

RUSSIA AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE WORLD TODAY



Moscow Demonstration A flag is a powerful symbol. When the Soviet Union dissolved, the Russian people abandoned the nation's hammer and sickle flag. They returned to the tricolor flag that had been introduced by Peter the Great. This giant flag was unfurled at a celebration near the Kremlin. **Change** Why do you think changing the flag was so significant?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Collapse of the Soviet Union
- 2 Soviet Foreign Policy
- 3 Revolution in Eastern Europe
- 4 Literature and the Arts

“I want to become rich, very rich. And I want all the benefits I am entitled to for my brain and my labor, like any entrepreneur in the Western industrial world.”

Mikhail Dimitriev stated his goal bluntly. Like millions of people in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the enterprising St. Petersburg businessman dreamed of the wealth he would gain through his own efforts. After 74 years of communist rule, the Soviet Union and its communist government had collapsed. Many people were now eager to try capitalism—and democracy.

Many Eastern Europeans and former Soviet citizens had doubts about the new system, but most of them were ready for a change. “I cannot go back to working for the state,” observed Vladimir Fedotov, a former bus driver who is

struggling to become a farmer on his own plot of land. "I understand what freedom is now."

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Starting in the late 1980s, revolutionary changes swept across the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. With little bloodshed, the Soviet Union crumbled and the Cold War ended. Nations that had been locked behind the Iron Curtain for more than 40 years struggled to set up democratic governments and reform their economies.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Pressures inside and outside the Soviet Union contributed to its collapse in 1991.
- ▶ As a superpower competing with the United States, the Soviet Union had great influence in world affairs.
- ▶ Although dominated by the Soviet Union, Eastern Europeans never gave up their desire for freedom.
- ▶ Shifting to free market economies has created problems for former communist countries.
- ▶ Russians and Eastern Europeans have made major contributions to literature and the arts.

Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter selections from the following works.

The Song of Prince Igor's Campaign

"Pushkin," Anna Akhmatova

"The Twelve," Alexander Blok

"Babi Yar," Yevgeny Yevtushenko

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

COLLAPSE OF THE SOVIET UNION

FIND OUT

- How did Mikhail Gorbachev try to reform the Soviet system?
- Why did Gorbachev's reforms fail?
- What problems do the former Soviet republics face?

Vocabulary bureaucracy, perestroika, glasnost, autonomy

During the 1970s, the managers of a Soviet factory designed a free-standing clothes rack. In a country where few apartments had closets, this would have been a very useful device. Under the Soviet economic system, however, the factory managers had to apply to the central government for permission to make the clothes rack. The managers filled out the required forms, then waited. A year later, they still had not received permission to make the clothes rack.

This kind of delay was just one of many problems that made the Soviet economy inefficient. During the 1980s, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, tried to reform the system. His reforms, however, triggered reactions that were beyond his control. One of his advisers noted:

“Gorbachev took on this country like my wife takes on cabbage. He thought that to get rid of the dirt, he could just peel off the top layers of leaves. But he had to keep going until there was nothing left.”

Gorbachev's Reforms

When Mikhail Gorbachev became head of the Communist party in 1985, the Soviet



Private Enterprise in Donetsk This woman makes and sells blini, pancakes filled with sugar and jam. Under Gorbachev, the Soviet government encouraged individuals to provide consumer goods and services. However, it tried to limit these small private businesses to students, housewives, and retired persons.

Choice Why do you think the Soviet government restricted private enterprise?

Union faced severe economic problems. Central planning blocked efficient production of consumer goods such as cars, refrigerators, and even basic foods. Because all decisions were made in Moscow, change came slowly. Also, the Soviets relied on a **bureaucracy**, or huge system of officials and government departments, to manage the economy. This bureaucracy, with its corruption and confusing procedures, added to the general inefficiency and made change even harder to achieve.

Economic reorganization. Gorbachev recognized that the Soviet Union would need to undertake major reforms to catch up with the West. He believed this could be achieved by reforming the communist system. He therefore called for **perestroika** (pehr uh STROI kuh), the restructuring of the Soviet economy to make it more efficient and productive.

Under perestroika, the government began to allow factory managers rather than central planners to decide what to produce and how much to charge for goods. It then converted some factories from the production of military goods to the production of consumer goods. Improving the quality of goods became a major goal.

Also, the government gave farmers long-term leases on land they could farm as they chose. By making farmers “masters of the

land,” Gorbachev hoped to increase food production. For the first time since the 1920s, people were allowed to set up independent businesses.

Ending dictatorship. To achieve his economic goals, Gorbachev adopted a policy of **glasnost**, or openness and honesty in discussing the problems his country faced. He wanted people to speak out in favor of change and reforms. Before long, however, glasnost created greater openness within Soviet society on many topics. The government eased censorship. Newspapers and television news programs reported on sensitive issues, such as alcoholism and crime, that had been avoided in the past. The government even allowed some dissidents, such as the human rights activist Andrei Sakharov, to come out of exile.

During the late 1980s, Gorbachev quickened the pace of his reforms. He dismissed corrupt Communist party leaders and took steps to restructure the political system. Power was transferred from the Communist party to an elected legislature.

In 1990, Gorbachev ended the Communist party’s monopoly on leadership. Voters now had a choice of more than one candidate for each public office. Gorbachev hoped these reforms would help people to feel that they had a stake in their country’s future.

Responses to Reform

Gorbachev's reforms failed to improve the Soviet economy. In fact, conditions grew worse. The old, centrally planned economy collapsed before the new market economy could become effective. Shortages of consumer goods became more alarming. In the cities, food became scarce. Many collective farms were trading food directly for goods they needed rather than sending it to city markets. To make matters worse, factories in the cities were reducing their number of workers in an effort to improve efficiency. For the first time since the 1920s, many Soviet workers were unemployed.

The economic hardships led to strikes, and Gorbachev's policies were angrily criticized. Critics such as Boris Yeltsin, a popular Russian leader, called for more rapid and far-reaching reforms. Others thought there had already been too many changes. Many officials, for example, resisted reforms, especially those that threatened their jobs and their special privileges.

At the same time, Gorbachev's move toward democratic government led nationalists in the non-Russian republics to demand **autonomy**, or self-government. In early 1990, Lithuania challenged the Soviet Union by declaring its independence. Latvia and Estonia soon followed its example. These Baltic republics felt little loyalty to the nation that, under Joseph Stalin, had taken control of them in 1940.

Failed coup. As turmoil increased, conservative members of the Communist party removed Gorbachev from office and tried to seize power in August 1991. While most Soviet citizens watched from the sidelines, supporters of reform poured into the streets of Moscow to protest the attempted coup. Leading the resistance was Boris Yeltsin, who had just been elected president of Russia, one of the republics within the Soviet Union.

To succeed, the coup needed the support of the Soviet army. However, many army units refused to take action. Others openly supported Yeltsin. Within a few days, the coup collapsed. Although Gorbachev returned to his post as president of the Soviet Union, the unrest greatly weakened his power.

