scandal involving the sale of arms to Iran and using the money to fund anti-Communist forces in Nicaragua was known as the _____ affair.
3. The Persian Gulf War involved a U.S.-led effort to liberate _____ from Iraq.
4. As the Soviet Union collapsed, the countries once under its control became known as the _____.
5. The United States took military action in _____ to help oust its corrupt leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Evaluating

B. Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below it.

- _____ 1. As part of his perestroika plan, Mikhail Gorbachev called for greater government control of the economy.

- _____ 2. The protestors at Tiananmen Square were mainly university students who demanded freedom of speech and a greater voice in government.

- _____ 3. The Boland Amendment banned military aid to Panama for two years.

- _____ 4. As the world's remaining superpower, the United States acted alone in liberating Kuwait from Iraq.

- _____ 5. In 1983, U.S. forces invaded the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada to overthrow its pro-Cuban government.

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GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION

Latino Population in the 1980s

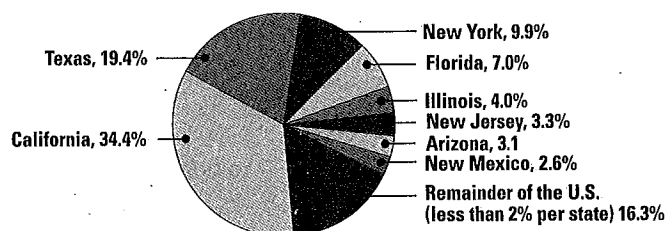
Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the graph and the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

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

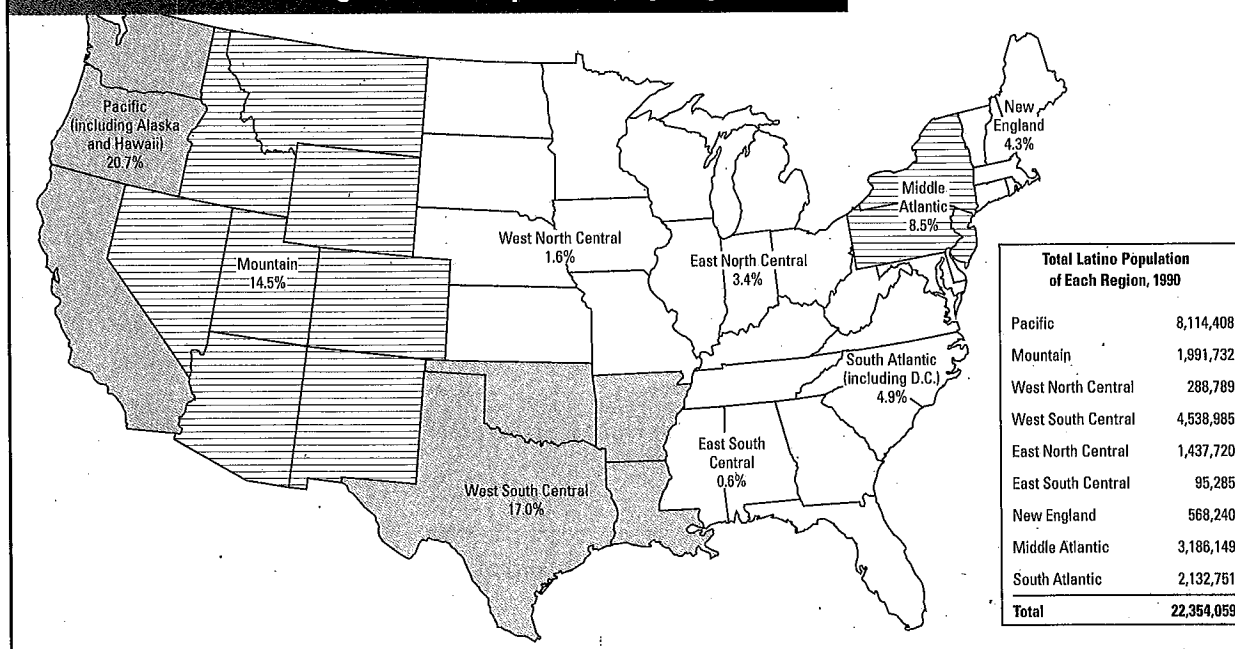
United States will double by the year 2020, whereas it will take the non-Latino population more than 150 years to double.

