



**CBA Curriculum Unit**

**RETURN OF A SUPER POWER:  
HOW HISTORY CAN HELP US UNDERSTAND THE ROLE  
OF ENERGY IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY**

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**CBA TOPIC: Why History?**

**LEVEL: Middle School**

*This document is intended to assist teachers who are implementing the Why History? CBA for middle school students, but will be useful to anyone teaching about current world issues, international relations, and related fields.*

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## RETURN OF A SUPER POWER: HOW HISTORY CAN HELP US UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF ENERGY IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

### WASHINGTON STATE CBA (CLASSROOM-BASED ASSESSMENT): WHY HISTORY? HISTORICAL RESEARCH ON CURRENT EVENTS

The Why History? CBA is designed to assess student understanding of key social studies skills and concepts. The purpose of this unit is to prepare middle school students to successfully complete the Social Studies CBA: Why History? This unit is designed to help students understand current events in Russia and how historical events relate to the understanding of these events.

#### DIRECTIONS TO STUDENTS

**In a cohesive paper or presentation, you will:**

1. State a position on how examining history helps us understand a current event or issue.
2. Provide reason(s) for your position that include:
  - An analysis of how two historical events relate to the understanding of a current issue.
3. Make explicit references within the paper or presentation to three or more credible sources that provide relevant information AND cite sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.

For more information please see the OSPI website under social studies assessments:  
<http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/default.aspx>

The scoring rubric and graphic organizer for this Why History? CBA appear at the end of this document (**Handouts #9 & 10**) and are also available on the OSPI website: <http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/default.aspx>.

Students may do a paper or presentation in response to the CBA provided that for either format, there is documentation of this response that someone outside their classroom could easily understand and review using the rubric (e.g., a videotaped presentation, an electronic written document).

#### **NOTE TO TEACHERS:**

The unit is divided up into several parts. Depending on students' backgrounds and interests and your curriculum guidelines, you may want to focus your time on certain sections. The activities and resources included will help students understand Russian energy policy; however there are also resources for exploring other current issues and events. We suggest that you hang chart paper in your classroom and have students keep a running list of current issues related to Russia, Soviet successor states, and energy as you go through this curriculum.

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### GENERAL BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

In the 16 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the emergence of 15 independent states within its former boundaries, the pace of transformation has varied significantly not only from state to state, but year to year. For the purpose of this curriculum unit we will focus on the largest successor state, Russia, and the path it has taken since independence. Examining events, policies, attitudes, international relations, and numerous other factors that have shaped its course can contribute greatly to understanding Russia today.

In 1998, Russia was in effect bankrupt, its population impoverished, its state revenues depleted and foreign reserves as low as \$6.6 billion following years of mismanagement. Governments and citizens of western countries viewed Russia as a backward backwater, desperate for western aid, and dependent on the generosity of benevolent wealthy superpowers. Just ten years later, Russia is the third largest owner of U.S. debt and its foreign currency reserves top 477 billion. It is the world's second largest oil producer and holder of the world's largest known natural gas reserves. The state-owned Gazprom alone controls approximately one third of the world's gas reserves and supplies a quarter of Europe's gas needs. Russia has turned the tables and it is now Europe, and to some extent Asia, that depend on Russia for energy.

As president, Vladimir Putin made it his mission to restore pride to this country that spans 1/6 of the earth's land mass. Under his leadership, Russia's relations with Great Britain and the United States have become strained; it has been called a "petro-bully," reprimanded for its policies toward the Near Abroad (Soviet successor states) and accused of using its vast energy resources as a political weapon. While business interests and national security concerns can be used to explain Russia's energy policies, history can help students understand the attitudes, sensitivities, and reactions of other countries in response to Russian energy policy, and possibly address the following questions: If Russia is using its resources as a political tool, why? Why is energy security important and why is the European Union concerned about becoming too dependent on Russia for its gas supply? How does this influence the foreign policies of EU countries?

This rapid change of fortune and brazen show of bravado has come as a complete surprise to many in the West who still think of Russia as an impoverished country run by mafia and a citizenry hungry for western products and western democracy. Media reports are often filled with stories of Putin's consolidation of power, increasing control of the press, crackdowns on opposition rallies, and virtual ban on any real opposition to the government in the 2007 parliamentary and 2008 presidential elections. A look into the past can shed light on the present situation and serve to help students better understand this critical part of the world.

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### **APPROACHING THE CBA**

This CBA is designed to be completed as a whole class addressing the topic of energy and Russia. You may also adapt the outline to allow students to complete the exercise on a topic of their choosing. In that case, you would first choose one topic for the whole class to work on together as preparation. Then, when it is time for students to complete their own CBAs, each student would choose a new topic. You might offer students a short menu of topics from which to choose. Some suggestions include:

#### **Russian energy policy**

- Why is energy security important and why is the European Union concerned about becoming too dependent on Russia for its gas supply?
- Rising global energy prices have boosted both the Russian economy and Russia's position on the international stage. How has growing energy wealth affected its relations with other countries?
- Can the EU depend on Russia for a consistent oil supply? Why or why not?
- How should the global community respond to Russia's claim on the North Pole?
- Why has Russia been accused of using its oil and gas resources as a political weapon?

#### **Popular support for Plan Putin**

- Why does Putin enjoy popular support in Russia, but face so much criticism from abroad?

#### **2007 Cyber attacks against Estonia**

- Why did Russia oppose Estonia's decision to move a WWII monument in the capital of Estonia? Why is this a controversial issue?

#### **Russian attitudes toward the West**

- Why does polling data suggest that Russians view the United States as posing the greatest threat to its security? Why might Russian's fear losing their sense of identity to the West?

#### **Russia's relations with its neighbors**

- Why are relations between Russia and some former soviet states (Georgia, Ukraine, Estonia, etc.) strained?

Another possibility might be to have the whole class get started by researching current Russian energy policy, broadly, and then let students choose a specific sub-topic for their CBA (such as North Pole exploration or suspension of service to neighboring countries).

## **RETURN OF THE SUPER POWER**

### ***PART I: RUSSIA'S GROWING ROLE AS AN ENERGY SUPPLIER***

#### **ACTIVITY 1.1 – WARM-UP: EXPLORING CURRENT ISSUES**

##### **Step One**

Ask students to break into groups and spend ten minutes jotting down as many current events or issues as they can think of related to Russia. If they can't think of any current events, any words or images that come to mind when they think of Russia will work. Instruct them to include where their information comes from (movies, TV, family, news, etc.) After ten minutes, ask each group to share what they have come up with and how they heard about the event or issue. Keep a running list of what is mentioned and the sources.

##### **Step Two**

Did anyone bring up a current event or issue related to energy? If so, explore what students know about Russia and energy. If not, probe students to find out what they do know. Is Russia a big energy producer? Consumer? Exporter? Do they think of Russia as a major energy supplier? Why or why not? If yes, what types of energy resources does Russia have?

##### **Step Three**

Ask students to walk through their day identifying what activities they perform that require energy. What different types of energy and fuel do these activities require? Do they know where the fuel comes from? How important is energy in their daily lives? Tables showing production and export levels by country can be found at: <http://www.eia.doe.gov/> (see: international link).

**Alternative topic questions:** Ask students how they think Russians view their position in the world and their leaders. What do the students know about Vladimir Putin or Dmitri Medvedev? What do your own students think are important qualities in a leader? Is it important to have pride in your country? What does that mean? Is Russia a country which they fear? Why or why not?

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#### **ACTIVITY 1.2 – INTRODUCE CURRENT EVENT: RUSSIA'S GROWING ROLE AS AN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY SUPPLIER**

##### **Overview**

This activity will introduce students to the current event and encourage them to begin thinking about what historical events might help them better understand the importance of Russia's role as an international supplier of energy.

##### **Warm-up**

Ask students to consider the following questions in a discussion:

- What source do you get most of your news from? (television, newspaper, radio, internet)
- Do you think it is important for people to be aware of what is happening in the news? Explain.
- How can knowing about the past better help you understand the news and current events?

Pass out **Handout #1 – Current Event Topic** with an excerpt from a January 25, 2008 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty article: "Russia: Gazprom's Advance into Europe Continues." Have students work in pairs as they read the excerpt and answer the questions, then lead a discussion using the questions below.

