



**Big Era Nine
Paradoxes of Global Acceleration
1945 to the Present**



**Closeup Teaching Unit 9.2.7
Revolutions in 1989-1990:
The Collapse of the Soviet Union And Its Consequences**

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Why this unit?

The series of revolutions that led to changes all across Europe started in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s. These movements affected not only the Soviet Union itself but also the states that it controlled in Eastern Europe. In the aftermath of these revolutions, many European leaders worked together for greater cooperation, though others contended over unresolved ethnic, national, and religious issues. Although there had been movements and calls for change in the decades since 1945 in individual countries, none were as profound as the collective movements of 1989 that placed the nature of democracy, the role of the nation-state, and ethnic struggles at the forefront of discussion and debate. These revolutions—most of which were generally peaceful—led to a different world in the 1990s, one that was no longer divided by Cold War politics. And it was a world that appeared to embrace capitalist values.

Students first grapple with the changes initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev, the leading reformer of the 1980s, and how his ideas resulted in the dissolution of the Soviet Union, not its reform. A lesson on geography of the new states in the former Soviet Union and in eastern European before and after 1989 follows. The next lessons are case studies of Germany and Yugoslavia, states that took two different directions. In the first case students will seek to understand what many Germans aspired to in the context of their revolution and the unification of the former two Germanys. In the second students turn to ethnic conflict that led to the dissolution of a multinational state. Finally, students analyze the consequences of these changes for people who lived through them by engaging in role-play and discussion.

Unit objectives

Upon completing this unit, students will be able to:

1. Identify the interests of Russian reformers and their attempts to change the Soviet Union.
2. Assess the effect these issues had the dissolution of the Soviet Union.
3. Understand the geography of pre- and post-1989 Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
4. Analyze the factors that led to the unification of Germany in a peaceful manner.
5. Analyze the reasons for ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia and the dissolution of this multiethnic state.
6. Assess the ability of alliances that cross class, national, and ethnic boundaries to achieve positive change.

Time and materials

This unit should take 5 class periods.

Materials required: overhead projector, laptop with speakers, Infocus machine, screen.

Author

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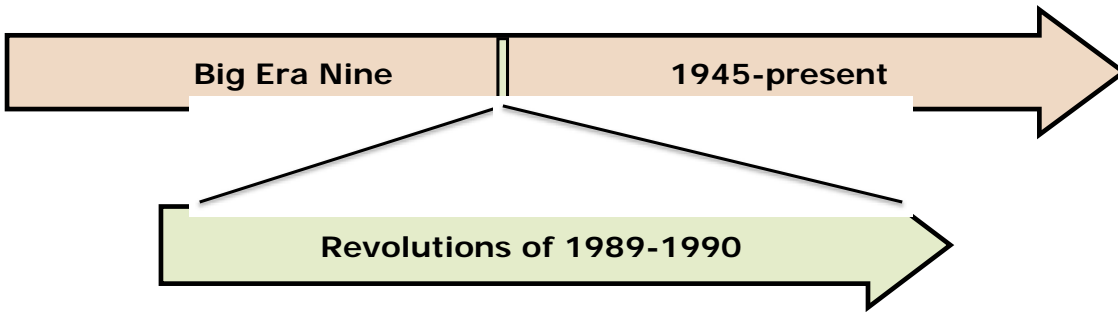
The historical context

As a result of the major economic, social, political, and intellectual movements after 1945, the world was divided into two hostile camps, a capitalist world dominated by the United States, a genuine superpower, and a communist world, dominated by the Soviet Union, a would-be superpower. This view is, of course, a simplification of a much more complex situation in which ideas, developments, and movements emerged that concerned other issues besides the Cold War.

Within the so-called Soviet countries, as well as within the Soviet Union from the 1950s through the 1980s, a variety of voices called for democracy, as well as socialist regimes not dominated by the Soviet Union. During those years, critiques of a centralized economy were increasingly common, coupled with calls for local control. The Soviet Union put down some of these movements with force. Yet gradually within the Soviet Union a movement arose among the Communist leadership that began to question the direction of its leaders in the context of economic growth and citizenship participation. This movement culminated in the election of Mikhail Gorbachev, a reformer, as General Secretary of the Communist Party.

In 1985 Gorbachev began to make changes in the Soviet Union that, unbeknownst to him, opened a Pandora's Box, first inside the Soviet Union, then in the countries of Eastern Europe. Within a few years momentous changes occurred, some peaceful, others violent, that Gorbachev had not anticipated. These changes culminated in a year of revolution in 1989, leading to a new Europe in the 1990s. This Europe was more integrated with the Western European countries. But it was also divided by ethnic rivalries that had been repressed by the authoritarian state policies of communist governments. By the 1990s Europe, in fact the whole world, was no longer divided by the forty-year Cold War. Nevertheless, it is still not clear what sort of international system is replacing the Cold War.

This unit in the Big Era Timeline



Lesson 1
***The Role of Gorbachev in Economic and
Political Changes in the Soviet Union***

Preparation

Make copies of Student Handouts 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4

Introduction

This lesson investigates the role of Mikhail Gorbachev in initiating change in the 1980s in the Soviet Union and how his role led to the dissolution of the country that had existed since 1917.

1. Review the meanings of the terms “revolution” and “reform” with the class and discuss the variety of their meanings. Explore whether all revolutions were *intended* to be revolutions or whether a movement can change from one of reform to one of revolution. Remind students that revolutions can be understood in cultural, economic, political, or social ways. Typically, movements start with a group of people who want change that is not being met by the current government. Others then join. Depending on the response of government, the movement might lead to peaceful and negotiated reforms or in more revolutionary directions.
2. Distribute Student Handouts 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 to the class.

