

Objectives

As you teach this section, keep students focused on the following objectives to help them answer the Section Focus Question and master core content.

- Understand how the Soviet Union declined.
- Analyze the changes that transformed Eastern Europe.
- Explain how communism declined worldwide and the United States became the sole superpower.

Prepare to Read

Build Background Knowledge L3

Ask students to recall the economic struggles experienced in the postwar years by the Soviet Union, East Germany, and other communist-led nations. Based on their previous reading, ask them to predict how these nations will seek to change their economic and political systems.

Set a Purpose L3

- **WITNESS HISTORY** Read the selection aloud or play the audio.

 **WITNESS HISTORY Audio CD,**
A Democratic Transformation

Ask **What mood does Stefan Heym describe?** (*a mood of jubilation and excitement*) **How could you link opening a window to taking down a wall?** (*Both allow for greater movement and communication.*)

- **Focus** Point out the Section Focus Question and write it on the board. Tell students to refer to this question as they read. (*Answer appears with Section 5 Assessment answers.*)
- **Preview** Have students preview the Section Objectives and the list of Terms, People, and Places.
- **Note Taking** Have students read this section using the Paragraph Shrinking strategy (TE, p. T20). As they read, have students fill in the flowchart categorizing Cold War events by region.

 **Reading and Note Taking**
Study Guide, p. 282

5

Demonstrators
in East Berlin,
November 4, 1989



Soviet pin promoting
"openness, democracy,
and restructuring"

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Democratic Transformation

On November 4, 1989, hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated for democracy in the streets of East Berlin. Never before had so many dared to speak out. Speaking to the crowd, author Stefan Heym captured the mood:

“Dear friends, fellow citizens, it is as if someone had thrown open the window after all the years of stagnation. . . . What a transformation!”

Ultimately, the transformation in Eastern Europe led to the end of the Cold War.

Focus Question What were the causes and effects of the end of the Cold War?

The End of the Cold War

Objectives

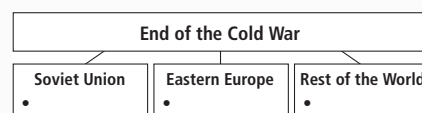
- Understand how the Soviet Union declined.
- Analyze the changes that transformed Eastern Europe.
- Explain how communism declined worldwide and the United States became the sole superpower.

Terms, People, and Places

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| mujahedin | Lech Walesa |
| Mikhail Gorbachev | Solidarity |
| glasnost | Václav Havel |
| perestroika | Nicolae Ceausescu |

Note Taking

Reading Skill: Categorize Complete a flowchart like the one below to categorize each event connected to the end of the Cold War.



- The global Cold War between two armed camps led by the United States and the Soviet Union lasted almost half a century. In the years around 1990, however, the struggle finally ended. The much-feared nuclear confrontation between the two superpowers never came about, but the end was as clear as any military victory.

The Soviet Union Declines

Western fears of growing Soviet power did not come true. In fact, Soviet communism was doomed. Signs of the weakness of the Soviet system had in fact been visible from the beginning.


A Hollow Victory Stalin's Soviet Union emerged from World War II as a superpower with an Eastern European sphere of influence stretching from the Baltic to the Balkans. Victory, however, brought few rewards to the Soviet people. Stalin continued to fill forced labor camps with "enemies of the state."

Reforms Give Way to Repression Under Stalin's successor, Nikita Khrushchev, Soviets enjoyed greater freedom of speech. Some government critics were freed from prisons and labor camps. Khrushchev oversaw a shift in economic priorities away from heavy industry and toward the production of consumer goods. But Khrushchev remained firmly committed to a command economy.

The thaw in Moscow inspired some East Europeans to move toward greater independence. However, Khrushchev himself remained a determined cold warrior. When Hungarians tried to break free of Soviet control in 1956, Khrushchev sent tanks in to

Vocabulary Builder

Use the information below and the following resources to teach the high-use word from this section.