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

Geographic Distribution of the U.S. Latino Population, 1990



Latinos as a Percentage of Total Population, by Region, 1990



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.



Section 4

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

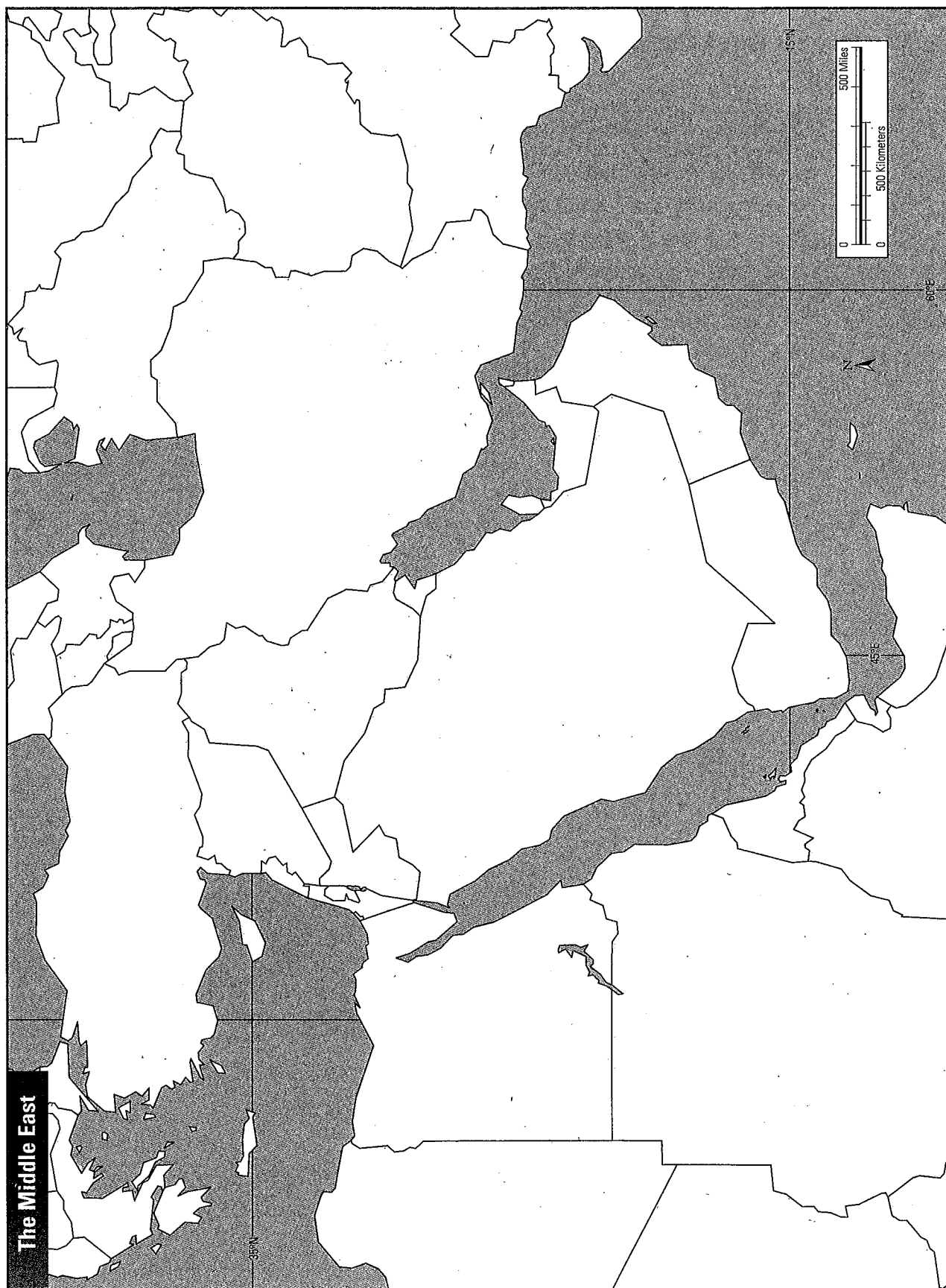
- A.** Review the map “Middle East, 1978–1982” on page 1022 of your textbook. To locate some of the African countries not shown on that map and to check for boundary changes in the Gulf of Aden region, also consult the current map of the Middle East on page A16. Then, on the accompanying outline map, 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.

