The Contemporary Western World

Key Events

As you read this chapter, look for the key events in the development of the contemporary Western world.

• Political and social changes led to the end of the Cold War and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.
• Economic challenges helped bring about and accompanied these sweeping political and social changes.
• Society and culture reflected these changes with the advent of the women’s movement, the growth of technology, and a rise in terrorism.

The Impact Today

The events that occurred during this time period still impact our lives today.

• Energy prices continue to climb as world oil supplies diminish, causing economic challenges for oil-dependent nations.
• The computer and the Internet contribute to the creation of a global society.
• Film, television, music, and advertising spread the American way of life throughout the world.

World History Video  The Chapter 28 video, “Solidarity,” chronicles the history of the movement for democracy in Poland.
Advances in space exploration have been made possible by new technology.
“Tear Down This Wall”

In 1988, the American president, Ronald Reagan, traveled to West Berlin. Facing the Berlin Wall, he challenged Mikhail Gorbachev, leader of the Soviet bloc, to “tear down this wall.” During his own visit to West Germany a year later, Gorbachev responded, “The wall could disappear once the conditions that generated the need for it disappear. I do not see much of a problem here.”

East Germany’s Communist leaders, however, did see a problem, and they refused to remove the wall. In the summer of 1989, tens of thousands of East Germans fled their country while hundreds of thousands took to the streets to demand the resignation of the hard-line Communist leader, Erich Honecker.

Honecker finally relented. On November 9, 1989, a new East German government opened the wall and allowed its citizens to travel freely between West and East Berlin. The next day, government workers began to knock down the wall. They were soon joined by thousands of West and East Berliners who used sledgehammers and crowbars to rip apart the Cold War symbol.

Germans were overcome with joy. Many danced on the wall while orchestras played in the streets. Churches, theaters, and shops remained open day and night in West Germany as East Germans took advantage of their new freedom to travel. In 1990, West and East Germany became a single nation, and Berlin was once again the capital of Germany.

Why It Matters

In 1970, after more than two decades of the Cold War, the division of Europe between West and East seemed well established to most Europeans. A prosperous Western Europe that was allied to the United States stood opposed to a still-struggling Eastern Europe that remained largely subject to the Soviet Union. However, within 20 years, a revolutionary upheaval in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe brought an end to the Cold War and the long-standing division of postwar Europe.

History and You

Research contemporary Berlin. Use sources ranging from academic histories to travel guides. Make a list of the ways the East/West split still affects Berlin today. Which of these reminders of the past did you expect, and which surprised you? Why?
Decline of the Soviet Union

Guide to Reading

Main Ideas
- The Cold War ended after leadership changed in the Soviet Union.
- Gorbachev’s policies contributed to the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
- Conversion from a socialist to a free-market economy has created many problems in the former Soviet states.

Key Terms
détente, dissident, perestroika

People To Identify
Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, Leonid Brezhnev, Boris Yeltsin, Vladimir Putin

Places To Locate
Afghanistan, Ukraine, Belarus

Preview Questions
1. How and why did the Cold War end?
2. What problems arose when the Soviet Union disintegrated?

Reading Strategy
Compare and Contrast Create a chart like the one below comparing the policies of Brezhnev and Gorbachev.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Mikhail Gorbachev assumes leadership of Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Communist Party conference initiates political reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Boris Yeltsin becomes president of Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Ex-KGB agent Vladimir Putin becomes president of Russia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voices from the Past

In his book Perestroika, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev wrote:

“There is a great thirst for mutual understanding and mutual communication in the world. It is felt among politicians, it is gaining momentum among the intelligentsia, representatives of culture, and the public at large. And if the Russian word ‘perestroika’ has easily entered the international lexicon [vocabulary], this is due to more than just interest in what is going on in the Soviet Union. Now the whole world needs restructuring, i.e., progressive development, a fundamental change... I believe that more and more people will come to realize that through RESTRUCTURING in the broad sense of the word, the integrity of the world will be enhanced.”

— Perestroika, 1987

After Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985, the Soviet Union began to make changes in its foreign policy, and the Cold War rapidly came to an end.

From Cold War to Post-Cold War

By the 1970s, American-Soviet relations had entered a new phase, known as détente, which was marked by a relaxation of tensions and improved relations between the two superpowers. Grain and consumer goods were sold to the Soviet Union. Beginning in 1979, however, the apparent collapse of détente began a new period of East-West confrontation.
The Cold War Intensifies  
Détente received a major setback in 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. The Soviet Union wanted to restore a pro-Soviet regime there, which the United States viewed as an act of expansion. President Jimmy Carter canceled American participation in the 1980 Olympic Games to be held in Moscow and placed an embargo on the shipment of American grain to the Soviets.

The Cold War further intensified when Ronald Reagan was elected president in 1980. Calling the Soviet Union an “evil empire,” Reagan began a military buildup and a new arms race. Reagan also gave military aid to the Afghan rebels, in order to maintain a war in Afghanistan that the Soviet Union could not win.

End of the Cold War  
The accession of Mikhail Gorbachev (GAWR•buh•CHAWF) to power in the Soviet Union in 1985 eventually brought a dramatic end to the Cold War. Gorbachev’s “New Thinking”—his willingness to rethink Soviet foreign policy—led to stunning changes.

Gorbachev made an agreement with the United States in 1987 (the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force [INF] Treaty) to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons. Both sides had reasons to slow down the expensive arms race. Gorbachev hoped to make far-reaching economic and internal reforms. As its national debt tripled, the United States had moved from being a creditor nation (a country that exports more than it imports), to being the world’s biggest debtor nation. By 1990, both countries knew that their large military budgets would make it difficult for them to solve their domestic problems.

In another policy change, Gorbachev stopped giving Soviet military support to Communist governments in Eastern Europe. This opened the door to the overthrow of Communist regimes in these countries. A mostly peaceful revolutionary movement swept through Eastern Europe in 1989. The reunification of Germany on October 3, 1990, was a powerful symbol of the end of the Cold War. In 1991, the Soviet Union was dissolved. Renewal of the rivalry between the two superpowers was now almost impossible.

Reading Check  
Summarizing  
What events immediately preceded the end of the Cold War?

Upheaval in the Soviet Union  

TURNING POINT  
You will learn how movements for independence caused the breakup of the Soviet Union.

Between 1964 and 1982, drastic change in the Soviet Union had seemed highly unlikely. What happened to create such a dramatic turnaround in such a short time?