 **Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 7; Teaching Resources, Skills Handbook, p. 3**

High-Use Word
incentive, p. 1001

Definition and Sample Sentence

n. something that encourages a person to take action or work harder

The beautiful weather acted as an **incentive** for me to quickly finish my work so I could go outside and enjoy it.

enforce obedience, and his successor, Leonid Brezhnev, did the same thing when Czechs challenged the Soviets in the “Prague spring” of 1968.

The Command Economy Stagnates The Soviet Union rebuilt its shattered industries after World War II, using equipment stripped from Germany. The government poured resources into science and technology, launching *Sputnik I*, the first artificial satellite, in 1957.

Yet the Soviet economy faced severe problems. Collectivized agriculture remained so unproductive that Russia, a grain exporter in tsarist times, had to import grain to feed its people. The Soviet command economy could not match Western market economies in producing consumer goods. Soviet shoes and television sets were far inferior, while such luxuries as clothes washers or automobiles remained rare.

Central economic planning led to inefficiency and waste. A huge bureaucracy decided what and how much to produce. Government planners in Moscow, however, knew little about local needs. They chose to produce many unneeded goods. Consumers’ needs often were not met. Although workers were paid low wages, lifetime job security gave them little incentive to produce better-quality goods.

Unlike the economies of Western Europe and the United States, which experienced booms during the Cold War, the economies of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union stagnated. People saw little improvement in their standards of living and envied the prosperity of the West. Soviet economic inferiority made it impossible for the Soviet Union to keep up with the United States in the arms race and in military preparedness.

Cracking Under the Burden of Military Commitments As you have read, Soviet-American relations swung between confrontation and détente during the Cold War. Meanwhile, both sides maintained large military budgets and built expensive nuclear weapons.

Vocabulary Builder

incentive—(in SENT iv) *n.* something that encourages a person to take action or work harder

Soviet Tanks Bring Repression

A boy watches Soviet tanks in the Hungarian capital, Budapest, in 1956. The Soviet Union sent tanks to stop Hungary’s attempt to take an independent course.

What does this suggest about the independence of Eastern European countries such as Hungary during the Cold War?



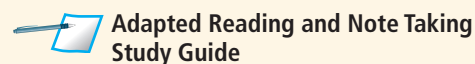
Differentiated

Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L1 Special Needs L2 Less Proficient Readers

Direct students to choose three key events discussed in this section and create illustrations for a newspaper reporting on these events (*Sample: Gorbachev tries reform*). Then display the red headings from the text on a bulletin board. Ask students to display their drawings underneath the appropriate heading. To review this content, discuss the events illustrated under each heading.

Use the following resources to help students acquire basic skills.



Adapted Reading and Note Taking Study Guide

- Adapted Note Taking Study Guide, p. 282
- Adapted Section Summary, p. 283

Teach

The Soviet Union Declines

Instruct

L3

- **Introduce: Vocabulary Builder** Have students read the Vocabulary Builder term and definition. Use the Idea Wave strategy (TE, p. T22) and ask students to list the *incentives* for them to do well in school. (*Sample: get into college, get a good job*)
- **Teach** Review the problems that the Soviet Union had in the postwar era. Write the names *Stalin*, *Khrushchev*, and *Gorbachev* on the board. Have students supply information about the problems each leader faced and the policies or reforms each took in response. Discuss the pressures that ultimately caused the Soviet Union and its command economy to collapse.
- **Analyzing the Visuals** Refer students to the political cartoon on the next page. Have students discuss its meaning with a partner. Then discuss this as a class.

Answer


Caption that they had little real independence

Independent Practice

Have students fill in the Outline Map *The Soviet Union After the Breakup*.

All in One Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 15

Monitor Progress

- As students fill in their flowcharts, circulate to make sure they understand the importance of the failing Soviet economy in the end of the Cold War. For a completed version of the flowchart, see  **Note Taking Transparencies**, 193
- Circulate to make sure that students have completed the Outline Map correctly and have accurately labeled the former Soviet republics.