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### QUESTIONS:

1. Underline any words you do not understand or are not familiar with (including names and places).
2. What is the source of this information? (RFE/RL) What do you know about the source?
3. Does it present multiple views? What are they?
4. What do the analysts mentioned in the article suggest Russia might be trying to do with regard to its energy resources and energy policies? (Use its energy resources as a political tool and prevent Europe from diversifying its energy sources.)
5. Why is this considered a problem or a threat? (It weakens Europe's energy security and could give Russia the ability to shut off the heat in Europe.)
6. What evidence is provided that suggests this might be true? (Russia has cut energy supplies to Ukraine in the past.)
7. What historical events are you aware of that might help you better understand this current issue? (Some suggestions: historical relations between the countries, other energy policies pursued by Russia, geopolitics, etc.)
8. What do you know about the past relations between the countries mentioned in the article
  - Russia and Ukraine (Ukraine was part of the Soviet Union)
  - Russia and Serbia (Serbia is a Slavic country and Russia opposed international support for the independence of Kosovo from Serbia)
  - Soviet Union and Western Europe (members of rival international security organizations: Warsaw Pact and NATO)

### ACTIVITY 1.3 – SCENARIO

Working in small groups, ask students to consider the following scenario, answer the subsequent questions and be prepared to discuss their answers in class. See **Handout #2 – Scenario**.

#### SCENARIO

Imagine your company is ranked at the top globally in energy sales and your main competitor develops a new product that cuts your business in half. Next, many of your employees leave to work for your competitor or start their own companies. You have fallen from glory and now everyone looks down on you as a failure, a loser. Only a shadow of your former self, your competitor comes to you offering to assist with training, strategy, and tactics to help you become a strong company again. The former competitor sends consultants to help, to show you different strategies and business plans that it thinks you should use. You are excited about the opportunity to share ideas with the people you have been competing against for years.

You had your hopes set on returning to the spotlight as a top ranked company, but after eight years you are in debt and still can't make a profit. Your market share has dwindled to near nothing. You start to wonder if the fancy consultants from the competitor were interested in helping you get your company back on its feet, or perhaps they had ulterior motives. Then you get a new CEO who dismisses the advice from the competitor and stresses discipline, order, and control. Some of your co-workers are fired for disagreeing with the CEO, but, your stock price goes up, you get a raise and things are now changing quickly. Your investors are returning. You even make it back into the Forbes Top 500 list,

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and your former competitors are increasingly becoming dependent on your products while also criticizing your new CEO and the direction your company is going. The money is now rolling in as the price for your product continues to rise and now your former competitor is dependent on your product. The competition is on and you are competing for the same market.

### QUESTIONS:

1. How does this history affect how you feel about the other company?
2. Is this history important to how you will conduct business today? If so, how?
3. In making future decisions about your business will you listen to your competitor or focus on your own interests?
4. What in the history of this relationship influences how you feel about the other company today? Why?
5. What role did trust play in this scenario and how does the past affect the level of trust you have today?

After students have had some time to discuss the questions in their groups, lead the class in a discussion about their reactions to this scenario. (You can explain to the students that the scenario is based roughly on the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union/Russia over the past two decades, or wait to see if this comes out in the discussion.) Explain to students that events in history are important today in shaping the relations between countries and how they decide to cooperate on issues or not as well as how they view one another. This can make keeping up with current world events both intriguing and difficult for young people. When adults read the newspaper, their memories of past events help them make sense of what's going on today. For students, however, understanding present-day interactions among world leaders requires studying some history first. When it comes to Russian energy policy and international criticism, students need to have some understanding of the Cold War in order to understand the current tensions over claims to the North Pole, gas cut offs, and energy security.

Next, introduce the “Why History?” CBA, including the questions/tasks, the rubric, the graphic organizer, etc. – see attached rubric (**Handout #9**) and graphic organizer (**Handout #10**), as well as the OSPI website: <http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/default.aspx>.

Explain that, as a class, they will be working through this CBA, looking at current issues related to Russian energy policies. This means that in the end each student will be asked to accurately explain how three historical events relate to the understanding of this issue using well-supported reasons.

**Homework:** Assign background readings about the Cold War, Collapse of the Soviet Union and Yeltsin era, and/or interviewing adults at home. If you have already covered this material, break the class into groups and assign everyone to read the general background and each group to read one of the articles suggested below. Explain that each group will be expected to give a short presentation about their article in class.

### Reading assignments for all students:

- Russia Energy Key Facts: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/guides/457000/457038/html/nn2page1.stm> and <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/guides/456900/456974/html/nn1page1.stm>.

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- Russia Energy Overview (more in-depth): <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4699942.stm>
- Russia's Energy Disputes [http://www.cfr.org/publication/12327/russias\\_energy\\_disputes.html#7](http://www.cfr.org/publication/12327/russias_energy_disputes.html#7)

### Reading assignments for each group:

- Ukraine: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4577648.stm>
- Georgia: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6109606.stm>
- North Pole: [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/july-dec07/arctic\\_9-10.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/july-dec07/arctic_9-10.html) (includes reading and discussion questions)
- EU and Russian Gas: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7240462.stm>

### ENERGY BACKGROUND FOR TEACHERS

Today Russia is the world's second largest oil producer and exporter after Saudi Arabia. It is the world's biggest producer and exporter of natural gas with the state owned Gazprom alone controlling approximately one third of the world's gas reserves and supplying a quarter of Europe's gas needs. It holds the world's largest known natural gas reserves, ranks second for coal reserves and seventh for oil reserves. Energy is by far Russia's largest industrial sector and has been growing steadily since 1999 thanks to higher world prices. This steady increase followed a crash in production and exports earlier in the decade resulting from the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing economic crisis.

Income from the oil and gas sector has boosted the Russian economy and along with it Russia's position on the international stage. Most notably Russia's state-owned Gazprom has been criticized for cutting gas supplies to Ukraine, Georgia, and Belarus. Russia defends the cut offs explaining that the countries in question refused to pay market value for gas (a 400% price increase); while the countries affected, as well as the United States, argue that their motives are political. Georgia, Ukraine, and other former soviet states claim Russia is using oil and gas to exert power over countries in its former sphere of influence as punishment for their aspirations to join NATO and the EU. Cuts to Ukraine in 2006 resulted in a 30% reduction in delivery to the rest of Europe and raised concern over the EU's dependence on Russian gas. Another controversy concerns Russia's claims to resources under the North Pole. In August 2007 a Russian submarine planted a Russian flag on the Arctic seabed two miles below the North Pole, a symbolic attempt to accompany their claim. Some scientists believe that the Arctic region may hold as much as one quarter of the earth's remaining untapped oil and gas reserves. The race to claim resources believed to be under the North Pole is creating an additional cause for tension among northern states.

### ACTIVITY 1.4 – CLASS PRESENTATIONS

Instruct each group to give a five minute presentation to the class about their assigned article. The audience should take notes and come up with at least one question for each presentation.

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### ACTIVITY 1.5 – DEVELOPING THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Working in groups, instruct students to develop essential questions related to Russian energy policy that will help guide them to use historical events to understand the issue. An essential question is a question that focuses on the larger importance of a topic. By taking the time to develop an essential question, students will be better able to answer the “So what?” question when reporting their findings.

#### EXAMPLE QUESTIONS:

1. Why is energy security important and why is the European Union concerned about becoming too dependent on Russia for its gas supply?
2. Rising global energy prices have boosted the Russian economy and along with it Russia’s position on the international stage. How has growing energy wealth affected its relations with other countries?

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## ***PART II: KEY CONCEPTS AND VOCABULARY***

### ACTIVITY 2.1 – VOCABULARY (CLASSROOM OR HOMEWORK ACTIVITY)

Break the class into groups and distribute **Handout #3 – Terms and Definitions**. Let students know that they will be expected to discuss these terms in class. At least one person in each group should know something about the event, person, or place not just the date.

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### ACTIVITY 2.2 – TIMELINE (CLASSROOM ACTIVITY)

Divide the students into groups. Give each group a copy of **Handout #4 – Constructing a Timeline** with a list of events and instruct them to create a timeline and place each event in the correct order on the timeline using the following years (some dates may be used twice): 1924, 1944, 1949, 1955, 1961, 1962, 1980, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008. (Note: this can also be done in conjunction with the interview assignment as homework.)