Breakup of the Soviet Union. One by one the republics declared independence, leaving the Soviet Union an empty shell. By year's end, Gorbachev resigned as head of the Soviet government. Seventy-four years after the Russian Revolution, the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

Challenges to Democracy

After declaring independence, the former Soviet republics faced enormous challenges. Some, including Latvia and Estonia, are tiny countries with limited resources. Others, such as Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan, are large nations with significant resources. All, however, had been used to central economic planning, and their economies had depended on orders dictated from Moscow.

Economic crisis. In the 1990s, the republics set out to establish market economies and democratic political systems. With no experience, they had varied success. The shift from a centrally planned economy to a free



Falling Apart This Russian cartoon pictures the Soviet Union as a train hurtling off the tracks, its wheels rolling away in every direction. The emblem on the locomotive, a hammer and sickle, symbolizes the Soviet Union and communism. The wheels represent some of the republics that had declared their independence. **Change** How did the cartoonist view the breakup?

market economy led to great upheavals. Some governments sold factories, land, and other state-owned properties to individuals. Many factories closed, reducing output and creating high unemployment.

With goods scarce, prices soared. In the past, the government had kept prices for food and other goods low, no matter what it cost to produce them. To achieve a market economy, however, the government had to let prices reflect actual production costs.

Goods gradually reappeared, but many were imported. Most people, especially the elderly on limited incomes, could not afford high-priced imports. Even basic goods were beyond their means.

Political problems. Economic stress spurred unrest. As prices rose and unemployment increased, people became impatient with democracy and market reforms. They listened to former Communist officials or extreme nationalists who offered their own remedies to the economic problems.

Conflicts also erupted among various ethnic and national groups. Russians living in the Baltic republics and elsewhere felt threatened by local nationalist feeling. Border disputes also created tensions in some areas. A bloody conflict raged between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh, an area of Azerbaijan where Christian Armenians outnumber Muslim Azeris.

Other problems arose. Corruption that had existed in Soviet times increased dramatically. Crime, too, soared.

Struggles in Russia. Even the resource-rich Russian Republic faced huge problems. Russian president Boris Yeltsin, a hero in 1991, tried but failed to bring real reform. Conservative foes opposed his programs. In 1993, Yeltsin used force when rebellious members of parliament barricaded themselves inside the parliament building.

Yeltsin also used military force to crush rebels in Chechnya. The non-Russian people of this region wanted independence. A two-year civil war cost many thousands of lives.

By the late 1990s, Yeltsin had won reelection but was ill and increasingly unpopular. Russia was burdened with debt. Its economy was in chaos. Critics like Vladimir Zhirinovsky held the spotlight. An extreme nationalist, Zhirinovsky denounced non-Russian ethnic groups and the West. He won support among Russians unhappy with the failure of reforms to improve their lives.

Western responses. When the Soviet Union broke up, western nations promised to aid the new republics. The West welcomed elections and market reforms. Despite this, they at first gave advice but little aid. In fact, no one knew how to turn a complex, centrally planned economy like Russia's into a successful market economy.



Soaring Prices in Russia

The end of communist rule brought many benefits to Russia, but also some hardships. Prices for consumer goods soared, making it harder for many Russians to afford the things they needed. Here, a woman in Moscow wonders if she has enough money to buy a loaf of bread.

Scarcity Why had many consumer goods been hard to get under communist rule?

Religious Revival



In the days of the Soviet Union, the government-owned television network showed popular movies on the night before Easter. A rare treat, its purpose was to lure people away from midnight church services. In 1991, however, viewers watched as the Easter Mass was celebrated in Moscow's glittering Church of the Epiphany. Cameras even showed the president of the Russian Federation and other senior government officials taking part in the ceremony.

As communism died, religion was reborn, or reemerged from the secrecy the government had imposed on it. In 1990, the Supreme Soviet voted to end government control of religion. For the first time in more than 70 years, churches were allowed to "carry out their activities without any outside interference."

In this new climate, churches reclaimed buildings that had been converted into offices and museums. Priests performed countless baptisms without fear of criticism, and religious organizations printed thousands of Bibles. Non-Christian religions were also revived. Muslims once again called the faithful to pray in mosques, and Jews established new synagogues and religious schools.

The religious revival brought some problems, however. Among the most disturbing was a marked increase in anti-Semitism. As religious freedom grew, so did the attacks on Jewish people and their property. One Russian Jew noted, "When the weather is good, not only children come into the sunlight but also villains."

During the 1990s, a few Russians became very rich. A middle class of entrepreneurs also emerged. For most Russians, however, economic reforms brought painful setbacks, such as unemployment, unpaid wages, and fewer services.

The IMF and World Bank made loans to Russia, but the money was often misspent.

Still, the return of religious freedom was cause for joy. One government official reported on the rebuilding of churches in Moldova:

“The peal of bells can be heard from all over. After being silent for fifty years, the Moldovan bells have come back to life. It is hard to convey the great happiness of seeing a church restored, the joy of hearing the *tip-tap* of a tinsmith covering its dome.”

1. Give three examples of changes that have taken place in the religious life of people in the former Soviet Union.
2. **Making Inferences** Why do you think greater religious freedom might encourage anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance?



In 1998, Russia was on the edge of financial collapse. Under severe pressure, the government continued to sell off state-owned property. It tried to crack down on corruption. It also asked foreign lenders to forgive part of its huge debt. As the new century began, Russia had far to go to achieve its great potential.

SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Mikhail Gorbachev, (b) Boris Yeltsin.
- 2. Define:** (a) bureaucracy, (b) perestroika, (c) glasnost, (d) autonomy.
- 3.** List four economic and political reforms introduced by Gorbachev.
- 4.** (a) How did Gorbachev's reforms affect the Soviet Union? (b) Who opposed his reforms?
- 5.** What events led to the collapse of the Soviet Union?
- 6.** What economic problems did the former Soviet republics face?
- 7. Comparing** In the West, Gorbachev was seen as an important, courageous figure. Many Soviet citizens, however, did not regret his resignation. How would you account for this difference of opinion?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a letter to someone of your age who lives in Russia. Describe, in your view, some of the advantages and disadvantages of a free market economy.

2

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

FIND OUT

- What were the goals of Soviet foreign policy following World War II?
- What issues divided the Soviet Union and the West?
- Why did the collapse of the Soviet Union cause worldwide concern?

Between 1945 and 1991, the Soviet Union was one of the world's two superpowers. Along with the United States, it dominated global affairs. During the Cold War, the com-

petition between the superpowers influenced events in distant parts of the globe, from Vietnam in Southeast Asia to Cuba in the Caribbean.

Rivalry, fear, and mistrust of the western powers shaped Soviet foreign policy. In his memoirs, the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev recalled Stalin's view of the world in the early 1950s:

“Right up until his death, Stalin used to tell us, ‘You’ll see, when I’m gone, the imperialist powers will wring your necks like chickens.’ We never tried to reassure him that we would be able to manage. We knew it wouldn’t do any good.”

Ensuring Soviet Security

Stalin's bitterness toward “imperialist powers” had its roots in Soviet history. After taking power in 1917, Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders called for a worldwide communist revolution against capitalism. During the civil war in Russia that followed the Bolshevik takeover, western nations, including the United States and Great Britain, supported the anti-Bolshevik forces.