Bodies of Water	Countries			Regions
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? _____



The Middle East

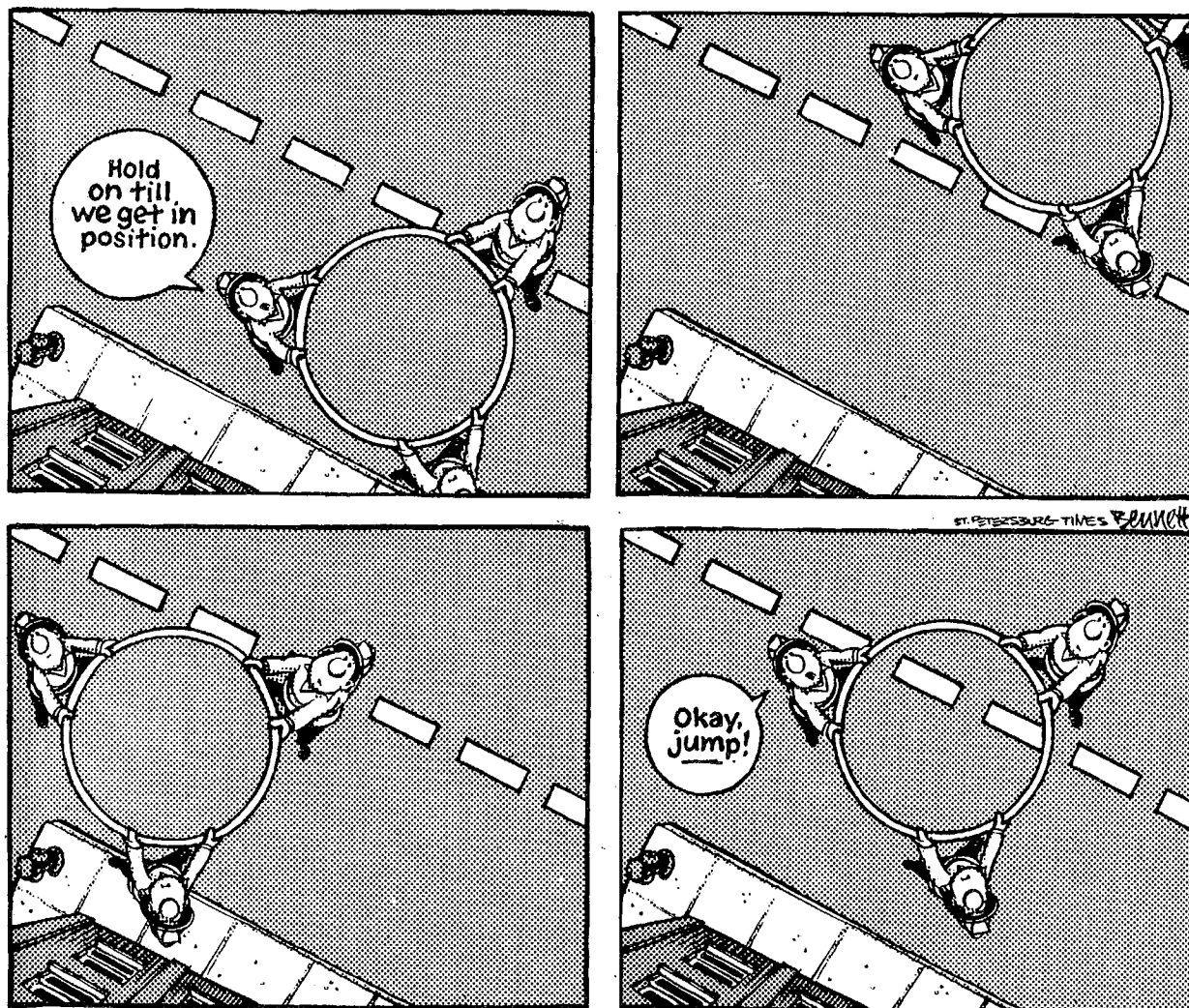
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PRIMARY SOURCE **Political Cartoon**

