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 suppress the uprising.

The Soviet pin promoting “openness, democracy, and restructuring”

WITNESS HISTORY

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?

Terms, People, and Places

mujahedin
Mikhail Gorbachev
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End of the Cold War</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest of the World</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vocabulary Builder

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High-Use Word</th>
<th>Definition and Sample Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>incentive</td>
<td>n. something that encourages a person to take action or work harder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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**Vocabulary Builder**

incentive—(in SEN tiv) 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?
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 bah 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 (per 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.

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?

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 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 1988, 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 vahl WAH-sah), they organized Solidarity, an independent labor union. It won millions of members and demanded political as well as economic change.

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 break up 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.

Changes Transform Eastern Europe

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.

■ Activity  Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 13

■ Task 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.
Communism Declines Around the World

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 little politically or economically.) How did such changes affect people in China and North Korea? (Though the Chinese made no major political reforms, they did experience economic prosperity. North Korea grew increasingly rigid, unable to provide for its people.)

- **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.

- **Teaching Resources, Unit 7, p. 11**

Monitor Progress

Return to the introductory text: Although political dictatorships still prevailed, rigid, government-run economies sometimes gave way to freer, more productive economic systems. 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.

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 Wojtyla, 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 (vah-CLAH vah-vuhl), 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...
peacefully, but when Nicolae Ceausescu (chow SHAY 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 collapse 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. Although political dictatorships still prevailed, rigid, government-run economies sometimes gave way to freer, more productive economic systems.

China Builds on Deng’s Reforms Gorbachev had urged the leaders of other communist states to consider both political and economic changes. China’s leaders, building on Deng Xiaoping’s 1980s economic reforms, generated an amazing economic boom in the 1990s. China became a major producer of consumer goods and achieved double-digit growth rates. China’s government undertook no major political reforms. However, as the global economic crisis that began in 2008 led to factory closings, protests by unemployed workers increased. China’s government responded with a $600 billion stimulus package to retrain workers and improve productivity.

Vietnam and North Korea Differ Communist Vietnam established diplomatic relations with the United States in the 1990s. Vietnam also began to change economically, encouraging tourism and becoming a leading exporter of coffee. North Korea, on the other hand, hunkered down in grim isolation, rejecting all reforms. Its rigidly totalitarian regime often proved unable to feed its own citizens.

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

The United States as Sole Superpower

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.

Answers

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.

Vietnam and North Korea Differ

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

Answer

China’s government undertook no major political reforms. However, as the global economic crisis that began in 2008 led to factory closings, protests by unemployed workers increased. China’s government responded with a $600 billion stimulus package to retrain workers and improve productivity.

Differentiated Instruction

Gifted and Talented 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 collapse of the Soviet Union affect this country?
Cuba’s economy, deprived of Soviet support and still crippled by American sanctions, deteriorated. Many wondered if communism in Cuba would survive. By 2008, an aging and ill Fidel Castro had formally surrendered control of the government to his brother, Raul. The new leader allowed some market reforms and a few more personal freedoms.

The Cold War

The United States as Sole Superpower

With the collapse of its great rival, the United States was widely recognized as the only remaining superpower. While Russia struggled to rebuild its weakened economy and military after the fall of communism, only the U.S. could project its power around the world.

On occasion, the United States exercised its military power to ensure its security. In the 1990s, the U.S. military was sent on several missions around the world, as you will read in later chapters. Some Americans objected to the United States acting as the “world’s policeman.” Others believed that the U.S. needed to take a firm stand in the face of terrorist threats.

Response to the United States as the sole superpower varied around the world. Many people continued to see the U.S. as a defender of freedom and democracy. However, many others viewed the United States and its power less favorably.

Cuba Declines

Cuba’s economy, deprived of Soviet support and still crippled by American sanctions, deteriorated. Many wondered if communism in Cuba would survive. By 2008, an aging and ill Fidel Castro had formally surrendered control of the government to his brother, Raul. The new leader allowed some market reforms and a few more personal freedoms.

People, places, and events of the Cold War:

- The Cuban Missile Crisis
- Mikhail Gorbachev
- The United States as the world's sole superpower
- The arms race
- The Berlin Wall
- The fall of the Soviet Union
- The end of the Cold War

Quick Write: Gather Evidence

For:

- **Assessment:**
  - Terms, People, and Places
  - Comprehension and Critical Thinking
  - Writing About History

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-quiz with vocabulary practice

PearsonSchool.com/Worldhist

For additional assessment, have students access Progress Monitoring Online at PearsonSchool.com/Worldhist.
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. . . . 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. . . .

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. . . .

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 independently, freely, reasonably, and quickly. Let us not be mistaken: the best government in the world, the best parliament . . . the best president, cannot achieve much on their own. . . .

Freedom and democracy include participation and therefore responsibility from us all.

1. dissident (dis ih dahn’t) n. a person who disagrees with the methods, goals, etc., of a political party or government
2. flourishing (flur/shing) adj. growing vigorously; thriving; prosperous
3. potential (puh ten shuhl) adj. capable of being or becoming
4. morally ill (mor ah il) adj. to behave in a way that goes against a group’s established principles of honor and good behavior
5. perpetuate (puh pet uh tuh tayt) v. cause or continue to be remembered
6. blunt (bluhnt) v. to make less effective

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

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 that 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