- Nuclear reactor meltdown at Chernobyl (1986)
- Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space (1961)
- Mikhail Gorbachev becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party (1985)
- Russia’s state-owned Gazprom cuts gas to Ukraine (2006)
- Warsaw Pact enacted (1955)
- Russian Revolution (1917)
- Berlin Wall is torn down (1989)
- Ronald Regan elected President of the United States (1980)
- Orange Revolution in Ukraine (2005)
- Neil Armstrong lands on the moon (1969)
- Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
- Soviet Union founded (1924)
- Vladimir Putin elected President of Russia (2000)
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization created (1949)
- Soviet Union occupies Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (1941 or 1944)

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- Dmitri Medvedev elected third president of Russia (2008)
- Rose Revolution in Georgia (2003)
- Soviet Union dissolves (1991)
- Russia places a flag on the seabed beneath the North Pole (2007)
- Russian ruble crashes (1998)
- U.S. boycotts Moscow Olympic Games (1980)
- Russia instigates “shock therapy” (1992)
- Warsaw Pact dissolves (1991)
- Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania join NATO (2004)

Review and discuss the events with the students, instructing them to place the events in the correct order. As you work through the timeline, discuss the importance of the events and how they might affect country relations and policy interests today.

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### ***PART III: INQUIRY***

Help students begin their research by discussing the most effective approaches to gathering information. Provide guidance on locating relevant primary and secondary sources from a variety of viewpoints that address the essential question. Your school librarian may be able to support you and your students in this section. Review the importance of including multiple views and how to evaluate sources. If your students are not familiar with primary and secondary sources you might begin with a review or instruct students to read through Research 101 on the University of Washington Libraries web or use the Library of Congress Learning Page for using primary and secondary sources:

- Research 101: <http://www.lib.washington.edu/uwill/research101/basic00.htm>
- The Historian’s Sources: What are Primary Sources? <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/learn/lessons/psources/pshome.html>

#### **Primary sources are:**

- Original records created at the time historical events occurred or well after events in the form of memoirs and oral histories.
- Unedited, firsthand access to words, images, or objects created by persons *directly involved* in an activity or event or *speaking directly* for a group. This is information *before* it has been analyzed, interpreted, commented upon, spun, or repackaged.
- May include letters, manuscripts, diaries, journals, newspapers, speeches, interviews, memoirs, documents produced by government agencies such as Congress or the Office of the President, photographs, audio recordings, moving pictures or video recordings, research data, and objects or artifacts such as works of art or ancient roads, buildings, tools, and weapons.
- Serve as the raw material to interpret the past, and when they are used along with previous interpretations by historians, they provide the resources necessary for historical research.

#### **Secondary sources are:**

- Commentary upon, or analysis of, events, ideas, or primary sources.
- Often written significantly after events by parties not directly involved but who have special expertise, they may provide historical context or critical perspectives.

**Source of definitions:** University of Washington Information Literacy Learning 2001-2004  
<http://www.lib.washington.edu/uwill/research101/basic00.htm>

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### ACTIVITY 3.1 – LOCATING RELEVANT PRIMARY AND SECONDARY RESOURCES

Students work in small groups to locate relevant primary and secondary sources from a variety of viewpoints that address the essential question. These can include articles, websites, maps, photos, and interviews with primary sources/grandparents, related to the topic. Students may start by looking at the resource list in this packet or click on the following World Affairs Council link to view additional resources: <http://www.world-affairs.org/globalclassroom/resources/2007-11-07%20-%20Web%20Version,%20Russia.pdf>. Remind students to consider the reliability of the sources they are consulting. Review criteria for evaluating websites. Pass out **Handout #8 – Judging the Quality of Primary Resources** to help students evaluate their sources. This activity can be conducted over the next few days as they continue with the following activities.

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### ACTIVITY 3.2 – INTERVIEWS/COLLECTING ORAL HISTORIES

Distribute **Handout #5 – Oral History Interview** and instruct students to interview a parent or other adult about his/her memories of the Cold War and break up of the Soviet Union, or the images and ideas that they associate with Russia. If possible, students should also interview individuals who grew up in the Soviet Union. Remind them take careful notes and be prepared to share what they learn.

**Note:** For guidelines on conducting oral history interviews suggest students visit the following web site: <http://www.history.com/classroom/oralhistguidelines.pdf>.

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### ACTIVITY 3.3 – ANALYZING SOURCES

Distribute **Handout #6 – Warsaw Pact Article and Maps** and ask students to take a few minutes to read “1955: Communist States Sign Warsaw Pact.” After they have finished, you may want them to work in small groups to examine the maps on **Handout #6** and answer the corresponding questions. Or, you may prefer to project the maps from the handout (or directly from the internet site) and go through the questions with the entire class.

Examine both maps and consider the following questions:

1. What is the source of each map?
2. What time period does each map represent?
3. What do you think the map creators are trying to show in each map?
4. What differences do you see between the two maps?

Examine the first map and make the following lists:

- Countries in NATO
- Countries in Warsaw Pact

Follow the same exercise for the second map:

- Countries in NATO (and NATO partnership for peace)
- Where are the countries of the former Warsaw Pact?

Compare your lists of countries and in which lists of alliances you have listed them. Based on what you know about NATO and Warsaw Pact from your interviews, timeline, and the article above, what type of analysis or conclusions can you draw from your primary sources?

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### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. What did you learn from comparing the lists you have just made?
2. Do you think of NATO as a peaceful or as an aggressive organization?
3. If you lived in Russia today, how do you think you would characterize NATO and how would you feel about its expansion? How would you feel if you lived in Estonia? Or in a country hoping to join NATO like Ukraine or Georgia?
4. Why do countries seek to join NATO?
5. Why does Russia view NATO expansion with alarm?
6. Do you think NATO expansion affects policy decisions in Russia? If so, how?

**Note:** For more in-depth lessons on NATO expansion, see the educational series (teachers' guide and video) "Russia and the Other Former Soviet Republics in Transition: Lesson 5" (1998) available from the University of Washington's Ellison Center (<http://jsis.washington.edu/ellison/>)

### ACTIVITY 3.4 – ANALYZING SOURCES (CONT.)

Divide the class into groups and provide each group with one of the quotes from the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy. (See **Handout #7 – Analysis: Quotes for Small Group Discussion.**)

#### The Munich Conference on Security Policy

The Munich Conference on Security Policy was founded in 1962 and is an annual conference on international security policy held in Munich, Germany. Each year over 250 participants representing 40 countries gather for this discussion on the development of transatlantic relations and global security. Attendees include global leaders, ministers, members of parliament and congress, representatives of the armed forces, scientists, and representatives of the media. In 2007 the discussion focused on foreign and security challenges in European and American relations.

Next, instruct each group to read the quote they receive and work as a group to answer the following questions about their quote:

**QUESTIONS** (to be answered in groups with regard to the specific quote they receive – see **Handout #7**):

1. Who is speaking (name and position) and why?
2. Where and when was this information recorded?
3. Is this a primary or secondary source? Why?
4. What do you think is the speaker's attitude toward NATO (or transatlantic alliance) and NATO enlargement? Provide some words/examples from the text that lead you to this conclusion.
5. What message is the speaker trying to convey to the audience? What is he or she trying to achieve?
6. Is your speaker directing his or her comments at any specific country? If so, which country and why?
7. Does your speaker mention Russian energy policy? If so, what is his or her opinion about Russian energy policy?

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8. Are there any words or terms that you are not familiar with? If so, underline them and mention them in the class discussion.

Next, explain that they will be given 25 minutes to work on the questions and will then be asked to read their quote and present their findings to the class. After each group has completed their presentation, lead a discussion on what can be drawn from the various statements using the following classroom discussion questions.

### CLASSROOM DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Did you observe differences of opinions in the selected quotes?
2. Based on the map and quote activities what have you learned about NATO's impact on relations between the United States, Europe, and Russia?
3. Do you think NATO's historic role and enlargement affects Russian foreign policy and energy policy? Why?
4. Why is it important to look for different perspectives?
5. How does this information and these perspectives on NATO's past help you understand relations between NATO/EU and Russia today?
6. How does this information relate to concerns regarding Russia's energy expansion into Europe?

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### ACTIVITY 3.5 – ANALYZING SOURCES (CONT.)

Read the following two excerpts from speeches given by Presidents Putin and Bush in 2004 and 2005 to your students (if possible, display them on an overhead projector).