Activities

1. Have a class discussion on no. 1 above. Start with quiet work, then have each student share his or her thoughts with a partner. Finally, have a full class discussion.
2. Jigsaw: First, divide the class into initial groups for each reading. Second, have students from each group move around to share their information.
3. Divide the class into three different groups to discuss and analyze the readings by answering the questions on Student Handout 1.4.

Teachers may use the following guide to question responses.

1. **What does Gorbachev mean by *perestroika*?** He means a more responsive government that allows and encourages public participation, as well as some capitalist development
2. **In his view, why is change necessary?** It is necessary to deal with serious economic and political problems.

3. **To what extent is the idea of *perestroika* democratic?** It opens the door for more people to take part in making public decisions.
4. **In what ways would this philosophy change soviet society?** The society would move from one in which decisions are made in a centralized manner to one in which decisions are made in more decentralized ways.
5. **In what ways would it lead to positive changes?** It would allow for greater participation and more popular decision-making.
6. **In what ways would it lead to problems, given the ethnic rivalries that already existed in the Soviet Union?** Ethnic groups would expect more autonomy in governing.

Assessment

For homework, have students:

Answer the following question in three well-written paragraphs: “What were the intended and unintended consequences of President Gorbachev’s reforms in the Soviet Union?”

Lesson 1

Student Handout 1.1--Gorbachev and Change

Excerpt from Perestroika (1987)

Here I think it is appropriate to draw your attention to one specific feature of socialism. I have in mind the high degree of social protection in our society. On the one hand, it is, doubtless, a benefit and a major achievement of ours. On the other it makes some people spongers. There is virtually no employment. The state has assumed concern for ensuring employment. ... People are protected from the vicissitudes of life, and we are proud of this. But we also see that dishonest people try to exploit these advantages of socialism; they know only their rights, but they do not want to know their duties: they work poorly, shirk, and drink hard. ... They give little to society, but nevertheless managed to get from it all that is possible and what even seems impossible; they have lived on unearned incomes.

The policy of restructuring puts everything in its place. We are fully restoring the principle of socialism. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," and we seek to affirm social justice for all, equal rights for all, one law for all, one kind of discipline for all, and high responsibilities for each. Perestroika raises the level of social responsibility and expectation. ...

Perestroika means overcoming the stagnation process, breaking down the braking mechanism, creating a dependable and effective mechanism, for the acceleration of social and economic progress and giving it greater dynamism. Perestroika means mass initiative. It is the comprehensive development of democracy, socialist self-government, encouraging of initiative and creative endeavor, improved order and discipline, more glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism in all spheres of our society. It is utmost respect for the individual and consideration for personal dignity.

Perestroika is the all-around intensification of the Soviet economy, the revival and development of the principles of democratic centralism in running the national economy, the universal introduction of economic methods, the renunciation of management by injunction and by administrative methods, and the overall encouragement of innovation and socialist enterprise. ...

Perestroika means priority development of the social sphere aimed at ever better satisfaction of the Soviet people's requirements for good living and working conditions, for good rest and recreation, education, and health care. It means increasing concern of cultural and spiritual wealth, for the culture of every individual and society as a whole.

Perestroika means the elimination from society of the distortions of socialist ethics, the consistent implementation of the principles of social justice. It means the unity of words and deeds, rights and duties. It is the elevation of honest, highly qualified labor, the overcoming of leveling tendencies in pay and consumerism. ... The essence of perestroika lies in the fact that it unites the Leninist concept of socialist construction both in theory and in practice. Such is the

essence of perestroika, which accounts for its genuine revolutionary spirit and its all-embracing scope. The goal is worth the effort. And we are sure that our effort will be a worthy contribution to humanity's social progress.

Excerpted from Mikhail Gorbachev, "Perestroika (1987)" in *Sources of Twentieth-Century Global History*, ed. by James H. Overfield (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 419-421.



Michail Gorbachev in 1987

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Lesson 1

Student Handout 1.2—Excerpt from Brian Whitmore, “Gorbachev's Legacy Examined, 25 Years After His Rise To Power.”

Gorbachev began his reforms methodically. In April 1985, he called for a policy of "acceleration," a fast-paced technological modernization and an increase in agricultural and industrial production. He also instituted quality control on consumer goods and initiated an anti-alcohol campaign.

Vadim Medvedev, a onetime Gorbachev aide and former high-ranking Communist Party official, explains, by the mid-1980s tells RFE/RL's Russian Service that initially, Gorbachev thought he could rely on more or less traditional Soviet methods to revive the economy. But it soon became clear to the new Soviet leader that the system was in need of a more fundamental overhaul. He used the occasion of the 27th Communist Party Congress in February-March 1986 to announce his signature policy of perestroika, or restructuring. "When we took the first steps with perestroika, we tried to change the economic situation with more well-known methods -- strengthening discipline and order, improving management techniques," Medvedev says. "Later we saw that we needed to go deeper."

By early 1987 Gorbachev introduced limited market mechanisms, allowing the opening of small private businesses, or cooperatives, and decentralizing economic decision making for state enterprises. He also proposed multicandidate elections for some local government posts.

In an effort to pressure conservative elements in the Communist Party, Gorbachev also introduced the policy of glasnost, or openness, relaxing censorship of the media and restrictions on free speech. Political prisoners were freed, victims of Stalin's purges were rehabilitated, free expression flourished, and previously banned books were officially published. "We soon understood that economic change wasn't possible without political and ideological change," Medvedev explains the motivation behind these more radical political moves. "We needed a complete change in our society's point of view."