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 ten o'clock, Sherman, Rawlie, and five others convened in the conference room of Eugene Lopwitz's suite of offices to decide on Pierce & Pierce's strategy for the main event of the day in the bond markets, which was a U.S. Treasury auction of 10 billion bonds maturing in twenty years. It was a measure of the importance of the bond business to Pierce & Pierce that Lopwitz's offices opened right into the bond trading room.

The conference room had no conference table. It looked like the lounge in an English hotel for the Yanks where they serve tea. It was full of small antique tables and cabinets. They were so old, brittle, and highly polished, you got the feeling that if you flicked one of them hard with your middle finger, it would shatter. At the same time, a wall of plate glass shoved a view of the Hudson River and the rotting piers of New Jersey into your face.

Sherman sat in a George II armchair. Rawlie sat next to him, in an old chair with a back shaped like a shield. In other antique or antiques chairs, with Sheraton and Chippendale side tables beside them, were the head government trader, George Connor, who was two years younger than Sherman; his deputy, Vic Scassi, who was only twenty eight; the chief market analyst, Paul Feiffer; and Arnold Parch, the executive vice president, who was Lopwitz's first lieutenant.

Everyone in the room sat in a classic chair and stared at a small brown plastic speaker on top of a cabinet. The cabinet was a 220-year old Adam bowfront, from the period when the brothers Adam liked to paint pictures and ornate borders on wood-

en furniture. On the center panel was an oval-shaped painting of a Greek maiden sitting in a dell or grotto in which lacy leaves receded fuzzily in deepening shades of green into a dusky teal sky. The thing had cost an astonishing amount of money. The plastic speaker was the size of a bedside clock radio. Everyone stared at it, waiting for the voice of Gene Lopwitz. Lopwitz was in London, where it was now 4:00 p.m. He would preside over this

meeting by telephone.

An indistinct noise came out of the speaker. It might have been a voice and it might have been an airplane. Arnold Parch rose from his armchair and approached the Adam cabinet and looked at the plastic speaker and said, "Gene, can you hear me all right?"

He looked imploringly at the plastic speaker, without taking his eyes off it, as if in fact it *were* Gene Lopwitz, transformed, the way princes are transformed into frogs in fairy tales. For a moment the plastic frog said nothing. Then it spoke.

"Yeah, I can hear you Arnie. There was a lotta cheering going on." Lopwitz's voice sounded as if it were coming from out of a storm drain, but you could hear it.

"Where are you Gene?"

asked Parch.

"I'm at a cricket match." Then, less clearly: "What's the name of this place again?" He was evidently with some other people. "Tottenham Park, Arnie. I'm on a kind of a terrace."

"Who's playing?" Parch smiled, as if to show the plastic frog that this wasn't a serious question.

"Don't get technical with me, Arnie. A lot of very nice young gentlemen in cable-knit sweaters

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"Gene, can you hear
me all right?"***

and white flannel pants, is the best I can tell you."

Appreciative laughter broke out in the room, and Sherman felt his own lips bending into the somehow obligatory smile. Everyone was smiling and chuckling at the brown plastic speaker except for Rawlie, who had his eyes rolled up in the Oh Brother mode.

Then Rawlie leaned over toward Sherman and said, in a noisy whisper: "Look at all these idiots grinning. They think the plastic box has eyes."

This didn't strike Sherman as very funny, since he himself had been grinning. He was also afraid that Lopwitz's loyal aide, Parch, would think he was Rawlie's confederate in making sport of the maximum leader.

"Well, everybody's here, Gene," Parch said to the box, "and so I'm gonna let George fill you in on where we stand on the auction as of now."

Parch looked at George Connor and nodded and walked back to his chair, and Connor got up from his and walked over to the Adam cabinet and stared at the brown box and said: "Gene? This is George."