The arms race put a particular strain on the inefficient Soviet command economy. And when U.S. President Ronald Reagan launched a new round of missile development, it was clear that the Soviet economy could not afford to match it.

Soviets Have Their Own “Vietnam” in Afghanistan In 1979, the Soviet Union became involved in a long war in Afghanistan, an Islamic country just south of the Soviet Union. A Soviet-supported Afghan government had tried to modernize the nation. Its policies included social reforms and land redistribution that would reduce the power of regional landlords. Afghan landlords—who commanded armed men as warlords—and Muslim conservatives charged that both policies threatened Islamic tradition. When these warlords took up arms against the government, Soviet troops moved in.

Battling **mujahedin** (moo jah heh DEEN), or Muslim religious warriors, in the mountains of Afghanistan, however, proved as difficult as fighting guerrillas in the jungles of Vietnam had been for Americans. By the mid-1980s, the American government began to smuggle modern weaponry to the mujahedin. The Soviets had years of heavy casualties, high costs, and few successes. Like America’s Vietnam War, the struggle in Afghanistan provoked a crisis in morale for the Soviets at home.

Gorbachev Tries Reform In 1985, an energetic new leader, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (GAWR buh chawf), came to power in the Soviet Union. With the economy in bad shape and the war dragging on in Afghanistan, Gorbachev was eager to bring about reforms. The changes he urged, however, soon spiraled out of control.

Gorbachev sought to avoid Cold-War confrontations. He signed arms control treaties with the United States and pulled Soviet troops out of Afghanistan.

At home, he called for **glasnost**, or openness. He ended censorship and encouraged people to discuss the country’s problems openly. He also urged **perestroika** (pehr uh STROY kuh), or restructuring, of the government and economy. To improve efficiency, he reduced the size of the bureaucracy and backed limited private enterprise. His reforms made factory managers rather than central planners responsible for decisions. They also allowed farmers to sell produce on the free market.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Crumbling Soviet Union This cartoon shows Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev with an egg-shaped head sitting on a wall marked with the national symbol of the Soviet Union. The cartoon draws on the nursery rhyme *Humpty Dumpty*.

1. What does the cartoon suggest about the state of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev?
2. What does it imply about Gorbachev’s future?
3. How does this cartoon communicate ideas without using any words?

Answers

Analyzing Political Cartoons

1. that it was unstable politically
2. It was uncertain how much longer he would be able to maintain leadership.
3. by drawing on recognizable symbolism from a common nursery rhyme and connecting it to larger political themes

Link to Literature


Russian Writers Due to strict censorship laws, books by many of Russia’s greatest writers were not available during the Cold War. When Gorbachev introduced glasnost, censorship faded. Russians were introduced to the works of writers that were admired and respected around the world but little known in

the mother country. Boris Pasternak’s *Dr. Zhivago*, which is cited as possibly the greatest Russian novel of the twentieth century, was new to Russians, as was Vladimir Nabokov’s *Lolita*, the story of a grown man who falls in love with a young girl.

An Empire Crumbles Gorbachev's reforms, however, brought economic turmoil. Shortages grew worse and prices soared. Factories that could not survive without government help closed, leading to high unemployment. Those whose jobs were threatened denounced the reforms. Other critics demanded even more radical changes.

Gorbachev's policies also fed unrest across the Soviet empire. Eastern European countries from Poland to Bulgaria broke out of the Soviet orbit beginning in 1989. The Baltic States—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—which the Soviet Union had seized in 1940, regained full independence in 1991. Russia's postwar empire seemed to many to be collapsing. Soviet hard-liners tried to overthrow Gorbachev that year and restore the old order. Their attempted coup failed, but it further weakened Gorbachev, who soon resigned as president.

At the end of 1991, the remaining Soviet republics separated to form 12 independent nations, in addition to the three Baltic States. The largest of these was Russia, which had most of the population and territory of the former Soviet Union. The next largest were Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Maps of Europe and Asia had to be redrawn to reflect the new political boundaries. After 69 years, the Soviet Union had ceased to exist.