In the summer of 1988, Gorbachev launched his most radical and consequential reform, a complete overhaul of the of the government apparatus. He established a new legislature, the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, part of which would be chosen in competitive, multicandidate elections. He also established a new executive presidency, which would be elected by the new legislature.

On March 15, 1990, slightly more than five years after coming to power, Gorbachev was elected the Soviet Union's first -- and ultimately last -- president.

Together with Eduard Shevardnadze, the new Foreign Minister, Gorbachev also pursued a rapprochement with the West, signing key arms control pacts with U.S. presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. When Soviet satellite regimes fell across Eastern Europe and the Berlin Wall came down in 1989, Gorbachev did not intervene, earning himself a Nobel Peace Prize in the process.

But the forces Gorbachev unleashed soon took on a life of their own, ultimately derailing his goal of modernizing -- and thus saving -- the Soviet Union.

His economic reforms undermined the moribund, centrally planned economy without establishing a functioning market to replace it, leading to widespread shortages, rationing, and public discontent. The intelligentsia initially rallied behind glasnost, giving Gorbachev support against party hard-liners; but the new openness opened the door for his critics as well.

Brian Whitmore, *Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty*, March 11, 2010,
<http://www.rferl.org/articleprintview/1980816.html>.

Lesson 1

Student Handout 1.3—Excerpt from Leon Aron, “Everything You Think You Know About the Collapse of the Soviet Union is Wrong”

Indeed, the Soviet Union in 1985 possessed much of the same natural and human resources that it had 10 years before. Certainly, the standard of living was much lower than in most of Eastern Europe, let alone the West. Shortages, food rationing, long lines in stores, and acute poverty were endemic. But the Soviet Union had known far greater calamities and coped without sacrificing an iota of the state's grip on society and economy, much less surrendering it.

Nor did any key parameter of economic performance prior to 1985 point to a rapidly advancing disaster. From 1981 to 1985 the growth of the country's GDP, though slowing down compared with the 1960s and 1970s, averaged 1.9 percent a year. The same lackadaisical but hardly catastrophic pattern continued through 1989. ...

The sharp drop in oil prices, from \$66 a barrel in 1980 to \$20 a barrel in 1986 (in 2000 prices) certainly was a heavy blow to Soviet finances. Still, adjusted for inflation, oil was more expensive in the world markets in 1985 than in 1972, and only one-third lower than throughout the 1970s. And at the same time, Soviet incomes increased more than 2 percent in 1985, and inflation-adjusted wages continued to rise in the next five years through 1990 at an average of over 7 percent. ...

From the regime's point of view, the political circumstances were even less troublesome. After 20 years of relentless suppression of political opposition, virtually all the prominent dissidents had been imprisoned, exiled (as Andrei Sakharov had been since 1980), forced to emigrate, or had died in camps and jails. ...

This, in other words, was a Soviet Union at the height of its global power and influence, both in its own view and in the view of the rest of the world. "We tend to forget," historian Adam Ulam would note later, "that in 1985, no government of a major state appeared to be as firmly in power, its policies as clearly set in their course, as that of the USSR." ...

For though economic betterment was their banner, there is little doubt that Gorbachev and his supporters first set out to right moral, rather than economic, wrongs. Most of what they said publicly in the early days of perestroika now seems no more than an expression of their anguish over the spiritual decline and corrosive effects of the Stalinist past. It was the beginning of a desperate search for answers to the big questions with which every great revolution starts: What is a good, dignified life? What constitutes a just social and economic order? What is a decent and legitimate state? What should such a state's relationship with civil society be? ...

Source: Leon Aron, "Everything You Think You Know About the Collapse of the Soviet Union is Wrong," in *Foreign Policy*, June 20, 2011, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/20/everything_you_think_you_know_about_the_collapse_of_the_soviet_union_is_wrong?page=0,4.

Lesson 1***Student Handout 1.4—Questions on the Readings***

Read the excerpt from Gorbachev, Whitmore, or Aron and answer the following questions about your reading. Be ready to share your answers when you move to a new group in the jigsaw.

1. What does Gorbachev mean by *perestroika*?
2. In his view, why is change necessary?
3. To what extent is this idea of *perestroika* democratic?
4. In what ways would this philosophy change soviet society?
5. In what ways would it lead to positive changes?
6. In what ways would it lead to problems, given the ethnic rivalries that had already existed in the Soviet Union?

Lesson 2
Geographic and Political Underpinnings
of the Former Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia

Preparation

1. Provide paper for mental mapping, that is mapping of Eurasia from memory.
2. Copy the maps: Student Handouts 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4.

Introduction

This lesson focuses on the development of new states in the aftermath of the Revolutions of 1989 both within the former Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe. It also investigates the terms of devolution, evolution, and revolution as they apply to these new states. It assesses whether these states emerged as new states or were actually old states with new governments, as well as what sort of new governments they introduced. The intent of the lesson is to give students an overview of what happened and assess their knowledge by evaluating their hands-on activities and assessment.

Activities

1. Give students paper and ask them to draw Eurasia from memory with as much as detail as they can.
2. Using an overhead projector, map Eurasia with the class and put the new states in their appropriate place.
3. Using the maps of the areas, have a class discussion as to the geographic outcomes:
Lesson 2: Student Handout 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, & 1.4
4. Divide class into small groups and assign each group one of the 15 new states of the former Soviet Union: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russian Federation, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan; or one of the new states: Czech Republic or Slovakia. Have students determine the populations of their assigned state as of about 1991. Also have students research the types and characteristics of the governments of these states. Students should look at web and other sources for information. [Teachers should keep in mind that all of these states took the form of republics, but that the characteristics of government in these states varied considerably.]
5. Using students' homework, have a class discussion on the different political forms that emerged in these states.