#### Speech by President Vladimir Putin

“Indeed, you know that as far as all post-Soviet space is concerned, I am concerned above all about attempts to resolve legal issues by illegal means. That is the most dangerous thing. It is the most dangerous to think up a system of permanent revolutions - now the Rose Revolution, or the Blue Revolution. You should get used to living according to the law, rather than according to political expediency defined elsewhere for some or other nation - that is what worries me most. Certain rules and procedures should mature within society. Of course, we should pay attention to, support and help democracies, but, if we embark on the road of permanent revolutions, nothing good will come from this for these countries, and for these peoples. We will plunge all the post-Soviet space into a series of never-ending conflicts, which will have extremely serious consequences.”- *President Vladimir Putin, December 23, 2004 Excerpt from Press Conference by President Vladimir Putin, the Kremlin, Moscow.*

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### Speech by President George W. Bush

“You are making many important contributions to freedom's cause, but your most important contribution is your example. In recent months, the world has marveled at the hopeful changes taking place from Baghdad to Beirut to Bishkek. But before there was a Purple Revolution in Iraq, or an Orange Revolution in Ukraine, or a Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, there was the Rose Revolution in Georgia. Your courage is inspiring democratic reformers and sending a message that echoes across the world: Freedom will be the future of every nation and every people on Earth.

Building a free society is the work of generations. It took nearly 15 years of struggle before liberty and justice fully took root in this country. Many of the students and workers who gathered here on this square 18 months ago were too young to remember the protests of 1989, but they took up freedom's cause and finished the work that their parents had begun. -*President George W. Bush, May 10, 2005 Excerpt from Public Address to Georgian Citizens, Freedom Square, Tbilisi, Georgia*

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS:

1. Did you observe differences of opinions in the selected quotes?
2. Describe in your own words how each speaker feels about the “colored revolutions” that took place in Georgia (2003), Ukraine (2004) and other countries.
3. Why might the two presidents have different views about these events?
4. Why is it important to look for different perspectives?
5. What do you know about the relationship between Russia, Georgia, and Ukraine in history that might help you understand the positions of the speakers?
6. What additional information do you need to better understand their positions and the impact of history on present day relations?

### ACTIVITY 3.6 – DEVELOPING AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Students work in small groups to develop an annotated bibliography of articles, websites, maps, photos, and interviews with primary sources/grandparents, related to the topic. Students may start by looking at the resource list in this packet. Remind students to consider the reliability of the sources they are consulting. Review criteria for evaluating websites. The following site from Valparaiso University provides a helpful list of criteria (note particularly the section on “purpose/point of view”) as well as links to more information on analyzing websites: <http://www.valpo.edu/library/user/evaluation.html#criteria>. (Students might also use the “Analyzing Sources” checklist on page 10 of the OSPI CBA instruction packet: <http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/BridgingDocuments/MiddleSch08/MiddleSchHistory-WhyHistory-SupportMaterials.pdf>.)

In the middle of the research process, allow some time for groups to share some of their best resources with other groups, to ensure that every group will be successful in finding relevant documents.

## ***PART IV: THE FINAL PRODUCT***

### **ACTIVITY 4.1 – COMPLETING THE GRAPHIC ORGANIZER**

Instruct students to organize information from their notes using the graphic organizer to help show the connection between the current issue and the historical events. The graphic organizer can be found at the end of this packet (**Handout #10**) or on the OSPI website (<http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/MiddleSchool.aspx>).

Students can work independently or in their groups to analyze the information they have found and complete the graphic organizer. This will ensure successful completion of the tasks and sub-tasks required in the CBA. Some students may discover that they lack information for one piece or another. You might allow more time in class for research or ask students to do this for homework.

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### **ACTIVITY 4.2 – WRITING THE THESIS**

Briefly review the steps the students have taken to get to this point. Explain that they will now need to work on producing their paper or presentation in which they are required to:

1. State a position on how examining history helps us understand a current event or issue.
  2. Provide reason(s) for your position that include:
    - An analysis of how two historical events relate to the understanding of a current issue.
  3. Make explicit references within the paper or presentation to three or more credible sources that provide relevant information AND cite sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.
- 

### **ACTIVITY 4.3 – THE PRESENTATION**

Students present their position and findings to the class or an outside audience.

#### **Option One**

Have students write an essay, exactly as they will do when they complete their own CBA projects. Students could use the scoring rubric (**Handout #9**) to assess their own work (the rubric can also be found at the OSPI site: <http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/BridgingDocuments/MiddleSch08/MiddleSchHistory-WhyHistory-CBA.pdf>). You could also score their essays using the same rubric. Then, you might conference with students to help them compare scoring rubrics, evaluate the experience, and consider how to improve their work when they do their own CBA projects.

#### **Option Two**

Assign groups of students to represent assigned countries and role-play an energy conference. Note that individual oral presentations are also an acceptable option for students when completing their own CBA projects, but presentations must be videotaped as per OSPI instructions (see <http://www.k12.wa.us/assessment/WASL/SocialStudies/BridgingDocuments/MiddleSch08/MiddleSchHistory-WhyHistory-CBA.pdf>).

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## HANDOUT #1 – CURRENT EVENT TOPIC: RUSSIA'S GROWING ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL ENERGY SUPPLY

Friday, January 25, 2008

### **Russia: Gazprom's Advance Into Europe Continues**

By Brian Whitmore

Advantage, Russia.

Moscow has taken a giant leap toward solidifying its role as Europe's dominant energy supplier by securing two key pipeline deals over the past two weeks.

On January 18, Bulgaria signed a deal with Russia's state-controlled natural-gas monopoly Gazprom to join its South Stream pipeline project, which would transport gas from Russia deep into the heart of Europe. And now, in an ornate Kremlin signing ceremony a week later, Serbia joined the project as well.

"With the signing of these agreements Serbia becomes a key transit junction in the emerging system providing energy supplies from Russia...to the whole European continent," Russian President Vladimir Putin said after the signing ceremony.

At one level, the South Stream pipeline project is designed to get Russian gas to Europe while bypassing former Soviet transit countries like Ukraine and Belarus.

But more importantly, analysts say it is part of an ongoing Russian effort to stifle the European Union's efforts to diversify its energy supplies and lessen dependence on Moscow. In the process, the Kremlin and Gazprom are using Russia's energy might to establish a strategic foothold in Europe and expand Moscow's influence on the continent.

"This is part of a larger strategy," says Fyodor Lukyanov, editor in chief of the Moscow-based journal *Russia in Global Affairs*. "Wherever possible, it is necessary to increase Russia's presence in Europe, either inside the EU or in countries that have a chance to join."

The fear is that this could leave Europe vulnerable to energy blackmail.

"There is the possibility that Russia could start using energy as a political tool in parts of Central Europe, like it has done in the East with Ukraine," says Mark Hester, editor of the U.K.-based journal *Oil and Energy Trends*.

Gazprom cut off gas supplies to Ukraine for several days in January 2006 after a price dispute. The cutoff followed Ukraine's 2004 Orange Revolution, which brought a pro-Western government to power, causing many to suspect Russia of using energy as a political weapon.

So does this mean that Russia -- which has been in an increasingly anti-Western mood -- will soon be in position to halt Europe's heating supply in the dead of some future winter?

Hester says it's "not quite that scary yet" but that such a "worst-case scenario...is the way we ought to look at it."

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## RETURN OF A SUPER POWER: HOW HISTORY CAN HELP US UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF ENERGY IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

### QUESTIONS:

1. Underline any words you do not understand or are not familiar with (including names and places).
2. What is the source of this information? What do you know about the source?
3. Does it present multiple views? What are they?
4. What do the analysts mentioned in the article suggest Russia might be trying to do with regard to its energy resources and energy policies?
5. Why is this considered a problem or a threat?
6. What evidence is provided that suggests this might be true?
7. What historical events are you aware of that might contribute to your better understanding of this current issue?
8. What do you know about the past relations between the countries mentioned in the article?
  - a) Russia and Ukraine
  - b) Russia and Serbia
  - c) Soviet Union and Western Europe

## **HANDOUT #2 – SCENARIO**

**Discuss:** In a small group, discuss the following scenario. You do not need to come to a decision, but do make a list of any information you would need in order to make a decision.

### **SCENARIO**

Imagine your company is ranked at the top globally in energy sales and your main competitor develops a new product that cuts your business in half. Next, many of your employees leave to work for your competitor or start their own companies. You have fallen from glory and now everyone looks down on you as a failure, a loser. Only a shadow of your former self, your competitor comes to you offering to assist with training, strategy, and tactics to help you become a strong company again. The former competitor sends consultants to help, to show you different strategies and business plans that it thinks you should use. You are excited about the opportunity to share ideas with the people you have been competing against for years.