Even after the Bolshevik victory, some nations refused to recognize the new Soviet Union because of its call for world revolution. The United States, for example, did not recognize the Soviet Union officially until 1933.

Effects of World War II. During the economic depression of the 1930s, the western powers feared communist revolutions directed by the Soviet Union as much as they worried about Hitler's threats of war. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, however, the western Allies welcomed Stalin's participation in their battle to defeat Germany. During the war, Hitler became the common enemy and the old anti-Bolshevik feelings faded.

As a result of the massive destruction and huge loss of life caused by the German invasion, Stalin was determined to ensure Soviet security in the future. To Stalin, the only way

to protect the Soviet Union was to control Poland, which would serve as a buffer against Germany.

The Allies met several times during the war to determine what should be done once the war ended. At those meetings, Stalin called for friendly governments to be set up in Eastern Europe after Germany was defeated. The western Allies insisted that the countries of Eastern Europe establish democratic governments and hold free elections. Stalin, however, insisted that only communist governments would safeguard Soviet interests in Eastern Europe.

The Cold War develops. When the Soviet army freed Eastern Europe from German occupation during World War II, it installed communist-led governments there. After the war, the Soviets tightened their control of the region. Disputes about the postwar world led to the Cold War.

Stalin felt that he had given the western powers freedom to deal with the defeated Axis nations of Italy and Japan. In return, he expected the West to allow him to make Eastern Europe a Soviet sphere of influence.

Stalin objected to plans to reunite Germany, fearing the revival of a strong German state. Stalin viewed the moves toward German reunification as evidence of western hostility to communism. To counter these threats, he blockaded Berlin and intensified his efforts to

create a strong Soviet bloc. He also invested Soviet resources in the development of nuclear weapons and military equipment.

The communist bloc. Stalin used Eastern Europe to help rebuild the Soviet economy. In East Germany, for example, Soviet troops seized industrial machinery, including entire factories, and sent them to the Soviet Union. During the postwar years, the Soviet Union shaped the economies of Eastern Europe to fill its own needs.

In 1955, to counter NATO, the Soviet Union created the Warsaw Pact, which was a military alliance with its communist neighbors in Eastern Europe. In theory, the Warsaw Pact was formed to guarantee safety and provide defense. In practice, however, the Soviets used Warsaw Pact forces to crush democratic reform movements in Eastern Europe. (See Section 3.)

Relations With the United States

The driving force of the Cold War was the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States. Each side tried to outdo the other in industry, science, technology, education, and athletics, as well as in military strength.

Soviet leaders pointed to their country's achievements as proof that communism was superior to capitalism. They directed this

Armed Forces Parade

The Soviet Union used to display its military power each November on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. During the Cold War, Soviet armed forces became the world's largest military power, with nearly 6 million troops in uniform.

Power Why might a country want to show off its weaponry, such as these missiles?



message to both their own citizens and people in the developing world. In 1957, Nikita Khrushchev gloated when the Soviet Union launched *Sputnik I*, the first artificial satellite to orbit the Earth. He boasted:

“The launching of satellites is the work of the Soviet people, who, under socialism, are making fairy tales into reality.”

A time of tension. The Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union also led to dangerous confrontations and an expensive arms race. Both sides invested huge sums of money in building large armed forces and producing weapons of mass destruction.

On several occasions, the superpowers came close to armed conflict over Berlin. (See Chapter 31.) During the Cuban missile crisis in 1963, the Soviet Union and the United States stood on the edge of nuclear war.

Other confrontations took place in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, where both superpowers sought allies. Often, they supplied arms to rival groups, turning local conflicts into international crises. Whether in Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, or Nicaragua, tens of thousands of innocent people were caught in the cross-fire of the Cold War.

During the 1950s, Khrushchev tried to ease Cold War tensions. He rejected Lenin's belief that war between capitalist and communist nations was necessary and unavoidable. Instead, he supported the idea of “peaceful coexistence,” arguing that the two worlds could exist side by side. In 1959, Khrushchev visited the United States and conferred with President Dwight D. Eisenhower. However, the next year an American spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. That event renewed distrust between the two sides.

During the following three decades, confrontation alternated with efforts to ease tensions. After the Cuban missile crisis, for example, the superpowers installed a Teletype “hot line,” linking Moscow and Washington, D.C. In 1963, the Soviet Union and the United

States signed a treaty that banned nuclear weapons tests in the Earth's atmosphere.

In 1964, Khrushchev's successor, Leonid Brezhnev, returned Russia to Stalin's style of government. He increased censorship, built up the Soviet military, and tightened control of Eastern Europe. Democratic movements, such as those in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, were suppressed. (See page 756.)

Brezhnev declared that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in any socialist country and keep it from changing its government. This Brezhnev Doctrine intensified the Cold War and prolonged the economic and political suffering of Soviet citizens.

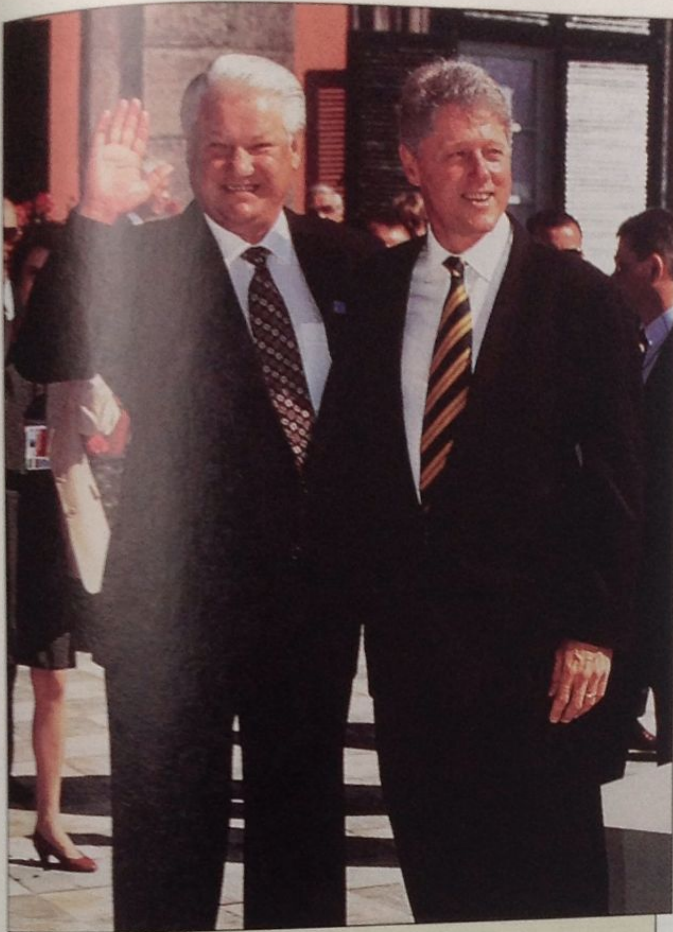
During the 1970s and 1980s, the superpowers attempted to slow the arms race. Yet, at the same time, both sides increased spending on nuclear weapons.