The Brezhnev Era  
When Nikita Khrushchev was removed from office in 1964, two men, Alexei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev (BREHZH•NEFF), replaced him. Brezhnev emerged as the dominant leader in the 1970s. He was determined to keep Eastern Europe in Communist hands and was uninterested in reform. Brezhnev insisted on the right of the Soviet Union to intervene if communism was threatened in another Communist state (known as the Brezhnev Doctrine).

At the same time, Brezhnev benefited from the more relaxed atmosphere associated with détente. The Soviet Union was roughly equal to the United States in nuclear arms. Its leaders thus felt secure and were willing to relax their authoritarian rule. Under Brezhnev, the regime allowed more access to Western styles of music, dress, and art. However, dissidents—those who spoke out against the regime—were still punished.

In his economic policies, Brezhnev continued to emphasize heavy industry. Two problems, however, weakened the Soviet economy. The government’s central planning led to a huge, complex bureaucracy that discouraged efficiency and led to indifference. Moreover, collective farmers had no incentive to work hard. Many preferred working their own small private plots to laboring in the collective work brigades.

By the 1970s, the Communist ruling class in the Soviet Union had become complacent and corrupt. Party and state leaders—as well as leaders of the army and secret police (KGB)—enjoyed a high standard of living. Brezhnev was unwilling to tamper with the party leadership and state bureaucracy, regardless of the inefficiency and corruption that the system encouraged.

By 1980, the Soviet Union was seriously ailing, with a declining economy, a rise in infant mortality rates, a dramatic surge in alcoholism, and poor working conditions. Many felt the system was in trouble. Within the Communist Party, a small group of reformers emerged. One of these was Mikhail Gorbachev. A new era began in March 1985 when party leaders chose him to lead the Soviet Union.
Gorbachev and Perestroika  From the start, Gorbachev preached the need for radical reforms. The basis of these reforms was perestroika (per•eh•STROY•kuh) or restructuring. At first, this meant restructuring economic policy. Gorbachev wanted to start a market economy, where consumers influence what is produced. This economic policy would have limited free enterprise (based on private ownership of businesses) and some private property. Soon, however, Gorbachev realized that an attempt to reform the economy without political reform would be doomed to failure.

At the Communist Party conference in 1988, Gorbachev established a new Soviet parliament, the Congress of People’s Deputies, whose members were to be elected. This parliament met in 1989—the first such meeting in Russia since 1918. Early in 1990, Gorbachev decreed that non-Communist political parties could organize. He also did away with a constitutional provision that guaranteed the Communist Party a “leading role” in government.

At the same time, Gorbachev strengthened his power by creating a new state presidency. The position of first secretary of the party (Gorbachev’s position) had been the most important post in the Soviet Union. However, as the Communist Party became less closely tied to the state, the position of first secretary carried less power. In March 1990, Gorbachev became the Soviet Union’s first (and last) president.

The End of the Soviet Union  One of Gorbachev’s most serious problems was the multiethnic nature of the Soviet Union. It included 92 nationalities and 112 different languages. The iron hand of the Communist Party, centered in Moscow, had kept centuries-old ethnic tensions contained.
As Gorbachev released this iron grip, these tensions again came to the forefront. Nationalist movements emerged throughout the republics of the Soviet Union. Between 1988 and 1990, there were calls for independence first in Soviet Georgia and then in Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Lithuania.

During 1990 and 1991, Gorbachev struggled to deal with the problems unleashed by his reforms. By 1991, the conservative leaders of the traditional Soviet institutions—the army, government, KGB, and military industries—were worried. The possible breakup of the Soviet Union would mean an end to their privileges.

On August 19, 1991, a group of these conservative leaders arrested Gorbachev and tried to seize power. The attempt failed, however, when Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Republic, and thousands of Russians bravely resisted the rebel forces in Moscow.

The Soviet republics now moved for complete independence. Ukraine voted for independence on December 1, 1991. A week later, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus announced that the Soviet Union had “ceased to exist.”

Gorbachev resigned on December 25, 1991, and turned over his responsibilities as commander in chief to Boris Yeltsin, the new president of Russia. By the end of 1991, one of the largest empires in world history had come to an end. A new era had begun in its now-independent states.

The New Russia

Boris Yeltsin was committed to introducing a free market economy as quickly as possible, but the transition was not easy. Economic hardships and social disarray were made worse by a dramatic rise in the activities of organized crime. Yeltsin’s brutal use of force against the Chechens (CHET•chunz), who wanted to secede from Russia and create their own independent republic, also undermined his support. Despite the odds against him, however, Yeltsin won reelection in 1996.

At the end of 1999, Yeltsin resigned and was replaced by Vladimir Putin, who was elected president in 2000. Putin vowed to return the breakaway state of Chechnya to Russian authority and to adopt a more assertive role in international affairs. Fighting in Chechnya continued throughout 2000, nearly reducing the republic’s capital city of Grozny to ruins.

In July 2001, Putin launched reforms aimed at boosting growth and budget revenues and keeping Russia on a strong economic track. The reforms included free sale and purchase of land, tax cuts, and efforts to join the international World Trade Organization. Since then, Russia has experienced a budget surplus and a growing economy.

Reading Check

Cause and Effect

How did Gorbachev’s reforms cause the breakup of the Soviet Union?
Eastern Europe

Main Ideas
- Gorbachev’s policy of not giving military support to Communist governments created the opportunity for revolution.
- Massive demonstrations peacefully ended some Communist regimes, while violence ended others.

Key Terms
ethnic cleansing, autonomous

People To Identify
Lech Walesa, Václav Havel, Slobodan Milošević

Places To Locate
Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo

Preview Questions
1. What caused the East German government to open its border in 1989?
2. What effect did the 1990 collapse of communism have on Yugoslavia?

Reading Strategy
Categorizing Information  Create a chart listing one or two reasons for, and the results of, revolution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Reasons for Revolution</th>
<th>Results of Revolution</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
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<td>Romania</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
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</table>

Preview of Events
1987
- Poland holds the first free elections in Eastern Europe in forty years

1988
- 1988
  - 1989 Berlin Wall opens; communism falls in Czechoslovakia and Romania

1989
- 1989
  - 1990 Slovenia and Croatia declare independence

1990
- 1990
  - 1991 Serbs pursue policy of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina

1991
- 1991
  - 1992

Voices from the Past
Roy Gutman, a journalist for Newsday, wrote from Bosnia in July 1992:

Visegrad, with a population of about 30,000, is one of a number of towns where Serb forces carried out ‘ethnic cleansing’ of Muslims in the past two weeks, according to the Bosnian government. ‘There was chaos in Visegrad. Everything was burned, looted and destroyed,’ said [one man], 43, who spoke of the terrible events but would give neither his name nor his profession. He escaped only because he was an invalid with a gangrenous [diseased] leg. The survivors of the massacre are the old, the infirm, the women and the children. They are traumatized by what they witnessed, barely able to speak or to control their emotions.