You had your hopes set on returning to the spotlight as a top ranked company, but after eight years you are in debt and still can't make a profit. Your market share has dwindled to near nothing. You start to wonder if the fancy consultants from the competitor were interested in helping you get your company back on its feet, or perhaps they had ulterior motives. Then you get a new CEO who dismisses the advice from the competitor and stresses discipline, order, and control. Some of your co-workers are fired for disagreeing with the CEO, but, your stock price goes up, you get a raise and things are now changing quickly. Your investors are returning. You even make it back into the Forbes Top 500 list, and your former competitors are increasingly becoming dependent on your products while also criticizing your new CEO and the direction your company is going. The money is now rolling in as the price for your product continues to rise and now your former competitor is dependent on your product. The competition is on and you are competing for the same market.

### **QUESTIONS:**

1. How does this history affect how you feel about the other company?
2. Is this history important to how you will conduct business today? If so, how?
3. In making future decisions about your business will you listen to your competitor and or focus on your own interests?
4. What in the history of this relationship influences how you feel about the other company today? Why?
5. What role did trust play in this scenario and how does the past affect the level of trust you have today?



## HANDOUT #3 – TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

**Capitalism (Market Economy):** An economic system in which the ownership of land and natural wealth, the production, distribution and exchange of goods, and the operation of the system itself are determined by private enterprise under competitive conditions rather than government central planning.

**Command Economy (Planned Economy):** An economic system based on government ownership of all means of production (farms, factories, shops, etc) and the organization of those assets into firms managed by the state in accordance with output targets and prices fixed by government economic planners. Priority is placed on industrial and military investment over consumer goods and food.

**Cold War:** The rivalry that developed after World War II between communist and non-communist countries or the Soviet Union and the United States and their respective allies. During this period the United States and the Soviet Union competed for influence around the world and engaged in a massive arms race. The Cold War concluded with the dissolution of the Soviet Union on December 31, 1991.

**Cuban Missile Crisis:** A major cold war confrontation in 1962 between the United States and the Soviet Union when Cuban leader Fidel Castro sought economic and military assistance from the Soviet Union after the United States' failed 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev decided to install nuclear missiles in Cuba, but when the United States discovered that missile launching sites were being constructed, U.S. President John F. Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of the island demanding removal of the missiles and warning that any attack from Cuba would be responded to with a full-scale attack on the Soviet Union. Khrushchev backed down, agreeing to remove the missiles if the U.S. ended the blockade and also removed nuclear missiles it had installed in Turkey aimed at the Soviet Union.

**Former Soviet Union/Near Abroad:** Refers to the 15 states that were once united by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The countries are: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. When discussing Russia, the "near abroad" refers to the 14 countries (other than Russia) that made up the USSR.

**Gazprom:** Russia's state-controlled natural-gas monopoly. Until recently it was headed by Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev, Russia's third president (as of May 2008).

**Glasnost:** A policy of cultural and social openness in the Soviet Union instigated by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in an effort to move the union closer to true communism. Under *glasnost* (openness) some forms of censorship were abolished and public debates, disclosure of government corruption and crimes were permitted and control over literature and the arts was relaxed. *Glasnost* was part of Gorbachev's larger *perestroika* (restructuring) plan.

**Georgia:** Country of 4.5 million the size of North Carolina located in the South Caucasus between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Georgia borders Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Turkey. Once part of the USSR, Georgia gained independence in 1991 and has endured two unresolved separatist wars and a civil war. Georgia hopes to someday join NATO and the EU. Georgian-Russian relations broke down in 2006 resulting in a full embargo by Russia (closed border, no trade no travel). It is a supporter of the War on Terror and has the third largest number of troops in Iraq after the United States and the United Kingdom.

**Iron Curtain:** A term first used by Churchill in a 1946 speech to describe the growing East-West divide in postwar Europe between communist and democratic nations.

**Medvedev, Dmitri:** Russia's third president since independence, elected in 2008. Prior to becoming president, Medvedev served as a deputy prime minister under Vladimir Putin and as chairman of Gazprom's board of directors. Medvedev is from outside of St. Petersburg and has a doctorate in law.

**NATO:** The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on April 4, 1949, at the beginning of the Cold War. The original purpose of NATO was to defend Western Europe against possible attack by Communist nations, led by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The original treaty signers were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece and Turkey were admitted to the alliance in 1952, West Germany in 1955, and Spain in 1982. In 1990 the newly unified Germany replaced West Germany as a NATO member.

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**Orange Revolution:** In the fall and winter of 2004, citizens of Ukraine took to the streets protesting rigged presidential elections. Supporters of Viktor Yushenko, whose campaign color was orange, set up camps in central Kiev demanding new elections in what became the “Orange Revolution.” Protestors forced the authorities to overturn the election results (as the Georgian’s had done a year earlier) that had given the presidency to Viktor Yanukovich. New internationally monitored elections brought reformist Viktor Yushchenko to power in 2005.

**Perestroika:** The term used by Mikhail Gorbachev to describe his new economic and social policy introduced in the late 1980s. *Perestroika* (restructuring) was implemented to transform the Soviet Union’s stagnant inefficient planned economy. It included greater independence for managers and local officials as well as elections within the Communist party organization. *Perestroika* was not anti-communist but implemented in the hopes of achieving true communism. The plan failed in this regard and by 1991 the system and the union dissolved.

**Putin, Vladimir:** Russia’s second president since independence. Boris Yeltsin appointed Vladimir Putin prime minister in August 1999, handing him the presidency on December 31, 1999. Putin was elected president in 2000 and 2004. He has a background in the KGB and St. Petersburg politics.

**Shock-Therapy:** Refers to an economic program characterized by the sudden release of price and currency controls, ending of state subsidies, and immediate trade liberalization (as in Russia and other former Soviet countries following the collapse of communism). Also includes large-scale privatization of assets previously owned by the government.

**Super Power:** The term used to describe a country with a leading position in the international system and the ability to influence events and project its interests and power on a global scale.

**Rose Revolution:** In November 2003 citizens of Georgia took to the streets in protest of parliamentary elections they believed to be falsified and called for new elections and the resignation of President Eduard Shevardnadze. On November 24 Tbilisi Mayor Mikhail Saakashvili forced his way into Parliament with a rose in his hand and demanded the president’s resignation. The following day President Shevardnadze resigned and new presidential and parliamentary elections were called for early 2004.

**Ukraine:** A country of 46 million people just slightly smaller than Texas. Ukraine borders Belarus, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Russia, and the Black Sea. It gained independence from the USSR in 1991. After Russia, Ukraine was the most important economic component of the Soviet Union and produced about four times the output of the next-ranking republic. Under President Yushchenko, Ukraine has expressed interest in joining NATO and the EU.

**Warsaw Pact:** A military alliance of eight European Communist nations, established in Warsaw, Poland on May 14, 1955 in response to the rearmament of West Germany, and its admission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The treaty was signed by Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic and Slovakia), East Germany (now part of the united Federal Republic of Germany), Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).

**Yeltsin, Boris:** Russia’s first president (1992-1999) famous for challenging coup plotters from atop a tank in 1991, ushering in the peaceful end of the Soviet Union. Yeltsin faced many challenges during his presidency. He was considered a close friend of the West but was less popular at home for failing to reign in the chaos that plagued Russia following the break-up of the Soviet Union and market reforms.

## **HANDOUT #4 – CONSTRUCTING A TIMELINE**

**Assignment:** Each group must construct a timeline placing the events listed below in the proper order by year using the following years (some dates may be used twice): 1924, 1944, 1949, 1955, 1961, 1962, 1980, 1980, 1985, 1986, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, and 2008.

