

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY

2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3

Considering the period 1918 to 1948, analyze the political and diplomatic problems faced by TWO of the following newly created Eastern European states.

Austria
Czechoslovakia
Hungary
Poland

9–8 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question; analyzes political and diplomatic problems.
- Organization is clear and consistent; major assertions are developed effectively.
- Essay is well balanced; analyzes both the political and diplomatic problems.
- Evidence is precise and relevant for both countries; analysis links historical events to problems.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument.

7–6 Points

- Thesis is explicit and addresses both political and diplomatic problems in a more general fashion.
- Organization is clear and supports the argument.
- Essay is balanced; contains some discussion of both the political and diplomatic problems.
- Evidence may be stronger for one country than another; linkage between historical events and problems may be limited.
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument.

5–4 Points

- Thesis is not fully responsive to the question; may identify problems superficially.
- Essay is not well organized; introduction or conclusion may be thin.
- Essay shows some imbalance; political and diplomatic problems not distinguished.
- Evidence is adequate though sparser on one country than another; may be more descriptive than analytical.
- May contain errors that detract from the argument.

3–2 Points

- Thesis is not explicit; may merely restate the question.
- Organization is weak.
- Essay shows serious imbalance; may merely mention political and diplomatic problems.
- Offers limited or confused evidence for either country; may be a list.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

1–0 Points

- Thesis is vague or incomplete.
- Organization may be skeletal.
- Political and diplomatic problems are described generically.
- Minimal evidence used; may be off task or unfocused.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY

2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3 Historical Background

General themes: Failure of democracy and of principle of self-determination; Versailles settlement established new weak states; geopolitical problem (location near or between powerful neighbors); extreme right- and left-wing parties developed; rise of Nazism in 1930s; Soviet domination after World War II; conflicts between ethnic minorities, especially in Czechoslovakia; Eastern European states were subject to Nazi domination and then to Soviet control (except Austria); Eastern Europeans were often not in charge of their own destinies.

Poland

- Poland had a turbulent post–World War I period, with wars against the Soviets, the Ukrainians, Germans, Lithuanians, and Czechs from 1918–1921.
- Established a democratic government in 1922, but it lasted only eight years.
- 68.9 percent of population ethnically Polish; 15 percent Ukrainian; 8.7 percent Jewish; 3.1 percent Belorussian; 2.3 percent German.
- Democratic government overthrown by Joseph Pilsudski in a coup in 1926.
- New, conservative constitution in 1934 gave the president extraordinary powers.
- Death of Pilsudski, 1935.

Most often cited by students:

Political problems: Internal conflict with ethnic minorities; anti-Semitism; re-created state that had not existed since the partitions; failure of democracy.

Diplomatic problems: Buffer state; location between Germany and the Soviet Union; Invasion of 1939; Holocaust.

Czechoslovakia

- Sole surviving Eastern European democracy until Munich agreement.
- Established the National Assembly in Prague.
- Relatively stable from 1922 to 1929.
- Thomas Masaryk was gifted leader.
- Depression exacerbated ethnic tensions: 65 percent Czechs or Slovaks; 20 percent ethnic Germans (three million), often were pro-Nazi; 700,000 Hungarians.
- Diplomacy failed on September 18, 1938.
- Munich agreement allowed Hitler to take the Sudetenland.

Most often cited by students:

Political problems: Ethnic minorities, especially Germans in the Sudetenland; new state comprising Czechs and Slovaks (political plus: relatively stable and viable democracy).

Diplomatic problems: Munich crisis; France and Britain did not live up to their promises; failure of League of Nations; Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania) was weak.

Austria

- Republic of “German Austria” founded in 1918.
- Treaty of St. Germain (1919) made a relatively small state with a homogeneous population (except for Jews in Vienna).
- Treaty included war reparations and prohibition of political or economic union with Germany without permission of League of Nations.
- Fragile Republic to 1933: constitution ratified in 1920 with bicameral legislature.

