

# Cold War Lesson #5:

## *The End of the Cold War*

### (1979 - 1991)

#### Major Topics:

The End of Détente

The "Reagan Revolution"

Problems within the USSR

Diplomacy and Reform: Gorbachev and Reagan

China's Solution

Fall of the Soviet Union

#### Why did the Cold War end?



*A West German visitor to the Berlin Wall uses a hammer and a chisel to chip off a piece of the Wall as a souvenir. A portion of the Wall has already been demolished at Potsdamer Platz, 11/14/1989; Source: National Archives ARC Identifier: 6460158.*

Historians have named the time period from the late 1960s to the late 1970s as the "era of détente," a time of relative peace and stability between the United States and the Soviet Union. For most of the 1970s, ideological differences between the two super powers were set aside in favor of cooperation and dialogue. However, by the late 1970s détente had begun to break down, and the early 1980s witnessed a renewed escalation of Cold War tensions. No one suspected that within the next ten years, the Cold War would end peacefully and the Soviet Union would disintegrate.

Even though signs of trouble had existed, the rapid collapse of the Soviet Union between 1989 and 1991 surprised both Soviet officials and Western observers. Much attention has been paid to the personalities of the two leaders involved in the process, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan, and some scholars attribute the end of the Cold War to the dialogue opened between these two men. Other scholars argue that this focus understates the political and economic reasons for the end of the Cold War. Despite appearing very strong to the United States, the Soviet Union was plagued by many internal economic and political problems, problems that no amount of reform efforts could easily fix. Even as Gorbachev attempted to liberalize the Soviet system through *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (reform), the USSR began to rapidly disintegrate. The end result of all of these events was that by 1991, the three-world order of the preceding decades was gone, replaced by a new world order founded on the principles of globalization and the market economy.

## Procedures

### Step 1: The End of Détente (50 minutes)



It is difficult to understand the end of the Cold War without discussing how the 1980s began with a period of renewed tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. Have students read to themselves, with partners, or as a class a secondary introduction, **CWW/A 5.1**. To check for understanding, have students discuss their answers to the brief questions at the bottom of the document. Next, students will read two perspectives about Afghanistan (**CWW/A 5.2**), one from the Soviet government that explains why Soviets should intervene in the country and one from the American perspective that argues for an American response. These documents reflect the motivations of each super power – in essence, why each felt it was a matter of survival to re-escalate the Cold War. Once students have read the two documents, divide the class in half and have them role play as if they were advisers to the Soviet or American government in 1979. Based on what they've just read (in **CWW/A 5.1** and **CWW/A 5.2**) about conditions on the ground in Afghanistan, ask the students to make an argument to the leader of their country about what their government and military should do to respond. Tell them that they must make a 3-5 minute presentation advocating their recommended response to the leader of their country (you).

### Step 2: Developments in the United States (50 minutes)



The second day focuses on changes in American policies between the late 1970s and the end of the Cold War. Students will learn about steps that the United States government took to pursue a more interventionist anti-communist foreign policy under President Reagan's administration. In addition, students will learn about American investments in the military and technological developments, which had the unintended consequences of increasing the government's deficit and making Americans aware of the potential risks of nuclear capabilities.

Before beginning the day's activities, teachers may wish to show students this two-minute Reagan campaign commercial from 1980. It foreshadows and frontloads many of the topics and themes that students will learn about in the introduction and documents:

[http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x7jt1p\\_historic-campaign-ads-iran-reagan-1\\_news#.UUOe93fLuuN](http://www.dailymotion.com/video/x7jt1p_historic-campaign-ads-iran-reagan-1_news#.UUOe93fLuuN)  
(uploaded by Hulu)



First, have all students read the one-paragraph background about the 4 broad developments (Reagan Doctrine, Defense Buildup, Iran Contra, Nuclear Fear) in the United States (**CWW/A 5.3**). Second, introduce the lesson timeline (**CWW/A 5.4**) and have students quickly chart on the timeline the 4 developments. Third, explain to students that they will become experts on one of these four topics (**CWW/A 5.6**, **CWW/A 5.7**, **CWW/A 5.8**, and **CWW/A 5.9**). Students should work in groups of four (with one student responsible for each of the 4 developments). Members of each group will become specialists on his/her specific topic by reading the appropriate primary sources, completing the short reading and analyses, and then reporting back to the home group. To report back to his/her home

group, have each member spend 2-4 minutes explaining the event and as a group have each student complete the Graphic Organizer (**CWW/A 5.5**).

### Step 3: Developments Within the Soviet Union (50 minutes)



While to the outside world the Soviet Union appeared to be thriving in the early 1980s, cracks beneath the social, economic, political, and environmental surface would soon reveal broad underlying weaknesses in the nation. By the 1980s the long-term structural problems of Soviet economic management were reaching a breaking point. Students will learn about the cracks that exposed these weaknesses by reading a short summary and four brief primary sources (**CWW/A 5.10 and CWW/A 5.11**) that highlight the problems faced by the Soviet Union in the 1980s. Students will complete the questions and answers that accompany these handouts. Finally, have students chart these developments and analyze their relationships on their "End of the Cold War Timeline" (**CWW/A 5.4**). Students may work in pairs to complete the assignment to better comprehend the central point of these documents.



### Step 4: Diplomacy and Reform: Reagan and Gorbachev (50 minutes)

Much attention has been paid to the personalities of President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, and some people attribute the end of the Cold War to the dialogue opened between these two men. This lesson teaches students about the personal backgrounds and appeal of each leader, and the potential affect that this had on diplomacy between the two super-power nations. Explain to students that Reagan was seen as a charismatic leader during his presidency. Have students begin by viewing this 4-minute clip about Reagan and Gorbachev's interactions during the peace talks. At the end of the film clip, briefly ask students what affect these two personalities could have on the way the super-powers interact, and the way their citizens view them and their goals.



<http://www.history.com/videos/reagan-meets-gorbachev#reagan-meets-gorbachev>



Next, have students read the background about leaders, diplomacy, and agreements (**CWW/A 5.12**) to understand the changes between 1986 and 1989. Then ask students to complete (**CWW/A 5.13**) to chart when and how agreements came about that changed the terms of the Cold War. Finally, have students chart these developments on their "End of the Cold War Timeline" (**CWW/A 5.4**). At the end, engage students in a 5-minute whole-class discussion about how the changes during these years affected relations with the Soviet Union. How were arsenals altered, and what was happening to the Soviet Union to allow for such an opening?

### Step 5: China: A Different Path (50 minutes)

This lesson teaches students about the Cold War developments in China in the 1970s and 1980s. In a way China and the Chinese Communist system provides an alternative narrative to the typical end of Communism



that students associate with 1980s. While throughout the decade the country experienced many of the same problems as the Soviet Union and its satellites – a failing economic system and pressure for more political freedom, Chinese leaders responded differently to both challenges. Use (**CWW/A 5.14**) to have students learn about the economic and political changes in China. The document can be used by teachers to orally explain to students developments in China, or students may read the document alone or in pairs. It explains how in the late 1970s China decollectivized its agriculture, opened its economy to internal trade, and then allowed foreign capital and goods to enter the nation. By the mid-1990s China's economy's private sector was as large as its public sector. This economic foundation was certainly complicated by political uprisings like Tianamen Square in 1989 and the Chinese Communist government's severe response to it. But despite its humanitarian and political problems, diplomacy and economic ties between China and the US (and the west in general) had been firmly established.

After having learned about the alternate path of Chinese Communists, students will study the economic reforms of China by reading and doing Sentence Deconstruction for (**CWW/A 5.15**) (Chair Deng Xiaoping's Remarks). Finally, have students study the political challenges through the Tiananmen Square demonstrations. Using the American State Department's summary of the demonstration, students will analyze the development. There are several films and visuals that provide vivid and helpful context to this. "Gate of Heavenly Peace" shows how difficult it was for the Chinese to figure out what "democracy" might mean. A portion of the "Democracy Wall" and "Tank Man" of Tiananmen Square can be found online.

U.S. History teachers may wish to skip this lesson if concerned about time.

## Step 6: The End of the Cold War (50 minutes)



In a few short years at the end of the 1980s the USSR ceased to exist and the Cold War that divided the world for more than forty-five years ended. Today students will learn about the historical context of the end of the Cold War through role playing the circumstances and decisions that an imagined East German family faced. Divide students into groups of 8 so that each student plays a role of an imagined member of an East German family. Then have students read the "introduction" and "characters" on **CWW/A 5.16**. After they understand their task, have students read silently or as a group the historical context, primary sources about the end of the Cold War, and then the family's option. Individually students should complete the **CWW/A 5.16** "decision chart." Then have students follow the directions on the rest of the document about discussing and presenting their decision as a family.



For homework, students will get introduced to the world dynamics that came out of the end of the Cold War by reading a short secondary summary and President George H. W. Bush's 1992 State of the Union Address. After reading these two short documents, students should complete the "Legacy of the Cold War Cause and Effect Chart" (**CWW/A 5.17**).



## CWW/A 5.1 – Background Material for Détente (Page 1 of 2)

In the history of the Cold War, the late 1960s to mid 1970s are known as “the era of détente,” a period of relative calm and stability between the United States and the Soviet Union. Setting aside long-standing ideological differences, a diplomatic shift occurred when statesmen in both the US and the USSR actively sought ways to peacefully coexist with the other superpower. Both countries felt the economic strains of massive defense buildup, prompting discussions about limiting the creation of additional weaponry. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I), held from November 1969 to May 1972, culminated in the signing of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, an agreement that limited both countries’ defensive weaponry. This was one of many talks held on the subject. As a further symbol of co-operation, the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz mission marked the first time the USA and the USSR had worked together on a space project.

But détente did not last. Since the beginning of the Cold War, the United States’ nuclear capabilities had far exceeded the Soviet Union’s, and it had been the only superpower with access to a worldwide network of military bases. But the second half of the 1970s witnessed the Soviet Union begin to flex more and more power within northeastern and sub-Saharan Africa as well as in south and southeast Asia, and for the first time ever, the USSR’s nuclear stockpile finally equaled, then surpassed, that of the United States.



*Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, left, congratulates Paul H. Nitze, a member of the U.S. delegation to Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT), after presenting him with the Department of Defense Distinguished Public Service Medal. Tucker has served in his position since 1969. His wife and other members of his family are attending the Pentagon ceremony. Nitze also served as assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, secretary of the Navy, and deputy secretary of defense, 01/04/1973. Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier # 6399328*



*Soldiers ride aboard a Soviet BMD airborne combat vehicle, 03/25/1986.  
Source: National Archives, ARC Identifier # 6399442*

The United States felt threatened by these developments. The loss of the Vietnam War had seriously damaged American confidence, and any attempt by the Soviets to strengthen and increase their military capacity was seen as dangerous. This threat felt more real when developments in Afghanistan drew in the Soviet army. In April 1978, the People’s Democratic Party of Afghanistan overthrew the Afghani republic and instituted a communist regime.

## CWW/A 5.1 – Background Material for Détente (Page 2 of 2)

However, this communist government was weak and very unpopular. Across the border in the USSR, Soviet leaders decided to intervene in Afghanistan. In December, 1979 the Soviets deposed the new leader and installed one that would be more sympathetic to the Soviets. The United States angrily denounced the Soviet Union's invasion, but secretly hoped that involvement in this conflict would deplete the Soviets' resources. Toward that end, the Americans began to supply Afghani rebels with weapons and training.