— The Mammoth Book of Eyewitness History, Jon E. Lewis, 2000

Ethnic cleansing was one aspect of an upheaval in Eastern Europe that began in 1989.

Revolutions in Eastern Europe
People in Eastern Europe had not always been happy with their Soviet-style Communist regimes. After Gorbachev made it clear that the Soviet Union would not intervene militarily in their states, revolutions broke out throughout Eastern Europe. By looking at four Eastern European states, we can see how the process worked.

Poland  Workers’ protests led to demands for change in Poland. In 1980, a worker named Lech Walesa (lehk vah•LEHN•suh) organized a national trade union known as Solidarity. Solidarity gained the support of the workers and of the
Roman Catholic Church, which was under the leadership of Pope John Paul II, the first Polish pope. During a period of military rule in the 1980s, Walesa was arrested, but the movement continued.

Finally, after a new wave of demonstrations in 1988, the Polish regime agreed to free parliamentary elections—the first free elections in Eastern Europe in 40 years. A new government was elected, ending 45 years of Communist rule in Poland.

In December 1990, Walesa was chosen as president. Poland’s new path, however, was not an easy one. Rapid free-market reforms led to severe unemployment and popular discontent.

At the end of 1995, Aleksander Kwasniewski, a former Communist, defeated Walesa and became the new president. He has continued Poland’s move toward an increasingly prosperous free market economy.

Czechoslovakia After Soviet troops crushed the reform movement in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Communists used massive repression to maintain their power. Writers and other intellectuals continued to oppose the government, but they initially had little success.

Then, in 1988 and 1989, mass demonstrations took place throughout Czechoslovakia. By November 1989, crowds as large as five hundred thousand were forming in Prague. In December 1989, the Communist government collapsed.

At the end of December, Václav Havel (VAHT• SLAHF HAH•vel), a writer who had played an important role in bringing down the Communist government, became the new president. Havel became an eloquent spokesperson for Czech democracy and a new order in Europe.

Within Czechoslovakia, the new government soon faced old ethnic conflicts. The two national groups, Czechs and Slovaks, agreed to a peaceful division of the country. On January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Václav Havel was elected the first president of the new Czech Republic. Michal Kovác was elected president of Slovakia.

Romania In 1965, the Communist leader Nicolae Ceauşescu, (NEE•koh•lay chow•SHEHS•koo) and his wife, Elena, set up a rigid and dictatorial regime in Romania. Ceauşescu ruled Romania with an iron grip, using secret police to crush all dissent. Nonetheless, opposition to his regime grew.

Ceauşescu’s economic policies led to a sharp drop in living standards, including food shortages and the rationing of bread, flour, and sugar. His plan for rapid urbanization, especially a program that called for the bulldozing of entire villages, further angered the Romanian people.

One incident ignited the flames of revolution. In December 1989, the secret police murdered thousands of men, women, and children who were peacefully demonstrating. Finally, the army refused to support any more repression. Ceauşescu and his wife were captured on December 22 and executed on Christmas Day. A new government was quickly formed.

German Reunification In 1971, Erich Honecker became head of the Communist Party in East Germany. He used the Stasi, the secret police, to rule for the next 18 years. In 1988, however, popular unrest, fueled by Honecker’s harsh regime, led many East Germans to flee their country. Mass demonstrations against the regime broke out in the summer and fall of 1989.

On November 9, the Communist government
surrendered to popular pressure by opening its entire border with the West. Hundreds of thousands of East Germans swarmed across the border. Families and friends who had not seen each other in decades were reunited. People on both sides of the wall began tearing it down. The government, helpless before this popular uprising, ordered the rest of the wall torn down. The Berlin Wall, long a symbol of the Cold War, was no more.

During East Germany’s first free elections in March 1990, the Christian Democrats won almost 50 percent of the vote. The Christian Democrats supported political union with West Germany. The reunification of East and West took place on October 3, 1990. What had seemed almost impossible at the beginning of 1989 had become a reality by the end of 1990—the countries of West and East Germany had reunited to form one Germany.

**Reading Check** Describing How did the inhabitants of Eastern Europe respond to the repression of their totalitarian leaders?

### The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

Although Yugoslavia had a Communist government, it had never been a Soviet satellite state. After World War II, its dictatorial leader, Josip Broz Tito, worked to keep the six republics and two provinces that made up Yugoslavia together. After Tito died in 1980, a collective federal government composed of representatives from the separate republics and provinces kept Yugoslavia under Communist rule. At the end of the 1980s, Yugoslavia was caught up in the reform movements sweeping Eastern Europe. By 1990, new parties had emerged, and the authority of the Communist Party had collapsed.

**Calls for Independence** The Yugoslav political scene was complex. In 1990, the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Macedonia began to lobby for independence. Slobodan Milošević (SLOH•buh•DAHN muh•LOH•suh•VIHCH), who became leader of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia in 1987, rejected these efforts. The populations of these republics included Serb minorities. In Milošević’s view, the republics could only be independent if their borders were re-drawn to include the Serb minorities in a new Greater Serbian state.

After negotiations failed, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence in June 1991. In September 1991, the Yugoslavian army began a full assault against Croatia. Increasingly, the Yugoslavian army was dominated by Serbia, and it was aided by Serb minorities in Croatia. Before a cease-fire was arranged, the Serbian forces had captured one-third of Croatia’s territory in brutal fighting.

**The War in Bosnia** Early in 1992, the Serbs turned their guns on Bosnia-Herzegovina. By mid-1993, Serbian forces had acquired 70 percent of Bosnian territory.

Many Bosnians were Muslims. Toward them, the Serbs followed a policy they called ethnic cleansing—killing them or forcibly removing them from their lands. Ethnic cleansing revived memories of Nazi atrocities in World War II. By 1995, 250,000 Bosnians (mostly civilians) had been killed. Two million others were left homeless.

The violence in Yugoslavia led to NATO involvement.

1. **Interpreting Maps** List the states that formed after the breakup of Yugoslavia and note their capitals.

2. **Applying Geography Skills** Explain why a peace boundary was created in Bosnia in 1995.
In 1995, new offensives by Bosnian government army forces and by the Croatian army regained considerable territory that had been lost to Serbian forces. Air strikes by NATO bombers, strongly advocated by U.S. President Bill Clinton, were launched in retaliation for Serb attacks on civilians.