- Nuclear reactor meltdown at Chernobyl
- Yuri Gagarin becomes the first man in space
- Mikhail Gorbachev becomes General Secretary of the Communist Party
- Russia's state-owned Gazprom cuts gas to Ukraine
- Warsaw Pact enacted
- Russian Revolution
- Berlin Wall is torn down
- Ronald Regan elected President of the United States
- Orange Revolution in Ukraine
- Neil Armstrong lands on the moon
- Cuban Missile Crisis
- Soviet Union founded
- Vladimir Putin elected President of Russia
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization created
- Soviet Union occupies Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
- Dmitri Medvedev elected third president of Russia
- Rose Revolution in Georgia
- Soviet Union dissolves
- Russia places a flag on the seabed beneath the North Pole
- Russian ruble crashes
- U.S. boycotts Moscow Olympic Games
- Russia instigates "shock therapy"
- Warsaw Pact dissolves
- Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania join NATO



## HANDOUT #5 – ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

**Homework Assignment:** Interview a parent or other adult about his/her memories of the Cold War and break up of the Soviet Union, or the images and ideas that they associate with Russia. If possible, interview someone in your community who grew up in the former Soviet Union (adjust the questions as appropriate). Take careful notes so that you will be prepared to share what you've learned. Consider asking questions such as:

- What was the Cold War? Were you scared of the Soviet Union (United States)? Why or why not?
- If the adult you're speaking to did not grow up in the United States or the Soviet Union, ask about his/her perspective on the Cold War and why it might have looked similar or different to an American perspective. What kind of relationship did this other country have with the Soviet Union? With the U.S.?
- What was the Iron Curtain? What did you think about the people who lived on the other side of the Iron Curtain?
- Were you aware of the "space race," and if so, what did you think about it? Who did you think would "win?" Did you think it was important to win? Why or why not?
- What was *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*? How did your feelings about the Soviet Union change under Gorbachev?
- Thinking back to the 1986 accident at the Chernobyl nuclear reactor in Ukraine, how does this influence your thoughts today about how Russia and the other former Soviet republics handle nuclear power? Pipeline security?
- What were your feelings when the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet Union broke up? What were your feelings about the ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall?
- Were you aware of "shock-therapy?" If so, what was it and do you think it helped Russia?
- How did your feelings about Russia during the 1990's compare to your feelings about the Soviet Union when you were a kid?
- Were you scared of Russia in the 1990s? Why or why not?
- What is your greatest concern about Russia today?
- Do you see Russia as a competitor or a partner? Why?



## **HANDOUT #6 – WARSAW PACT ARTICLE AND MAPS**

**Read:** “1955: Communist States Sign Warsaw Pact”

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/14/newsid\\_3771000/3771065.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/14/newsid_3771000/3771065.stm)

### **1955: Communist States Sign Warsaw Pact**

The Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies have signed a security pact in the Polish capital, Warsaw, after a three-day conference.

Announcements in Warsaw and Moscow said the Soviet Prime Minister, Marshal Nikolai Aleksandrovich Bulganin, and leaders of seven other countries approved the draft of a new mutual aid agreement called the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance.

It is designed, among other things, to ensure close integration of military, economic and cultural policy between eight Communist nations.

Signatories to the treaty - the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania - have agreed to unify their forces under one command although at this stage it is not known who will take this post.

#### **Fear of West German army**

Yugoslavia, the only European Communist state not included in the pact, was expelled in 1948 from Cominform, the Communist information agency, for refusing to acknowledge Soviet supremacy.

The treaty, signed at the Warsaw Palace, comes in the wake of news that West Germany has been accepted by western nations into NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) following talks earlier this month in Paris.

In a speech at the beginning of the Warsaw talks, Marshal Bulganin warned that the USA, Britain and France were turning West Germany into “the principal hotbed of the danger of war in Europe” by allowing it to re-arm.

He said allowing West Germany into NATO was “the major obstacle” to reunification of Germany.

Existing bilateral agreements between nations of the Eastern Bloc, he stated, were no longer sufficient to ensure their security and this Warsaw Pact would supersede all of those.

He added that NATO was also encouraging countries in the Near and Middle East to form military blocs to plan attacks on the Soviet Union and its allies.

In his concluding speech today, Marshal Bulganin emphasized the pact was inspired by the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence between democratic nations and said they wanted to abide by the United Nations Charter.

However, the Times newspaper editorial today points out that unifying the armies of all eight countries will also allow the USSR to base its own troops in member states and “would certainly help to keep the satellites in order.”

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Examine the maps below and consider the following questions:

1. What is the source of each map?
2. What time period does each map represent?
3. What do you think the map creators are trying to show in each map?
4. What differences do you see between the two maps?
5. Examine the first map and make the following lists:
  - Countries in NATO
  - Countries in Warsaw Pact
6. Follow the same exercise for the second map:
  - Countries in NATO (and NATO partnership for peace)
  - Where are the countries of the former Warsaw Pact?

Compare your lists of countries and in which alliances you have listed them. Based on what you know about NATO and Warsaw Pact from your interviews, timeline and the article above, what type of analysis or conclusions can you draw from your primary sources?



Source: <http://www.britannica.com/eb/art/print?id=103021&articleTypeId=0>

During the Cold War that developed after World War II, the countries of Europe were divided along political lines. Most of Western Europe was aligned with the United States through membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), while the Eastern countries were aligned with the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact.

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Source: NATO <http://www.nato.int/icons/map/0706memb-part-e.pdf>



HANDOUT #7 – ANALYSIS: QUOTES FOR SMALL  
GROUP DISCUSSION

**Note:** Teachers may want to copy and then cut the following quotes for individual groups.

**VLADIMIR PUTIN #1** (*Spoken in Russian and translated into English*)

“I think it is obvious that NATO expansion does not have any relation with the modernization of the Alliance itself or with ensuring security in Europe. On the contrary, it represents a serious provocation that reduces the level of mutual trust. And we have the right to ask: against whom is this expansion intended? And what happened to the assurances our western partners made after the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact? Where are those declarations today? No one even remembers them. But I will allow myself to remind this audience what was said. I would like to quote the speech of NATO General Secretary Mr. Woerner in Brussels on 17 May 1990. He said at the time that: “The fact that we are ready not to place a NATO army outside of German territory gives the Soviet Union a firm security guarantee.” Where are these guarantees?” - *Vladimir Putin, President, Russian Federation, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007.*

**Source:** <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)

**VLADIMIR PUTIN # 2** (*Spoken in Russian and translated into English*)

“In the energy sector Russia intends to create uniform market principles and transparent conditions for all. It is obvious that energy prices must be determined by the market instead of being the subject of political speculation, economic pressure or blackmail. “We are open to cooperation. Foreign companies participate in all our major energy projects. According to different estimates, up to 26 percent of the oil extraction in Russia – and please think about this figure – up to 26 percent of the oil extraction in Russia is done by foreign capital. Try to find me a similar example where Russian business participates extensively in key economic sectors in western countries. Such examples do not exist! There are no such examples.” - *Vladimir Putin, President, Russian Federation, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007.*

**Source:** <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)

**JOHN MCCAIN #1**

“Eleven years ago, the Balkans was in flames, characterized by ethnic cleansing and widespread violence. For the first time the region is today poised to move forward. Montenegro is independent; Croatia, Macedonia, and Albania have NATO Membership Action Plans; and NATO is looking at the Balkans for its 2008 expansion. Now it is time to move toward final status for Kosovo, transition continuing responsibilities in Kosovo to increasing European control, and close the door on the region’s painful past. In so doing, we must ensure that Serbia can look toward the future as a modern, prosperous, European nation.

“I hope that Russia would embrace these aspirations for Kosovo and the Balkans. So far, it has not. And I remain concerned about the long-term possibilities of Russian democracy and the direction of Moscow’s foreign and energy policies.” - *John McCain, U.S. Senator R-Arizona, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007*

**Source:** <http://www.securityconference.de> (Conference website)



## RETURN OF A SUPER POWER: HOW HISTORY CAN HELP US UNDERSTAND THE ROLE OF ENERGY IN RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY TODAY

### JOHN MCCAIN #2

“Today’s world is not unipolar. The United States did not single-handedly win the Cold War in some unilateral victory. The transatlantic alliance won the Cold War, and there are power centers on every continent today. Russian leaders’ apparent belief to the contrary raises a number of difficult questions. Will Russia’s autocratic turn become more pronounced, its foreign policy more opposed to the principles of the western democracies and its energy policy used as a tool of intimidation? Or will it build, in partnership with the West, a democratic country that contributes to the international rules-based system? While our hopes are obviously for the latter choice, recent events suggest a turn toward the former. This is unfortunate, and the U.S. and Europe need to take today’s Russian realities into account as we form our policies. Moscow must understand that it cannot enjoy a genuine partnership with the West so long as its actions, at home and abroad, conflict so fundamentally with the core values of the Euro-Atlantic democracies. In today’s multipolar world, there is no place for needless confrontation, and I would hope that Russia’s leaders would realize and understand this truth.” - *John McCain, U.S. Senator R-Arizona, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007.*

Source: <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)

### DR. ANGELA MERKEL

“...our experience is that together with Russia we can achieve a great deal. This means never to cease seeking out and using the opportunities that arise from this inter-national solidarity, and it means that sharing responsibility between Russia, the EU and NATO is in our interests. For that reason I am very keen that we start negotiations for a cooperation agreement between Russia and the EU soon and that we remove the remaining obstacles.