Alongside this development was another scare for the American people. In November of 1979 Islamic revolutionaries seized the American Embassy in Tehran, taking 60 Americans hostage. This, coupled with the Soviet Union invasion Afghanistan the following month, left many Americans feeling as if a decade of peace with the Soviet Union had caught the USA flat-footed, unable to respond to a resurgent Communist threat.



*[Man heckles Iranians demonstrating for Khomeini at police line in Washington, D.C.], May 8, 1980. Warren K. Leffler, Photographer, US News & World Report Photograph Collection. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2006676713/>*

1. In your own words, define détente.

2. Why did détente fail?

## CWW/A 5.2 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Page 1 of 3)

**Background:** The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a case study that illustrates a changing Soviet foreign policy in the late 1970s and 1980s. In these later years of the Cold War the Soviets intervened in support of Marxist coups in Ethiopia and Angola, as well as worked to support the South African Communist Party. Even though during these years tensions between the Americans and Soviets were relatively low, American leaders consistently expressed concern about the Soviet influence in these parts of Africa as well as in Mozambique, the Seychelles, Malagasy Republic, and Syria among other "hot spots." Yuri Andropov was a Soviet politician who went on to become the General Secretary, or leader, of the Communist Party after he wrote the memorandum below. In 1979 Andropov wrote to the Soviet Premier, Leonid Brezhnev, to explain why he felt the Soviets should intervene in Afghanistan. (*Editor's note:* In the memo, Andropov refers to Amin, who was the new communist leader of Afghanistan. The Soviets didn't trust Amin.)

"Memorandum to Brezhnev, Dec. 1979," by Yuri Andropov



Afghan resistance fighters return to a village destroyed by Soviet forces, 03/25/1986; Source: National Archives Identifier: 6399443

... in September of this year the situation in Afghanistan began to undertake an undesirable turn for us. The situation in the party, the army and the government apparatus has become more acute, as they were essentially destroyed as a result of the mass repressions carried out by Amin. At the same time, alarming information started to arrive about Amin's secret activities, forewarning of a possible political shift to the West... All this has created, on the one hand, the danger of losing the gains made by the April [1978] revolution (the scale of insurgent attacks will increase by spring) within the country, while on the other hand the threat to our positions in Afghanistan (right now there is no guarantee that Amin, in order to protect his personal power, will not

shift to the West). [There has been] a growth of anti-Soviet sentiments within the population...

Recently we were contacted by group of Afghan communists abroad...they have worked out a plan for opposing Amin and creating new party and state organs. But Amin, as a preventive measure, has begun mass arrests of 'suspect persons' (300 people have been shot).

[Afghan communists abroad] have raised the question of possible assistance, in case of need, including military. We have two battalions stationed in Kabul and there is the capability of rendering such assistance. It appears that this is entirely sufficient for a successful operation. But, as a precautionary measure in the event of unforeseen complications, it would be wise to have a military group close to the border....The implementation of the given operation would allow us to decide the question of defending the gains of the April revolution, establishing Leninist principles in the party and state leadership of Afghanistan, and securing our positions in this country.

Source: Yuri Andropov, "Memorandum to Brezhnev, Dec. 1979," in *The Cold War: History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*, ed. Jussi Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 546-547.



## CWW/A 5.2 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Page 2 of 3)

Time Marker or Connector	Noun or noun phrase	Verb or verb phrase	What?	Questions
In September of this year	the situation in Afghanistan	began to undertake	an undesirable turn for us.	What is the situation they are referring to?
	The situation in the [communist] party, the army and the government apparatus	has become	more acute,	Explain how the situation became "more acute." What happened?
as	they [the party, the army, and the government apparatus]	were essentially destroyed		
as	a result of the mass repressions	carried out by Amin.		Who destroyed the Afghan communist party, their army, and the government apparatus?
At the same time	alarming information	started to arrive		What do the Soviets fear will happen?
about	Amin's secret activities	forewarning	of a possible shift to the West.	
	All this	has created		
on the one hand,	the danger of losing the gains	made by	the April {1978} revolution (the scale of attacks will increase by spring) within the country	
while on the other hand,	the threat to our positions in Afghanistan			
(right now		there is	no guarantee	
that	Amin,	in order to protect	his personal power,	
		will not shift	to the West).	

## CWW/A 5.2 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Page 3 of 3)

Time Marker or Connector	Noun or noun phrase	Verb or verb phrase	What?	Questions
		There has been	a growth of anti-Soviet sentiments within the population.	
Recently	we [the Soviets]	were contacted	by a group of Afghan communists abroad...	Who can fight against Amin?
	they [Afghan communists abroad]	have worked out	a plan for opposing Amin and creating a new party and state organs.	
But	Amin	has begun	mass arrests of 'suspect persons'	What has Amin done in response?
	(300 people	have been shot.)		
	[Afghan communists abroad]	have raised	the question of possible assistance, in case of need, including military.	What are the Afghan communists asking for?
	We [the Soviets]	have	two battalions	
		stationed	in Kabul	
And there		is	the capability of rendering such assistance.	
	It	appears that this is	entirely sufficient for a successful operation.	Do the Soviets believe they can provide support for Afghan communists?
But as a precautionary measure in the event of unforeseen complications,	it	would be wise to have	a military group close to the border....	
	The implementation of the given operation	would allow us to decide	the question of defending the gains of the April Revolution,	Why are the Soviets interested in influencing Afghanistan?
		Establishing	Leninist principles in the Party	
and	state leadership of Afghanistan,			
and		securing our positions in this country		

*For Discussion:* How are Cold War politics influencing this third-world country of Afghanistan?



**CWW/A 5.2.1 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan** (Afghanistan Map)



## CWW/A 5.2.1 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Brzezinski Memo, Page 1 of 2)

*Editor's Note: In 1979, the American National Security Adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, a man who had a similar role as Andropov, wrote a memo to President Carter. In the memo below Brzezinski explained to the president why the United States should be concerned about the developments in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union.*

... we are now facing a regional crisis. Both Iran and Afghanistan are in turmoil, and Pakistan is both unstable internally and extremely apprehensive externally. If the Soviets succeed in Afghanistan [DELETION], and the age-long dream of Moscow to have direct [Indian] Ocean [access] will have been fulfilled.

Historically, the British provided the barrier to that drive and Afghanistan was their buffer state. We assumed that role in 1945, but the Iranian crisis has led to the collapse of the balance of power in Southwest Asia, and it could produce Soviet presence right down on the edge of the Arabian and Oman Gulfs.

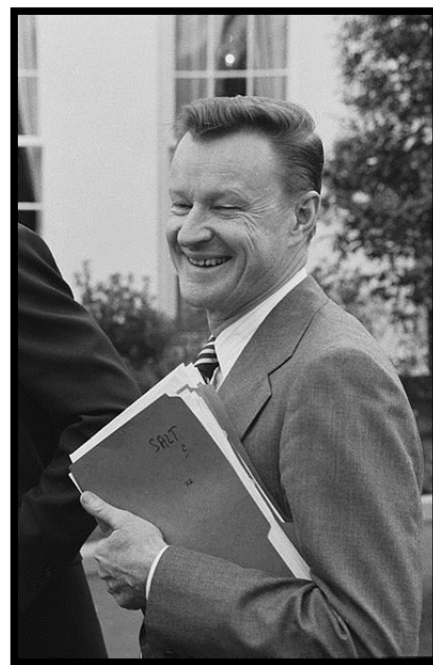
Accordingly, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan poses for us an extremely grave challenge, both internationally and domestically. While it could become a Soviet Vietnam, the initial effects of the intervention are likely to be adverse for us...

*What is to be done?*

What follows are some preliminary thoughts, which need to be discussed more fully:

1. It is essential that Afghanistani resistance continues. This means more money as well as arms shipments to the rebels, and some technical advice;
2. To make the above possible we must both reassure Pakistan and encourage it to help the rebels. This will require a review of our policy toward Pakistan, more guarantees to it, more arms aid, and [DELETION]...
3. We should concert with Islamic countries both in a propaganda campaign and in a covert action campaign to help the rebels...

*Source: Zbigniew Brzezinski, "Memorandum, Dec. 26, 1979," in The Cold War: History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts, ed. Jussi Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003 550-551.*



*[Zbigniew Brzezinski, half-length portrait, facing front, at a meeting with congressional leaders about the SALT talks], Warren K. Leffler, Photographer, March 30, 1977, Us News and World Report Photograph Collection. Source Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011646551/>*

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## CWW/A 5.2.1 – The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan (Brzezinski Memo, Page 2 of 2)

*Directions:* Imagine that it's 1979 and you're a diplomatic adviser to the Soviet or American government (your teacher has already assigned you as an adviser to the Soviet Union or the Americans). Your job is to review all of the developments you've just read and to make a 3-5 minute argument to the leader of your nation advising what your government and military should do to respond to these increasing tensions. In addition, you should be prepared to defend your recommendation using evidence from the readings above. In formulating your recommendations, you may wish to consider some of the questions below.

- According to Brzezinski, what should the United States be afraid of? What does it think that the Soviet Union's goals are?
- How does Brzezinski recommend that the United States respond? Which countries does he think the United States should help and why?
- Examine the language used by Brzezinski. Do you think his words suggest confidence or concern about the proposed American response?

## CWW/A 5.3 – Background for Developments in the United States in the 1980s



[Helicopter over Three Mile Island, Pennsylvania], 04/11/1979; Source:  
National Archives Identifier: [540026](https://www.archives.gov/details/540026),  
<http://research.archives.gov/description/540026>

With Ronald Reagan's election in 1980, America started to pursue a more interventionist anti-communist foreign policy, which seemed to reverse the détente of the prior three presidents. Concerned about increasing Soviet military power, the ascendance to power of communists in the western hemisphere, and a loss of American confidence through what he called "the Vietnam syndrome," Reagan pushed for a stronger anti-communist role for the United States in the world.

To pursue the president's anti-communist agenda, the American military embarked on several missions to intervene in foreign nations (most often in Latin America) to help anti-communist forces resist growing communist popularity and power.

In addition to pursuing anti-communism abroad more aggressively, at home Reagan also embarked on an ambitious plan to try to make nuclear warfare obsolete by creating a Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, otherwise known as Star Wars). These policies heightened

American investments in technology and the military, but they also had the side-effects of escalating the arms race and led to a ballooning national deficit.

The government's military and foreign policies in the 1980s also made more Americans concerned about the potential risks of nuclear capabilities. Americans' awareness of the dangers of nuclear power came to a head in March, 1979 when an accident at a nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania released radioactive material into the atmosphere. It turned out to be contained and did not cause serious damage to the surrounding area, but Americans did become increasingly aware of the possible threats posed by nuclear power and joined with a growing group of activists across the globe to advocate decreasing nuclear capabilities of the super powers.

Moreover, as a consequence of much of the renewed anti-communist policy, the government became embroiled in the Iran-Contra crisis, in which American government officials traded arms for American hostages that were being held in Iran, and then it diverted profits from the arms sales to anti-communist guerilla fighters in Nicaragua. This scandal nearly brought down the Reagan administration.