These attacks forced the Serbs to sign a formal peace treaty on December 14. The agreement split Bosnia into a loose union of a Serb republic and a Muslim-Croat federation. NATO sent a force of sixty thousand troops to monitor the frontier between the new political entities.

The War in Kosovo Peace in Bosnia did not bring peace to the region. A new war erupted in 1998 over Kosovo. In 1974, Tito had made Kosovo an autonomous (self-governing) province within Yugoslavia. Kosovo’s inhabitants were mainly ethnic Albanians who kept their own language and customs.

In 1989, Slobodan Milošević stripped Kosovo of its autonomous status. Some groups of ethnic Albanians founded the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) in the mid-1990s and began a campaign against Serbian rule in Kosovo. In an effort to crush the KLA, Serb forces began to massacre ethnic Albanians. The United States and its NATO allies then sought to arrange a settlement.

After months of negotiations, the Kosovo Albanians agreed in 1999 to a peace plan that would give the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo broad autonomy for a three-year interim period. When Milošević refused to sign the agreement, the United States and its NATO allies began a bombing campaign that forced the Yugoslavian government to cooperate. In the fall elections of 2000, Milošević was ousted from power.

Identifying What events resulted from the disintegration of Yugoslavia?

Critical Thinking
6. Explain Why did the inhabitants of Communist countries in Eastern Europe feel it was safe to rebel in 1989?

7. Summarizing Information Create a chart like the one below listing the Yugoslav republics that wanted independence after 1990, the inhabitants of these republics (if listed), and the reasons the republics fought each other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Republics</th>
<th>Inhabitants</th>
<th>Causes of Fighting</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Study the photo of ethnic Albanians shown on this page. What do they have in common with other victims of oppression throughout history? If you and your family were forced to leave your home, what would be your greatest concerns?

Reading Check Identifying What events resulted from the disintegration of Yugoslavia?

Writing About History
9. Informative Writing Research and write an essay about the Polish Solidarity movement begun by Lech Walesa in 1980. Why was it successful? Be sure to discuss Walesa’s supporters, his adversaries, and the status of the movement today.
IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO DEAL WITH THE WORLD'S problems, some European leaders have pointed to the need for a new perspective. This excerpt is taken from a speech that Václav Havel delivered to the United States Congress on February 21, 1990, two months after he had become president of Czechoslovakia.

"For this reason, the salvation of this human world lies nowhere else than in the human heart, in the human power to reflect, in human meekness and in human responsibility.

Without a global revolution in the sphere of human consciousness, nothing will change for the better in the sphere of our being as humans, and the catastrophe toward which this world is headed—be it ecological, social, demographic or a general breakdown of civilization—will be unavoidable. . . .

We are still a long way from that "family of man." In fact, we seem to be receding from the ideal rather than growing closer to it. Interests of all kinds—personal, selfish, state, nation, group, and if you like, company interests—still considerably outweigh genuinely common and global interests. We are still under the sway of the destructive and vain belief that man is the pinnacle of creation and not just a part of it and that therefore everything is permitted. . . .

In other words, we still don't know how to put morality ahead of politics, science and economics. We are still incapable of understanding that the only genuine backbone of all our actions, if they are to be moral, is responsibility.

Responsibility to something higher than my family, my country, my company, my success—responsibility to the order of being where all our actions are indelibly recorded and where and only where they will be properly judged.

—Václav Havel, Speech to the U.S. Congress

Analyzing Primary Sources

1. What is the difference between the way Václav Havel views politics and the way that most politicians have traditionally viewed politics?
2. Political ideas are of little value unless they can be implemented. What is your opinion—do you think that Havel's ideas could be turned into political reality? Why or why not?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>West German chancellor Willy Brandt wins Nobel Peace Prize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Richard Nixon resigns the presidency of the United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Canadian voters reject independence for Quebec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Main Ideas**
- Western European nations moved to unite their economies after 1970.
- Domestic problems arose in the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Canada.

**People To Identify**
Willy Brandt, Margaret Thatcher, Richard Nixon, Pierre Trudeau

**Places To Locate**
France, Northern Ireland

**Preview Questions**
1. What problems faced Western Europe after 1980?
2. What was the focus of U.S. domestic politics in the 1970s?

**Reading Strategy**
Compare and Contrast — Draw a Venn diagram comparing and contrasting economic policies of Thatcherism with those of the Reagan Revolution.

**Voices from the Past**

A German reporter described violence against foreigners in Germany in 1991:

> The municipality in northern Saxony has a population of just under 70,000, including 70 people from Mozambique and Vietnam who live in a hostel [inn] at the other end of town. The ‘political situation’ was triggered by an attack by a neo-Nazi gang on Vietnamese traders selling their goods on the market square on 17 September. After being dispersed by the police the Faschos [neo-Nazis] carried out their first attack on the hostel for foreigners. The attacks then turned into a regular evening hunt by a growing group of right-wing radicals, some of them minors, who presented their idea of a clean Germany by roaming the streets armed with truncheons, stones, steel balls, bottles and Molotov cocktails.

— The German Tribune, October 6, 1991

Attacks against foreigners by neo-Nazis became a problem in Germany during the 1990s.

**Winds of Change in Western Europe**

Between the early 1950s and late 1970s, Western Europe experienced virtually full employment. An economic downturn, however, occurred in the mid-1970s and early 1980s. Both inflation and unemployment rose dramatically. Undoubtedly, a dramatic increase in the price of oil following the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1973 (see Chapter 30) was a major cause for the downturn. Western European economies recovered in the course of the 1980s, but problems remained.
Uncertainties in France France’s deteriorating economic situation in the 1970s caused a shift to the left politically. By 1981, the Socialists had become the chief party in the National Assembly. The Socialist leader, François Mitterrand, was elected president.

Mitterrand initiated a number of measures to aid workers: an increased minimum wage, a 39-hour work week, and higher taxes for the rich. The Socialist government also nationalized, or took over, major banks, the steel industry, the space and electronics industries, and insurance firms.

Socialist policies, however, largely failed to work, and France’s economic decline continued. In 1993, French unemployment stood at 10.6 percent. In the elections in March of that year, the Socialists won only 28 percent of the vote. A coalition of conservative parties gained 80 percent of the seats in the National Assembly. The move to the right in France was strengthened when the conservative mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, was elected president in May 1995.

From West Germany to Germany In 1969, the Social Democrats, a moderate Socialist party, replaced the Christian Democrats as the leading party in West Germany. The first Social Democratic chancellor of West Germany was Willy Brandt. In March 1971, Brandt worked out the details of a treaty with East Germany that led to greater cultural, personal, and economic contacts between West and East Germany. For this, he received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1971.