Gorbachev's foreign policy. An important breakthrough came after Gorbachev gained power in 1985. The new Soviet leader introduced a foreign policy based on what he called “new thinking.” Using this policy, Gorbachev genuinely sought peace with the West. In 1987, the superpowers signed an agreement eliminating a major category of nuclear weapons—intermediate-range guided missiles based in Europe. Gorbachev then took other steps to end the Cold War, including withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan and Eastern Europe.

The growing cooperation between the superpowers led to the settlement of various conflicts throughout the world. In Namibia and Ethiopia, for example, the superpowers supported efforts to end long-standing civil wars. In 1990, Gorbachev won the Nobel Peace Prize for his role in promoting world peace.

Relations With the Developing World

After World War II, the Soviet Union supported the goals of nationalist and communist revolutions throughout the world. It provided many countries with military and economic aid. The Soviet Union, for example, helped



Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton The presidents of Russia and the United States take a break from a 1994 economic summit. Yeltsin pushed to have Russia recognized as an important member of the world economic community.

Interdependence How did Yeltsin's desire to be treated as an equal partner with the world's economic leaders reflect concern about global interdependence?

Egypt build the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s. In addition, many students from developing countries attended Soviet universities.

Asia. With Soviet military aid, Chinese Communists won power in 1949. During the early 1950s, the People's Republic of China relied on Soviet economic and technical aid. Later, the two nations became rivals for leadership of the world communist movement and even clashed along their border.

Elsewhere in Asia, the Soviet Union supported communist governments in North Korea and North Vietnam. To counter the spread of communism in these areas, the United States extended aid to South Korea

and South Vietnam. Although Soviet ground forces did not fight in the Vietnam War, the North Vietnamese received extensive aid from the Soviet Union.

In 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan to help a communist government that had seized power there. For eight years, Soviet troops suffered heavy losses as Afghan rebels, supplied by the United States, waged a guerrilla war against the Communists. In 1988, Gorbachev finally withdrew Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

Latin America. For the Soviet Union, Cuba was an important outpost of communism in the Western Hemisphere. As a result, the government gave Cuba billions of dollars annually in economic and military aid. Between 1959 and 1990, the Soviet Union helped Cuba to introduce modern technology in its sugar industry and to set up improved health care and educational systems.

During the 1980s, the Soviet Union also sent aid to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. The United States responded to Soviet activities in Latin America by imposing economic blockades against Cuba and Nicaragua. It also supplied arms and supplies to rebel military groups. (See Chapter 23.)

Relations With the World

After the Soviet Union broke up, each republic set its own course in world affairs. As the largest and most powerful republic, the Russian Federation* inherited the Soviet Union's membership in the United Nations and its place on the UN Security Council. It also controlled much of the former Soviet Union's military and industrial resources.

Economic links. As the former Soviet republics shifted to market economies, they sought ties with wealthy industrial nations. They needed capital from Japan and the West to invest in new enterprises. Some republics, such as Latvia and Estonia, hoped to be admitted to the European Union.

* The republic known as the Russian Federation is often simply called Russia.

Newly Independent Nations



The power of the Soviet government held together a vast and diverse population of European and Asian peoples. When this central power weakened, it opened the way for the breakup of the nation.

- 1. Region** Which of the former republics probably identify more closely with Europe than with Asia? Why?
- 2. Interaction** Choose five of the new nations and describe one favorable or unfavorable feature of its geography. (See the map on page 708.)
- 3. Applying Information** (a) What could the new nations gain by forming an economic community like the European Union? (b) Why might they hesitate to do so?

The United States and other western powers encouraged the former Soviet republics to build market economies. Over the years, they provided the struggling republics with loans and limited aid. Western economists shared their knowledge and experience. Entrepreneurs set up joint business ventures, hoping to profit by producing goods needed by the republics. By the late 1990s, however, financial problems, corruption, and other issues led some foreign companies to cut back on investments.

Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and other republics border the Caspian Sea, which has large

oil reserves. Foreign oil companies talked of investing in a pipeline to get the oil to market. Low oil prices in the late 1990s cooled interest in the costly pipeline project, although it may still be built. Also, a huge debate erupted over the pipeline's route.

Dismantling nuclear weapons. After the Cold War ended, Russia's stockpile of nuclear weapons worried western powers. The weapons were located in Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. Russia controlled the weapons, but many people feared that individual republics might sell their weapons to earn badly needed cash.

To prevent this, the United States negotiated agreements with all four republics. It provided technical and financial aid to help dismantle the weapons. It tried to buy up surplus, or extra, nuclear materials and urged the new republics to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

A related issue concerned nuclear scientists trained in the Soviet Union. The West feared that underpaid or unemployed scientists in the new Russia might sell their skills to countries wanting to build nuclear weapons. To avoid this, the United States and other western nations funded a research institute in Russia. It offered jobs to scientists who would work on finding peaceful uses for nuclear energy.

SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) *Sputnik I*, (b) peaceful coexistence, (c) Brezhnev Doctrine.
- (a) What were Stalin's goals for the Soviet Union after World War II? (b) How did he try to achieve them?
- (a) Why did the United States refuse to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933? (b) Why did relations between the Soviet Union and the United States grow tense after World War II?
- How did each of the following try to ease Cold War tensions: (a) Nikita Khrushchev, (b) Mikhail Gorbachev?
- What policies did the Soviet Union adopt toward developing nations?
- (a) Why did the new republics seek ties with industrial nations after the breakup of the Soviet Union? (b) What steps did western nations take to resolve issues concerning nuclear weapons?
- 7. Forecasting** Has the end of the Cold War made the world a more peaceful place? Explain.
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a segment for a television news program describing how the collapse of the Soviet Union has affected the lives of ordinary Americans.

3

REVOLUTION IN EASTERN EUROPE

FIND OUT

- What was the relationship between Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union after World War II?
- Why were some Eastern European nations able to achieve democracy in 1989?
- What problems do the nations of Eastern Europe face today?

In early 1990, President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia addressed the United States Congress. Only a few months earlier, Havel had been held in a Czech prison. His crime was speaking out against communism. He told Congress:

“When they arrested me [in October 1989], I was living in a country ruled by the most conservative communist government in Europe, and our society slumbered beneath the pall of a totalitarian system. Today, less than four months later, I am speaking to you as the representative of a country that has set out on the road to democracy. It is very strange indeed.”

Havel was describing the remarkable revolution that swept across Eastern Europe. Within months, communist governments in the region fell to the forces of democracy. The swift changes created great opportunities for political and economic development. Yet they also presented difficult challenges for the future. By 1993, Czechoslovakia itself had split into two separate nations.

Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe

At the end of World War II, the Soviet Union imposed communist governments on the nations of Eastern Europe. In each country, the Soviet army helped the local Communists set up a system of one-party rule. To maintain their power, the Communists ended freedom of expression, attacked religion, and relied on police spies and terror to silence critics.