## CWW/A 5.4 – Timeline for Cold War Developments in the 1980s

**Instructions:** Arrange each of the events and developments covered in this lesson below. Use two different colors to highlight events that originated in the US and USSR (list developments that came from the US on the left side and developments from the USSR on the right). You should use other tools – like arrows or boxes – to show relationships and associations between events.

1978

1991



## CWW/A 5.5 – Developments in Cold War America in the 1980s

Event	Reagan Doctrine	Defense Buildup	Iran Contra	Nuclear Fear
Year				
Document Author(s)				
<b>Briefly Explain What Happened</b>  (You may wish to explain the significance of this development within the context of the Cold War)				
<b>Is there a connection to earlier Cold War developments?</b>				
<b>Do you think this escalated or de-escalated tensions in the Cold War? Why?</b>				

## CWW/A 5.6 – Reagan Doctrine

*Directions:* Read the Background and Documents below. As you read each document underline Reagan's goals for the United States, then draw a circle around how he characterizes the Soviet Union and its allies. Consider these broader questions: how does Reagan connect the U.S. and Latin America? Why is he concerned about subversion?

*Background:* In his first term in office (1981-1985), President Reagan pursued a foreign policy that in many ways a more aggressive strategy toward the Soviet Union and communists around the world. In speeches he gave and policies his administration implemented, Reagan declared the Soviet Union to be "an evil empire" and a "sponsor of terrorism." Reagan believed that the United States should help groups resisting communism in the Third World. This became known as the Reagan Doctrine. In many ways Reagan's anti-communist foreign policy was a continuation of the Truman Doctrine. It also was an extension of America's interventions in Latin America that stretched to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. To implement the Reagan Doctrine, American soldiers were sent to the Caribbean island of Grenada, to El Salvador, and to Nicaragua. These kinds of interventions had humanitarian, political, and economic consequences for the nations involved and for the United States that extended into the twenty-first century.



*President Reagan with Prime Minister Herbert Blaize and Governor-General Scoon after making remarks to the citizens of St. George's, Grenada. 2/20/86. Source: Reagan Library, C33429-21A*

*President Reagan's 1984 Televised Address to the Nation about American Goals in Central America:*

[Revolutionaries in Central America] are presently challenging us with a different kind of weapon; subversion [rebellion] and the use of surrogate [stand-in] forces—Cubans, for example. We've seen it intensifying during the last 10 years as the Soviet Union and its surrogates moved to establish control over Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Angola, Ethiopia, South Yemen, Afghanistan, and recently, closer to home in Nicaragua and now El Salvador. It's the fate of this region, Central America, that I want to talk to you about tonight.

The issue is our effort to promote democracy and economic well-being in the face of Cuban and Nicaragua aggression, aided and abetted by the Soviet Union....

Central America is a region of great importance to the United States. And it is so close—San Salvador is closer to Houston, Texas than Houston is to Washington, D.C. Central America is America; it's at our doorstep. And it has become the stage for a bold attempt by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Nicaragua to install communism by force throughout the hemisphere.

When half of our shipping tonnage and imported oil passes through Caribbean shipping lanes, and nearly half of all our foreign trade passes through the Panama Canal and Caribbean waters, America's economy and well-being are at stake...

What we see in El Salvador is an attempt to destabilize the entire region and eventually move chaos and anarchy toward the American border....

[I]f we do nothing or if we continue to provide too little help, our choice will be a communist Central America with additional communist military bases on the mainland of this hemisphere and communist subversion spreading southward and northward. This communist subversion poses the threat that 100 million people from Panama to open border on our south could come under the control of pro-Soviet regimes.

If we come to our senses too late, when our vital interests are even more directly threatened, and after that a lack of American support causes our friends to lose the ability to defend themselves, then the risks to our security and our way of life will be infinitely greater...

*U.S. Department of State. "President Reagan: U.S. Interests In Central America." Current Policy No. 576 (May 9, 1984): 1-5.*

*Response to Reagan Doctrine:*

*In 1985 Human Rights Watch, a non-governmental organization that advocates for human rights across the world, issued this report about the consequences of the Reagan Doctrine in Nicaragua.*

....The Reagan administration, since its inception, has characterized Nicaragua's revolutionary government as a menace to the Americas and to the Nicaraguan people. Many of its arguments to this effect are derived from human rights "data," which the administration has used in turn to justify its support for the *contra* [anti-communist] rebels. The Americas Watch does not take a position on the U.S. geopolitical strategy in Central America. But where human rights are concerned we find the administration's approach to Nicaragua deceptive and harmful...

The administration has disregarded the norms of impartial human rights reporting when it deals with Nicaragua. The administration's accusations against Nicaragua rest upon a core of fact; the Sandinistas [the left-wing group that controlled the government] have committed serious abuses, especially in 1981 and 1982, including arbitrary arrests and the summary relocation of thousands of Miskito Indians....

Inflammatory terms, loosely used, are of particular concern. President Reagan has described Nicaragua's elected president, Daniel Ortega, as a "little dictator" and has termed the Nicaraguan government's recent relocations of civilians a "Stalinist" tactic. Such epithets seek to prejudice public debate through distortion. Perhaps most harmful in this respect is the term most frequently used by President Reagan and administration officials to denounce the Nicaraguan government – that is, "totalitarian." This is a misuse of the term and it misrepresents the situation in Nicaragua.

*Source: "Human Rights in Nicaragua: Rhetoric and Reality." Copyright 1985 Human Rights Watch.*

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CWW/A 5.7 – Military Build-up (Page 1 of 3)

A Delta II rocket in the Strategic Defense Initiative program lifts off beside its launch tower, 09/29/1989.  
Source: National Archives Identifier: [6435660](https://www.archives.gov/details/6435660)  
<http://research.archives.gov/description/6435660>

*Directions:* Read the Background and three Documents about President Reagan's plans to increase military expenditures. As you read Reagan's address, underline the places where Reagan is making his main argument about why America should invest in this development. In the tables on page three, write a one-sentence summary explaining the trend in the chart, and try to make a connection between those and Reagan's speech.

*Background:* President Reagan argued that through a massive defense build-up, the United States would pressure the Soviet Union to continue to keep pace, which would ultimately deplete the Soviets of their resources. During the 1980s defense spending increased from \$134 billion in 1980 before Reagan took office to \$253 billion in 1989 when he left office. This meant that American defense spending was seven percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1989, and had dramatically increased the federal deficit. Yet the Soviets responded to this increase in spending and in the first half of the 1980s, the Soviets increased their defense spending from 22 to 27 percent of GDP, while they did not increase the production of civilian goods.

Much of the increased American defense spending went towards what President Reagan proposed in Document A. In March, 1983, the president went before the American people to introduce the idea

for a new defense system that he called the Strategic Defense Initiative, although opponents quickly nicknamed it "Star Wars." The aim, Reagan explained, was to research a way to repel missiles launched by the Soviet Union. Reagan hoped that this proposed technology would make nuclear war obsolete. The Soviet Union was horrified, believing that the initiative would destabilize the careful Cold War balance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and give the U.S. first-strike capability.

## CWW/A 5.7 – Military Build-up (Page 2 of 3)

### *Arms Race adds Pressure: Announcing a new Strategic Defense Initiative*



Since the dawn of the atomic age, we've sought to reduce the risk of war by maintaining a strong deterrent and by seeking genuine arms control [reduction of weapons]. "Deterrence" means simply this: making sure any adversary who thinks about attacking the United States, or our allies, or our vital interests, concludes that the risks to him outweigh any potential gains. Once he understands that, he won't attack. We maintain the peace through our strength; weakness only invites aggression.

This strategy of deterrence has not changed. It still works. But what it takes to maintain deterrence has changed...

President Reagan addresses the Nation from the Oval Office on National Security (SDI Speech). 3/23/83. Source: Reagan Foundation, <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/photographs/speeches.html>

After careful consultation with my advisers, including the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I believe there is a way. Let me share with you a vision of the future which offers hope. ...

What if free people could live secure in the knowledge that their security did not rest upon the threat of instant U.S. retaliation to deter a Soviet attack, that we could intercept and destroy strategic ballistic missiles before they reached our own soil or that of our allies?

I know this is a formidable, technical task, one that may not be accomplished before the end of this century. Yet, current technology has attained a level of sophistication where it's reasonable for us to begin this effort. It will take years, probably decades of effort on many fronts. There will be failures and setbacks, just as there will be successes and breakthroughs. And as we proceed, we must remain constant in preserving the nuclear deterrent and maintaining a solid capability for flexible response. But isn't it worth every investment necessary to free the world from the threat of nuclear war? We know it is.

Source: Reagan, Ronald. "Address to the Nation on Defense and National Security," March 23, 1983. Full text of the speech available online: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1983/32383d.htm>. Video of the speech available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ApTnYwh5KvE>



## CWW/A 5.7 – Military Build-up (Page 3 of 3)

### Defense Spending Over Time

Fiscal Year	Administration	Total Defense Spending (in millions of dollars)	Percentage Change from Previous Year	Total Defense Spending (in millions of dollars) adjusted for inflation in 2012 dollars	Percentage Change from Previous Year adjusted for inflation in 2012 dollars
1973	Nixon	\$76,681		\$390,857	
1974	Nixon / Ford	\$79,347	3.48%	\$364,366	-6.78%
1975	Ford	\$86,509	9.03%	\$364,366.00	-0.07%
1976	Ford	\$89,816	3.82%	\$357,314	-1.87%
1977	Carter	\$97,241	8.27%	\$363,242	1.66%
1978	Carter	\$104,495	7.46%	\$362,769	-0.13%
1979	Carter	\$116,342	11.34%	\$362,240	-0.15%
1980	Carter	\$133,995	15.17%	\$367,580	1.47%
1981	Reagan	\$157,513	17.55%	\$391,746	6.57%
1982	Reagan	\$185,309	17.65%	\$433,970	10.78%
1983	Reagan	\$209,903	13.27%	\$476,324	10.45%
1984	Reagan	\$227,411	8.34%	\$494,779	3.87%
1985	Reagan	\$252,743	11.14%	\$530,785	7.28%
1986	Reagan	\$273,373	8.16%	\$563,406	6.15%
1987	Reagan	\$281,996	3.15%	\$560,982	-0.43%
1988	Reagan	\$290,360	2.97%	\$554,871	-1.09%
1989	Bush, GHW	\$303,555	4.54%	\$553,417	-0.03%
1990	Bush, GHW	\$299,321	-1.39%	\$517,834	-6.43%
1991	Bush, GHW	\$273,285	-8.70%	\$453,734	-12.38%
1992	Bush, GHW	\$298,346	9.17%	\$480,915	5.99%

*Source: Office of Management and Budget, Historical Tables, Adapted from Table 3.2, Outlays by Function and Subfunction, 1962 - 2013, <http://www.whitehouse.gov/omb/budget/Historicals>. To calculate for inflation for more recent years, see <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>*

### Federal Deficit

1980 \$907 billion (33% of GDP)

1985 \$1.8 trillion

1990 \$3.2 trillion (53% of GDP)

Source: Department of Treasury, [https://www.treasurydirect.gov/govt/reports/pd/histdebt/histdebt\\_histo4.htm](https://www.treasurydirect.gov/govt/reports/pd/histdebt/histdebt_histo4.htm)

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## CWW/A 5.8 – Iran-Contra (Page 1 of 2)

*Directions:* Read the Background and Government Report below to learn about the Iran-Contra Scandal. Underline the places where the documents describe American involvement in Iran and circle the places where America intervened in Nicaragua. Then, at the bottom of the two documents, write one sentence that summarizes what members of the American government did that was illegal. Then, write one more sentence that explains how you see connections between this scandal in the 1980s and Cold War struggles of earlier decades. In other words, how is this part of a larger political or economic struggle?