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2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

- Universal suffrage (including women) in 1920.
- Parliamentary election returned Social Democrats and Christian Socialists in large number, with Nationalists a third party. System of proportional representation—neither party could dominate.

Most often cited by students:

Political problems: Loser in World War I; shrunken state; end of Hapsburg glory; Jewish minority and anti-Semitism; war reparations were supposed to be paid; forbidden to unite with Germany (or anyone) without permission of League of Nations.

Diplomatic problems: Weakness of government; failure of democracy; Hitler's (and many Austrians') desire for *Anschluss*; end of independence, 1938.

Hungary

- Became independent in 1919 but lost much territory and population.
- Communist coup in 1919 and brief rule by Béla Kun, followed by conservative reaction.
- Monarch restored in absentia.
- Dictatorship run by the landed aristocracy, with Admiral Horthy as “regent.”
- General Gyula Gombos became prime minister in 1932.
- Hungary was dictatorial and openly anti-Semitic.
- Cooperated with Germany in its efforts at European domination.

Most often cited by students:

Political problems: Loser in World War I; “dismembered” state with significant loss of territory and population; first communist rule, then dictatorship; discontent of Magyars.

Diplomatic problems: Hard to find alliances; subordinate to Germany during World War II and then to the Soviet Union in the post-war period.

Eastern Europe (1918–1948)

Discussion from Donald Kagan, *The Western Heritage*

“Trials of the Successor States in Eastern Europe”

Problems faced by Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia (Hungary is not mentioned in this section). Successor states were supposed to provide a buffer zone against Bolshevism and a bastion of self-determination.

- They experienced difficulties establishing new parliamentary governments, and only Czechoslovakia did not end up with an authoritarian regime.
- No tradition of self-government; ethnic division; new borders disrupted legal and economic systems; all were in debt (except Czechoslovakia).
- All were “highly dependent on trade with Germany.”
- All had “minority groups that wanted to become part of a different nation.”
- Poland was big disappointment; class and ethnic differences ensured that parliamentary regime would fail; Pilsudski led a coup in 1926 and ruled until his death. Minority groups in Poland were identified: Ukrainians, Jews, Lithuanians, and Germans.

“Czechoslovakia: A Viable Democratic Experiment”

- Czechs and Slovaks had cooperated during the war.
- Leadership of Thomas Masaryk (1850–1937) was gifted and fair.

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2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

- Other nation groups were discontented: Poles, Magyars, Ukrainians, and the Germans of the Sudetenland.
- Appeasement at Munich meant the dismemberment and disappearance of Czechoslovakia and the creation of a Slovak client state.

“Hungary: Turn to Authoritarianism”

- Defeated power—separated from Austria but dismembered with loss of territory.
- Short-lived Soviet republic under Béla Kun.
- Admiral Horthy (1868–1957) made regent for Hapsburgs (even though the king could not take his throne).
- Government was “parliamentary in form” but served aristocratic interests with rigged elections and anti-Semitism.

“Austria: Political Turmoil and Nazi Occupation”

- Paris settlement forbade union with Germany.
- Christian Socialists vs. Social Democrats.
- Christian Socialist Engelbert Dollfuss (1892–1934) was chancellor.
- Growing power of Nazi Party in Austria; Dollfuss shot during unsuccessful Nazi coup; Schuschnigg ruled until *Anschluss*.

“Austria and Czechoslovakia”

- *Anschluss* (March 12, 1938) resulted in Nazi regime surrounding Czechoslovakia.
- Hitler’s threats lead to Chamberlain’s concession of the Sudetenland and Munich agreement, September 29, 1938.
- Prague occupied, March 15, 1939.
- Poland pressed to give up Danzig; Britain and France guarantee Polish independence, leading to outbreak of World War II.

Nazi–Soviet Pact of August 23, 1939 “sealed the fate of Poland.”