Assessment

Assign the following questions for homework:

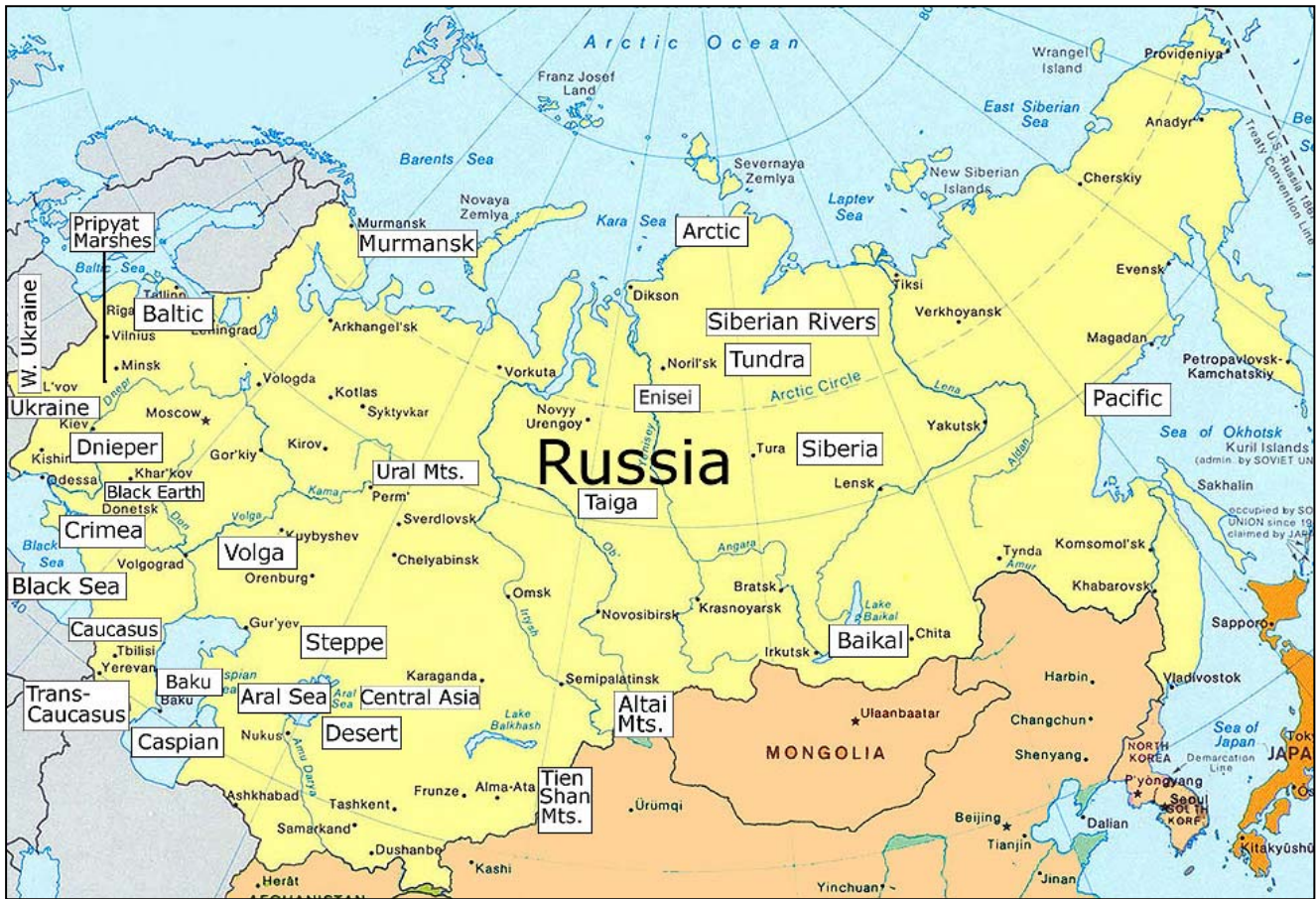
1. After independence most states that had been part of the former Soviet Union joined in the Commonwealth of Independent States under Russian leadership. Why do you think they were willing to do that? Why in the following twenty years do you think the Commonwealth generally fell apart? Why did some of the new states join together in the new Commonwealth?
2. Why do you think that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania all turned toward closer relations with the European Union and NATO countries after achieving independence? Why did the three Baltic Republics turn westward?
3. Why do you think Czechoslovakia succeeded in splitting into the Czech Republic and Slovakia peacefully?

Teachers may use the following guide to question responses:

1. **Why were new states were willing to join the Commonwealth of Independent States?** Republics of the former Soviet Union desired at first to work together on a variety of issues. Gradually, however, political differences among these states, as well as conflicts between them and the Russian Federation led to the weakening and obsolescence of the organization.
2. **Why did Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania turn to the West?** These states had all been independent republics between World War II, when the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin annexed them. Historically, they all had close ties with the states of Western Europe.
3. **Why did Czechoslovakia split peacefully?** After the fall of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia, the country established a solid foundation of democratic government. When Slovakia sought independence from the Czech Republic in 1993, the Czech President Vaclav Havel agreed to it rather than risk conflict.

Lesson 2

Student Handout 2.1 –The Soviet Union in 1985



Charles T. Evans, Northern Virginia Community College, 2/17/11. Web. 14 August 2011
<http://novaonline.nvcc.edu/eli/evans/Photos/Russia/Maps/Map1987a.jpg>.