*Background:* In 1986, Americans learned of two secret government operations that potentially implicated members of the government in illegal activities. First, it was discovered that despite Congress passing resolutions that forbid American assistance to rebels in Nicaragua, the anti-communist contra rebels had in fact received aid through the American military. This was an extension of ongoing American support to the anti-communist contras. The contras had been engaged in a years-long battle with the popular Nicaraguan Communists – or Sandinistas. Second, Americans learned that the US had sold arms to Iran even though American foreign policy dictated that arms should not be traded with that country. In November, 1986 these two activities were joined together when Reagan Administration officials – like a former CIA Agent named Oliver North – explained that some profits from the sale of American weapons to Iran had been sent to support the anti-communist contra rebels in Nicaragua. The first document is the government report that explains how the scandal unfolded and the second document is the final report issued by the government that summarized the illegal actions.

### *Government Report on Iran Contra:*

"The Iran-Contra affair was characterized by pervasive dishonesty and inordinate secrecy," the report concludes.

Congressional investigators said private agents pocketed at least \$6.6 million in commissions and other profits for helping arrange the sale of U.S. weapons to Iran and for providing arms to the Nicaraguan rebels known as the Contras. The investigators said there was virtually no government control over the money generated by the Iran-Contra operation, and that agents decided how much profit they would take....

[T]he report asserts that participants in the Iran-Contra operation violated:

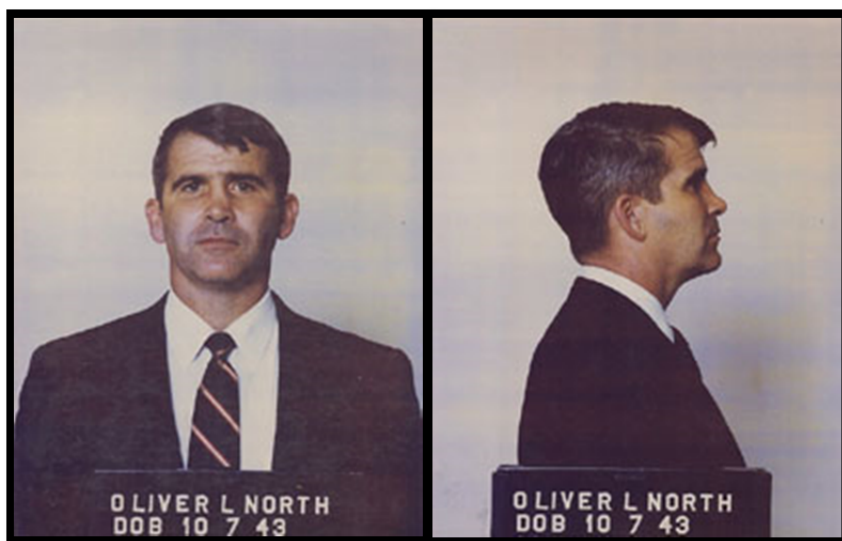
1. The National Security Act and the Arms Export Control Act, which require that Congress be notified of covert U.S. operations
2. The Anti-Deficiency Act, which prohibits use of federal funds for purposes that Congress didn't intend.
3. Laws that prohibit giving false or misleading statements to Congress, even if they aren't made under oath.
4. The Presidential Records Act, which prohibits tampering with, or destroying White House documents.
5. The Boland amendment, which in various forms restricted the use of federal funds to provide military and other assistance to the Contras....

## CWW/A 5.8 – Iran-Contra (Page 2 of 2)

The report shows that of the nearly \$35.8 million spent by the enterprise, \$12.2 million was paid to the U.S. for the arms that were resold to Iran at huge markups; \$8.8 million went to purchase arms for sale to the Contras; and almost \$6 million was spent on the enterprise's air operation to resupply the Contras, including the purchase of small aircraft and the construction of an airfield in Costa Rica. There were many other expenditures for legal fees, air transportation costs, and other cover operations.

*Source: Edward T. Pound and Andy Pasztor, "The Iran-Contra Report: Reagan Administration Broke Laws in Pursuit of Secret Policy, Agents Profited, Panels Say," Wall Street Journal, Eastern Edition 19 November 1987: 1*

*Government Executive Summary on Iran Contra:*



*From United States v. Oliver L. North, Office of the Independent Counsel (OIC) Papers, National Archives & Records Administration, College Park, Maryland.*

Independent Counsel concluded that: the sales of arms to Iran contravened United States Government policy and may have violated the Arms Export Control Act; the provision and coordination of support to the contras violated the Boland Amendment ban on aid to military activities in Nicaragua; the policies behind both the Iran and contra operations were fully reviewed and developed at the highest levels of the Reagan Administration... the Iran operations were carried out with the knowledge of, among others, President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger,

Director of Central Intelligence William J. Casey, and national security advisers Robert C. McFarlane and John M. Poindexter; of these officials, only Weinberger and Shultz dissented from the policy decision, and Weinberger eventually acquiesced by ordering the Department of Defense to provide the necessary arms; and large volumes of highly relevant, contemporaneously created documents were systematically and willfully withheld from investigators by several Reagan Administration officials.

*Source: Lawrence E. Walsh, "Executive Summary," Final Report of the Independent Counsel of Iran/Contra Matters, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, August 4, 1993)*

## CWW/A 5.9 – Nuclear Fear (Page 1 of 3)

*Directions:* Read the Background and Documents below to learn about the spread of nuclear fear in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Underline what actually happened in the Three Mile Island accident, and circle what people were worried about. Then, write two sentences in which you explain why people across the world would be worried about nuclear power (in the form of weapons and energy) and why they blamed the United States for their fears.

*Background:* At 4:00am on Wednesday March 28, 1979, the nuclear power plant at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania experienced a failure in one of its reactors. The failure resulted in radioactive gases being released into the environment. Over the next week, residents in the surrounding area evacuated their homes for fear that the reactor would meltdown and cause a massive environmental disaster. The events at Three Mile Island became the worst nuclear accident in American history, but we now know that it released only negligible amounts of radiation into the area (about a tenth of the radiation someone would be exposed to during a chest x-ray). Nevertheless, Americans' concern about this accident bolstered an already growing environmental movement around the world. The prior decade, in 1962 Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring* to try to awaken Americans to the dangerous affects of pesticides. Many credit this book with sparking an environmental movement that gained momentum over the next couple of decades. The



President Jimmy Carter leaving [Three Mile Island] for Middletown, Pennsylvania., 04/01/1979; Source: National Archives Identifier: [540021](https://www.archives.gov/research/540021), <http://research.archives.gov/description/540021>



Aerial of Three Mile Island, 04/10/1979;  
Source: National Archives Identifier: [540012](https://www.archives.gov/research/540012),  
<http://research.archives.gov/description/540012>

environmental movement expressed itself in a number of ways: through social and political activism but also through culture. For example, in 1983 ABC aired a television film called "The Day After" that told a fictionalized story of the consequences of nuclear war and contributed to Americans' fear of nuclear war and power. Throughout the 1980s people across the globe advocated for an end to nuclear testing, energy conservation, clean technologies, and changing individuals' consumption activities.

### *Government Report on Three Mile Island Accident:*

At 4:00 a.m. on March 28, 1979, a serious accident occurred at the Three Mile Island 2 nuclear power plant near Middletown, Pennsylvania. The accident was initiated by mechanical malfunctions in the plant and made much worse by a combination of human errors in responding to it. During the next 4 days, the extent and gravity of the accident was unclear

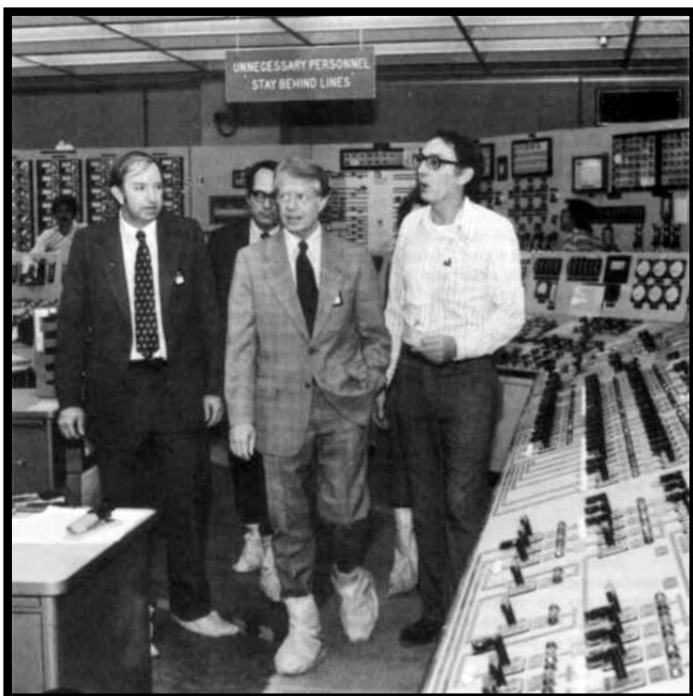


## CWW/A 5.9 – Nuclear Fear (Page 2 of 3)

to the managers of the plant, to federal and state officials, and to the general public. What is quite clear is that its impact, nationally and internationally, has raised serious concerns about the safety of nuclear power.

### Assessment of Significant Effects

4. The accident at Three Mile Island (TMI) occurred as a result of a series of human, institutional, and mechanical failures.
5. Equipment failures initiated the events of March 28 and contributed to the failure of operating



United States. Presidential Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island. *The Need for Change: The Legacy of TMI. Report to the President.* Washington: The Commission, 1979. Print.  
<http://www.threemileisland.org/downloads/188.pdf>

personnel (operators, engineers, and supervisors) to recognize the actual conditions of the plant. Their training was deficient and left them unprepared for the events that took place. These operating personnel made some improper decisions, took some improper actions, and failed to take some correct actions, causing what should have been a minor incident to develop into the TMI-2 accident.

6. The pilot-operated relief valve (PORV) at the top of the pressurizer opened as expected when pressure rose but failed to close when pressure decreased, thereby creating an opening in the primary coolant system -- a small-break loss-of-coolant accident (LOCA).\*/ The PORV indicator light in the control room showed only that the signal had been sent to close the PORV rather than the fact that the PORV remained open. The operators, relying on the indicator light and believing that the PORV had closed, did not heed other indications and were unaware of the PORV failure; the LOCA continued for over 2 hours.

7. The high pressure injection system (HPI) -- a major design safety system -- came on automatically. However, the operators were conditioned to maintain the specified water level in the pressurizer and were concerned that the plant was "going solid," that is, filled with water. Therefore, they cut back HPI from 1,000 gallons per minute to less than 100 gallons per minute.