“Polish Anti-Semitism between the Wars”

- Pilsudski favored including Jews “within the civic definition of the nation.”
- But after Pilsudski’s death, government pursued anti-Semitic policies supported by spokesmen of Polish Catholic Church.
- Jews were discriminated against in hiring and excluded from civil service, so they moved into law and medicine.
- Poles refused to regard even secular, assimilated Jews as fellow Poles.
- In spite of Polish anti-Semitism, Nazis alone were responsible for the destruction of the Polish Jewish community.

“Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe”

- Eastern European satellites were to be buffer for Soviets.
- February 1948, son of Masaryk (Jan) murdered (fell out of a window mysteriously); Edvard Beneš forced to resign, and Czechoslovakia brought under Soviet one-party rule.
- Stalin’s harsh politics were due to Tito’s escape from Soviet domination.

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2009 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

Discussion from R. J. Crampton, *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century—and After*

Ethnic breakdown of Poland

- In 1921, Poland had a population of 27 million: 69.2 percent Polish; 14.3 percent Ukrainian or Ruthenian; 7.8 percent Jewish; 3.9 percent Belorussian; 3.9 percent German (the rest included Lithuanians, Russians, Czechs, and others).
- Poland had an estimated one-third of the Jewish population of the world. Jews were mostly urban, making up 62.9 percent of all those engaged in trade.

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

Both Czechoslovakia and Poland were newly created after WWI by taking land from losing ~~empire~~ countries. They were both weak and ~~purported~~ democratic, but subject to bullying by their larger neighbors, Germany and Russia. Czechoslovakian politics were also complicated by ethnic tensions in their territory. From 1918 to 1948, Poland and Czechoslovakia were ^{diplomatically} dominated by their neighbors and battled with internal questions of identity which spilled over into politics.

When they were created, they were drawn up by the victors of WWI with the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson to keep the peace in mind. They were supposed to be democratic and ~~to~~ have one ethnicity to be and represent. Poland was relatively homogenous, though it did have a large Jewish minority. The Czechoslovakia though, was split between Czechs, Slovaks, Sudeten Germans, and Jews. This challenge to national identity spilled over into politics. Both were new to democracy and

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

were plagued by corruption, ineffective governance and voter apathy. Democracy was thrust upon them and wasn't fully understood or practiced.

Diplomacy proved to be their biggest problems though. Both were carved up when they weren't even at the table. Poland was divided by Germany and the ^{USSR} ~~USSR~~ in a secret agreement that began WWII. Czechoslovakia ~~was~~ had the Sudetenland, a region inhabited mainly by ethnic Germans handed over to Nazi Hitler's Germany by a conference of large European powers. ~~at~~ This appeasement was mainly supported by Britain's Neville Chamberlain. ~~Both were under~~ Poland was under Nazi occupation for most of WWII, while Czechoslovakia had a puppet government loyal to Hitler.

These quickly drawn up countries had little political unity or successful democracy. They were also diplomatically dominated by their neighbors, Russia and Germany. The meddling of other

3-A3

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

Countries, lack of a culture of democracy and ethnicity were problems.

3

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

During the period 1918 to 1948 the countries of Eastern Europe underwent rapid diplomatic and political changes due to the advent of communism in the Soviet Union and later, the invasion of many by Nazi Germany. In particular Czechoslovakia and Poland underwent considerable diplomatic change and ~~political~~ political upheaval.

In Czechoslovakia after World War I the allies ~~created~~ created a democratic government which progressed fairly smoothly until the Nazis began their aggression in Eastern Europe. In the Sudetenland there was a large German population which Hitler insisted was his only goal in Czechoslovakia. The Czechs refused to cede this territory, however, Britain, pursuing a policy of appeasement ~~and~~ forced the Czechs to cede the Sudetenland in an attempt to stop Hitler. However, Hitler invaded and the Western powers abandoned Czechoslovakia. After Germany had been defeated Czechoslovakia became a Communist satellite state of the USSR and would remain so ~~for~~ until the Prague Spring.

During the time period after World War I Poland was recreated after centuries of foreign annexations and control. However, once again, Poland was a weak state and Hitler soon divided Poland with the emerging USSR.