Lesson 2

Student Handout 2.2 –The former Soviet Union, 1990s



International Opportunities Organization, 2001, 14 August 2011,
http://www.interopp.org/img_rmap/reg_co_pol_lg_1997.jpg.

Lesson 2

Student Handout 2.3 – Eastern Europe from 1949 to 1989



Philatelic Database, Web. 14 August 2011

<http://www.philatelicdatabase.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/map-europe-after-1945.jpg>.

Lesson 2

Student Handout 2.4 – Eastern Europe in the 1990s



The Bortner Vacation Travelogue, 2011, Web. 14 August 2011. http://bortnervacation.com/wp-content/upload/central_europe_pol01.jpg.

Lesson 3

The Case of Germany: Peaceful Revolution

Preparation

1. Have news clip ready to show to the class.
2. Copy Student Handouts 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4.

Introduction

This lesson focuses on the unification of Germany, which started symbolically with destruction of the Berlin wall in November 1989. It culminated in October 1990 in the founding of a larger Federal Republic of Germany that absorbed the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). Already in October 1989, Erich Honecker, who had ruled the GDR for eighteen years, was replaced by Egon Krenz. While Krenz was not seen as a reformer, socialist reformers emerged in the GDR to respond to calls for change. And pan-German market-driven unifiers also emerged to unite the two German states. The latter movement had as its articulate spokesman, Helmut Kohl, the West German Chancellor.

Activities

1. Show News Clip: ABC News, Nov. 9, 1989: “Beyond the Brandenburg Gate” (7 and half minutes): <http://abcnews.go.com/video/playerIndex?id=8980549>.

As students watch the video, have them answer the following questions:

- What do you see in the news clip? Be as specific as you can.
 - Why do you think changes in the Soviet Union (see Lesson 1) led to calls for reform in the GDR?
 - Why were there calls for unification of Germany?
 - What appears to be the point of the view of the video clip?
2. Partner Work: Readings Student Handout 3.1 & 3.2:
 - What do the leaders of the New Forum want and expect to happen in the GDR?
 - In what ways were these expectations unrealistic?
 - To whom would Kohl appeal? Why?
 - In ways did Kohl undercut the appeal of the New Forum?
 3. Class Sharing

Teachers may use the following guide to question responses:

1. **What do you see in the news clip?** Unresolved questions as to what the collapse of the wall will mean for Berliners on both “sides.” It might lead to unification of Germany, as well as changes within the GDR.
2. **Why did changes Soviet Union lead to calls for reforms in the GDR?** Because reformers had already wanted change. The atmosphere became different from what it was before Gorbachev.
3. **Why were there calls for unification of Germany?** Temptations to join the more prosperous West, creating a model Germany with both socialist and capitalist aspects.
4. **What appears to be the point of the view of the video clip?** The source is a major American news organization? The report aims to be objective, but is it? How might specific images have been used in the report to convey point of view?

Assessment

1. Reflection (Student Handout 3.3).
2. Tell students to review their notes to be prepared for a quiz on this material.
3. Quiz on day 4 of the Unit (Student Handout 3.4).

Teachers may use the following guide to quiz responses.

1. **What two areas of the Soviet Union did President Gorbachev wish to change?**
Democratic reforms and open dialogue.
2. **Why did this movement lead in unpredictable ways both within the Soviet Union and in areas it controlled?** Because countless people had different ideas as to what these reforms meant, and communist control had covered up nationalist differences.
3. **What two factors explain why Gorbachev’s calls for reform resulted in the reunification of Germany?** Germans wanted to create a nationalist Germany free of the Soviet Union and one that would play an important role in European affairs.

Lesson 3

Student Handout 3.1–Voices of New Forum

Demonstration and Rally on the 4th of November 1989

On the morning of 4 November 1989, approximately 500,000 demonstrators (sometimes the number is even said to have been nearly a million) made their way through East Berlin's center, past the East German Parliament and the Privy Council Building. At the end a rally was held on Alexanderplatz at which numerous speakers took the floor.

The demonstration, with its concluding rally, is a highlight of the democracy movement in the GDR. The idea came about in the New Forum (an oppositional alliance founded in September 1989); Berlin's creative artists took over the implementation and organization. [1]

The organizers registered the event officially, in order to take legal proceedings for the recovery of the basic right to the freedoms of assembly, of expression and of the press, which were anchored in the constitution of the GDR, but never actually granted by the state. A security partnership was agreed upon with the police, who hardly made an appearance. Actors with green and yellow sashes and the inscription “No Violence” acted as supervisors.

“Never before had Berlin experienced so much shared determination, spontaneous imagination and, despite all radicalism, circumspection.”[2] Many demonstrators voiced their annoyance and demands with original, witty banners. Radical reforms were also demanded in the speeches given on Alexanderplatz. “The structures of this society must be changed, if they are to become democratic and socialist. ... Let us create a democratic society, on a legal foundation, which is liable!” (Christoph Hein) [3]

Henning Schaller, one of the organizers, described later: “Even beforehand, there were solid arguments and discrepancies as to who one... should let speak. Speakers like Markus Wolf, Günther Schabowski and Manfred Gerlach were criticized by many. But my opinion was that the spectrum of speakers should be as broad as that which the whole collapsing GDR had to offer ... But then again and again we had to demand the crowd, who flared up at the hard-liners, to let them talk and to listen carefully, because often enough these speakers exposed themselves.” [4]

For the first time, a demonstration for the democracy movement was broadcast live by GDR television, during which one of the commentator's statements was: “The people have overcome their speechlessness«. On the same day, there were large protest rallies in many other cities of the GDR. The 4th of November will become a landmark. From now on, the Socialist leadership can no longer side-step the demands of the masses; there's no going back to the old ruling practices.” [5]

Annotations:

[1] Jutta Seidel, founding member of the New Forum. In: Bilderchronik der Wende, ed. by Hannes Bahrmann and Christoph Links, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin 1999, page 36.