### Health Effects

8. The maximum estimated radiation dose received by any one individual in the off-site general population (excluding the plant workers) during the accident was 70 millirems. On the basis of present scientific knowledge, the radiation doses received by the general population as a result of exposure to the radioactivity released during the accident were so small that there will be no detectable additional cases of cancer, developmental abnormalities, or genetic ill-health as a consequence of the accident at



## CWW/A 5.9 – Nuclear Fear (Page 3 of 3)

9. TMI.

10. During the period from March 28 to June 30, three TMI workers received radiation doses of about 3 to 4 rems; these levels exceeded the NRC maximum permissible quarterly dose of 3 rems.

Source: United States. Presidential Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island. *The Need for Change: The Legacy of TMI. Report to the President.* Washington: The Commission, 1979. Print.

Full text available at: <http://www.threemileisland.org/downloads/188.pdf>

### *Silent Spring:*

As the tide of chemicals born of the Industrial Age has arisen to engulf our environment, a drastic change has come about in the nature of the most serious public health problems.... Today we are concerned about a different kind of hazard that lurks in our environment – a hazard we ourselves have introduced into our world as our modern way of life has evolved.



Crowd at rally. Anti-nuke rally in Harrisburg [Pennsylvania] at the Capitol, 04/09/1979; Source: National Archives Identifier: 540017, <http://research.archives.gov/description/540017>

The new environmental health problems are multiple – created by radiation in all its forms, born of the never ending stream of chemicals now pervading the world in which we live... no less frightening because it is simply impossible to predict the effects of lifetime exposure to chemical and physical agents that are not part of the biological experience of man.

Source: Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co, 1962): 187-188

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## CWW/A 5.10 – Cracks in the Soviet Union in the 1980s

In the early 1980s, the Soviet Union appeared to be thriving to outside observers. Its nuclear stockpile was larger than the United States, it was building new military bases throughout Africa and the Middle East, and its political clout in parts of the world, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, was at an all-time high.

But appearances were deceiving. The Soviet economy was outperforming the United States in several key industrial areas, but it was doing so at enormous cost – Soviet industries were far less efficient than their American counterparts, a fact that could be attributed to the growing technological gap between the United States and the USSR. Furthermore, the Soviet Union maintained an oppressive hold on political and cultural life within the Eastern Bloc, sparking a great deal of social discontent. To top things off, all of these problems were exacerbated by the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, which was dragging on with no end in sight. Inside the Soviet Union's Iron Curtain, residents in Eastern Europe began to grow restless and vocalize their discontent in ways that had not been allowed in earlier years.

You will be reading and answering questions about four documents that highlight the problems that the USSR faced in the mid-1980s. The first compares the Soviet economy with the American economy. The second is Lech Walesa's 1983 Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, an example of the conflict between the Polish worker union Solidarity and the Soviet Union, a state ostensibly founded in providing for the world's workers. The third piece is an excerpt from a memoir written by a Soviet soldier deployed to Afghanistan. The fourth document is an excerpt from Mikhail Gorbachev's memoirs, addressing the disaster at Chernobyl. In April 1986, the worst environmental accident in world history happened at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, releasing a great deal of radioactive material into the Soviet Union and parts of Europe. The explosion, fire, and release of radiation affected the lives of hundreds of thousands of people (though less than 100 were killed in the immediate explosion), and the area around the nuclear power plant will be contaminated for 24,000 years.

## CWW/A 5.11.1 Cracks within the Soviet Economy (Page 1 of 2)

*Background:* In the 1980s, the Soviet Union was less productive than the United States, which was starting to drag down the Soviet economy and security. It took the Soviets longer than the Americans to process their raw materials and build new structures. For example, whereas it generally took American companies less than two years to build an industrial plant, the Soviets spent ten years constructing the same kind of plant. At the same time the Soviets began to use more resources than the United States (1.8 times more steel, 2.3 times more cement, and 7.6 times more fertilizer). As the decade progressed, the Soviets' inability to keep pace with production made the country increasingly dependent on imported goods, which started to alter the economy in serious and irreversible ways. Document A provides figures that compare American and Soviet economies while Document B is a 1970 piece presented to the Soviet government by leading Soviet scientists and reformers.

*Comparison of USSR and US Economies in 1989:*

	USSR	US
<b>Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in millions \$</b>	2,659,500	5,233,300
<b>Population (July 1990)</b>	290,938,469	250,410,000
<b>GDP per capita</b>	9,211	21,082
<b>Labor force (1989)</b>	152,300,000	125,557,000

*Source: CIA The World Factbook, 1990*

*For more information see: Yegor Gaidar, Collapse of an Empire: Lessons for Modern Russia, 2007 (75)*

*Calls for Reform from Within:*

At the present time, there is an urgent need to carry out a series of measures directed toward the further democratization of our country's public life. This need stems, in particular, from the very close connection between the problem of technological and economic progress and scientific methods of management, on the one hand, and the problems of freedom of information, the open airing of views, and the free clash of ideas, on the other...

Over the past decade, menacing signs of breakdown and stagnation have begun to show themselves in the economy of our country, the roots of which go back to an earlier period and are very deep-seated.... [N]ew means of developing production potential are not being discovered or properly put to use, and technical progress has slowed down abruptly. For these very reasons, the natural wealth of the country is often destroyed with impunity and without any supervision or controls: forests are leveled, reservoirs polluted, valuable agricultural land flooded, soil eroded or salinized, and so on... The population's real income in recent

## CWW/A 5.11.1 Cracks within the Soviet Economy (Page 2 of 2)

years has hardly grown at all; food supply and medical and consumer services are improving very slowly, and with unevenness between regions. The number of goods in short supply continues to grow. There are clear signs of inflation.

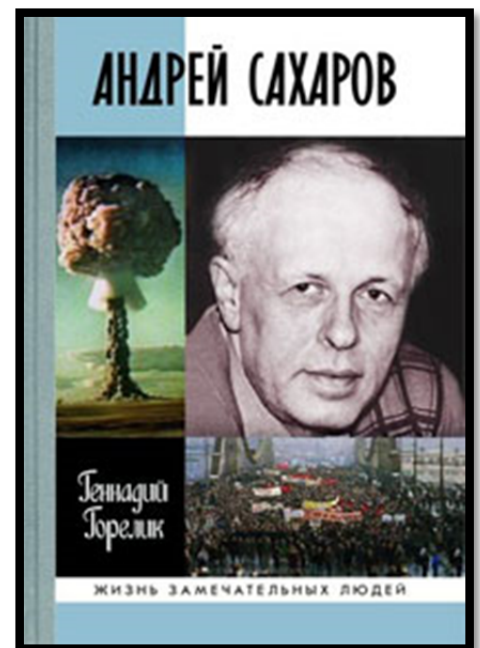
Of particular concern regarding our country's future is the lag in the development of education: our total expenditures for education in all forms are three times below what they are in the United States, and are rising at a slower rate. Alcoholism is growing in a tragic way, and drug addiction is beginning to surface. In many regions of the country, the crime rate is climbing systematically....

In comparing our economy with that of the United States, we see that ours lags behind not only in quantitative but also – most regrettable of all – in qualitative terms. The newer and more revolutionary aspect of the economy may be, the wider the gap between the USSR and the USA. We outstrip America in coal production, but we lag behind in the output of oil, gas, and electric power; we lag behind tenfold in the field of chemistry, and we are infinitely outstripped in computer technology.

Source: Andrei Skharov, Roy Medvedev, and Valentin Turchin, "A Reformist Program for Democratization," in Stephen F. Cohen ed., *An End to Silence: Uncensored Opinion in the Soviet Union* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984): 317-319

### Questions:

1. Based on the chart and document above, what was the relationship between production and population in the Soviet Union and USSR? And what were the consequences of this relationship?
2. Based on the documents above, why was the Soviet Union falling behind the United States?



Book Cover of Andrei Skharov, *Science and Freedom* (Moscow: Gennady Gorelik Publishers, 2010)



## CWW/A 5.11.2 Cracks in Soviet Political Freedom (Page 1 of 2)

*Background:* In 1983 Lech Walesa founded an independent trade union called Solidarity in Poland, part of the Soviet Bloc. The mere fact that a trade union formed inside the Soviet Bloc was troubling for the government. A primary goal of the Soviet Union was to serve the needs of workers, which should have made labor unions unnecessary. But when this union formed (and when its founder received the Nobel Peace Prize), it signaled to the rest of the world that workers were dissatisfied in the Soviet Union.

*Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech by Lech Walesa:*

Your Majesty, Honourable Representatives of the Norwegian people,

You are aware of the reasons why I could not come to your Capital city and receive personally this distinguished prize. On that solemn day my place is among those with whom I have grown and to whom I belong – the workers of Gdansk.

Let my words convey to you the joy and the never extinguished hope of the millions of my brothers - the millions of working people in factories and offices, associated in the union whose very name expresses one of the noblest aspirations of humanity. Today all of them, like myself, feel greatly honoured by the prize.

With deep sorrow I think of those who paid with their lives for the loyalty to "Solidarity"; of those who are behind prison bars and who are victims of repressions. I think of all those with whom I have travelled the same road and with whom I shared the trials and tribulations of our time....

We are fighting for the right of the working people to association and for the dignity of human labour. We respect the dignity and the rights of every man and every nation. The path to a brighter future of the world leads through honest reconciliation of the conflicting interests and not through hatred and bloodshed. To follow that path means to enhance the moral power of the all-embracing idea of human solidarity.

I feel happy and proud that over the past few years this idea has been so closely connected with the name of my homeland.

*Source:* Lech Walesa, 1983 Noble Prize Acceptance Speech (read by Mrs. Danuata Walesa), December 10, 1983. Available online at [http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1983/walesa-acceptance.html](http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1983/walesa-acceptance.html).



*President Bush meets privately with Solidarity Leader Lech Walesa of Poland in the residence, 11/14/1989*  
<http://research.archives.gov/description/186403>



## CWW/A 5.11.2 Cracks in Soviet Political Freedom (Page 2 of 2)

Questions:

1. Who does Walesa say he is representing?
2. What does Walesa say the key problems are for working people?
3. What do you think he is advocating?

## CWW/A 5.11.3 Cracks in Soviet Foreign Policy (Page 1 of 1)

*Background:* Vladimir Tamarov was a Soviet soldier who was sent to Afghanistan in the 1970s. In 1992 he wrote a memoir that explained the costs involved in being engaged in that war. He also reflected on how he felt about the challenges and the effect of the war on the Soviet Union.

*Document:* It had a rather banal beginning. In December 1979 Soviet troops entered Afghanistan. This wasn't anything unusual; our troops were already in East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary; sometimes they dropped in on Africa, and even briefly on Egypt. So one country more or one country less – it didn't make much difference.



Soldiers ride aboard a Soviet BMD airborne combat vehicle, 03/25/1986, National Archives, <http://research.archives.gov/description/6399442>

It's only now, after the Soviet government has officially declared *it was a mistake to bring Soviet troops into Afghanistan*, only now that the Soviet press has started to say, *it was a mistake to bring Soviet troops into Afghanistan....*

The war divided the Afghan people. Some were with us, and others were against us. On our side was the Afghan government, which had come to power in April 1978 (not without our help), and the Afghan Republican Army....