In 1982, the Christian Democratic Union of Helmut Kohl formed a new, more conservative government. Kohl was a smart politician who benefited greatly from an economic boom in the mid-1980s. Then events in East Germany led to the unexpected reunification of the two Germanies in 1990. With a population of 79 million people, the new Germany became the leading power in Europe.

The joy over reunification soon faded as new problems arose. It became clear that the rebuilding of eastern Germany would take far more money than had originally been thought.
Kohl’s government was soon forced to face the politically undesirable task of raising taxes. In addition, the virtual collapse of the economy in eastern Germany had led to extremely high levels of unemployment and severe discontent. One result was a return to power for the Social Democrats, who were victorious in the 1998 elections.

The collapse of the economy also led to increasing attacks on foreigners. For years, illegal immigrants and foreigners seeking refuge had found haven in Germany because of its very liberal immigration laws. In 1992, over 440,000 immigrants came to Germany seeking refuge; 123,000 came from former Yugoslavia alone. Increased unemployment and economic problems, however, caused tensions to grow between some Germans and immigrant groups. Attacks against foreigners by right-wing extremists—especially young neo-Nazis who believed in Hitler’s idea of a pure Aryan race—became part of German life.

**Great Britain and Thatcherism**  Between 1964 and 1979, Great Britain’s Conservative Party and Labour Party alternated being in power. One problem both parties had to face was the intense fighting between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. An ailing economy and frequent labor strikes were two other issues that the government struggled to solve.

In 1979, the Conservatives came to power under Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher pledged to limit social welfare, restrict union power, and end inflation. Although she did not eliminate the basic parts of the social welfare system, she did break the power of the labor unions and control inflation.

Thatcherism, as her economic policy was termed, improved the British economic situation, but at a price. The south of England, for example, prospered. Old industrial areas elsewhere, however, were beset by high unemployment, poverty, and even violence.

Thatcher dominated British politics in the 1980s. Only in 1990 did Labour’s fortunes seem to revive. At that time, Thatcher’s government tried to replace local property taxes with a flat-rate tax payable by every adult. In 1990, antitax riots broke out. Thatcher’s popularity fell to an all-time low, and she resigned as prime minister.

The Conservative Party, now led by John Major, continued to hold a narrow majority. His government, however, failed to capture the imagination of most Britons. In new elections in 1997, the Labour Party won a landslide victory. Tony Blair, a moderate, became prime minister.

**The U.S. Domestic Scene**

With the election of Richard Nixon as president in 1968, politics in the United States shifted to the right. Economic issues became the focus of domestic politics by the mid-1970s.

**Nixon and Watergate** In his campaign for the presidency, Nixon believed that “law and order” issues and a slowdown in racial desegregation would appeal to southern whites. The South, which had once been a stronghold for the Democrats, began to form a new allegiance to the Republican Party.
As president, Nixon began to use illegal methods to gain political information about his opponents. Nixon’s zeal led to the Watergate scandal. A group of men working for Nixon’s reelection campaign broke into the Democratic National Headquarters, located in the Watergate Hotel in Washington, D.C. They were caught there trying to install electronic listening devices.

Nixon repeatedly lied to the American public about his involvement in the affair. Secret tapes of his own conversations in the White House, however, revealed the truth. On August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned the presidency rather than face possible impeachment.

**The Carter Administration** Vice President Gerald Ford became president when Nixon resigned, only to lose in the 1976 election to the former governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter. By 1980, the Carter administration was faced with two devastating problems. First, high rates of inflation and a noticeable decline in average weekly earnings were causing a drop in American living standards.

At the same time, a crisis abroad erupted when 52 Americans were held hostage by the Iranian government of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (koh•MAY•nee) (see Chapter 30). Carter’s inability to gain the release of the American hostages contributed to his overwhelming loss to Ronald Reagan in the election of 1980.

**The Reagan Revolution** The Reagan Revolution, as it has been called, sent U.S. policy in new directions. Reversing decades of policy, Reagan cut back on the welfare state by decreasing spending on food stamps, school lunch programs, and job programs. At the same time, his administration oversaw the largest peacetime military buildup in U.S. history.

Total federal spending rose from $631 billion in 1981 to over a trillion dollars by 1987. The spending policies of the Reagan administration produced record government budget deficits. A **budget deficit** exists when the government spends more than it collects in revenues. In the 1970s, the total deficit was $420 billion. Between 1981 and 1987, budget deficits were three times that amount.

**The Clinton Years** George Bush, Reagan’s vice president, succeeded him as president. Bush’s inability to deal with the deficit problem, as well as an economic downturn, enabled a Democrat, Bill Clinton, to be elected president in 1992.

The new president was a southern Democrat who claimed to be a new Democrat—one who favored a number of the Republican policies of the 1980s. This was a clear indication that the rightward drift in American politics was by no means ended by this Democratic victory.

President Clinton’s political fortunes were aided considerably by a lengthy economic revival. Much of Clinton’s second term, however, was overshadowed by charges of presidential misconduct. Clinton was threatened with removal from office when the House of Representatives voted two articles of impeachment—formal charges of misconduct—against him. He was tried in the Senate and acquitted after a bitter partisan struggle. Clinton’s problems, however, helped the Republican candidate, George W. Bush, to win the presidential election in 2000.
Canada

During a major economic recession in Canada in the early 1960s, the Liberals came into power. The most prominent Liberal government of the time was that of Pierre Trudeau (TROO•DOH), who became prime minister in 1968. Although he came from a French-Canadian background, Trudeau was dedicated to preserving a united Canada, while at the same time acknowledging the rights of French-speaking Canadians. His government passed the Official Languages Act, which allowed both English and French to be used in the federal civil service. Trudeau’s government also supported a vigorous program of industrialization.

An economic recession in the early 1980s brought Brian Mulroney to power in 1984. Mulroney’s government sought to return some of Canada’s state-run corporations to private owners. In 1993, Canada approved the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) along with the United States and Mexico. The purpose of NAFTA was to make trade easier and more profitable by establishing guidelines for cooperation between the countries. The agreement, bitterly attacked by many Canadians as being too favorable to the United States, cost Mulroney much of his popularity. In 1993, the Liberal Party came to power with Jean Chrétien as prime minister. Chrétien was reelected in both 1997 and 2000.

