

# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY

## 2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 2

Analyze the long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule in TWO of the following states:

Czechoslovakia  
East Germany  
Hungary  
Poland

#### 9–8 Points

- Thesis explicitly identifies long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule in two states.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument.
- Essay is well balanced; long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule in two states are covered at some length.
- Major assertions in the essay are supported thoroughly and consistently by relevant evidence.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument.

#### 7–6 Points

- Thesis identifies long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule in two states but may not be fully developed.
- Organization is clear and effective in support of the argument but may introduce evidence that is not pertinent to the task.
- Essay covers all major topics suggested by the prompt but may analyze one set of factors OR one country in greater depth.
- Major assertions in the essay are supported by relevant evidence.
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument.

#### 5–4 Points

- Thesis identifies factors responsible for the disintegration of communism but may ignore the distinction between long-term factors and short-term factors.
- Organization is clear but may not be consistently followed; essay may veer off task.
- Essay may not complete all tasks; it may analyze only one set of factors for two countries OR may only analyze factors for one country OR may be primarily descriptive rather than analytical.
- Offers supporting evidence for some of the long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule.
- May contain errors that detract from the argument.

#### 3–2 Points

- Thesis may identify factors as short-term and/or long-term factors without demonstrating understanding of the two concepts OR may paraphrase the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay shows serious imbalance; treatment of short-term and long-term factors is superficial.
- Offers minimal or confused evidence regarding long-term and short-term factors responsible for the disintegration of communist rule.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

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**Question 2 (continued)**

**1–0 Points**

- Thesis is erroneous OR irrelevant OR absent.
- No effective organization is evident.
- Short-term and long-term factors are described generically or polemically.
- Provides little or no relevant supporting evidence.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

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## Question 2 Historical Background

Material in this section is derived from the following texts:

Lynn Hunt, *The Making of the West Since 1340—Peoples and Cultures*

Donald Kagan, *The Western Heritage*

Mark Kishlansky, *Civilization in the West*

John McKay, *A History of Western Society Since 1300*

R. R. Palmer, *A History of the Modern World*

Jackson Spielvogel, *Western Civilization Since 1300*

### 1. 1945-49/late 1940s

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin extended its authority over Eastern Europe and gradually imposed communist rule in a number of states. Possibly motivated by concerns over security and traditional Russian expansionist ambitions, Stalin imposed one-party political systems, Soviet economic policies, attacks on traditional elites like the Roman Catholic Church, and ideological indoctrination. Local communist rulers maintained control in large part due to the continued presence of the Red Army. The fate of the Central and Eastern European states became entangled in the Cold War. Germany, which had been temporarily divided among the winners after the war, witnessed a more permanent division with the creation in 1949 of West and East Germany. The latter was governed by communists selected by Stalin.

### 2. The 1950s

The death of Stalin in 1953 and Khrushchev's endorsement of de-Stalinization and acknowledgment of "many roads to socialism" triggered overt opposition to Soviet power in Central and Eastern Europe. Workers unsuccessfully rioted in East Berlin in 1953, but the greatest challenge to Soviet authority came in 1956 shortly after Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" and its revelations about the crimes of Stalin. Poland and Hungary served as the focal points of protest, with the Hungarian communist leader Imre Nagy promising free elections and withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet counterpart to NATO. In the end, Soviet forces crushed the Hungarian Revolution by force, and Nagy was executed two years later. The Polish communists, while promising greater autonomy to their people, avoided Hungary's fate by retaining a monopoly on political power and remaining members of the Warsaw Pact.

### 3. The 1960s

The focal point of much of the Cold War was the city of Berlin. Deep inside the Soviet zone of occupation, the economic recovery and greater personal freedom offered by West Berlin led to the exodus of about three million East Germans between 1949 and 1961. The departure of so many skilled and educated workers threatened to shatter the East German economy and was a propaganda disaster for the Russians. In 1961, the Soviet and East German governments divided the city by constructing the Berlin Wall, one of the symbols of the unpopularity of communist rule in much of Central and Eastern Europe. By the late 1960s, however, the two German governments agreed to develop closer economic and diplomatic relations, a policy known as Ostpolitik. The policy promoted consumerism in the East at the expense of a growing public debt.