Frankly, they were lousy soldiers. They tried to stay behind us and were never in a hurry to overtake us. There was nothing surprising about this: many of them, like many of us, were not in this war of their own free will. We had nothing to lose but our lives, but they were fighting their *own* people on their *own* land. Our newspaper depicted them as brave and valiant warriors defending their revolution. There were some volunteers who fought on our side to avenge the deaths of their families... [B]ut the question was, What were we doing there? And why were there more and more unmarked graves in *our* cemeteries?

*Source: Vladimir Tamarov, excerpt from Afghanistan: Soviet Vietnam. Republished in The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 567-568.*

### Questions

1. According to Vladimir Tamarov, how did the Soviet Union initially feel about intervening in Afghanistan?
2. Why do you think Tamarov begins to question Soviet intervention?

## CWW/A 5.11.4 Cracks in the Soviet Environment (Page 1 of 2)

*Background:* In April 1986, the worst environmental accident in world history happened at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in Ukraine, releasing a great deal of radioactive material into the Soviet Union and parts of Europe. The explosion, fire, and release of radiation affected the lives of hundreds of thousands of people (though less than 100 were killed in the immediate explosion), and the area around the nuclear power plant will be contaminated for 24,000 years. Below is Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's explanation of the effect of the disaster.

### *Gorbachev Explains the Accident:*

The accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant was graphic evidence, not only of how obsolete our technology was, but also of the failure of the old system. At the same time, and such is the irony of history, it severely affected our reforms by literally knocking the country off its tracks....

It is necessary to say with all honesty that in the first days we just did not have a clear understanding that what had happened was not just a national catastrophe, but one that affected the whole world... If something was not done in a timely manner, it was mainly because of a lack of information. Neither the politicians, nor even the scientists and specialists, were prepared to fully grasp what had happened.



*A high-altitude view of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident site, 01/01/1987; Source: National Archives Identifier: [6412382](http://research.archives.gov/description/6412382), <http://research.archives.gov/description/6412382>*

The closed nature and secrecy of the nuclear power industry, which was burdened by bureaucracy and monopolism in science, had an extremely bad effect. I spoke of this at a meeting of the Politburo on 3 July 1986: 'For thirty years you scientists, specialists, and ministers have been telling us everything was safe. And you think we will look on you as gods. But now we have ended up with a fiasco. The ministers and scientific centres have been working outside of any controls. Throughout the entire system there has reigned a spirit of servility [submissiveness], fawning [too much praise], clannishness [exclusivity] and persecution of independent thinkers....

Chernobyl shed light on many of the sicknesses of our system as a whole. Everything that had built up over the years converged in this drama: the concealing or hushing up of accidents and other bad news, irresponsibility and carelessness, slipshod [sloppy and unkempt] work, wholesale drunkenness. This was one more convincing argument in favor of radical reforms.

*Source: Mikhail Gorbachev, excerpt from Memoirs. Republished in The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 578-580.*

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## CWW/A 5.11.4 Cracks in the Soviet Environment (Page 2 of 2)

### Questions:

1. In the document above, underline every place where Gorbachev explains what the accident revealed about the Soviet system. Second, in your own words, write one sentence that explains what the accident showed about underlying Soviet problems?
2. What do you think Gorbachev meant when he wrote about the bad effects of “bureaucracy and monopolism in science?”

## CWW/A 5.12 – Diplomacy and Reform (Page 1 of 3)

*Background:* Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union in 1985. To the surprise of most Soviets, Americans, and international observers, Gorbachev soon became one of the leaders that hastened the end of the Soviet Union. In part Gorbachev's personal background contributed to his decisions to reform his country. He belonged to a younger generation of communist leaders that realized as early as the late 1960s that the Stalinist model of government was not working effectively. He was aware of the country's cracks and vulnerabilities (many of which you read about earlier in this lesson) and he decided to act in unprecedented ways. When Gorbachev took office he instituted a number of new initiatives including *glasnost* (or openness), which dismantled many of the repressive components of Soviet life, and *perestroika* (or reform), which was an attempt to restructure the Soviet economy by introducing certain parts of capitalism like private ownership of property. He also transformed foreign policy by lessening Soviet control of Eastern Europe and by setting up number of meetings with President Reagan. Ronald Reagan's personal background also contributed to his willingness to establish stronger diplomatic ties with the Soviet leader. While Reagan had strong anti-communist roots that stretched back to the earliest months of the Cold War, in his second term in office he decided to alter his aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union. Starting in 1986 the two leaders proposed reducing the nuclear arsenals of both the United States and Soviet Union. The Documents below illustrate how the leaders conducted diplomacy.

### *Reagan's Address to a Joint Session of Congress after the Geneva Summit (Nov. 21, 1985)*



*President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev meet in the boathouse during the Geneva Summit in Switzerland, 11/19/85. Reagan Presidential Library, FC31982-11.*

I welcomed the chance to tell Mr. Gorbachev that we are a nation that defends, rather than attacks; that our alliances are defensive, not offensive. We don't seek nuclear superiority. We do not seek a first strike advantage over the Soviet Union. Indeed, one of my fundamental arms control objectives is to get rid of first-strike weapons altogether. This is why we've proposed a 50-percent reduction in the most threatening nuclear weapons, especially those that could carry out a first strike. [...]

All of these steps are part of a long-term effort to build a more stable relationship with the Soviet Union. No one ever said it could be easy, but we've come a long way. As for Soviet

expansionism in a number of regions of the world—while there is little chance of immediate change, we will continue to support the heroic efforts of those who fight for freedom. But we have also agreed to continue, and to intensify, our meetings with the Soviets on this and other regional conflicts and to work toward political solutions.

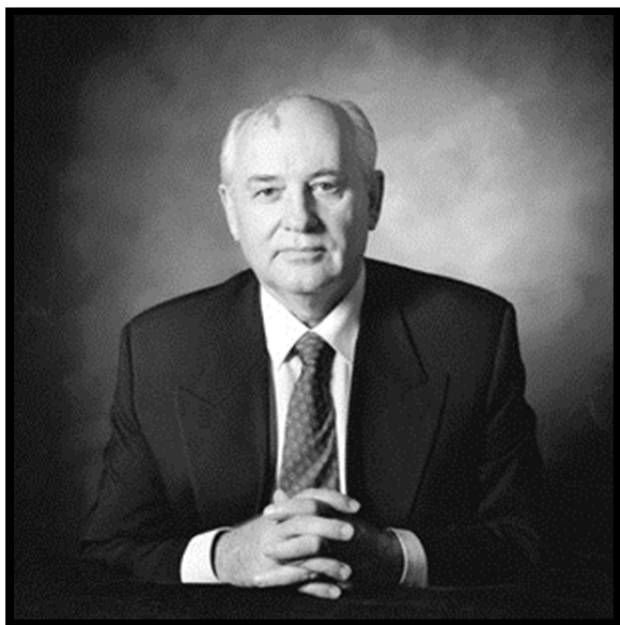
Source: <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1985/112185c.htm>



## CWW/A 5.12 – Diplomacy and Reform (Page 2 of 3)

*Arms Race Adds Pressure: Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev (1986):*

*Editor's Note: Anatoly Chernyaev was a foreign policy adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev and kept a detailed diary. Below he recalled Gorbachev's willingness to make agreements to cut back on nuclear weapons.*



Photograph of Gorbachev, The Markkula Center for Applied Ethics, Santa Clara University  
<http://www.scu.edu/ethics/architects-of-peace/Gorbachev/essay.html>

January 18th, 1986.

It seems he [Gorbachev] really decided to end the arms race at all costs. He is going for that very "risk," in which he has boldly recognized the absence of risk, because no one will attack us even if we disarm totally. And in order to revive the country and set it on a steady track, it is necessary to free it from the burden of the arms race, which is depleting more than just economics. My God! How lucky we are that in the PB there was a man—Andropov—who showed some truly "authoritative" wisdom, who discovered Gorbachev and pulled him out of the provinces!

... we've got a rare leader: a very smart man, educated, "alive," honest, with ideas and imagination. And he is brave. Myths and taboos (including ideological prejudices) are nothing to him. He will get over any kind of those.

Source:

[http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB220/Chernyaev\\_1986.pdf](http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB220/Chernyaev_1986.pdf)

*American and Soviet Remarks at the Signing of the INF Treaty (Dec. 8, 1987)*

*Editor's Note: In 1987, President Reagan met with Gorbachev at the White House to put the final touches on an Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty. Leading to the destruction of 1,846 Soviet nuclear weapons and 846 U.S. weapons over three years, the treaty marked the first time that an entire class of nuclear weapons had been eliminated.*

**President Ronald Reagan:** The numbers alone demonstrate the value of this agreement. On the Soviet side, over 1,500 deployed warheads will be removed, and all ground-launched intermediate-range missiles, including the SS-20's, will be destroyed. On our side, our entire complement of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles, with some 400 deployed warheads, will all be destroyed. Additional backup missiles on both sides will also be destroyed.

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**CWW/A 5.12 – Diplomacy and Reform (Page 3 of 3)**

But the importance of this treaty transcends numbers. We have listened to the wisdom in an old Russian maxim. And I'm sure you're familiar with it, Mr. General Secretary, though my pronunciation may give you difficulty. The maxim is:

Dovorey no provorey—  
trust, but verify.

**General Secretary  
Mikhail Gorbachev:**

We can be proud of planting this sapling, which may one day grow into a mighty tree of peace. But it is probably still too early to bestow laurels upon each other. As the great American poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson said: "The reward of a thing well done is to have done it."



So, let us reward ourselves by getting down to business. We have covered a 7-year-long road, replete with intense work and debate. One last step towards this table, and the treaty will be signed.

*President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev at the Hofdi House in Reykjavik, Iceland during the Reykjavik Summit. 10/11/86. Reagan Presidential Library, C37401-8A.*

May December 8, 1987, become a date that will be inscribed in the history books, a date that will mark the watershed separating the era of a mounting risk of nuclear war from the era of a demilitarization of human life.

Source: <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/5866>

## CWW/A 5.13 – Diplomacy and the 1980s

Document Information (date, author, brief description)	Explain the development	How does this change the relationship between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world?	How does this contribute to the end of the Cold War?
<b>Document A</b>			
<b>Document B</b>			
<b>Document C</b>			

## CWW/A 5.14 – China’s Different Path (Page 1 of 3)

### *Background:*

While during the 1980s the Communist hold on much of Europe seemed to be loosening, the second-most powerful Communist nation, China, was not following in the footsteps of the Soviet Union. As the Soviet Union started to open itself politically and economically, the Chinese government did not try to reform itself in similar ways. China took an alternative approach of trying to open its economic system, but still maintain the Communist Party’s dominance in the government and daily life. After President Richard Nixon’s famed 1972 visit to China, diplomatic and economic ties between the two countries grew much stronger. But the fact that China changed its economy and international standing in the world did not affect its Communist policies for most of its citizens at home.



*Chinese Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping leaves the White House, Washington, D.C. Source: Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.09798>*

### *Economic Transformations:*

In the 1980s the Chinese Government was controlled by the Communist Party, which was led by Deng Xiaoping. During this decade the government began a program of economic reforms. In several ways, these reforms abandoned the communist economic model and switched to capitalist incentives. For example, they broke up many of the communes and allowed each farming household to make its own decisions and sell its produce in the market. Another reform gave factory owners authority to decide what goods they would make. Factories that did not make a profit were closed. In addition, the Chinese government set up foreign enterprise zones where foreign companies could build factories to take advantage of cheap Chinese labor. These changes had a very significant impact on the Chinese economy. China’s economy grew at the amazingly high rate of 10 percent for the next twenty years. By the mid-1990s China’s economy’s private sector was as large as its public sector. Its share of the world’s GDP (gross domestic product) rose from 5 percent to 12 percent, as China became the most powerful economy in Asia in the 2000s.