Neither Trudeau’s nor Mulroney’s government was able to settle an ongoing crisis over the French-speaking province of Quebec. In the late 1960s, the Parti Québécois (KAY•buh•KWAH), headed by René Lévesque, had begun to advocate that Quebec secede from the Canadian union. In 1980, the party called for a vote that would grant Quebec’s independence from the rest of Canada. In 1990, the party called for a vote that would grant Quebec’s independence from the rest of Canada. In 1995, voters in Quebec narrowly rejected the plan. Debate over Quebec’s status continues to divide Canada.

Summarizing

What was the purpose of the Official Languages Act?
In his 1975 book *Small Is Beautiful*, the British economist E. F. Schumacher wrote:

"We must begin to see the possibility of evolving a new lifestyle, with new methods of production and new patterns of consumption: a lifestyle designed for permanence. To give only two examples: in agriculture, we can interest ourselves in the perfection of production methods which are biologically sound and produce health, beauty and permanence. In industry, we can interest ourselves in small-scale technology, ‘technology with a human face,’ so that people have a chance to enjoy themselves while they are working, instead of working solely for their pay packet and hoping for enjoyment solely during their leisure time."

—*Small Is Beautiful*, E. F. Schumacher, 1973

Schumacher was a major critic of the sometimes destructive aspects of the new science and technology of the postwar world.

**Changes in Women’s Lives**

Since 1970, the number of women in the work force has continued to rise. In Britain, for example, the number of women in the labor force went from 32 percent to 44 percent between 1970 and 1990. Greater access to universities enabled more women to pursue careers in such fields as law, medicine, and government. However, women continued to receive lower wages than men for the same work and to have fewer chances to advance to top positions.
In the 1960s and 1970s, some women in the women’s liberation movement came to believe that women themselves must transform the fundamental conditions of their lives. Women formed “consciousness-raising” groups to make people aware of women’s issues. Gender stereotyping, contraception, and social and economic equality were a few of the issues that became politicized. During this time in the United States, for example, the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts were passed, giving legal support to equal rights for women.

As more women became activists in the 1980s and 1990s, they became involved in other issues. To affect the political environment, some women joined the antinuclear movement. In 1981, for example, a group of women protested American nuclear missiles in Britain by chaining themselves to the fence of an American military base. Other feminists focused on changing cultural attitudes through university programs in women’s studies or worked for environmental causes.

In the 1990s, there was a backlash to the women’s movement as some women advocated a return to traditional values and gender roles. Other women either rejected or attempted to redefine the term “feminism” as the struggle to balance career, family, and personal goals continued for both men and women.

**Reading Check**

**Summarizing** What reforms did women want when they started the women’s movement?

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## The Growth of Terrorism

Acts of terror have become a regular aspect of modern Western society. Bands of terrorists use the killing of civilians (especially by bombing), the taking of hostages, and the hijacking of airplanes to draw attention to their demands or to achieve their political goals.

Some terrorists are militant nationalists who wish to create separatist states. One such group is the Irish Republican Army (IRA), whose goal is to unite **Northern Ireland**, governed by Great Britain, with the Irish Republic. The IRA has resorted to attacks against government and civilian targets. Since the early 1970s, IRA terrorists have been responsible for the deaths of thousands of people.

State-sponsored terrorism has often been an important part of international terrorism. Some militant governments, such as those in Iraq, Syria, Cuba, and North Korea, have provided sanctuary and support to numerous terrorist organizations.

One of the most destructive acts of terrorism occurred on September 11, 2001, in the United States. Four groups of terrorists hijacked four commercial jet airplanes in Boston, Newark, and Washington, D.C. The hijackers flew two of the airplanes directly into the World Trade Center towers in New York City, destroying both buildings and causing a number of surrounding buildings to collapse. A third hijacked plane slammed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The fourth plane crashed into an isolated area of Pennsylvania, diverted from its apparent objective in Washington, D.C. by heroic passengers. Thousands of people were killed, including all persons aboard the airliners.

The U.S. government accumulated evidence indicating that these acts had been carried out by al-Qaeda, the terrorist organization of Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden had used his inherited fortune to train...
Global Terrorism

Terrorist acts became more frequent in the second half of the twentieth century. A growing number of groups have used terrorism as a means to achieve their political goals. The U.S. State Department, for example, has designated close to 30 such groups around the world as Foreign Terrorist Organizations. These groups include urban guerrilla groups in Latin America; militants dedicated to the liberation of Palestine; Islamic militants fighting Western influence in the Middle East; and separatists seeking independent states, such as the Basques in Spain and the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

International terrorists have not limited their targets to their own countries. In 1972, three members of the neo-Marxist Japanese Red Army, who had been hired by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, opened fire at Tel Aviv’s airport in Israel, killing 24 people, chiefly Christian pilgrims from Puerto Rico. The goal of the terrorists was to hurt Israel by discouraging people from visiting there.

Worldwide television newscasts have contributed to the expansion of global terrorism. International terrorists know that these news broadcasts create instant publicity for their causes. Televised images of American commercial jetliners flying into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York in 2001, for example, provided vivid evidence of the war that some militant groups have long threatened to wage against the United States.

Using outside sources, locate recent acts of terrorism that occurred in two separate countries. Compare how these acts were similar and how they were different. Do you think the terrorists will achieve their goals by performing these acts?

Reading Check

Science and Technology

Scientific and technological achievements since World War II have revolutionized people’s lives. During the war, many scientists were recruited by governments to develop new weapons and other instruments of war. Perhaps the most famous product of wartime scientific research was the atomic bomb, created by a team of American and European scientists. Most wartime devices, like the atomic
CHAPTER 28 The Contemporary Western World

In food production.


tinued to disagree over the role science should play

genetically enhanced food intensified as people con-

lands. In 2000, debates over organic farming and

the ecological balance of streams, rivers, and wood-

abundant crops, but these fertilizers also destroyed

fertilizers, for example, were used for growing more

that were damaging to the environment. Chemical

technological advances had far-reaching side effects

environment for their benefit.

assumption that scientific knowledge gave human

beings the ability and the right to manipulate the

Western society. Underlying this alliance was the

to a fast rate of change that became a fact of life in

Progress Never Stops

attempt by Christian thinkers, such as the Protes-

West to build a secular society, religion continued to


to build an atheistic society and the attempts of the


century. Despite the attempts of the Communist world

bring new life to Christianity in the twentieth cen-

A number of religious thinkers and leaders tried to

enlightenment of the eighteenth century, Christianity, as

one response to that collapse. Ever since the Enlight-


ing the twentieth century. The revival of religion was

by governments and large corporations.