 **Checkpoint** How did Gorbachev's policies lead to a new map of Europe and Asia?

Changes Transform Eastern Europe

The Soviet Union had maintained control over its Eastern European satellites by force. When Gorbachev introduced glasnost and perestroika in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europeans began to seek greater freedom in their own countries. As the Soviet Union crumbled, Eastern Europeans demanded an end to Soviet domination. This time they got it.

Demands for Freedom Increase As you have read, unrest had long simmered across the Soviet bloc. Many Eastern Europeans opposed communist rule. Nationalists resented Russian domination. Revolts had erupted in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1980s, demands for change mounted once again.

Hungary Quietly Reforms In 1968, when Czechoslovakia's defiance of Soviet control led to a Soviet invasion, Hungary quietly introduced modest economic reforms. Because Hungary remained loyal to the Warsaw Pact and maintained communist political control, it was allowed to go ahead with these reforms, which included elements of a market economy. During the 1970s, Hungary expanded its market economy. During the late 1980s, under the spirit of glasnost, Hungarians began to criticize the communist government more openly. Economic troubles led to greater discontent. Finally, in 1988 and 1989, under public pressure, the communist government allowed greater freedoms. New political parties were allowed to form, and the western border with Austria was opened.

Poland Embraces Solidarity Poland led the way in the new surge of resistance that shattered the Soviet satellite empire. In 1980, economic hardships ignited strikes by shipyard workers. Led by **Lech Walesa** (lek vah WEN suh), they organized **Solidarity**, an independent labor union. It won millions of members and demanded political as well as economic change.



Defending Lithuania's Independence

This woman, holding a Lithuanian flag, is guarding Lithuania's parliament building and TV tower from Soviet troops that tried and failed to regain control after Lithuania declared independence in January 1991.

Changes Transform Eastern Europe

13

Instruct

■ **Introduce: Key Terms** Recall with students the terms *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Discuss how these ideas of openness and restructuring led to dramatic change within the Soviet Union. Ask students to predict how nations under Soviet influence might use these ideas to reshape their relationship with the Soviet Union.

■ **Teach** Trace the changes that occurred in the nations of Eastern Europe. Ask **What changes occurred in these nations?** (*They shifted from communism to democracy and from command economies to market economies.*) **Why were they seeking change at this time?** (*Communism and command economies had brought economic stagnation, social unrest, and anger. It was a time ripe for change, as glasnost, perestroika, and the collapse of the Soviet Union loosened the grip of Soviet control.*)

■ **Quick Activity** Display **Color Transparency 185: The Cold War: Freeze to Thaw**. Use the lesson suggested in the transparency guide to discuss the link between the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany.

 **Color Transparencies, 185**

Independent Practice

■ **Viewpoints** Have students read the selection *Two Views on the Reunification of Germany* and answer the questions that follow.


 **Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 13**

■ Have students write a paragraph describing the changes that transformed Eastern Europe during the 1980s.

Monitor Progress

As students work on their paragraphs, circulate to ensure students understand the changes transforming this region.

Answer

 Gorbachev's policies led to the weakening of centralized communist power in the Soviet Union. As a result, countries under the Soviet domination broke free, and the republics of the USSR separated into 15 independent nations.

History Background

Solidarity with Pope John Paul II As Gorbachev himself said, "Everything that happened in Eastern Europe in these last few years would have been impossible without the presence of this Pope." Through veiled references, Pope John Paul II encouraged the Solidarity movement. He reasoned that a slow, cautious advance would not give the Soviets any

justifiable reason to forcibly breakup the movement. Even when a Turkish gunman shot the Pope in 1981—an act many believed was part of a conspiracy to derail Solidarity—the movement stayed true to its peaceful principles, gaining further moral authority and deepening sympathy for its cause.