### *Political Challenges:*

While China’s Communist leaders abandoned the communist economic model and opened China’s doors to western capitalism, they did not let go of the one-party system or their authoritarian control over the population. China’s government continued to censor news, movies, internet sites and other media to prevent criticism or dissident views. In 1989, when Chinese students protested for democracy in Tiananmen Square, the government ordered the army to repress the demonstrations. Thousands of Chinese students were killed, and many more were jailed. Into the 2010s, China’s government still refused to relax its hold over political power.



## CWW/A 5.14 – China's Different Path (Page 2 of 3)

*Deng Xiaoping's Remarks to the Central Committee, Feb. 24, 1984*

I have invited you here today to discuss the best ways of running the special economic zone and the question of opening more cities to the outside world.

In establishing special economic zones and implementing an open policy, we must make it clear that our guideline is just that – to open and not to close.

I was impressed by the prosperity of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone during my stay there. The pace of construction there is rapid. It doesn't take long to erect a tall building: the workers complete a story in a couple of days. The construction workers are often from inland cities. Their high efficiency is due to the contracted responsibility system, under which they are paid according to their performance, and to a fair system of rewards and penalties.... Their slogan is 'Time is money, efficiency is life.'

A special economic zone is a medium for introducing technology, management and knowledge. It is also a window for our foreign policy. Through the special economic zones we can import foreign technology, obtain knowledge and learn management, which is also a kind of knowledge. At the base for our open policy, these zones will not only benefit our economy and train people but enhance our nation's influence in the world....

Source: [http://archive.org/stream/SelectedWorksOfDengXiaopingVol.3/Deng03\\_djvu.txt](http://archive.org/stream/SelectedWorksOfDengXiaopingVol.3/Deng03_djvu.txt)

*U.S. State Department Summary, June 5, 1989*

Yesterday and this morning troops continued to fire indiscriminately at citizens in the area near Tiananmen Square. Citizens tried to block streets and burned armored vehicles and army trucks. Hundreds of military vehicles including at least 34 tanks and numerous armored personnel carriers have been destroyed over the last two days, according [excised] and press reports. Secured a university campus where students had captured an armored personnel carrier, and issued a warning that executions of students will begin tonight according to [excised].

Units are poised outside of several other colleges, and the military said troops will move against the campuses if resistance does not cease. Some students have seized weapons and have vowed to resist. Non-violent protests have occurred in half a dozen other cities; [excised] press have reported that 1,000 soldiers and police were killed or wounded and that some civilians were killed. Foreign estimates range from hundreds to as many of 2,600 civilians killed and thousands injured. But the severity of the assault on Tiananmen Square is clear.



*Jimmy Carter and Deng Xiaoping, 01/31/1979,  
Source: National Archives ID# 183256*



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## CWW/A 5.14 – China’s Different Path (Page 3 of 3)

Troops shot indiscriminately into crowds of unarmed civilians, including women and children, often with automatic weapons. In one case, students attempting to parlay with troops were gunned down.

Foreign journalists report seeing fleeing protestors shot in the back. Enraged protesters burned personnel carriers and killed some security personnel.

Source: U.S. State Department Bureau of Intelligence, “Secretary’s Summary for June 5, 1989.”

<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB16/docs/doc19.pdf>

### Questions:

1. Who are the people involved in the event discussed above?
3. What actions did the students take?
4. What actions did the soldiers/government take?
5. What type of relationship can you infer that the citizens and military had?
6. Why do you think the military responded the way it did?
7. Summarize what Xiaoping says special economic zones will do.
8. How does this approach differ from previous economic policies?
9. Based on the above information, write two sentences that explains how the developments in China connect to the broader Cold War struggles of the 1980s.

## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 1 of 6)

### Directions:

Your job is to imagine that you were part of a family living in East Germany in 1989. That year for the first time since the early Cold War, East German citizens could begin to travel freely to the west. Each member of your group will become a member of this family (see below for the list of characters).

As a family, you have been watching and witnessing the remarkable developments of the past ten years. You have watched as the Soviet military became stretched in Afghanistan, you have waited in line for food and supplies as staple products have been harder to get, and you have witnessed the emergence of Solidarity and other calls for political openness.

But you have also watched as China crushed political dissidents and the Soviet Union seemed obstinate about changing the Communist system. Moreover, for nearly your entire life you have lived in a country in which secret police could arrest and seriously punish you if you spoke openly about politics, especially about politics that advocated reform or criticized the ruling Communist Party. Finally, you have lived through or learned about the division of Germany, the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, and Prague Spring. After decades of this kind of control over free speech, you would be very wary of supporting any kind of protest movement or call for democracy.



*East German refugees line up at a bank to receive an allotment of 100 Deutschmarks from the West German government following their arrival in the country, 11/14/1989, Source: National Archive ID# 6460176*

### Steps:

1. Your first task is to decide which East German family member you will become (see below for options).
2. Next, your job is to read the background information and the two primary sources about the end of the Cold War. But as you go through this section, try to read it as though your character would understand it; adopt his/her perspective. Imagine how your character would react to each of the developments you read about.
3. After you have familiarized yourself with the context, come back together as a family and start to discuss your responses. The purpose of discussing your responses is because you as a family have to decide whether to leave East Germany in 1989 now that the opportunity is there.
4. To arrive at your decision, do the activities on the next page and complete the questions.

## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 2 of 6)

### Family Members:

<b>Grandfather</b>	<p>74-year-old man who worked in a steel factory for 35 years</p> <p>He lives in East Berlin with his wife (to whom he's been married for 55 years), his daughter, and her family</p>
<b>Grandmother</b>	<p>71-year-old woman who bore 4 children (she lives with her daughter now), and worked in a communal daycare center for 25 years</p>
<b>Father</b>	<p>51-year-old man who works as a mid-level bureaucrat for government farm cooperatives</p> <p>He lives in East Berlin with his wife, his in-laws, his sister, and his children</p>
<b>Mother</b>	<p>50-year-old woman who works in a butcher shop</p> <p>She lives in East Berlin with her husband, her parents, her sister-in-law, and her children</p>
<b>Aunt</b>	<p>47-year-old woman who does not have a job</p> <p>4 years ago her husband died and she decided she did not want to live alone and could not work</p>
<b>23-year-old son</b>	<p>Lives at home with his parents and recently graduated from the local university</p> <p>At the university, he worked on the school newspaper and discovered a love of journalism</p>
<b>16-year-old daughter</b>	<p>High-school student who lives with her family in East Berlin</p> <p>She studies hard, gets good grades, loves Michael Jackson music, and looks forward to studying abroad someday</p>
<b>6-year-old twin sons</b>	<p>Boys live with their parents, older sister and brother</p> <p>They attend their local kindergarten all day where they love to play with blocks and sing songs. They have learned to read</p>

## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 3 of 6)

### *Background Information - Changes in the Soviet Union:*

In the late 1980s the Soviet Union and its satellite states began to crumble. Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms were unable to save the Soviet Union – and in fact, some historians argue that the reforms actually made the USSR fall apart more quickly. Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost*, or social and cultural openness, allowed Soviet citizens to begin vocalizing their complaints with the Communist system. This, combined with *perestroika*, Gorbachev's program of economic, political, and social restructuring, became the unintended catalyst for dismantling the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union's satellite states in Eastern Europe began to agitate for independence, Gorbachev broke from the past by making it clear that the USSR would not use its military might to prevent their withdrawal from the Soviet sphere.

### *The opening of satellite states:*

The world watched in disbelief but with growing admiration as Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan, democratic governments overturned Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, Germany was reunited, the Warsaw Pact withered away, and the Cold War came to an abrupt end. In 1989 every communist state in Europe – Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany, Yugoslavia, and Albania – abandoned their communist governments. By November, the East German government announced that its citizens could travel freely between East and West Berlin, which inspired East Berlin residents to begin scaling, then chipping, and finally tearing down the Berlin Wall that had separated the two regions of the city and world for decades. The Berlin Wall was entirely destroyed by 1990. With varying degrees of violence and democracy, these Eastern European nations decided – and were allowed by the Soviets – that Communism no longer best served the needs of their citizens.



An East German policeman looks at the West German side of the Berlin Wall, at the newly created opening at Potsdamer Platz, 11/14/1989. National Archive ID #6460121

### *Responses to openness:*

In the Soviet Union itself, however, reactions to the new policies were mixed. Reform policies changed the structures of the economy, politics, and society. Newfound freedoms of assembly, speech, and religion, the right to strike, and multicandidate elections undermined not only the Soviet Union's authoritarian structures, but also the familiar sense of order and predictability. Long-suppressed, bitter inter-ethnic, economic, and social grievances led to clashes, strikes, and growing crime rates. For a time in the 1980s and 1990s, lines got longer for scarce goods in the stores, civic unrest mounted, and bloody crackdowns claimed lives, particularly in the restive nationalist populations of the outlying Caucasus and Baltic states.

### *Dissolution of the Soviet Union:*

But in 1991, the Soviet Union itself began to disintegrate. The Communist Party and Soviet government had become seriously weakened and lost credibility among its member states. Some of the republics – or regions –

## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 4 of 6)

of the Soviet Union declared their independence and the Soviet government could not stop this fragmentation. Gorbachev resigned as leader of the Communist Party and Soviet Government, and the Soviet Union was no longer a country; the former Soviet Union dissolved into 15 separate nations. In June, 1991, Boris Yeltsin, one of Gorbachev's political opponents, became the first popularly elected president of Russia, the largest of the new nations. Under his leadership, Russia embarked on even more far-reaching reforms as the Soviet Union broke up into its constituent republics.

For more information visit the Library of Congress Exhibit on the Soviet Union: <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/pere.html>

*Vaclav Havel, Speech to the Nation, January 1, 1990, Czechoslovakia:*

*Editor's Note: Vaclav Havel was the president of Czechoslovakia during the years of transition when the country went from being part of the Soviet Bloc to its own independent country. He was an extremely popular leader and went on to be awarded numerous prizes, including the American Presidential Medal of Freedom.*

My dear fellow citizens, for forty years you heard from my predecessors on this day different variations on the same theme: how our country was flourishing, how many million tons of steel we produced, how happy we all were, how we trusted our government, and what bright perspectives were unfolding in front of us.

I assume you did not propose me for this office so that I, too, would lie to you. 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, while we are lacking the things we need. A state which calls itself a workers' state humiliates and exploits workers. Our obsolete economy is wasting the little energy we have available. A country that once could be proud of the educational level of its citizens spends so little on education that it ranks today as seventy-second in the world. We have polluted the soil, rivers and forests bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and we have today the most contaminated environment in Europe. Adults in our country die earlier than in most other European countries....

The previous regime - armed with its arrogant and intolerant ideology - reduced man to a force of production, and nature to a tool of production. In this it attacked both their very substance and their mutual relationship. It reduced gifted and autonomous people, skillfully working in their own country, to the nuts and bolts of some monstrously huge, noisy and stinking machine, whose real meaning was not clear to anyone. It could not do more than slowly but inexorably wear out itself and all its nuts and bolts....