A stunning example of how the new scientific estab-

ishment operated is the space race. In 1961, four years

after the Soviet Union sent Sputnik I into orbit, President

Kennedy predicted that the United States would land

astronauts on the Moon within a decade. Massive gov-


government funding enabled the United States to do so in

1969. [See page 1000 to read excerpts from John Glenn's

Progress Never Stops in the Primary Sources Library.)

The postwar alliance of science and technology led

to a fast rate of change that became a fact of life in

Western society. Underlying this alliance was the

assumption that scientific knowledge gave human

beings the ability and the right to manipulate the

environment for their benefit.

Critics in the 1960s and 1970s noted that some

technological advances had far-reaching side effects

that were damaging to the environment. Chemical

fertilizers, for example, were used for growing more

abundant crops, but these fertilizers also destroyed

the ecological balance of streams, rivers, and wood-

lands. In 2000, debates over organic farming and

genetically enhanced food intensified as people con-

continued to disagree over the role science should play

in food production.

Reading Check

How did government-projects help to create a new model for scientific research?

Religious Revival

Many people perceived a collapse in values dur-
ing the twentieth century. The revival of religion was

one response to that collapse. Ever since the Enlight-
enment of the eighteenth century, Christianity, as

well as religion in general, had been on the defensive.

A number of religious thinkers and leaders tried to

bring new life to Christianity in the twentieth cen-
tury. Despite the attempts of the Communist world

to build an atheistic society and the attempts of the

West to build a secular society, religion continued to

play an important role in the lives of many people.

One expression of the religious revival was the

attempt by Christian thinkers, such as the Protes-
tant Karl Barth (BART), to breathe new life into

traditional Christian teachings. In his numerous writ-
ings, Barth tried to show how the religious insights of

the Reformation were still relevant for the modern

world. To Barth the imperfect nature of human beings

meant that humans could know religious truth not

through reason but only through the grace of God.

In the Catholic Church, attempts at religious

renewal came from two popes—John XXIII and John

Paul II. Pope John XXIII reigned as pope for only a

short time (1958 to 1963). Nevertheless, he sparked a

drastic revival of Catholicism when he summoned

the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Catholic

Church. Known as Vatican Council II, it liberalized a

number of Catholic practices. For example, the mass

could now be celebrated in the vernacular languages

as well as Latin. New avenues of communication

with other Christian faiths were also opened for the

first time since the Reformation.

John Paul II, who had been the archbishop of Cra-
cow in Poland before he became pope in 1978, was the

first non-Italian pope since the sixteenth century. Pope

John Paul’s numerous travels around the world

helped strengthen the Catholic Church throughout the

non-Western world. Although he alienated a number

of people by reasserting traditional Catholic teaching

on such issues as birth control and a ban on women in

the priesthood, John Paul II has been a powerful figure

in reminding Catholics of the need to temper the pur-
suit of materialism with spiritual concerns.

Reading Check

Describing What are two ways that

the revival of religion was expressed in the twentieth century?

Trends in Art

For the most part, the United States has dominated

the art world since the end of World War II. American

art, often vibrantly colored and filled with activity,

reflected the energy of the postwar United States.

After 1945, New York City became the artistic center

of the Western world.

Abstractionism, especially abstract expressionism,

was the most popular form of modern art after

World War II. Artists conveyed emotion and feeling

and were less concerned about representing subject

matter. The enormous canvases of the artist Jackson

Pollock are filled with the vibrant energy of abstract

expressionism.

The early 1960s saw the emergence of pop art,

which took images of popular culture and trans-
formed them into works of fine art. Andy Warhol

was the most famous of the pop artists. Warhol took
his subject matter from commercial art, such as Campbell soup cans, and photographs of celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe.

In the 1980s, styles emerged that some have referred to as postmodern. Postmodernism is marked by a revival of traditional elements and techniques, including not only traditional painting styles but also traditional crafts. Weavers, potters, glass-makers, metalsmiths, and furniture makers have all gained respect as postmodern artists.

During the 1980s and 1990s, many artists experimented with emerging technologies such as digital cameras and computer programs to create new art forms. These new art forms are often interactive, and they give the viewer the opportunity to influence the production of the art work itself—a process that blurs the line between the role of the artist and the role of the viewer.

**Reading Check** Describing What are the characteristics of pop art?

### Popular Culture

The United States has been the most powerful force in shaping popular culture in the West and, to a lesser degree, in the world. Through movies, television, and music, the United States has spread its ideals and values of material prosperity—the American Dream—to millions around the world. Other countries object to the influence of American culture. It has often been called “cultural imperialism.” Some nations, notably France, have taken active measures to resist the Americanization of their culture.

Already in 1923, the New York *Morning Post* noted that “the film is to America what the flag was once to Britain. By its means Uncle Sam may hope some day . . . to Americanize the world.” That day has come. Movies were important vehicles for the spread of American popular culture in the years immediately after World War II. In the following decades, American movies have continued to dominate both European and American markets.

Televised did not become readily available until the late 1940s. By 1954, there were 32 million television sets in the United States. Television became the centerpiece of middle-class life. In the 1960s, as television spread around the world, U.S. programs became popular in both European and non-Western nations.

The United States has also dominated popular music since the end of World War II. Jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, rock, and rap have been by far the most popular music forms in the Western world—and in much of the non-Western world—during this time. All of these genres began in the United States, and all are rooted in African American musical forms.

When American popular music spread to the rest of the world, it inspired local artists, who then transformed the music in their own way. For example, in the 1950s, American figures such as Chuck Berry and Elvis Presley inspired the Beatles and other British performers. The Beatles, in turn, led an “invasion” of the United States in the 1960s that inspired new American musicians.

The establishment of the video music channel MTV in the early 1980s changed the music scene by making image as important as sound to the selling of records. In the mid-1990s, teen and pre-teen consumers made performers such as ‘N Sync and Britney Spears into multi-million dollar musical acts.

Between music videos and computer technology, consumer access to a variety of artists and musical genres has grown tremendously. An increasing number of performers are moving beyond regional boundaries to develop international audiences. For example, in the late 1990s, Latin American artists became popular in non-Latin markets. In this way, musical styles and markets continue to expand and diversify.

**Reading Check** Identifying Through what different media has American culture spread throughout the world?
Sports, Television, Politics

In the postwar years, sports became a major product of both popular culture and the leisure industry. Through television, sports were transformed into a worldwide experience. The Olympic Games, for example, could now be broadcast across the globe from any location.

Televised sports were an inexpensive form of entertainment from consumers’ point of view. Fans could now enjoy sporting events without buying tickets. In fact, some sports organizations at first resisted televising events because they feared that it would hurt ticket sales. Enormous revenues from television contracts helped change their minds.