Economic life. The economic life of Eastern Europe mirrored that of the Soviet Union. From Poland to Hungary to Bulgaria, governments nationalized all industry and ended private enterprise. They drew up five-year plans, stressing heavy industry and military spending at the expense of consumer goods and housing. They also set up collective farms in some areas.

Eastern European nations traded with one another and with the Soviet Union on terms that favored the Soviets. Under Soviet domination, these countries ended their pre-war ties with Western Europe.

Yugoslavia under Tito. The Soviet Union imposed its will on most Eastern European nations, but Marshal Josip Tito steered his own course in Yugoslavia. During World War II, Tito had led the Yugoslav resistance during the German occupation. After the war, he took power in Yugoslavia.

Although he was a communist dictator, Tito did not accept Soviet authority. During the Cold War, he declared that Yugoslavia was neutral and refused to join the Warsaw Pact. His death in 1980, however, left Yugoslavia without a strong leader.

Upheavals in the Soviet Bloc

Despite Soviet domination, the people of Eastern Europe never accepted the loss of their independence. In 1953, for example, strikes and anticommunist riots broke out in several cities in Czechoslovakia. Soviet tanks crushed similar uprisings in East Germany. By 1956, when Khrushchev eased the terror of the Stalin era, the peoples of Eastern Europe

had begun to renew their demands for greater freedom.

Unrest in Poland. In Poland, workers demanding “bread and freedom” staged strikes and riots in 1956. In response to the crisis, Khrushchev allowed Wladyslaw Gomulka, a Polish Communist known for his strong nationalist feelings, to take over the Polish government. Gomulka managed to quiet the unrest and gain greater autonomy for Poland by reassuring the Soviets that Poland would remain a loyal member of the Warsaw Pact. He ended collectivization and permitted some private enterprise. He also stopped attacks on the Catholic Church.

As other Eastern European writers had done, writers in Poland joined the protest against Communist party rule. The Polish author Stanislaw Lem used satire to convey his message. Because of strict censorship, he disguised his criticism of the government by setting his novel *Star Diaries* on a distant planet. In one incident, the government of the planet sets up an irrigation system that floods the land. Instead of admitting its error, the government recommends that people learn to breathe underwater.

Hungarian uprising. Encouraged by the example set by Poland, students and workers protesting in Hungary brought Imre Nagy (noj), a liberal communist reformer, to power in 1956. Like Tito and Gomulka, the Hungarian leader was a nationalist. He forced Soviet troops to leave Hungary and ended one-party rule. But unlike Gomulka, he withdrew Hungary from the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet Union responded by sending troops to crush the Hungarian uprising. Thousands of Hungarians died in the bitter fighting that followed, and more than 200,000 fled to the West. Nagy was arrested and later executed. Many Hungarians felt that the western powers had betrayed their democratic revolution by failing to come to their aid.

Prague Spring. In the mid-1960s, Eastern European nations followed the foreign policy set by Leonid Brezhnev in the Soviet Union, but slowly gained some power over local affairs. In the spring of 1968, reformers won

control of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia. Leading the reform movement was Alexander Dubcek (DOOB chehk). He wanted to blend democracy with socialism to create what he called "socialism with a human face." Dubcek eased rigid central planning, ended censorship, and limited the powers of the secret police. This period of freedom became known as the Prague Spring, named for Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia.

Unlike Hungary under Nagy, Czechoslovakia did not withdraw from the Warsaw Pact. Still, Dubcek's reforms disturbed hard-line Communists in Moscow and elsewhere in Eastern Europe. To them, Czechoslovakia was setting a dangerous example for other nations in the Soviet bloc.

In August 1968, the Soviet Union sent hundreds of thousands of Warsaw Pact forces to occupy Czechoslovakia. They ended the reforms of the Prague Spring and restored a hard-line communist dictatorship.

Poland's Path to Democracy

In Poland, price increases and food shortages brought renewed protests and strikes by workers. In 1980, shipyard workers in the port city of Gdańsk formed a trade union called Solidarity. Led by Lech Walesa (vah LEHN sah), Solidarity won government recognition and became the first independent trade union in any Soviet bloc nation.

With the support of the Polish people and the Catholic Church, Solidarity made demands for major political and economic reforms. Alarmed at Solidarity's growing strength, the Soviet Union pushed the Polish communist government to declare martial law. As a result, the Polish government outlawed Solidarity and arrested its leaders. The crackdown created widespread support for Solidarity and further undermined Communist party authority in Poland. Although martial law ended in 1983, the Polish government failed to improve economic conditions.

By the late 1980s, Gorbachev had renounced the Brezhnev Doctrine, leaving Eastern Europeans free to pursue their own



Prague Spring In the spring of 1968, people's hopes for freedom in Czechoslovakia grew. They decorated this statue of King Wenceslaus with flowers and nationalist slogans. Soon after, Soviet tanks and troops crushed the democratic demonstrations.

Political Systems Why did the Soviets fear democratic movements in their satellites?

goals. As the Polish economy collapsed, the government again legalized Solidarity.

In 1989, the Polish government agreed to hold elections. In their first free elections in 50 years, the Poles rejected communism and swept Solidarity candidates to victory. The newly elected government then set out to dismantle socialism and create a capitalist economy.

Other Victories for Democracy

The dramatic developments in Poland set the stage for similar changes in other nations of Eastern Europe. With amazing speed, totalitarian communist dictatorships disappeared as people demanded democratic governments committed to free market economies.

As the effects of Gorbachev's policies were felt across Eastern Europe, a reform movement forced the Hungarian Communist party to give up power. In 1989, events dramatized this shift in power. More than 30 years after Imre Nagy was executed for leading the Hungarian uprising, he received a hero's funeral. In 1990, elections gave non-Communists a huge victory in Hungary.

In 1989, protests erupted in Czechoslovakia. Without Soviet troops to help them, the communist leaders resigned. Václav Havel, a writer and human rights activist, was released from prison and elected president.

In East Germany, too, mass protests led to the downfall of the hard-line communist government. On November 9, 1989, a new government opened up the Berlin Wall. Soon Germans were tearing down the hated wall, and the two Germanies were reunited by 1990. (See Chapter 31.)

In Romania, a brief but fierce struggle ended with the execution of Nicolae Ceausescu (chah SHEHS koo), the country's cruel dictator. Bulgaria and Albania also held elections to decide their future.

Economic and political struggles. In Eastern Europe, the change from communism to capitalism posed many problems. Most nations there faced severe economic hardships as they made reforms. Old state-run industries shut down. Production fell and unemployment rose. Prices soared and many people faced poverty.

Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia formed a regional free trade association to ease their problems. Germany invested heavily in Eastern Europe. Still, economic hardships remained.

Political unrest. Economic problems contributed to political instability. Many political parties emerged, making it hard to form coalition governments. Frustrated by the slowness of reforms to bring change, people in some countries stayed away from the polls. In some elections, former Communists won seats in the legislatures.

Ethnic tensions increased. As you have read, Czechoslovakia peacefully divided into

two nations. Hungarians in Romania and Turks in Bulgaria faced discrimination. Anti-Semitism also resurfaced in Eastern Europe.