...We cannot blame the previous rulers for everything, not only because it would be untrue, but also because it



Photograph of Vaclav Havel,  
[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:V%C3%A1clav\\_Havel.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:V%C3%A1clav_Havel.jpg)



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## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 5 of 6)

would blunt the duty that each of us faces today: namely, the obligation to act independently, freely, reasonably and quickly...Freedom and democracy include participation and therefore responsibility from us all.

Source: Vaclav Havel, "Speech to the Nation," January 1, 1990. Available online at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/111>.

*Mikhail Gorbachev's Nationally Televised Farewell Address, December 25, 1991*

...Fate had decided that, when I became head of state, it was already obvious that there was something wrong in this country. We had plenty of everything: land, oil, gas, and other natural resources, and God has also endowed us with intellect and talent – yet we lived much worse than people in other industrialized countries and the gap was constantly widening.

The reason was apparent even then – our society was stifled in the grip of a bureaucratic command system. Doomed to serve ideology and bear the heavy burden of the arms race, it was strained to the utmost.

All attempts at implementing half-hearted reforms – and there have been many – failed, one after the other. The country was losing hope. We could not go on living like this. We had to change everything radically...

The process of renovating this country and bringing about fundamental changes in the international community proved to be much more complex than originally anticipated....

I leave my post with concern – but also with hope, with faith in you, your wisdom and spiritual strength. We are the heirs of a great civilization, and its revival and transformation to a modern and dignified life depend on all and everyone.

*Mikhail Gorbachev, Nationally Televised Farewell Address to the Soviet Citizens, December 25, 1991, from Kevin Hillstrom, ed., The Cold War (Detroit: Omnigraphics, 2006), 462-465.*

### *The Decision:*

Now that you have read about the extraordinary developments of the late 1980s and 1990s think through how your character would perceive these addresses from their leaders and the broader changes. First you must go through each of the events below and explain whether at that point your character would decide to flee. Be sure to consider your character's individual perspective and the long history of the Soviet Bloc. Also remember to imagine all that the individual the family risked in deciding to migrate. After you finish your personal decision chart and reflection, as a family you must begin to discuss and decide upon whether and when the family should move. Each member of the family should be prepared to defend his/her decision (in character), and explain how the family responded to the breakdown of the Soviet Union.

## CWW/A 5.16 – East German Family Activity (Page 6 of 6)

*Directions: At each development explain whether your character would decide to leave East Germany. Be sure to provide an explanation for each decision in the right-hand column.*

Development	Leave or stay in East Germany?	Explain your decision
Glasnost and Perestroika (economic and political restructuring)		
Solidarity forms in Poland (1980 non-Communist Trade Union) and it is not crushed		
Czechoslovakia opens its borders, fall 1989 and people can move freely between east and west Germany		
November, 1989 Protests in the streets of Germany calling for the Berlin Wall to be torn down		

### *The Presentation:*

Now that the family unit has arrived at a decision about whether and when to migrate, each person in the group has to orally defend the family's choice. Each family member has one minute and one point to argue to convince the other families around (ie the other groups in the class) why their choice is the most appropriate. Each family member must speak on one point (whether it's defending when or when not to leave) for one minute and all of the members must be in agreement about the ultimate decision to leave. As each member is presenting, remember to stay in character and stay a part of your family.

## CWW/A 5.19 – Legacy of the Cold War (Page 1 of 3)

### Directions:

Read the Secondary Source about the Legacy of the Cold War, then read President George H.W. Bush's 1992 State of the Union Address, and complete the "Legacy of the Cold War Cause and Effect Chart." Make sure you're specific with explaining short and long-term effects and its historical significance.

### Secondary Source:

After the Berlin Wall came down, the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Cold War came to a surprising end, its effects rippling across the globe. After all, the dividing lines of the Cold War, the proxy wars, and hot spots that characterized world dynamics for the past 40 years had just abruptly ended. The collapse of Soviet-style Communism and the Soviet Bloc had many far-reaching effects that helped to shape the last decade of the twentieth century and many decades beyond. For one, the collapse of the Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe created serious ethnic tensions in the 1990s. The breakup of Yugoslavia (a former Soviet state) led to a series of extremely deadly and drawn-out ethnic wars in the 1990s. At different points over that decade, various ethnic groups including Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, Albanians, and Macedonians fought and struggled to claim former Soviet territory as their own. Hundreds of thousands of people died, many more were displaced and fled as war refugees, and for the better part of a decade each nation's economy was severely stunted. The United Nations (including the US military) intervened in some of the conflicts; with the absence of the Soviet Union as a leading nation that could help negotiate an end to conflicts, it meant that the United States was the only real superpower remaining. And in the wars in eastern Europe and elsewhere in the 1990s the US took on a new role as arbiter of peace – and began to play an even more dominant role in worldwide organizations like the UN, the World Bank, and the IMF. Into the 2000s as former Soviet States and Eastern Bloc nations began to recover from their conflicts and emerge as new nation-states, some of the nations began to adopt elements of western-style democracy. For example, the Czech Republic and Croatia started to ally themselves politically with many western European democracies.

A second effect of the end of the Cold War was felt in South Asia. As you learned earlier in this lesson, the Soviet war in Afghanistan caused a serious strain on Soviet resources, causing Gorbachev to withdraw Soviet troops in 1989. In part the Soviet war in Afghanistan dragged on as long as it did because the Afghanis fighting against the Soviets, or groups of people that identified as the mujahideen, were supported and trained by the American military (because after all these Afghanis were fighting the Soviet Communists). However, many of these American-supported Afghanis who fought against the Soviets radicalized in the 1990s and turned their attention toward a new enemy. In the early 1990s after the Soviets had withdrawn, the mujahideen splintered and started feuding with one another. One of the splinter groups of the mujahideen



German newspaper B.Z. announcing fall of Berlin Wall, November 10, 1989, Source:

<http://diplomacy.state.gov/berlinwall/www/archiv e/IMG048.html>

## CWW/A 5.19 – Legacy of the Cold War (Page 2 of 3)

that took control of Kabul, Afghanistan was the Taliban, an extremist group that was very critical of outside influences in the country.

A key leader of the Taliban – a former ally of the Americans who fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan – was Osama bin Laden who in a 1998 interview said this: “We believe that the biggest thief in the world and the terrorists are the Americans. The only way for us to fend off these assaults is to use similar means. We do not worry about American opinion or the fact that they place prices on our heads. We as Muslims believe our fate is set.” With this as the context, bin Laden became a mastermind behind many worldwide attacks of Americans and other western powers starting in the late 1990s, including the September 11, 2001 attacks in New York, Washington DC, and Pennsylvania.



*McDonald's delivery in South Korea, Source: Wikipedia.org*

A third effect of the end of the Cold War was felt in the economic and geo-political make up of the world. The fall of Soviet-style Communism meant that American capitalism could spread in new places and in new ways un-tethered from communist threats. In the 1990s capitalist markets opened up, and globalization – or the freer and faster movement of resources, people, and capital – became a dominant principle that organized the world. On the ground globalization meant that companies – often American-born companies like McDonalds, Nike, and the Gap – became transnational and started to operate in countries on every continent on earth. American products – everything from blue jeans to big macs to iPhones – became much more accessible to people all across the world. But it also meant that companies

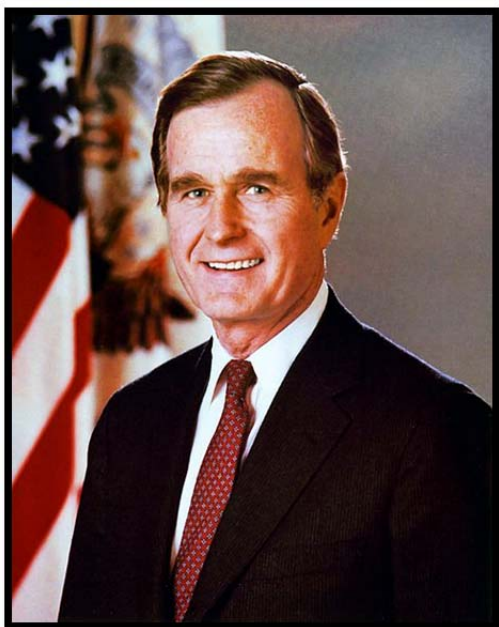
grew larger than ever before since they operated outside the bounds of any one nation. Shell Oil, for example, one of the largest and richest companies in the world (which was originally a Dutch company but became transnational) grew more powerful than many of the countries in which it operated – especially countries in West Africa like Nigeria, Algeria, and Gabon. Because of the increasing power and control of these transnational companies, nations and people across the world became increasingly concerned that companies would not necessarily protect or advocate for the people in the nation or those who consumed their products. Critics of globalization emerged across continents and expressed concern that the benefits of globalization did not spread evenly. In other words, the freer and faster movement of people, ideas, and resources ultimately meant that some companies, nations, and people became very rich and powerful and others became poorer and less powerful than ever before.

With the fall of Soviet Communism and the ascendance of American capitalism, global markets, politics, culture, and world affairs were permanently transformed. Historians, economists, politicians, and students still debate the effects of the Cold War, which shows how its legacy continues.



## CWW/A 5.19 – Legacy of the Cold War (Page 3 of 3)

*President George H.W. Bush's 1992 State of the Union Address, January 28, 1992.*



Portrait of President George H.W. Bush,  
Source: Library of Congress  
<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3g01700/>

...communism died this year...By the grace of God, America won the Cold War.

I mean to speak this evening of the changes that can take place in our country, now that we can stop making the sacrifices we had to make when we had an avowed enemy that was a superpower. Now we can look homeward even more and move to set right what needs to be set right.

...So now, for the first time in 35 years, our strategic bombers stand down. No longer are they on 'round-the-clock alert. Tomorrow our children will go to school and study history and how plants grow. And they won't have, as my children did, air raid drills in which they crawl under their desks and cover their heads in case of nuclear war. My grandchildren don't have to do that and won't have the bad dreams children had once, in decades past. There are still threats. But the long, drawn-out dread is over.

A year ago tonight, I spoke to you at a moment of high peril. American forces had just unleashed Operation Desert Storm. And after 40 days in the desert skies and four days on the ground, the men and women of America's armed forces and our allies accomplished the goals that I declared and that you endorsed: We liberated Kuwait. Soon after, the Arab world and Israel sat down to talk seriously and comprehensively about peace, an historic first. And soon after that, at Christmas, the last American hostages came home. Our policies were vindicated.

Much good can come from the prudent use of power. And much good can come of this: A world once divided into two armed camps now recognizes one sole and preeminent power, the United States of America. And they regard this with no dread. For the world trusts us with power, and the world is right. They trust us to be fair and restrained. They trust us to be on the side of decency. They trust us to do what's right.

George Bush, 1992 State of the Union Address, January 28, 1992. Available online at <http://www.c-spanvideo.org/program/23999-1>. Transcript available online at <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/detail/5531>.

## CWW/A 5.20 – Causes and Effects of the End of the Cold War

*Directions: Using your notes and all of your handouts from this unit, write bullets in each column to summarize the factors that led to the end of the Cold War (causes), the short term effects (five years or less), and the long term effects (more than five years).*