“We know that Russia is a major energy partner. Mr. President, I have felt time and again during our talks that Russia wants to be, and indeed is, a reliable and calculable energy partner. We will speak frankly about areas in which improvements can and must be made. There is no use sweeping things under the mat. And I think the NATO-Russia partnership must become closer. Talks took place recently on that topic, too. We must also constantly urge stability in the difficult regions bordering on Russia, and on this we must engage in a frank exchange of views. Our opinions sometimes differ, and we must discuss these issues, but this can only happen if we talk to each other at all, and that is why I regard dialogue as being so important.” - *Dr. Angela Merkel, Federal Chancellor, Federal Republic of Germany, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007.* Source: <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)

### ROBERT MICHAEL GATES

“Russia is a partner in endeavors. But we wonder, too, about some Russian policies that seem to work against international stability, such as its arms transfers and its temptation to use energy resources for political coercion. And as the NATO Secretary General said yesterday, Russia need not fear law-based democracies on its borders.”- *Robert Michael Gates, Secretary of Defense, United States of America, Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy February 10, 2007.*

Source: <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)



**TOOMAS HENDRIK ILVES**

“While the trans-Atlantic tie has become weaker in the past 15 years, it might just be that NATO membership represents the carrot that the EU cannot offer. We know from the history of the EU that membership is a major stimulus for domestic reforms. Perhaps then we should redirect our efforts to bring about reforms in our neighborhood not through an un-motivating neighborhood programme, but rather through active EU-NATO co-operation and NATO enlargement.

“But why worry? After all aren’t the countries to our East and Southeast democracies? Yes, but they are not past the point of no return to their old ways. The recent elections in Serbia show that a pro-democratic, pro-European government is not a foregone conclusion. Rather, we were simply lucky.

“To our East we have Russia. Again we all wish Russia to be a genuine liberal democracy, with respect for human rights, freedom of speech, etc. We also want Russia to be a positive force for peace and security in our region and the world at large, taking constructive approaches to serious issues such as nuclear proliferation, frozen conflicts, and so forth.

“But this leads to a fundamental question: What is the Union’s response to a country that considers democracy on its borders as threat? Or despotism on its borders as a source of stability. If there is anything I have learned in a decade of dealing with the European Union, it is that Russia’s internal issues are something the EU often does not want to touch.” - *Toomas Hendrik Ilves, President, Republic of Estonia Speech at the 43rd Munich Conference on Security Policy, February 10, 2007.*

Source: <http://www.securityconference.de> (conference website)



## **HANDOUT #8 – JUDGING THE QUALITY OF PRIMARY SOURCES**

The following questions may help you judge the quality of primary sources:

1. Who created the source and why? Was it created through a spur-of-the-moment act, a routine transaction, or a thoughtful, deliberate process?
2. Did the recorder have firsthand knowledge of the event? Or, did the recorder report what others saw and heard?
3. Was the recorder a neutral party, or did the creator have opinions or interests that might have influenced what was recorded?
4. Did the recorder produce the source for personal use, for one or more individuals, or for a large audience?
5. Was the source meant to be public or private?
6. Did the recorder wish to inform or persuade others? (Check the words in the source. The words may tell you whether the recorder was trying to be objective or persuasive.) Did the recorder have reasons to be honest or dishonest?
7. Was the information recorded during the event, immediately after the event, or after some lapse of time? How large a lapse of time?



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## RESOURCES

### Background and Activities for Teachers

PBS

[http://www.pbs.org/wnet/aalives/2006/educators\\_lesson1.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/aalives/2006/educators_lesson1.html)

Library of Congress

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/learn/lessons/psources/pshome.html>

Library of Congress: Learning Page: Student Lesson: What are Primary Sources?

Cold War: Educator's Guide

[http://turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/cw\\_start.html](http://turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/cw_start.html)

Knowledge Construction Tool Kit

<http://www.newseowl.org/kscope/Hovercraft/InfoSkills/KnowFlow/Become/index.htm>

### General Background

BBC: Resurgent Russia

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_depth/europe/2007/resurgent\\_russia/default.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/europe/2007/resurgent_russia/default.stm)

BBC Russia Profile

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country\\_profiles/1102275.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/1102275.stm)

PBS: Commanding Heights

[http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/ideas/ufd\\_index.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/ideas/ufd_index.html)

Up for Debate: Privatization: Who Wins? Russia's Reform Compromise. Was loans-for-shares privatization necessary, and what are its consequences? Central protagonists in Russia's reforms square off.

PBS: Russia: Putin's Plan

<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/russia703/history/putin.html>

CNN Interactive Website: Cold War

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/>

This site was designed to accompany the last episode of the CNN Cold War series. It includes primary resource documents, interviews with world leaders, video of the Communist coup as covered on CNN, and an analysis of the changes brought on by the end of communist rule in Russia.

CNN: The Oral History Project for CNN's Cold War Project

[http://turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/oral\\_handout.html](http://turnerlearning.com/cnn/coldwar/oral_handout.html)

Cold War Museum

<http://www.coldwar.org/index.html>

The Economist

<http://www.economist.com/countries/Russia/>

Energy Information Agency

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/>

Eurasia Net

<http://www.eurasianet.org/>

Gibson Consulting

<http://www.gravmag.com/oil.html>

Interesting oil industry statistics (mostly from EIA) with questions and answers.

International Foundation for Election Services

<http://www.electionguide.org/>

Allows student to search for election information by country, election and year.

U.S. State Department Background Notes on Russia

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3183.htm>

The Background Notes on Russia, part of the series by the U.S. Department of State, provide a summary of the social, political and economic data last updated September, 2007.

U.S. Department of Energy Country Analysis Brief: Russia

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Russia/Background.html>

U.S. Department of Energy Country Analysis Brief: Ukraine

<http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Ukraine/Background.html>

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## DOCUMENTS/MAPS/SPEECHES

Munich Conference on Security Policy

<http://www.securityconference.de/konferenzen/rede.php?sprache=en&id=179>

Munich Conference on Security Policy. Vladimir Putin (February 10, 2007)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization

<http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/treaty.htm>

The North Atlantic Treaty, (Washington D.C. - April 4, 1949)

Iron Curtain Speech, Winston Churchill

<http://www.historyplace.com/speeches/ironcurtain.htm>

President Addresses and Thanks Citizens in Tbilisi, Georgia

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/05/20050510-2.html>

Map of Russia

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/rs.html>

NATO/Warsaw Pact Map

<http://www.britannica.com/eb/art/print?id=103021&articleTypeId=0>

NATO Map

<http://www.nato.int/icons/map/0706memb-part-e.pdf>

White House

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/05/20050510-2.html>

President Addresses and Thanks Citizens in Tbilisi, Georgia – May 10, 2005

## ENERGY BACKGROUND

RFE/RL: Energy Politics in Russia and the Caspian Sea Region

<http://www.rferl.org/specials/caspian/>

<http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2008/03/E080D871-0236-4BAF-B4D1-7E89F9C87160.html>

BBC: Q and A: Why Europe needs Russian Gas

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7240462.stm>

Gazprom Website (English with information about the history of the company)

<http://www.gazprom.com/>

Gazprom Gas Sales on Foreign Markets (graphs and data)

<http://eng.gazpromquestions.ru/index.php?id=4>

## ANALYSIS

Council on Foreign Relations

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/12327/russias\\_energy\\_disputes.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/12327/russias_energy_disputes.html)

Russia's Energy Disputes

Council on Foreign Relations

<http://www.cfr.org/publication/9535/>

Energy's Impact on EU-Russian Relations

Global Research

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=1719>

Ukraine Gas Dispute -- Has Putin Gone Nuts? by F. William Engdahl January 12, 2006

RIA Novosti

<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20080321/101954277.html>

What the Russian Papers Say: Opinion & Analysis

Putin-Bush Summit: Emotions or Realism (Feb. 21, 2005)

<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20050221/39702645.html>

## NEWS SITES AND ARTICLES:

**BBC**

Russia's Energy Giant Flexes Its Muscles, Feb. 24, 2008

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/7259407.stm>

Russia Ahead in Arctic 'Gold Rush', Paul Reynolds, BBC, August 2, 2007

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in\\_depth/6925853.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/6925853.stm)

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Georgia Faces Haggles for Gas, BBC, November, 2 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/6109606.stm>

Putin Criticizes West over Energy, BBC, April 27, 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4950624.stm>