Wars in Yugoslavia. Ethnic and religious tensions flared into civil war in Yugoslavia. The country was created after World War I out of a patchwork of rival groups, including Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, and Muslims. For many years, the communist dictator Tito held the ethnically diverse nation together with his iron rule. After the fall of communism, ethnic, religious, and other conflicts resurfaced.

The Serbs who had dominated Yugoslavia wanted to hold onto power. By 1992, however, Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia had broken away to form independent states. In Bosnia, a brutal war raged. Bosnian Serbs, supplied by Serbs in Yugoslavia, fought Croats and Muslims.

During the war, all sides committed atrocities. The Serbs pushed a vicious campaign of "ethnic cleansing," expelling other ethnic groups from territory they controlled. Thousands of Bosnian Muslims were killed in mass executions.

Finally, in 1995, NATO took action. It launched air strikes against the Bosnian Serb military. That move forced all parties into peace talks. The United States helped bring about the Dayton accords, a framework for peace that was signed by Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia. While international peacekeepers monitored the accords in Bosnia, another crisis erupted in the province of Kosovo.

Up Close

Refugees From Terror

The hammering on the door terrified 17-year-old Adil Avdylaga. "This place is ours," an armed and masked intruder shouted. "If you want to live, then you must go."

Adil's experience was repeated across Kosovo. She and her family were among hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians who fled or were expelled from Kosovo in early 1999.

Autonomy ended. About 90 percent of Kosovo's population were ethnic Albanians. Many were Muslim. The rest were Serbs, mostly Orthodox Christians. Until 1989, Kosovo enjoyed autonomy, or self-rule, within Yugoslavia. That year, Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic ended autonomy for Kosovo. When the Kosovars protested, Milosevic sent in troops. As Serb oppression increased, rebels set up the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). It waged guerrilla war against the Serbs.

As the conflict grew, the UN and NATO held urgent peace talks. They wanted to avoid a repeat of the massacres in Bosnia.

NATO air strikes. When peace talks failed, NATO launched air strikes in 1999. It wanted to force Milosevic to stop his campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

As NATO bombs rained on Serb targets, Serb forces in Kosovo turned on ethnic Albanians. Soon refugees were flooding into Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro. They arrived in cars and buses, on tractors and horse-drawn carts. Many hobbled on foot over the mountains. At border checkpoints, Serb officials took their money, jewelry, and passports so that they could not return.

The refugees filled vast tent cities that were thrown up almost overnight. Despite the crowded conditions, the camps were a welcome sight to refugees. "I feel so happy, so lucky, because I am free," said Elezi Shkendiji of Prizren. "I am not scared anymore."

Appeals to history. Both ethnic Albanians and Serbs use history to justify their claims to Kosovo. Serbs recall the 1389 battle of Kosovo Polje. Serbs were defeated there by Ottoman invaders, but the battle became a symbol of Serb resistance to Ottoman rule. Serbs see Kosovo as a holy place because of its many old monasteries and churches. Albanians, meanwhile, claim that their ancestors were in the area long before the Serbs arrived.

Milosevic waged a propaganda campaign to win sympathy at home and abroad. He compared NATO air strikes to Hitler's attack on Yugoslavia during World War II.



Refugees from Kosovo As fighting raged, hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians fled Kosovo. Here, a Kosovar woman heads for a truck that will take her to Albania. She carries nothing with her but her bedding.
Diversity How did ethnic differences lead to conflict in Kosovo?

Western nations responded by comparing Milosevic's actions to war crimes committed by the Nazis.

Going home. While leaders on both sides argued, refugees had only one goal. "I will not stay in Macedonia long," says Irgan, who fled his village in Kosovo. "We will go back home one way or another."

After more than two months of NATO bombs, Serbia accepted peace terms. Serb forces agreed to leave Kosovo, and NATO and Russian peacekeeping forces entered the province.

Looking ahead. Despite the peace agreement, the scars of war remained vivid in Kosovo—and in Yugoslavia. Serb land mines in Kosovo posed a deadly danger. Human rights experts collected grim evidence of Serb massacres of ethnic Albanians. Many Serb residents of Kosovo feared that returning refugees would take revenge on them. In Serbia itself, NATO bombs had destroyed factories and transportation systems. On both sides of the conflict, people faced the task of rebuilding lives ravaged by war. ■

SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Václav Havel, (b) Marshal Josip Tito, (c) Wladyslaw Gomulka, (d) Imre Nagy, (e) Alexander Dubcek, (f) Prague Spring, (g) Solidarity, (h) Lech Walesa, (i) Slobodan Milosevic.
- 2.** How did the Soviet Union dominate Eastern Europe after World War II?
- 3.** How did political changes lead to economic changes in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s?
- 4.** List three economic problems that Eastern European nations faced as they changed from communism to capitalism.
- 5.** How did ethnic tensions surface as communism declined in Eastern Europe?
- 6. Linking Past and Present** Why were the reforms made in Eastern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s more successful than those attempted in the 1950s and 1960s?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** There is an old saying among southern Slavs: “The Balkans are the despair of tidy minds.” Write a paragraph explaining what you think this saying means.

4

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

FIND OUT

Who were some outstanding figures of Russian literature?

How did communism influence literature and the arts?

What influences shaped Russian art and music?

Vocabulary socialist realism

When the poet Alexander Pushkin lay near death, crowds of people flocked to his home to ask about his health. Although many

of his admirers could not read, they knew Pushkin’s poems by heart.

In Russia, the arts—especially literature—play a major role in society. Russians love art and literature, and they admire creative artists. To Russians, the artist is an important social critic and a seeker of truth. In the words of the novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn:

“ In the struggle against lies, art has always won and always will. Lies can stand up against much in the world, but not against art. ”

Russian Literature

Russian literature emerged during Kievan times, around the late 900s. Early writings were, for the most part, religious works such as hymns and biographies of saints. Russians also had a rich oral tradition of folktales and epic poems. Many of these tales and poems inspired later writers.

Russia’s most famous early work is *The Song of Prince Igor’s Campaign*, which was composed in about 1190. This poem vividly describes Prince Igor’s unsuccessful campaign against foreign invaders. Its unknown author summons the princes of Russia to unite against a common enemy.

“ Brothers and warriors!
It is better to be killed in battle, than
to become a captive.
Let us mount our swift steeds,
brothers!
Let us view the blue river Don. ”

By the 1600s, western influences had begun to affect Russian literature. Under Peter the Great and his successors, French, German, and English works were translated into Russian. During the 1800s, Russia enjoyed a “golden age” of literature. Russian poets and novelists produced masterpieces that were hailed throughout the world.

Writers, however, were restricted by official censorship. Often, censors required an

author to remove passages that were critical of the czar. To avoid censorship, writers wove criticism into the plots of their novels. Sometimes, it was overlooked by the censors.

Pushkin. Among Russians, the most honored writer is the poet Alexander Pushkin. Two of his best-known works are *Eugene Onegin* and a short story, "The Queen of Spades," which is about a heartless gambler who loses a fortune—and his mind. The poem "The Bronze Horseman" is another one of Pushkin's masterpieces. (See page 706.)