Communism Declines Around the World

L3

Instruct

- **Introduce** Ask students to read the introductory paragraph and the black headings under Communism Declines Around the World. Have students predict what they will learn under each heading. Then have them read to find out if their predictions were accurate.
- **Teach** Discuss each of the nations described in the text: China, Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba. Ask **How did these nations change economically and politically?** (*China and Vietnam moved toward market economies, but remained under Communist Party political control. North Korea and Cuba changed neither politically nor economically.*) **How did such changes affect people in China and North Korea?** (*The Chinese enjoyed the results of economic prosperity, but felt the grip of increased political restrictions. North Koreans experienced terrible poverty.*)
- **Analyzing the Visuals** Have students describe the photo on the next page. Ask **How does this photo symbolize the changes occurring in China?** (*Under a market economy, the Chinese had access to a wide selection of modern consumer goods.*) **How might increased economic access lead people to want increased political freedom?** (*It makes people aware of having choices and aware of the freedoms others have elsewhere in the world.*)

Independent Practice

Biography To expand students' understanding of Cuba's decline, have them read the biography *Fidel Castro* and answer the questions on the worksheet.

All in One Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 11

Monitor Progress

Return to the introductory text: *Some took a second look at free-market economies. Few, however, made many concessions to democracy.* Have students use examples from the text to explain and support this statement.

Answer

Caption They would not want workers to have too much control.



Lech Walesa and Solidarity

Lech Walesa, at the left, speaks at a shipyard workers' strike in August 1980. The following month, he helped found the Polish national union known as Solidarity (Solidarnosc in Polish). At the right, Poles defy the government by holding a banner for the outlawed Solidarity union in 1983. *Why would a Communist government ban a labor union?*



Under pressure from the Soviet Union, the Polish government outlawed the union and arrested its leaders, including Walesa. Still, unrest continued. Walesa became a national hero, and the Polish government eventually released him from prison. Pope John Paul II visited Poland, met with Solidarity leaders, and criticized communist policies. The pope was the former Karol Wojtyła, archbishop of the Polish city of Cracow.

East Germans Demand Change Unlike Poland or Hungary, East Germany resisted Gorbachev's calls for change. In 1988, the rigidly communist East German government banned Soviet publications, because it considered glasnost subversive. East Germany's communists blocked moves toward a market economy or greater political freedom. However, East Germans could watch television broadcasts from West Germany. They were thus intensely aware how much more prosperity and political freedom existed on the other side of the Berlin Wall. When Hungary opened its border with Austria in 1989, thousands of East Germans fled through Hungary and Austria to West Germany. Thousands more held demonstrations across East Germany demanding change.

Communist Governments Fall In the late 1980s, Gorbachev declared that he would not interfere with Eastern European reforms. Poland legalized Solidarity and, in 1989, held the first free elections in 50 years. A year later, Lech Walesa was elected president of Poland. The new government began a difficult, but peaceful, transition from a command economy to a market economy.

A flowering of opposition and reform movements spread across the Eastern European countries. By late 1989, a powerful democracy movement was sweeping throughout the region. Everywhere, people took to the streets, demanding reform. One by one, communist governments fell. In Czechoslovakia, **Václav Havel** (VAHTS lahv HAH vul), a dissident writer and human rights activist, was elected president. In East Germany, the gates of the Berlin Wall were opened, and the country started down the road to reunification with West Germany. Most changes came

Differentiated

Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L2 Less Proficient Readers L2 English Language Learners

To help students distill significant facts about Eastern European countries, ask them to create a historical map of Eastern Europe. To begin, have them take out their Outline Maps of The Soviet Union. Explain that maps sometimes include labels, or call-outs, that give historical information about an area on the map. Have them use the information in this section to create call-

outs for the following countries: Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Romania. Call-outs should include the year the event took place and be enclosed in a box on the map near the appropriate country with a line from the box to the country. Call-outs should be short, such as "1956: Imre Nagy gains power in Hungary."

peacefully, but when **Nicolae Ceausescu** (chow SHES koo), Romania's longtime dictator, refused to step down, he was overthrown and executed.