Many sports organizations came to receive most of their yearly revenues from television contracts. The Olympics, for example, are now funded chiefly by American television. These funds come from advertising sponsors.

Sports have become big politics as well as big business. Indeed, politicization has been one of the most important recent trends in sports. Soccer, for example, is a vehicle for national feeling. Although the sport has been a positive outlet for national pride, all too often it has also been marked by violence.

The most telling example of the mix of politics and sport is the Olympic Games. When the Soviets entered Olympic competition in 1952, the Olympics became part of the Cold War. They were known as the “war without weapons.” The Soviets used the Olympics to promote the Communist system as the best path for social progress.

The political nature of the games found expression in other ways as well. In 1972, at the Munich Games, a Palestinian terrorist group seized 11 Israeli athletes as hostages. Two hostages were killed immediately and the other 9 died in a shootout at the airport. The Soviets refused to participate in the Los Angeles Games in 1984 after the United States boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympics.
Preparing A Bibliography

Why Learn This Skill?
In Chapter 22 you learned how to write a report. At the end of any report that you write, you need to list all the sources you used. A bibliography is a list of the books and articles used to research the material in your report.

Learning the Skill
A bibliography must follow a specific format:

- Entries should be arranged alphabetically by the author’s last name. If there is no author, as in an encyclopedia reference, use the words in the title of the article to put it into alphabetical order.
- Different types of sources have different formats:
  
  **Books**  Author’s last name, first name. *Full Title.* Place of publication: publisher, copyright date.

  **Articles from magazines**  Author’s last name, first name. “Title of Article.” *Periodical* in which article appears, Volume number (issue date): page numbers.

  **Articles from newspapers**  Author’s last name, first name (if given). “Title of Article.” *Newspaper* in which article appears, date, section and page numbers. (If the newspaper has more than one edition, the edition should be cited rather than the page number, since the page number might be different in each edition.)


  **Web sites**  Title of referenced source. Web site’s name (if given).
  A Concrete Curtain: The Life and Death of the Berlin Wall.

Practicing the Skill
Review the sample bibliography, then answer the questions that follow.

**Bibliography**

1. Are the bibliography entries in the correct order? Why or why not?
2. What is incorrect in the second book listing?
3. What is incorrect in the article listing?

Applying the Skill
Compile a bibliography for the research report you completed in Chapter 22. Include at least five sources.

Glencoe’s *SkillBuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2*, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
The end of the Cold War brought dramatic economic, political, and social changes to Europe and North America. Many of these changes can be understood through the themes of conflict, change, regionalism, and cooperation. Below, some of the major events in postwar society are categorized according to these themes.

**Conflict**
- Serb forces carry out “ethnic cleansing” of Muslims.
- Terrorism becomes a regular aspect of modern society.
- Soviet troops crush a reform movement in Czechoslovakia.
- Nicolae Ceaușescu is arrested and executed.

**Change**
- The Soviet Union adopts a policy of perestroika under Gorbachev.
- Lech Walesa becomes the first freely elected president of an Eastern European nation in 40 years.
- The national debt triples in the United States during Ronald Reagan’s presidency.
- Television, movies, and music spread American culture throughout the world.

**Regionalism**
- Ethnic Albanians declare Kosovo an independent province.
- Bosnian Serbs fight Bosnian Muslims and Croats.
- Bands of German youths attack illegal immigrants.
- Intense fighting breaks out between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

**Cooperation**
- British women hold an antinuclear protest.
- American culture spreads through popular media.
- East Germany and West Germany are reunited into one nation.
- The Soviet Union and the United States sign the INF Treaty.

**Using Key Terms**
1. _____ was a phase in American/Soviet relations that was marked by decreased tension.
2. Serbian forces engaged in _____ to forcibly remove Bosnian Muslims from their lands.
3. The conservative British economic policy that limited social welfare, restricted union power, and ended inflation was known as _____.
4. _____ spoke out against the repressive Soviet regime.
5. Mikhail Gorbachev introduced _____ to restructure Soviet economic policy.

**Reviewing Key Facts**
6. **Government** What doctrine gave the Soviet Union the right to intervene if communism in another Communist state was threatened?
7. **Economics** What problems arose in Russia after the Soviet Union dissolved?
8. **Society** How did religion contribute to changes in Bosnia and Poland?
9. **Government** List the three Eastern European countries that made peaceful transitions from Communist to free-market societies.
10. **Government** Which countries’ transitions to free-market societies were filled with violence and bloodshed?
11. **Economics** What caused the economic downturn in Western Europe from the mid-1970s to the early 1980s?
12. **Society** What problems surfaced in Germany as a result of reunification?
13. **Culture** Why was the Official Languages Act passed in Canada in 1968?
14. **Society** What goal did women in the United States and Europe work toward when the women’s movement began?
15. **Society** List the methods terrorists use to draw attention to their causes or achieve their political goals.
16. **Science and Technology** Name the World War II invention that has become a fixture in homes, schools, and businesses in the United States and other developed countries.

**Critical Thinking**
17. **Evaluating** What were the results of the Reagan administration’s military buildup?
19. **Analyzing** The United States has been accused of “cultural imperialism.” What positive and negative effects does the spread of American popular culture have? How has American popular culture been influenced in return?

**Writing about History**

20. **Persuasive Writing** In the latter part of the twentieth century, Communist governments ceased to exist in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Countries instantly converted their economic systems from socialist to free-market societies. These conversions created many problems for the new societies. Write a paper listing the problems created by the fall of communism and describe solutions that would have made the transition easier.

**Analyzing Sources**

In his book *Perestroika*, Mikhail Gorbachev wrote:

“There is a great thirst for mutual understanding and mutual communication in the world. It is felt among politicians, it is gaining momentum among the intelligentsia, representatives of culture, and the public at large... Now the whole world needs restructuring, i.e., progressive development, a fundamental change... I believe that more and more people will come to realize that through restructuring in the broad sense of the word, the integrity of the world will be enhanced.”

21. What does Gorbachev think is gaining momentum among the public at large?

22. How does Gorbachev’s quote apply to today’s world?

**Making Decisions**

23. Imagine that it is 1991 and you are in Ukraine, casting a vote for or against independence. What are the reasons you might choose to sever Ukraine from the Soviet Union? Why might you want to remain part of the Soviet Union? What factors do you consider most important? What is your final decision?

24. As the editor of a history textbook, you plan to include a feature on the popular culture of the 2000s. Who would you include as influential musicians, artists, and entertainers? What values do these individuals model? Who are the heroes and who are the superstars? Is there a difference?