Pushkin came from a noble Russian family. On his mother's side, he was descended from Ibrahim Hannibal, an Ethiopian prince who had served at the court of Peter the Great. By age 16, Pushkin had already achieved fame as a poet. However, his writings on freedom aroused the suspicion of the government, and he was exiled to a remote province in southern Russia. Later, he was confined to his family's estate. Pushkin's turbulent life ended before he was 40, when he died of wounds suffered in a duel. (See Connections With Literature, page 808, "The Bridegroom.")

Through his poetry and prose, Pushkin had enormous influence on other Russian writers. Today, young Russians can quote long passages from his works. In a poem titled "Pushkin," Soviet poet Anna Akhmatova acknowledges the debt of gratitude Russians express toward their greatest poet:

“ A swarthy youth wandered
By himself at the edge of the lake.
For a hundred long years we have
cherished
The slight rustle his far footsteps
make. ”

Realism. In the late 1800s, two giants of Russian literature emerged—Feodor Dostoevski (daw staw YEHV skee) and Leo Tolstoy. Both displayed elements of realism in their work. They believed that they had a duty to portray life honestly and to campaign for political reform.

As a young man, Dostoevski and several of his friends were arrested and condemned



Tolstoy Reading A member of a prosperous noble family, Leo Tolstoy was troubled by the great inequalities that existed in Russian society. In his later years, he preached nonviolence, gave away much of his wealth, and lived as simply as he could. Art, he believed, should transmit "the highest and best feelings to which men have risen."

Fine Art What does this painting suggest about Tolstoy?

to death for belonging to a group of radical thinkers. As they were led before a firing squad, they were suddenly told that their sentence had been changed to exile. The czar had planned the fake execution to frighten them.

The experience left a deep impression on Dostoevski, and he included a similar scene

in his novel *The Idiot*. In other novels, such as *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dostoevski explored universal themes such as the struggle between good and evil and the destructive effects of greed on human relationships. His works expressed a deep belief in Christian values and in the basic goodness of the Russian people.

One of Tolstoy's best-known works is *War and Peace*. This massive historical novel revolves around Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812. In *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy rejects the self-indulgent manners and values of his times. Among Tolstoy's many short stories is "The Death of Ivan Ilyich," which portrays the terror of a judge who realizes that he is dying. (📖 See Connections With Literature, page 808, "How Much Land Does a Man Need?")

Soviet Literature

By 1917, many Russian writers were in tune with revolutionary ideas. Poets like Alexander Blok welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution. In "The Twelve," he captured the spirit of the revolution as a force that was sweeping across Russia like a purifying wind.

“Black the night.
White the snow.
Blow, wind, blow—
You can't keep on your feet—hold tight!
Blow, wind, blow—
Over all of God's world go! ”

Another great poet of the Bolshevik Revolution was Vladimir Mayakovsky. With startling, sometimes humorous, images and shocking language, Mayakovsky forced readers to take notice of what was going on around them. After a visit to the United States in 1925, he wrote "Americans Wonder," a poem that ends with a friendly promise that the Soviets "will not only catch up with but will overtake" the United States.

Propaganda and censorship. "Literature must become Party [Bolshevik] literature," declared Lenin. In the 1920s, the Soviet government used literature—and the other arts—as a propaganda tool. A movement known

as **socialist realism** emerged. Through their works, writers and artists glorified socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideas. They portrayed the evils of capitalism and boosted family ideals, loyalty to the revolution, and the importance of hard work.

Under Stalin, the government exercised tight control over Soviet writers. All authors were required to join the Union of Soviet Writers if they wanted to have their works published. Many writers were persecuted, imprisoned, or killed.

The thaw. During the Khrushchev era, the government eased censorship. One of the books published during the "thaw" was Alexander Solzhenitsyn's novel *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, which was based on the author's experiences in a forced labor camp. (📖 See World Literature, "The One Great Heart", page 768.) Khrushchev used the story, which exposed the harsh conditions in prison camps, to discredit Stalin.

The poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko also published works that were critical of Stalin's government. In "Babi Yar," he expressed outrage at the anti-Semitism that led to the massacre of about 34,000 Ukrainian Jews during World War II.* In this poem, Yevtushenko took a great risk by referring not only to German anti-Semitism but to Russian anti-Semitism as well.

“Wild grasses rustle over Babi Yar,
The trees stare down, stern as my
judge,
Silent the air howls. . . .
And I am every old man shot down here
And every child.
In no limb of my body can I forget. ”

Despite the thaw, Boris Pasternak could not get his novel *Dr. Zhivago* published in the Soviet Union. When Pasternak won the Nobel Prize for literature, the Soviet government forced him to refuse the award.

Samizdat. To avoid government censorship, writers who criticized the government turned to *samizdat* (sahm ihz DAHT), a system

* At Babi Yar in Ukraine, German troops murdered about 34,000 Jews on two days in September 1941.

for publishing their work secretly. Writers circulated samizdat literature among themselves and had their works smuggled out of the country for publication abroad. Samizdat publishing continued until glasnost granted Soviet writers greater freedom of expression.

The Visual Arts

The art and architecture of early Russia were associated with the Church. As a result, they reflected Byzantine influences. Architects adapted features of Byzantine churches, including the onion-shaped dome. Like the Byzantines, artists decorated churches with mosaics and frescoes that depicted stories from the Bible.

In later years, Russians developed their own styles, which were simpler and warmer than those they had borrowed from the Byzantines. They emphasized vivid colors and excelled in the art of painting icons.

During the Renaissance, Russians hired Italian artists and architects to build and dec-

orate many of their palaces and churches. Peter the Great used architects from Western Europe to design and build his new capital at St. Petersburg.

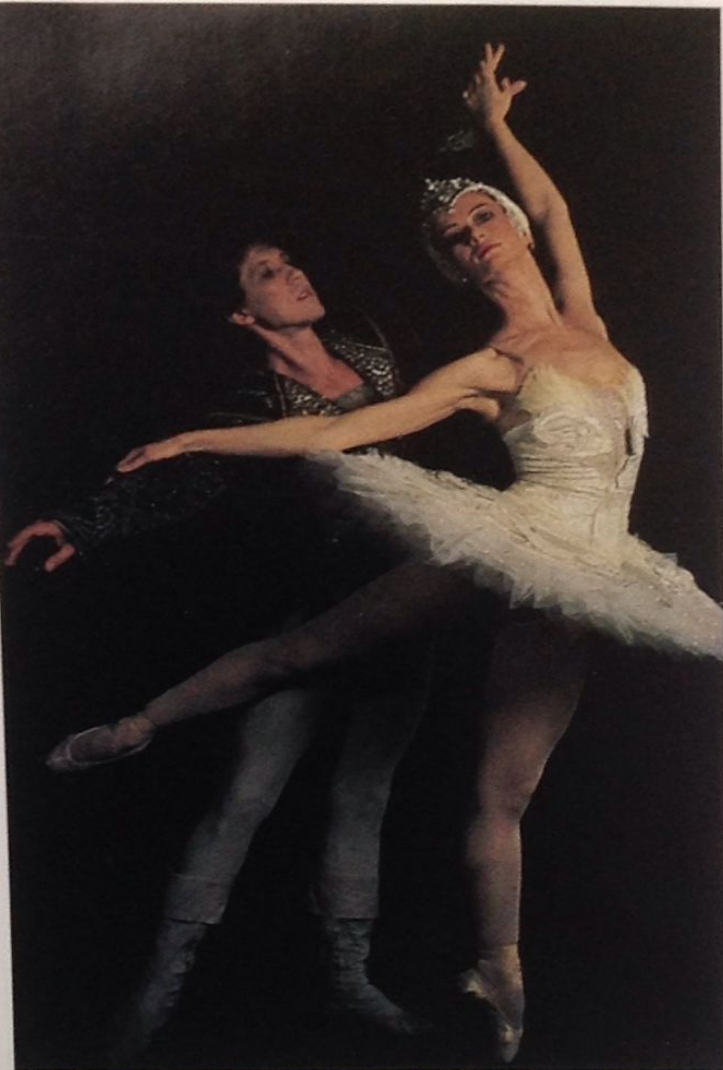
By the 1600s, Russian artists had begun to focus on secular as well as religious themes, and Russian painters had adapted Western European styles. During the 1800s, realist painters used their art to protest the injustices they saw in society.