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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~~The~~ Poles would, like Czechoslovakia, gain their independence from Germany at the hands of the USSR and become a communist satellite state. ~~While~~ While under the German control Poland, which had a large Jewish population would be purged of all the Jews in the Holocaust.

The ~~states~~ states of Czechoslovakia and Poland faced similar diplomatic and political problems during the post WWI era. From Nazi occupation to Communist domination in less than half a century.

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

3-C1

Between the years 1918 and 1945 ~~two~~ nations were formed as a result of post-war boundaries that were placed to form ^{these} ~~new~~ ^{new} nations out of the lands lost by the forces who had lost the war. Two of these newly formed nations were Poland and Czechoslovakia. The problems faced by these two nations stemmed from negative reactions from cultural groups who were either roped together with other groups they had negative views of, or that were forced to leave their former homes because of new governmental standards. Because of these reasons these two nations faced both political and diplomatic issues inside and outside their nations.

The majority of the problems that face Poland ~~and~~ following its formation after World War I was that land that been placed under their control was populated by former German citizens who sympathized with the predicaments facing their former nation. This aided in the invasion of Poland by Adolf Hitler ~~and~~ ^{and} the German armies prior to World War II.

The problems facing Czechoslovakia after its formation were primarily interior. This is from the fact that ~~many diverse cultural groups~~ ^{many diverse cultural groups}, such as the Slovaks, who had formerly been separate nations but were forced to live together. For this reason and others interior fighting often occurred between cultural factions that had a deep-rooted hate stemming back for many years.

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY 2009 SCORING COMMENTARY

Question 3

Overview

The intent of this question was for students to identify and analyze political and diplomatic problems in two Eastern European states “in the period 1918 to 1948,” which encompassed the time between the two World Wars and the Second World War and its immediate aftermath. In order to respond effectively, students had to identify problems such as conflicts with ethnic minorities, threats from Soviet Russia or Nazi Germany, difficulties in establishing and maintaining democratic regimes in the wake of the Treaty of Versailles, and difficulties creating alliances or assuring national security. Austria and Czechoslovakia were both overtaken by Hitler before the Second World War began, and Poland was the first victim of *blitzkrieg*. In the postwar era, Austria alone escaped Soviet domination. Hungary managed to be on the losing side in both wars. Students were asked to “consider” the 30-year period, which means that the discussion should have covered events or issues within the period, but students were not required to deal with every phase of the period.

Sample: 3A

Score: 8

This essay contains a sophisticated, condensed discussion that deals with politics and diplomacy in Poland and Czechoslovakia. It deals effectively with politics by identifying ethnic divisions in both countries and problems of new democracies. Diplomacy references include: Nazi–Soviet Pact, Sudetenland, and Neville Chamberlain and appeasement. The essay provides an analytical thesis as well as solid evidence and analysis. The response did not receive a score of 9 because not all assertions are as well developed as they could have been, and the essay could have been stronger on diplomacy.

Sample: 3B

Score: 6

The thesis in this essay is generic in form. It identifies Czechoslovakia as a post–First World War democracy and specifically cites the Sudetenland crisis. The essay is thinner on Poland but includes a discussion of its losing much of its Jewish population in the Holocaust and becoming a communist satellite. Evidence is relatively specific and correct, though stronger for Czechoslovakia. The thesis would have to be more developed, evidence on Poland would have to be fuller, and the essay would have to include more detail as to why Poland was a weak state to have earned a score of 7. The essay did not receive a score of 5 because it sets the context of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia as oppressive to Eastern Europe, there is mention of the background of Poland and “foreign annexations,” and there is a sense of chronology.

Sample: 3C

Score: 2

This essay is characterized by confusing language. The student demonstrates some knowledge about the displacement of minorities and mentions Germans in Poland and Slavs in Czechoslovakia. The essay did not earn a score of 3 because it confuses Poland with Czechoslovakia, and the description of ethnic minorities gives only a hazy idea of their role in those countries during the time discussed. The essay earned better than a score of 1 because it is on task and focused, despite containing limited and confused evidence.