The 1960s are often remembered as an era of failed attempts to accomplish drastic political, economic, and social transformation in Western and Eastern Europe. In the areas under Soviet control, the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, led by Alexander Dubček, implemented reforms designed to create "socialism with a human face." The changes granted citizens greater freedom of speech and travel and decentralized economic planning. The Soviet government, urged on by many of the Warsaw Pact leaders,

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### Question 2 Historical Background (continued)

ended the Prague Spring by invading Czechoslovakia in 1968 and installing a communist hardliner. The events of 1968 raised doubts about the possibility of reforming communism and communist leaders' abilities to be more responsive to the aspirations of their citizens.

#### 4. The 1970s and 1980s

The 1970s were a decade of growing economic hardship and demands for political freedom. In 1980, the announcement of higher food prices by the Polish government triggered a series of strikes and public demonstrations in Poland. The independent labor movement known as Solidarity, supported by the Polish Pope John Paul II and the Polish Catholic Church, challenged the legitimacy of communist rule. Although the movement was temporarily suppressed by the army, Polish communists failed to solve the economic crisis or command the enthusiastic support of the population. Few, however, anticipated that within the decade the Soviet Union would surrender control of its satellites or that communist rule in Central and Eastern Europe would disintegrate.

Mikhail Gorbachev's efforts to save communism in the Soviet Union loosened Soviet control in the satellite countries. Gorbachev's pledge to allow all nations to pursue their own political destinies, coupled with continuing economic problems, resulted in negotiations between the Polish government and Solidarity leaders designed to carry out a peaceful transition of power. By the summer of 1989, Poland was led by a noncommunist leader for the first time in over four decades. The Polish example encouraged dissident groups in other Eastern European countries, and relatively peaceful transfers of political authority had occurred in Hungary, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia by the end of 1989. Gorbachev was surprised by the rapidity of the communist collapse but refused to intervene militarily.

#### **TERMS AND NAMES YOU MAY ENCOUNTER (Not to be treated as a checklist)**

Berlin Blockade and Airlift	Havel, Vaclav
Berlin Wall	John Paul II
Brezhnev Doctrine	Prague Spring
Comecon	"Socialism/communism with a human face"
De-Stalinization	Solidarity Movement
Dubček, Alexander	Velvet Revolution
Glasnost and perestroika	Walesa, Lech
Gorbachev, Mikhail	Warsaw Pact

2 ~~A1~~

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

After 1945, the great powers, the US and Soviet Union, sought to control as many nations as possible in fear of the other. This led to the development of the Cold War. By 1980, however, Reagan re-vitalized the US economy and the USSR began to collapse. In both Czechoslovakia and East Germany, a change was desperately needed. The common people of both of these countries saw both long and short term factors for their country, causing the disintegration of communist rule.

The Czech government has had a long history of trying to reform communism throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1960s, Alexander Dubček became the Czechoslovak ruler and believed that change was needed. He is responsible for the movement known as Prague Spring. Though the Soviet army quickly ended this demonstration, the spirit of reform still was alive in the Czech people. One of the most pressing short term factors in the 1980s, was the opening of borders. Across Eastern Europe, borders began to open up to the West, allowing more freedoms than before. In addition, the Czechs saw political reform to reflect their ideology as an important factor in the end of Communism. The most important long term factor in reform was the Slovak issue of autonomy. With a combination of these factors, the Velvet Revolution was successful in Czechoslovakia, ending communist rule.

East German end of communism is also related on both short and long term factors. One <sup>long term</sup> factor in ending communism was the Ostpolitik seen by Willy Brandt of the BRD. Under this policy, Brandt hoped to ease tensions between East and West Germany. This later carried into the Helmut Kohl era. Another long term factor was the control the Stasi (Staatssicherheit) had on the people. Like the KGB,

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

2 ~~1~~ of 1

The Stasi surveilled the East German people constantly, causing fear and an unstable need to change. The most important short term ~~issue~~ issue to ending communism was the opening of the Berlin wall. This allowed East and West Germans to unite against, and although some still wanted the DDR in existence, a vote proved the disintegration into the BRD to be more popular. These factors all helped ease tensions with West Germany and effectively end communism in East Germany.