After Stalin's rise to power, Soviet artists had to conform to the strict requirements of socialist realism. Art had to serve the state by glorifying socialism and Stalin. Typical paintings showed heroic workers breaking the chains of capitalism or fearless soldiers carrying the Soviet flag into battle against the enemies of socialism.

Artists who refused to observe the official style were severely criticized and prevented from exhibiting their work. They were denied studios, art materials, and contact with friends. In some cases, they were declared insane and put in mental institutions.

The Lightermen Artist Nikolai Andronov painted this group of workers on a lighter—a type of barge—during the early 1960s. The simplified outlines and vivid colors reflect the influence of modern art. However, the subject of the painting—strong, determined laborers—is typical of socialist realism. **Fine Art** Why might this painting appeal to Soviet workers?





Russian Dancers These members of the Moscow Ballet are performing a duet from *Swan Lake*. Modern Russian composers noted for their ballet music include Igor Stravinsky (*The Firebird*, *The Rite of Spring*), Sergei Prokofiev (*Romeo and Juliet*), and Dmitri Shostakovich (*The Age of Gold*).

Human Rights Why do you think some Russian dancers wanted to escape to the West during the 1960s and 1970s?

The Performing Arts

By the 1800s, the Russian Empire included hundreds of ethnic groups. The history, folklore, and dance of these groups greatly enriched the performing arts.

Music. In music, as in literature, the 1800s was a “golden age.” Russian composers combined folk, religious, and western traditions to create musical masterpieces.

Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky (chī KOF skee) helped develop a distinctly Russian school of

music that expressed strong national pride. Tchaikovsky’s music for the ballets *Swan Lake* and the *Nutcracker* is still immensely popular in the West. Modest Mussorgsky (muh SOORG skee) used themes from Russian history to create such operas as *Boris Godunov*.

The Soviet Union has produced many international performers. Among its best-known musicians have been the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, the pianist Sviatoslav Richter, and the violinist David Oistrakh.

Dance. Russia—and later the Soviet Union—enriched the world of dance. In the late 1800s, classical ballet flourished in Moscow and St. Petersburg. Since then, the Bolshoi and Kirov ballet companies have produced many world-famous dancers. During the 1960s and 1970s, several Soviet dancers, including Rudolf Nureyev, Mikhail Baryshnikov, and Natalia Makarova, fled to the West.

In the 1930s, Igor Moiseyev organized the Moiseyev Dance Company. He adapted folk dances from the many Soviet nationalities. The company traveled widely in the West, offering a glimpse of Ukrainian, Polish, Moldovan, Kurdish, and other folk traditions.

SECTION 4 REVIEW

- Identify:** (a) Feodor Dostoevski, (b) Leo Tolstoy, (c) Alexander Blok, (d) *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, (e) “Babi Yar,” (f) samizdat, (g) Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky.
- Define:** socialist realism.
- Why did the czarist government feel threatened by Alexander Pushkin and exile him?
- What traditions influenced the arts and music of Russia?
- (a) How did communism affect Soviet literature? (b) How did it affect the arts?
- Making Inferences** Why do you think Lenin and Stalin viewed literature and the arts as important propaganda tools?
- Writing Across Cultures** Imagine that you lived in the Soviet Union under Stalin. Write a poem protesting conditions in your country.

CHAPTER 34 REVIEW

Understanding Vocabulary

Match each term at left with the correct definition at right.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1. bureaucracy | a. policy of openness and honesty |
| 2. perestroika | b. self-government |
| 3. glasnost | c. system for publishing books secretly |
| 4. autonomy | d. large system of officials and government departments |
| 5. samizdat | e. restructuring of the Soviet economy |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

- (a) What reforms did Gorbachev introduce? (b) How did people respond to them?
- (a) Describe the 1991 coup in the Soviet Union. (b) What effect did the coup have?
- Identify three causes of tension between the Soviet Union and the United States between 1945 and 1991.
- How did the influence of Solidarity extend beyond Poland?
- Identify a contribution made by each of the following: (a) Alexander Pushkin, (b) Feodor Dostoevski, (c) Alexander Solzhenitsyn.
- Describe the role of socialist realism in Soviet art and literature.

Reviewing Chapter Themes

- In 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. (a) Describe three problems the Soviets faced during the late 1980s. (b) Explain how each contributed to the Soviet Union's collapse.
- The Soviet Union was one of the superpowers during the Cold War. (a) Discuss the causes of the Cold War. (b) Describe two ways in which the Soviet government exerted its power in the world during this period.
- Despite Soviet control, Eastern Europeans yearned for freedom. Select two Eastern European countries and explain how each achieved democracy by the 1990s.
- The shift from communism to capitalism is proving difficult. Select one former commu-

nist nation. (a) Discuss at least two problems this nation faces in moving toward a free market economy. (b) What progress has it made toward resolving these problems?

- Writers play an important role in society. (a) Discuss the role of writers in Russian society. (b) How have they been censored?

Thinking Critically

- Making Global Connections** (a) How can the United States help the former communist nations make the shift to democracy and a free market economy? (b) Do you believe it should help? Explain.
- Synthesizing Information** Read the quotation by Alexander Solzhenitsyn on page 760. How do you think Stalin would have reacted to Solzhenitsyn's view of art?

Applying Your Skills

- Using Visual Evidence** Answer the following questions based on the pictures on pages 744, 747, and 749. (a) How did many Russian people react to the changes in the Soviet Union? (b) Why would it be difficult for Russian society to return to the past?
- Analyzing a Poem** Reread the poem "Babi Yar" on page 762. (a) What is the subject of the poem? (b) How does Yevtushenko describe Babi Yar? (c) What mood does the poem convey? (d) Why do you think Yevtushenko wrote the poem? (See Skill Lesson, page 541.)