For the first time since 1939, Eastern European countries were free. They dissolved the Warsaw Pact in 1991 and requested that Russian troops leave. By then, the Soviet Union itself had crumbled.

Czechoslovakia Splits Czechoslovakia was a relatively new nation, formed in 1918 at the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Before 1918, the country's Czech and Slovak ethnic groups—each with its own language and traditions—had lived separately. After Czechoslovakia's founding, Czechs dominated the country's government. During World War II, Czechoslovakia was conquered and partitioned, or divided, by Nazi Germany. Czechoslovakia was reunified under communist control after the war. When the Communists lost power in 1989, some Slovaks began to call for independence. In 1992, the Slovaks and Czechs peacefully agreed to divide Czechoslovakia into the new nations of Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

 **Checkpoint** How did glasnost in the Soviet Union lead to the end of communism in Eastern Europe?

Communism Declines Around the World

The defeat of communism in the Soviet bloc affected communist countries from China to Castro's Cuba. Many were already suffering economic decline by the 1980s as their command economies stagnated. Some took a second look at free-market economics. Few, however, made many concessions to democracy.

China Builds on Deng's Reforms Gorbachev had urged the leaders of other communist states to consider both political and economic changes. Leaders of the People's Republic of China accelerated the compromises with capitalism that Deng Xiaoping had introduced in the 1980s. The result was an amazing economic boom, including double-digit growth rates for more than a decade.

China's Communist Party, however, undertook no political reforms. Watching communist power unravel in Eastern Europe, China's leaders worked to preserve one-party Communist rule—and their own power.

Vietnam and North Korea Differ Communist Vietnam opened itself to the world in the 1990s and established diplomatic relations with the United States. Vietnam also began to find its way economically, appealing to tourists and becoming a leading exporter of coffee to the world.

North Korea, on the other hand, hunkered down in grim isolation and refused to reform its economy or political

Capitalism Comes to China

Chinese consumers shop for mobile phones in this recent photo. *Do the activities in this photo reflect a command economy or a market economy? Explain why.*



The United States as Sole Superpower

L3

Instruct

- **Introduce** Recall with students the Cold War military standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States, and how this led to equal global power for each nation. Ask students to predict how the collapse of the Soviet Union might affect the global status of the United States.
- **Teach** Discuss with students the new role in which America found itself after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Ask **What did the end of the Soviet Union mean for the United States?** (*It left the United States with the responsibility of being the world's only superpower.*) **How did Americans react to this new role?** (*Some Americans embraced this role, while others felt it added too much risk and expense to foreign policy.*)
- **Quick Activity** Review with students the ways that nations around the world reacted to U.S. global supremacy. Ask **How did different nations view America's unrivaled power?** (*Many found it offensive, while others still saw America as a champion of freedom.*) Organize students to briefly debate what America's role should be within the global community.

Independent Practice

Challenge students to think of one current world situation in which the United States has acted as the sole superpower. If necessary, suggest events in Iraq during 2004. Have students write a few sentences describing how the world reacted to America's actions in Iraq.

Monitor Progress

Check Reading and Note Taking Study Guide entries for student understanding.

Differentiated

Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L4 Gifted and Talented **L4 Advanced Readers**

Remind students that the fall of communism affected many countries around the globe. Have students find out more about one of these nations. Ask students to choose one country that was communist during the Cold War and conduct research in the library or online

and write a three paragraph report on the country today. Have them answer the following questions: How have daily conditions changed for most people? How did the decline of the Soviet Union affect this country?

Answers

- ✓ Glasnost in the Soviet Union led to a loosening of Soviet control over Eastern Europe and to greater ability for Eastern European nations to openly resist and criticize Soviet rule.

Caption a market economy because there are a large number of goods for sale, reflecting a healthy, competitive economy

Assess and Reteach

Assess Progress

L3

- Have students complete the Section Assessment.
- Administer the Section Quiz.