Many international factors also had a hand in ending communist regimes in both countries. The most influential factor was probably Gorbachev's rule over the Soviet Union. He adopted glasnost and perestroika, which helped ease the totalitarian regime in the USSR. By doing so, many people of Eastern Europe believed change could come. In addition, Ronald Reagan visited the BRD in the late 1980s, urging Gorbachev to "Tear down this wall". This also gave Europeans a sense of hope in the idea of ending the Cold War and oppressive regimes.

By the dawn of the 1990s, communism had ended due to both short and long term factors. In ~~the~~ Czechoslovakia, a desire for the reform ~~needed~~ needed in the 1960s never died, helping end communism. In East Germany, improved relations with West Germany played the largest role in the end of communism. Though communism failed and was very brutal upon Europe, the solidarity and European brotherhood that stemmed from it is very important in modern society.

(B) Q. 2 pg. 1

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

27: B1

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two <sup>major</sup> countries were able to disintegrate communist rule in the land. East Germany and Poland both had numerous long-term and short-term factors that lead to this break from communism. In East Germany, the repressive rule of Honecker <sup>and the Berlin Wall</sup> lead to its drift from communism while in Poland, Lech Walesa and Gorbachev's loosening of Russian enforcement lead to its drift from communism.

In East Germany, a chancellor ~~called~~ <sup>named</sup> Honecker rose to power and had harsh repressive methods. Also, with the Berlin Wall built, there was an increasing separation between East and West Europe along the "iron curtain". When the Berlin Wall was built, people everywhere were shocked and could never imagine its disappearance. An increasing number of intellectuals began fleeing to the West to escape the communist laws of equality (they did not like the <sup>equal</sup> ~~low~~ pay they received <sup>which was not based hard</sup> ~~no matter how good they worked~~) which was not based on how hard they worked. The loss of such ~~genouses~~ intellectuals hurt the economy in East Germany. Also, the large number of citizens fleeing to the West also hurt the East German economy because of the loss of population and consumers. When the wall was finally built and running, every citizen grew to hate it. This lead to increased repressive methods, especially during Honecker. Having already to have

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

(B) Q.2 Pg.2

~~to deal with the long term effect that the wall had-~~  
~~caused~~ The Berlin wall caused a learn-term hate towards the government by the citizen people. Also the commu-  
Eventually when Honecker became chancellor an increasing number of people grew to hate the government because of his repressive brutality and use of a secret police force. When the people finally had enough in 1989, they began organizing ~~new~~ revolting & protesting. Continuously the government had difficulty putting down the protests until November ~~th~~ when huge crowds of people protested the wall and chanted it must come down. Finally, on November 9, 1989 the ~~wall~~ borders were open symbolizing the end of communist rule. Eventually Germany was united between 1989 and 1990 and all forms of communist rule were exicted.

Another major country that ~~lost~~ eliminated communist rule was Poland. Under ~~reformation~~ the lead of a man called Lech Walesa, Poland ~~increas~~ was growing a rebellious strength. With Gorbachev ~~th~~ as Russia's leader, an increasing amount of reforms were being put in place as well as a loosening of the chokehold on satellite countries. This loosening on the satellite countries finally gave Poland the prime time to strike it's break from communism. In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, Lech Walesa mustered

(B) Q. 2 Pg. 3

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

2-B3

numerous supporters. With finally enough support he was able to establish a new government, the Solidarity. This new government was the sign of disintegration of Russia's Communist hold on Poland. Finally free from Communist rule, Lech Walesa became the leader of Poland.

In conclusion, Poland and East Germany were able to break apart from Communist rule through the long term repression and Berlin Wall (in East Germany) and uprisings and increasing support for Lech Walesa (in Poland), as well the short-term fall of the wall and protests (in East Germany) and the relaxation of a chokehold on satellites by Gorbachev (in Poland).

Write in the box the number of the question you are answering on this page as it is designated in the exam.

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2)

~~East Germany and~~

Communist rule in East Germany and Hungary disintegrated for a variety of reasons, both short and long term.

The short term reasons that Communist rule ended in East Germany and Hungary are varied. It was perhaps a foregone conclusion in East Germany: with the victory of the main democratic states in WWII, especially the United States, democracy had the upper hand in global politics.