[2] Hannes Bahrmann, Christoph Links: Chronik der Wende, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin 1994, page 79.

[3] Christoph Hein in his speech on 4.11.1989. Website of the German Historical Museum, Berlin.

[4] Quoted from: Bilderchronik der Wende, ed. by Hannes Bahrmann and Christoph Links, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin 1999, page 36.

[5] Hannes Bahrmann, Christoph Links: Chronik der Wende, Christoph Links Verlag, Berlin 1999, page 64.

Source: Denkzeichen, 4 November 1989. 14 August 2011 <<http://uinic.de/alex/en/proj/4nov.html>>.

Lesson 3

Student Handout 3.2–Excerpts from Helmut Kohl's Ten-Point Plan for German Unity (November 28, 1989)

First: To begin with, immediate measures are required as a result of the events of recent weeks, particularly the tide of refugees and the new scale of tourist traffic. ...

Second: The federal government will continue, now as before, to cooperate with the GDR in all areas that directly benefit people on both sides. This applies particularly to economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation. It is especially important to intensify cooperation in the field of environmental protection. ...

Third: I have offered to expand extensively our assistance and cooperation, if a fundamental transformation in the political and economic system of the GDR is definitively accepted and irreversibly set in motion. For us, and especially for me, "irreversible" means that the GDR state leadership reaches an understanding with the opposition groups on a change in the constitution and a new election law. We support the demand for free, equal, and secret elections in the GDR, in which independent – and, of course, that also means non-socialist – parties participate. The SED must give up its monopoly on power ... there can only be an economic upturn if the GDR opens itself up to Western investment, if it creates conditions for a market economy and enables private economic activity. ...

Fourth: Already existing commissions can take on new tasks, additional ones can be formed. I am thinking particularly about the areas of the economy, transportation, environmental protection, science and technology, health, and culture. I need not emphasize that in everything that has yet to occur Berlin must remain fully incorporated. ...

Fifth: We are also prepared to take yet another decisive step, namely, to develop confederative structures between both states in Germany, with the aim of creating a federation, that is, a federal order, in Germany. However, that absolutely presupposes a democratically legitimized government in the GDR. ...

Sixth: The development of inter-German relations remains embedded in the pan-European process ... In this regard, the West has served as a pacesetter with its conception of a lasting and just European order of peace. ...

Seventh: The attraction and appeal of the European Community is, and shall remain, a decisive constant of the pan-European development. ... The federal government, therefore, advocates the rapid conclusion of a trade and cooperation treaty with the GDR that broadens the GDR's access to the Common Market, also as far as prospects for 1992 are concerned. For the future we can very well imagine certain forms of association that introduce the economies of the reform-oriented states of Central and Southeastern Europe to the EC and thereby help to eradicate the economic and social differences on our continent. ...

Eighth: We want to push it forward and use the existing forums: the human rights conferences in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991, the conference on economic cooperation in Bonn in 1990, the symposium on cultural heritage in Cracow in 1991, and not least the upcoming follow-up meeting in Helsinki. There, we should also think about new institutional forms of pan-European cooperation. ...

Ninth: Overcoming the division of Europe and the division of Germany requires far-reaching and speedy steps towards disarmament and arms control. . . .

Tenth: With this comprehensive policy we are working towards a condition of peace in Europe in which the German people can regain their unity in free self-determination. Reunification – that is, regaining Germany's state unity – remains the political aim of the federal government. We are grateful that we have received renewed support from our friends and partners in the declaration of the Brussels NATO summit in May of this year. ...

Source: German History in Documents and Images, Vol. 10: One Germany in Europe, 1989-2009. *Helmut Kohl's Ten Point Plan for German Unity*, *German History in Documents and Images*, translation: Jeremiah Riemer, 1989 Web. 15 August 2011. http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/Chapter1_Doc10English.pdf.



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Lesson 3***Student Handout 3.3 – Reflection***

Consider some of the movements in 1989 – revolution, nationalism, unification, devolution, reform. Which ones appear to be most consistent with the intent of President Gorbachev when he called for change in the Soviet Union in the 1980s? Why?

Lesson 3***Student Handout 3.4–Quiz on Lessons 1-3***

1. What two areas of the Soviet Union did President Gorbachev wish to change?
2. Why did this movement lead in unpredictable ways both within the Soviet Union and in areas it controlled?
3. What two factors explain why Gorbachev's calls for reform resulted in the reunification of Germany?

Lesson 4
The Case of Yugoslavia: The Emergence of New Nation States

Preparation

Copy Student Handouts 4.1 and 4.2

Introduction

This lesson introduces the problems of the former Yugoslavia, and how in the midst of calls for reform among people of different backgrounds, ethnic and religious rivalries that had been present for years finally tore this multinational state apart. Yugoslavia was created in 1919 as a country to unite the Southern Slavs under the leadership of Serbia (originally called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes). As a communist state in 1945, the six republics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia were allegedly equal to one another. But as became clear once the state disintegrated in 1990, the ethnic differences had never been resolved. Slobodan Milosevic, the new Serbian leader, limited other ethnic groups' abilities to participate equally to a greater extent than had been the case previously.