All in One Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 6

- To further assess student understanding, use

 Progress Monitoring
Transparencies, 132

Reteach

If students need more instruction, have them read the section summary.

 Reading and Note Taking
Study Guide, p. 283

L3

 Adapted Reading and
Note Taking Study Guide, p. 283

L1 L2

 Spanish Reading and
Note Taking Study Guide, p. 283

L2

Extend

L4

Biography Have students read the biography *Mikhail Gorbachev* and answer the questions that follow.

All in One Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 12

Answers

- ✓ Cuba and North Korea remained committed to communism and command economies. Vietnam and China moved toward market economies, but remained communist.
- ✓ Some nations felt that America was overstepping its powers by acting as the world's policeman. Others were comforted by its power as a protector of freedom.

system. Its rigidly totalitarian government often proved unable even to feed its people. Hundreds of thousands of North Koreans died of starvation or malnutrition during the 1990s.

Cuba Declines In Cuba, communism seemed to many to be living on borrowed time. Deprived of Soviet support but still crippled by America sanctions, the Cuban economy deteriorated. Many felt that communism in Cuba would not long outlive its founder, the aging Fidel Castro.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did communist countries react differently to the collapse of the Soviet bloc?

The United States as Sole Superpower

With the collapse of its great rival, the United States was widely recognized as the only remaining superpower. After years of thin budgets, Russia's armed forces seemed weak and ineffective. Only the United States could project its power around the world.

The United States thus emerged as the world's leading military power. From time to time, the United States exercised this power. Beginning in the 1990s, the United States staged several military missions around the world. You will learn more about these in upcoming chapters.

Americans seemed unsure of their proper role in the world. Some objected to the risk and expense of being "the world's policeman." Others, however, believed that the United States should play an even more aggressive part in world affairs.

America's unrivaled power produced mixed reactions around the world. When the Soviet threat had loomed, American power had been seen as a valuable counterweight. Some continued to see the United States as a protector of freedom. With no rival threat in sight, however, people in many parts of the world were less pleased to see any single nation as powerful as the United States had become.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did America's position as the sole superpower produce mixed reactions?

5 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-quiz with vocabulary practice
Web Code: naa-3051

Terms, People, and Places

1. For each term, person, or place listed at the beginning of the section, write a sentence explaining its significance.

Note Taking

2. **Reading Skill: Categorize** Use your completed chart to answer the Focus Question: What were the causes and effects of the end of the Cold War?

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

3. **Draw Conclusions** Why was the Soviet Union unable to keep up with the market economies of the West?
4. **Summarize** How did Gorbachev's reforms lead to the breakup of the Soviet empire?
5. **Recognize Cause and Effect** Why were Eastern Europeans able to break free of Communist governments and Soviet domination in the late 1980s?
6. **Draw Inferences** How did the collapse of the Soviet Union affect the power of other countries around the world?

Writing About History

Quick Write: Gather Evidence To write a problem-solution essay, you need to gather evidence to support a proposed solution to a problem. In this section, you learned that rigidly communist countries faced isolation and economic decline after the fall of the Soviet Union. Identify a solution to this problem and gather evidence to support your solution. Then write a paragraph with a thesis statement proposing a solution. Include the evidence you have gathered in support of your thesis statement.

Section 5 Assessment

1. Sentences should reflect an understanding of each term, person, or place listed at the beginning of the section.
2. Causes: Economic stagnation pressured the Soviet Union toward change, and leaders such as Mikhail Gorbachev instituted policies that furthered that change. Effects: Economic and political change spread through Eastern Europe as the

Soviet Union collapsed. America emerged as the world's sole superpower.

3. Central control was cumbersome. Workers lacked incentive.
4. Gorbachev instituted reforms that allowed for criticism of the government and an increase in private enterprise. Reforms encouraged opposition to the Soviet system and a new market economy.
5. In the late 1980s, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union would not interfere with reforms in Eastern Europe. Without Soviet

backing, communist governments there fell when citizens demanded change.