The main reason is because ~~it~~ it had the moral highground. Actions taken by the Soviet Union concerning East Germany, and especially Berlin, ~~caused the~~ actions like the Berlin ~~to~~ blockade and the Berlin Wall, showed everyone the paranoia and desperation for control of ~~the~~ Communist countries. When the Americans responded with the Berlin Airlift, it showed the ~~more~~ dedication of democracy to the moral good. And when East Germany citizens tried to escape the confines of Soviet Berlin, it really cast the Communists in a bad light, for after all, how can you claim to be the best gov. when your own people are trying to escape from you? ~~in~~ Hungary

Those were the short term reasons why Communist rule failed in East Germany. With Hungary, it was reform from within. When Janos Kadar came to power, he instituted a number of reforms designed to show "Communism ~~with~~ with a human face". These reforms were very anti-Communist and gave people a lot more freedom. ~~The~~ The people liked ~~it~~ it a lot more

than what they had with traditional Communist rule, which ~~is~~ was a huge hit against Communism. After all, ~~a~~ a gov. cannot remain in power for long if the people do not support it. These reforms were crushed by the ~~Soviet~~ Soviet Union, ~~of~~ ~~which~~ ~~only~~ heightened ~~the~~ popular dissatisfaction with ~~the~~ Communist rule, leading to its eventual disintegration.

The long term reasons why Communist rule disintegrated in East Germany and Hungary are one and the same. ~~Free~~ Communism, in the traditional Cold War sense, was outdated. Once democracy was shown to work, and once it was proven that capitalism could work, then Communism no longer had any appeal. The actions taken by the Soviet Union, such as labor camps, using Secret Police, and general oppression only served to heighten anti-Communist feelings that were already in place. The main long term reason is the rise of ~~American~~ American influence, both politically and culturally. For those in oppressed countries, the U.S. became a symbol of hope. It became a fantasy land, a place where everything was perfect. So not only did America's political might mean greater political influence, but it was paralleled by a growing admiration of America. Common people began to ~~want~~ <sup>want</sup> America, and once they did, they no longer wanted anything else, especially



# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY 2009 SCORING COMMENTARY

## Question 2

### Overview

The question required students to examine a mainstream topic (the fall of communism in Eastern Europe) from an unusual perspective. Some historical problems (such as the causes of the French Revolution or the First World War) are analyzed by textbooks and instructors from the perspective of long-term and short-term factors, but the collapse of communism is approached from other perspectives (the confrontation between superpowers during the Cold War; the political, economic, and social problems that weakened communism; the relations between the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites). Therefore, this question required students to create an analytical framework on the spot rather than simply repeat information about the Cold War or the end of communism. The question also served to remind teachers that they must cover contemporary history in order to properly prepare their students for the exam, and they cannot afford to neglect any one region of the continent in their courses.

### Sample: 2A Score: 9

The thesis in this essay is in the closing paragraph and defines long-term and short-term factors: Czechoslovakia's "desire for . . . reform," which began in the 1960s, helped to bring an end to communism in the 1980s; and improved contact with West Germany over a period of 10 years. Organization is consistent and supportive of the essay's argument. The student analyzes long-term factors (Czech desire for reform; the opening of borders; reduced tensions between West and East Germany; and fear of the *Stasi* (the secret police), as instruments of change), and short-term factors (the continuing desire for change in Czechoslovakia that culminated in "the Velvet Revolution"; "the opening of the Berlin Wall"; the impact of Gorbachev's reforms; and the American pressure being exerted on the Soviet Union, as a sources of hope). Major assertions in the essay are effectively supported, and evidence is consistently used to illustrate the student's arguments.

### Sample: 2B Score: 6

The thesis in this essay identifies long-term (political repression, the building of the Berlin Wall, and increasing support for Lech Walesa) and short-term factors (political protests, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and Gorbachev's relaxation of Soviet control of the satellites) summarized in the closing paragraph. The factors are stated with little sophistication and development, but the student fulfills the task. The organization is clear here with each country receiving one paragraph in the body of the essay. The essay covers all the major topics in a simple manner with a great deal of description, including some analysis. Major assertions are supported with relevant evidence.

### Sample: 2C Score: 2

The thesis in this essay paraphrases the prompt. The essay includes misunderstandings of short-term and long-term factors, and discussion is at times superficial. Additionally, there are several content errors.