Activities

1. Distribute quiz on the material from the previous lesson.
2. Organize a role play. Hand out material and assign roles Student Handouts 4.1 and 4.2), more or less equally in terms of the nine groups. Explain to students that they are to imagine that it is December 1989 and that Ibrahim Rugova, the newly elected leader of the non-communist Democratic League of Kosova, is trying to model his pacifist approach among other ethnic groups. While some people have already begun to respond to Slobodan Milosevic's harsh leadership with violence, Rugova hopes to build a movement. With their partners, students should spend ten minutes thinking about this material in terms of their assigned role. The purpose of the role play is to understand the attempt of Rugova to offer an alternative to the violence that is brewing in different parts of the former Yugoslavia to see whether others will join him.
3. As students prepare for their roles, ask them to think about the following questions (Student Handout 4.2):

1. **What do you want for your people, however that you define them ethnically?** Students should be able to understand that few people in this situation are ready to join a peaceful movement, given long standing rivalries.
2. **What do you want for the future of your country, however you define it?** Most people appear to want to separate from the Yugoslavia that had been dominated by Serbs, who retaliated with violence.
3. **What do you think of Rugova's movement?** Many people are too discouraged to take it seriously.
4. **If you like this movement, who are your allies?** Which other countries or ethnic groups?

Assessment

For homework write three paragraphs, answering the following question: "Why did Yugoslavia fail to maintain its multi-national identity in the 1990s?"

Lesson 4

Student Handout 4.1–The Situation in Yugoslavia in the 1980s: Role Play

Background Material

1945 to 1980: Joseph Tito unified the 6 republics into a communist dictatorship, independent of Russia. He was able to suppress religious and cultural rivalries among the Roman Catholics, Serbian Orthodox and Muslims during his lifetime. But ... no concerted attempt was made by the political or religious leaders to settle centuries-old religious hatreds. An opportunity was missed that might have avoided (or reduced) ethnic cleansing and genocide during the 1990s.

Tito angered the Serbs by granting autonomy to the north-eastern province of Vojvodina and the southern province of Kosovo in 1974.

1980s: Tito died in 1980. In 1987, while investigating allegations that the minority Serbs in Kosovo were being attacked by the ethnic Albanian majority, Slobodan Milosevic had promised his fellow Serbs that "No one will ever beat you again." Milosevic quickly became a Serbian hero, and was able to force changes to the Yugoslav constitution through its Parliament in 1989. This terminated the autonomous status of the provinces of Vojvodina (in the north) and Kosovo (in the south). Milosevic "removed Kosovo's autonomy, established direct Serbian rule over the province, expelled the Albanians from the Kosovo parliament, the state bureaucracy, and state owned industries, and closed the state-run school system and most of the medical system to them." The Albanians in Kosovo became a majority with few rights in their own country. Leading Kosovo intellectual, Ibrahim Rogova, promoted a nonviolent approach to resolve the system of Apartheid under which they were persecuted.

Excerpt from B.A. Robinson, "A Brief History of Yugoslavia" 1999, ReligiousTolerance.Org, Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance, Web. August 15, 2011, http://www.religioustolerance.org/yugo_his.htm.

Ethnic Data

By 1990 the population of Yugoslavia consisted of:

- Albanians: 7.7%; living mainly in Kosovo (an autonomous province of Serbia) and Montenegro
- Bulgarians: 1%; living in Serbia
- Croatians: 19%; living in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Hungarians: 1.9%; living in Vojvodina (an autonomous province of Serbia)
- Macedonians: 5.9%; living in Macedonia
- Montenegrins: 2.5%; living in Montenegro
- Muslims: 8.9%; living in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia

- Serbs: 36%; living in Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina
- Slovenes: 7.8%; living in Slovenia

Data from map titled “Ethnic Groups of Yugoslavia,” *The Making of History in 1989*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, 1996-2011. Web. August 15, 2011. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/1989/items/show/170>.

Lesson 4

Student Handout 4.2–Role Play Assignments and Questions

Role Play Assignment

- **Group I:** Albanians
- **Group II:** Bulgarians
- **Group III:** Croatians
- **Group IV:** Hungarians
- **Group V:** Macedonians
- **Group VI:** Montenegrins
- **Group VII:** Muslims
- **Group VIII:** Serbs
- **Group IX:** Slovenes

As you prepare your role, think about the following questions:

1. What do you want for your people, however that you define them?
2. What do you want for the future of your country, however you define it?
3. What do you think of Rugova's movement?
4. If you like this movement, who are your allies?

Lesson 5

Making Sense of the Revolutions of 1989: Role Play

Preparation

If possible, set up your room in a circle for today's role play discussion.

Introduction

Timothy Garton Ash concludes his book, *The History of the Present*, by arguing for the integration of Europe. He acknowledges the opposite development of nationalistic movements that divide Europeans and of the emergence of many small states in the former communist countries of eastern Europe, along with the continuing division of Ireland. Our discussion for today's role play will revolve around the following question: "What will the new Europe look like?" All students will participate in the discussion by acting out their assigned role of an imagined person. Students do research on that possible person and take on his or her identity in the class discussion.

Activities

1. Partner Sharing and Planning for Role Play (5-10 minutes)
2. Class Discussion

Assign roles for the role play (Student Handout 5.1). Ask students to do some research so that they can work with a partner to have a discussion about the future of Europe in the 1990s. The number of roles used may depend on the number of students in your class. While there are twenty-three roles listed, you may want to eliminate some to pair your students or, alternatively, include them all, if you have twenty-three students and you want each of them to each have his or her own role.

The goal of this activity is to encourage students to do some research on their assigned character and grapple with divergent interests, whether they be political, economic, religious, or cultural ones, and to have a dialogue with others about these problems and the difficulties of finding solutions. Teachers should note that of the twenty-three roles, some representatives might work together, such as roles 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16, assuming that these representatives value transnational interests above local ones.