6. America emerged as the world's sole superpower.

Writing About History

Responses should reflect a specific thesis statement.

For additional assessment, have students access **Progress Monitoring Online** at **Web Code naa-3051**.

Václav Havel: *New Year's Address*

Václav Havel was a leading dissident and human rights activist in communist Czechoslovakia. When the “democracy movement” swept through Eastern Europe in 1989, Havel was elected president. In the following speech delivered on January 1, 1990, Havel asks the citizens of Czechoslovakia to accept responsibility for their past and to move forward in building a democracy. Havel calls on Czechs and Slovaks to be active participants in their new democracy.

Our country is not flourishing. The enormous creative and spiritual potential of our nations is not being used sensibly. Entire branches of industry are producing goods that are of no interest to anyone. . . . [W]e have today the most contaminated environment in Europe. . . .

But all this is still not the main problem. The worst thing is that we live in a contaminated moral environment. We fell morally ill because we became used to saying something different from what we thought. We learned not to believe in anything, to ignore each other, to care only about ourselves. Concepts such as love, friendship, compassion, humility, or forgiveness lost their depth and dimensions. . . . Only a few of us were able to cry out loud that the powers that be should not be all-powerful. . . .

We had all become used to the totalitarian system and accepted it as an unchangeable fact and thus helped to perpetuate it. In other words, we are all . . . responsible for the operation of the totalitarian machinery. . . .

Why do I say this? It would be very unreasonable to understand the sad legacy of the last forty years as something alien, which some distant relative bequeathed to us. On the contrary, we have to accept this legacy as a sin we committed against ourselves. If we accept it as such, we will understand that it is up to us all, and up to us only, to do something about it. We cannot blame the previous rulers for everything, not only because it would be untrue but also because it could blunt the duty that each of us faces today, namely, the obligation to act independently, freely, reasonably, and quickly. Let us not be mistaken: the best government in the world, the best parliament and the best president, cannot achieve much on their own. And it would also be wrong to expect a general remedy from them only. Freedom and democracy include participation and therefore responsibility from us all.



Václav Havel



Czechoslovak democracy demonstrators

Thinking Critically

- 1. Identify Point of View** Who does Havel hold responsible for Czechoslovakia's totalitarian past?
- 2. Draw Conclusions** What does Havel see as the solution to his country's problems?

Václav Havel: *New Year's Address*

Objective

- Understand Havel's argument that democracy involves responsibility on the part of citizens.

Build Background Knowledge L3

Ask students to recall the changes that took place in Czechoslovakia in 1989. Have them identify ways that communism and democracy involved citizen participation in the governments. (*Communism gave citizens few choices and left almost total control with the government. Democracy involved citizens in making regular choices about the nation's policies.*)

Instruct L3

- Direct students' attention to the introduction at the top of the page. Then ask **What does Havel believe citizens must do?** (*He believes they must take responsibility and participate in building a democracy.*)
- Discuss with students the problems Havel sees ahead for his people. Ask **How had life under a totalitarian system made people less prepared to participate in democracy?** (*It made them used to accepting total control instead of sharing responsibility.*)

Monitor Progress

To confirm students' understanding, ask them to briefly summarize Havel's views.

History Background

The Writer's Life While campaigning for democracy in Czechoslovakia, Václav Havel was arrested many times. His offenses included organizing dissidents and writing plays and essays that implied that the Czech government was absurd, demoralizing, and corrupt. (In his best known play, *The Memorandum*, office workers are forced to speak a nonsensical

language under the assumption that it will make them communicate with each other more effectively.) Once in power, Havel was criticized for being too soft and too thoughtful an administrator, and he often admitted he felt personally unsuited to be president. However, his policies brought civil liberties and rights to his country.

Thinking Critically

1. all the citizens of Czechoslovakia
2. shared responsibility and participation from everyone