Q&A: Ukraine Gas Row, BBC, January 4, 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/4569846.stm>

Energy and the New World Power Play, BBC, January 1, 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4573944.stm>

Where Europe Gets Its Gas from, BBC, Wednesday, 4 January 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4578350.stm>

Ukraine and Russia Reach Gas Deal, BBC, January 4, 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4579648.stm>

Russia: Bully or Just Applying the Rules?, BBC, January, 3 2006

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4577648.stm>

Putin Warns Against NATO Expansion

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/1137859.stm>

### CRS Report to Congress

“Russian Oil and Gas Challenges,” Bernard A. Gelb, January 3, 2006

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/58988.pdf>

“Ukraine’s “Orange Revolution” and U.S. Policy,” April 1, 2005

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/45452.pdf>

### PBS

“Putin Responds to Cheney Critique”

[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june06/russia\\_05-10.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/europe/jan-june06/russia_05-10.html)

Race to Secure Arctic Riches Heats up, PBS, Newshour with Jim Leher, Sept. 10, 2007

[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/july-dec07/arctic\\_9-10.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra/features/july-dec07/arctic_9-10.html)

Frontline: Rough Cut Russia: Island on the Edge – A Rough, New Energy Frontier, May 2007  
(Good for “Meeting Needs and Wants” CBA)

[http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/rough/2007/05/russia\\_island\\_o.html](http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/rough/2007/05/russia_island_o.html)

### Global Research

Gas and Glory Fuel Race for the North Pole, *Global Research*, August 11, 2007

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=va&aid=6513>

### NY Times

NY Times Russia Page

<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/russia/index.html>

Lithuanians Given Taste of How Russia Plays the Oil Game

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/28/business/worldbusiness/28embargo.html>

### Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty

Russia: Race to the North Pole, Victor Yasmann, RFE/RL, July 27, 2007

<http://www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2007/07/a77e4113-9695-4dfe-bcf5-3466ffe65b1f.html>

### RIA Novosti (Russian News in English)

Russia's Foreign Policy under Vladimir Putin: Achievements and Failures, February 28, 2008

<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20080228/100269538.html>

CIS and Baltic Press on Russia

<http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20080321/101964475.html>

### Spiegel Online (German Newspaper in English)

Russia Could Point Warheads at Ukraine Spiegel, February 13, 2008

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,534971,00.html>

Germany's Energy 'Wake-Up Call' By Frank Dohmen, Alexander Jung, Wolfgang Reuter and Hans-Jürgen Schlamp, January 10, 2006

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,druck-394403,00.html>

St. Petersburg Times (Russian newspaper in English)

<http://www.sptimes.ru/>

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## Times Online

West Stirring Revolution in Ukraine, Says Putin, December 24, 2004

<http://business.timesonline.co.uk/tol/business/markets/russia/article405454.ece>

## United States Institute for Peace

Georgia's Rose Revolution: A Participant's View

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr167.html>

## Washington Post

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/>

Russia's Gas Crunch Looming Shortfall Poses a Tough Choice, By Nadejda M. Victor, April 6, 2006; Page A29

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2006/04/05/AR2006040501954.html>

## Interviews

G-8 Interview with Vladimir Putin 'I Am a True Democrat' June 4, 2007

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,druck-486345,00.html>

Interview with Russia's Ambassador to NATO, "The Attempt to Push Georgia into NATO Is a Provocation,"

Spiegel Online, March 10, 2008

<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,druck-540426,00.html>

## Maps

"Cold War Berlin." Online Map/Still. Retrieved March 16, 2008, from Encyclopedia Britannica Online

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic-art/640094/54542/Map-of-Cold-War-Berlin#tab=active~checked%2Citems~checked>

## Miscellaneous

UN Law of the Sea

<http://www.un.org/Depts/los/index.htm>

Council on Foreign Relations – Academic Module

[http://www.cfr.org/publication/12233/academic\\_module.html](http://www.cfr.org/publication/12233/academic_module.html)

*Foreign Affairs*, "The Battle for Energy Dominance," by Edward L. Morse and James Richard (March/April 2002)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20020301faessay7969/edward-l-morse-james-richard/the-battle-for-energy-dominance.html>

Summary: Thanks to a steady increase in oil output in recent years, Russia is now poised to displace Saudi Arabia as the key energy supplier to the West. But the kingdom has not welcomed Russia's gain. The emerging contest for oil dominance between Russia and Saudi Arabia will profoundly affect U.S. energy security, Russia's global role, Saudi power, and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, not to mention the global economy.

*Foreign Affairs*, "A Normal Country," by Andrei Shleifer and Daniel Treisman. (March/April 2004)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040301faessay83204/andrei-shleifer-daniel-treisman/a-normal-country.html>

*Foreign Affairs*, "Flight from Freedom: What Russians Think and Want" by Richard Pipes (May/June 2004)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20040501facomment83302/richard-pipes/flight-from-freedom-what-russians-think-and-want.html>

Summary: Critics decry Vladimir Putin for turning Russia into a one-party state. But polls suggest that Russians actually approve of his actions by sizable majorities, caring little for core Western principles such as democratic liberties and civil rights.

*Foreign Policy*, "The First Law of Petropolitics," by Thomas Friedman. Proposes axiom that the

higher the global average price for crude oil, the more certain freedoms are eroded in oil-

producing nations, such as Russia. (May/June 2006)

[http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story\\_id=3426](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3426)

*Foreign Policy*, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Model How Putin's Crackdown Holds Russia Back" by Michael McFaul and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. Disputes argument that Putin's attack on democracy has produced a new model of successful market authoritarianism and claims whatever the gains under Putin, they would have been greater under a democratic regime. (January/February 2008)

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080101faessay87105/michael-mcfaul-kathryn-stoner-weiss/the-myth-of-the-authoritarian-model.html>

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**HANDOUT #9 – SCORING RUBRIC**

– Passing –			– Not Passing –	
GLE (EALR)	4 – Excellent	3 – Proficient	2 – Partial	1 - Minimal
<p>5.4.1 Analyzes multiple factors, generalizes and connects past to present to formulate a thesis in a paper or presentation.</p> <p>4.4.1 Analyzes how a historical event helps us to understand a current issue.</p>	<p>States a position on how examining history helps us understand a current event or issue that includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A generalization about how history helps us understand current events.</li> </ul>	<p>States a position on how examining history helps us understand a current event or issue.</p>	<p>States a position on why studying history matters but does NOT relate it to a current issue or event.</p>	<p>States a position on a current issue or event WITHOUT including how history helps us understand this issue or event.</p>
<p>4.4.1 Analyzes how a historical event helps us to understand a current issue.</p>	<p>Provides reasons for the position supported by evidence. The evidence includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An analysis of how <b>three</b> historical events relate to the understanding of a current issue.</li> </ul>	<p>Provides reasons for the position supported by evidence. The evidence includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An analysis of how <b>two</b> historical events relate to the understanding of a current issue.</li> </ul>	<p>Provides reasons for the position supported by evidence. The evidence includes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An analysis of how <b>one</b> historical event relates to the understanding of a current issue.</li> </ul>	<p>Provides reasons for the position that without referencing any specific historical events, OR describes historical events without explicitly connecting them to a current issue/ event.</p>
<p>5.4.2. Creates annotated bibliography, or works cited page using an appropriate format. *(7th Grade)</p> <p>(EALR 5.4. Creates a product...)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes explicit references within the paper or presentation to <b>four or more</b> credible sources that provide relevant information.</li> <li>• Cites sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes explicit references within the paper or presentation to <b>three</b> credible sources that provide relevant information.</li> <li>• Cites sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes explicit references within the paper or presentation to <b>two</b> credible sources that provide relevant information.</li> <li>• Cites sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makes explicit references within the paper or presentation to <b>one</b> credible source that provides relevant information.</li> <li>• Cites the source within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.</li> </ul>

\*OSPI recommends that this CBA be used at a particular grade level and thus, the GLEs included in the rubric are for that grade. However, if the CBA is used at another grade level within the grade band (3-5, 6-8, or 9-12), the GLEs may need to change to match the appropriate content.



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**HANDOUT #10 – GRAPHIC ORGANIZER**

**Current Issue or Event**

--

**Position**

Position	Generally how does history help us understand current issues and events?
----------	--

**Reasons for Position**

Reason(s) for position	Historical event #1  Connection to current issue/event
Historical event #2  Connection to current issue/event	Historical even #3  Connection to current issue/event