Assessment




Have each student write a one page assessment as to how they think they did in this role play. Be sure that they defend their assessment with concrete evidence of preparation and participation.

Lesson 5

Student Handout 5.1 – Roles to Assign

1. Nationalist Russian from a small town in the former Soviet Union
2. Supporter of former President Mikhail Gorbachev from St. Petersburg, Russia
3. Chechen nationalist who wants independence
4. Ukrainian factory worker from Kiev, Ukraine
5. Estonian shopkeeper from Tallinn, Estonia
6. Former member of the Solidarity movement, Gdansk, Poland
7. Supporter of President Vaclav Havel, the Czech Republic
8. Active member of the Catholic Church, Warsaw, Poland
9. German emigrant from Slovakia, now living in Munich, Germany
10. Slovakian nationalist, Bratislava, Slovakia
11. Mayor of Berlin, Germany, active in the Revolution of 1968 as a college student
12. Poet in the former German Democratic Republic, hounded by authorities in the mid-1980s for alleged contacts in the West
13. Trade union leader and automobile worker, Stuttgart, Germany
14. Supporter of the Christian Social Union in a small town in Bavaria, Germany
15. United Nations representative, sent to keep the peace in Kosovo
16. European Union delegate, based in Strasbourg, France
17. United States multinational corporate executive
18. British multinational corporate executive
19. Albanian farmer, affected by the breakup of Yugoslavia
20. Moroccan Muslim migrant working in southern France
21. Active member of the Catholic Church, Dublin, Ireland
22. Active member of the Anglican Church, Belfast, Northern Ireland
23. Member of the House of Commons, London, United Kingdom

This unit and the Three Essential Questions

 <p>HUMANS & the ENVIRONMENT</p>	<p>What effect do you think environmental problems might have had on the breakup of the Soviet Union?</p>
 <p>HUMANS & OTHER HUMANS</p>	<p>In what ways did the events of the 1980s and 1990s in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe bring people together in cooperation and in what ways did these developments divide people and provoke conflict?</p>
 <p>HUMANS & IDEAS</p>	<p>In what countries has Marxist ideology remained politically dominant in the period since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the communist regimes in East Europe? Why and in what form has Marxist ideology remained dominant in these countries?</p>

This unit and the Seven Key Themes

This unit emphasizes:

Key Theme 2: Uses and Abuses of Power

Key Theme 4: Have and Have-Nots

Key Theme 5: Expressing Identity

This unit and the Common Core State Standards

English Language Arts Standards

History/Social Studies, Grade 9-10

Key Ideas and Details

Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Craft and Structure

Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.

Integration of Knowledge and Ideas

Assess the extent to which the reasoning and evidence in a text support the author's claims.

Resources

Resources for teachers

Dawisha, Karen. *Eastern Europe, Gorbachev and Reform: The Great Challenge*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. An interesting discussion of the problems that would ensue in Eastern European countries once Gorbachev's policies were implemented.

Ash, Timothy Garton. *History of the Present: Essays, Sketches, and Dispatches From Europe in the 1990s*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999. An excellent and readable account the changes that this unit discusses.

Gorbachev, Mikhail. *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000. A revised version of Gorbachev's indictment of the Soviet Union that led to all of the issues discussed in this lesson.

Havel, Vaclav. *Disturbing the Peace: A Conversation with Karel Hvizdala*. Trans. Paul Wilson. New York: Vintage Books, 1991. In part autobiography, in part current events, Havel describes his role in bringing about change in Czechoslovakia after 1968.

Roberts, Adam and Timothy Garton Ash, eds. *Civil Resistance: The Experience of Non-Violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. Thoughtful analysis with a chapter each on Germany, Kosovo, Serbia, Georgia, and Kosovo

Correlations to National and State Standards

National Standards for World History

Era 9: The 20th Century since 1945: promises and Paradoxes. 2C: The student understands how liberal democracy, market economies, and human rights movements have reshaped political and social life. Therefore, the student is about to explain why the Soviet and other communist governments collapsed and the Soviet Union splintered into numerous states in the 1980s and early 1990s.

California: History-Social Science Content Standard

Grade Ten, 10.9.7: Analyze the reasons for the collapse of the Soviet Union, including the weakness of the command economy, burdens of military commitments, and growing resistance to Soviet rule by dissidents in satellite states and the non-Russian Soviet republics.

Conceptual links to other teaching units



Big Era Nine Panorama Teaching Unit **Paradoxes of Global Acceleration, 1945 to the Present**

Since World War II global networks of communication have continually advanced in size, complexity, and speed. Consequently, human society has in many ways become more uniform culturally. At the same time, people try to shelter themselves against hurricanes of change by strengthening their ties with others who share their national loyalty, religion, and ethnic traditions, as well as their political beliefs, occupations, and popular cultural styles.



Big Era Nine Landscape Teaching Unit 9.2 **The Two Big Powers and Their Cold War**

The alliance between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union that produced victory in World War II degenerated even before the struggle ended. The United States and the USSR did not meet on any battlefield, rather their conflict remained for nearly four decades in a state of “cold” rivalry. The two powers and their respective allies also intervened in the affairs of other states, especially newly independent ones, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.



Big Era Nine Closeup Teaching Unit 9.2.7 **Revolutions in 1989-1990**

In the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Communist states, popular demands for change rapidly accelerated following Gorbachev’s reforms. In the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall, communist parties lost open elections across Eastern Europe. In the USSR submerged nationalist feeling rose to the surface, leading to the division of that huge state into fifteen separate ones.