"Yeah, hi, George," said the frog. "Go ahead."

"Here's the thing, Gene," said Connor, standing in front of the Adam commode, unable to take his eyes off the plastic box, "it feels pretty good. The old twenties are trading at 8 percent. The traders are telling us they'll come in on the new ones at 8.05, but we think they're playing games with us. We think we're gonna get action right down to 8. So here's what I figure. We'll scale in at 8.01, 8.02, 8.03, with the balance at 8.04. I'm ready to go 60 percent of the issue."

Which, translated, meant: he was proposing to buy \$6 billion of the \$10 billion in bonds offered in the auction, with the expectation of a profit of two thirty-seconds of a dollar—6 1/4¢—on every one hundred dollars up. This was known as "two ticks."

Sherman couldn't resist another look at Rawlie. He had a small, unpleasant smile on his face, and his gaze seemed to pass several degrees to the right

of the Adam commode, toward the Hoboken docks. Rawlie's presence was like a glass of ice water in the face. Sherman resented him all over again. He knew what was on his mind. Here was this outrageous arriviste, Lopwitz-Sherman knew Rawlie thought of him that way—trying to play the nob on the terrace of some British cricket club and at the same time conduct a meeting in New York to decide whether Pierce & Pierce was going to stake two billion, four billion or six billion on a single government bond issue three hours from now. No doubt Lopwitz had his own audience on hand at the cricket club to watch this performance, as his great words bounced off a communications satellite somewhere up in the empyrean and hit Wall Street.

Well, it wasn't hard to find something laughable in it, but Lopwitz was, in truth, a Master of the Universe. Lopwitz was about forty-five years old. Sherman wanted nothing less seven years down the line, when he was forty-five. To be astride the Atlantic . . . with billions at stake!

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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
33**Section 2****LITERATURE SELECTION****“Salvador Late or Early”**
by Sandra Cisneros

In her stories and vignettes, Sandra Cisneros creates a range of characters as varied and rich as her Chicano heritage. In this vignette, she gives a loving portrayal of a Chicano boy.

Salvador with eyes the color of caterpillar, Salvador of the crooked hair and crooked teeth, Salvador whose name the teacher cannot remember, is a boy who is no one's friend, runs along somewhere in that vague direction where homes are the color of bad weather, lives behind a raw wood doorway, shakes the sleepy brothers awake, ties their shoes, combs their hair with water, feeds them milk and corn flakes from a tin cup in the dim dark of the morning.

Salvador, late or early, sooner or later arrives with the string of younger brothers ready. Helps his mama, who is busy with the business of the baby. Tugs the arms of Cecilio, Arturito, makes them hurry, because today, like yesterday, Arturito has dropped the cigar box of crayons, has let go the hundred little fingers of red, green, yellow, blue, and nub of black sticks that tumble and spill over and beyond the asphalt puddles until the crossing-guard lady holds back the blur of traffic for Salvador to collect them again.

Salvador inside that wrinkled shirt, inside the throat that must clear itself and apologize each time it speaks, inside that forty-pound body of boy with its geography of scars, its history of hurt, limbs stuffed with feathers and rags, in what part of the eyes, in what part of the heart, in that cage of the chest where something throbs with both fists and knows only what Salvador knows, inside that body too small to contain the hundred balloons of happiness, the single guitar of grief, is a boy like any other disappearing out the door, beside the schoolyard gate, where he has told his brothers they must wait. Collects the hands of Cecilio and Arturito, scuttles off dodging the many schoolyard colors, the elbows and wrists crisscrossing, the several shoes running. Grows small and smaller to the eye, dissolves into the bright horizon, flutters in the air before disappearing like a memory of kites.

from Sandra Cisneros, Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories (New York: Vintage, 1991), 10–11.

Discussion Questions

1. What do you learn about Salvador from this brief description?
2. Why do you think he is “no one's friend”?
3. From what you know about his present, what do you think Salvador's future will be like?
4. Why do you think Cisneros wrote about Salvador?

CHAPTER
33

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

"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)*

Daniel 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?