

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY

2013 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 7

Analyze the factors that led to the rise of right-wing authoritarian regimes in continental Europe in the interwar period (1919–1939).

9-8 Points

- Thesis is explicit and fully responsive to the question.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed and effective, addressing multiple factors clearly linked to rise of regimes.
- Essay is well balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are covered, although essay may contain more specific evidence from one regime than another or may treat right-wing regimes as a category with strong emphasis on developing the factors and links.
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument; identifying the USSR as a right-wing regime detracts from the argument, for example.

7-6 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question.
- Organization is clear and effective; it must clearly link factors to the rise of regimes.
- Essay is balanced; essay may address one regime significantly less than another if factors and linkage to rise of regimes are well balanced.
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument; identifying the USSR as a right-wing regime can be ignored if this is the only major error.

5-4 Points

- Thesis is explicit, but not fully responsive to the question, or it is weakly developed.
- Organization is clear and effective; may focus more on causes or responses and may have somewhat rudimentary analysis.
- Essay shows some imbalance:
 - Strong discussion of only one regime that clearly links factors to rise of regime
 - More focus on conditions or regime building
 - Emphasizes time period after rise to power more than rise to power.
- Most of the major assertions in the essay are supported by least one piece of relevant evidence; essay needs to do more than assert that conditions after WWI were poor.
- May contain a few errors that detract from the argument.

3-2 Points

- No explicit thesis or has a thesis that merely repeats or paraphrases the prompt or is poorly developed.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay shows serious imbalance; may have some information on one regime, information may be very generic, or essay may not support the thesis.
- Only one or two major assertions are supported by relevant evidence; these essays are less specific and may describe generally poor conditions.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 7 (continued)

1-0 Points

- No discernible attempt at a thesis or has a thesis that is wholly undeveloped.
- No discernible organization.
- Only one or none of the major topics suggested is mentioned or topics are undeveloped.
- Little or no relevant supporting evidence used.

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Question 7 (continued)

Historical Background

Italy

- Political Factors: postwar democratic government could not find consensus between Socialist and Catholic parties and was not effective in dealing with issues such as: Treaty of Versailles (*Italia irredenta*, Fiume 1919), inflation, unemployment, Red Years 1920–1922 (progressive tax, legalized peasant land seizures).
- Social and economic factors: demobilized soldiers increase unemployment; high inflation; agricultural depression (rural workers form Red Leagues); banditry in south; Socialists gain influence; workers/unions become more militant; fears of USSR; industrialists and landowners worried; fascist groups create disruption through riots and violence.
- Rise of Mussolini: promises strong, militarized state to restore Italy to Roman glory; appeals to middle class and landowners; funded by wealthy industrialists and landowners; use of violence and terror against political left and to create disruption; use of propaganda; 1922 march on Rome, King Victor Emmanuel III asks Mussolini to form government, legislature grants Mussolini permission to rule by decree, Fascists become majority party in 1923 elections.

Germany

- Political Factors: Weimar Republic (parliamentary system, blamed for surrender and Versailles, Socialists and Communists gaining seats but at odds with each other); fear of revolution (growing Socialist/Communist influence contributes to growing militancy of right-wing groups like Freikorps); Spartacist revolt in 1919 crushed by Freikorps.
- Social and economic factors: disappointment with Versailles (Clause 231 on war guilt, reparations, loss of natural resources, military limitations); inflation (reparations, burning/playing with worthless money, wheelbarrows of money, Germany defaults and France occupies Ruhr Valley 1923, Dawes Plan 1924); growing conviction that Jews and Socialists “stabbed Germany in the back” and stole the German victory; Great Depression (6 million unemployed by 1932, 44 percent drop in production, loss of welfare benefits).
- Rise of Nazi party: helped by depression; scapegoats (primarily Communists, Socialists and Jews); racial nationalism; Hitler (leader by 1921, Beer Hall Putsch 1923, *Mein Kampf* 1925); appeals to middle class, small property owners, pensioners, elderly, war widows, rural middle class, workers in small businesses; second largest party in Reichstag in 1930; 1933, Hitler becomes Chancellor, Reichstag fire, proclaims Third Reich, Enabling Act.

Spain

- Political Factors: weak monarchy hurt by regionalism; political power dominated by coalitions of nobility, church and army; loses Morocco; falls to Second Republic in 1931; leftist “October Revolution” in 1934 lasted two weeks before Franco crushed it; Popular Front (Radicals, Communists, Socialists, some anarchists) v. conservative groups (old elites, church, monarchists, nationalists, most of army); country polarized between left and right until Civil War in 1936 (Hitler and Mussolini support Franco, USSR helps Republicans, West stays out, Republicans split, conservatives include most of army and are increasingly unified around Franco).
- Social and economic factors: labor, peasantry, nobles, church, small middle class all at odds with each other; strikes; violence (Falange or Black Shirts 1933); weak economy (lack of infrastructure, regional differences, attempts to modernize, land reform, labor reform all fail).
- Rise of Franco: supported by army and church; aid from Italy and Germany; brutal warfare.

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Question 7 (continued)

Eastern Europe

- Political Factors: new democracies very fragile, little or no experience ruling themselves (multiple parties span political spectrum, rise of radical agrarian parties, legacies from different empires, clash of old and new elites); peace treaties (all countries felt their territorial claims had been violated, large populations of national minorities); had to build administration and rebuild from war; fears of communism.
- Social and economic factors: high illiteracy rates; small middle class; agriculture depressed by grain imports; economies hampered by national tariffs that impeded prewar flow of goods; only Austria and Czechoslovakia had advanced industries; lack of infrastructure; growing/displaced populations; economic and social conflicts reinforced by ethnic and religious differences.
- By 1939, right-wing authoritarian regimes in Poland (1926), Lithuania (1926), Albania (1928), Yugoslavia (1929), Hungary (1932), Austria (1933), Estonia (1934), Latvia (1934), Bulgaria (1935), Greece (1936), and Romania (1938).

General Issues

- Political Factors: fear of communism; old elites lost power and prestige after World War I; contested boundaries in many areas led to nationalism competing with new democracies; mass mobilization techniques used by parties; revolutionary new political movements on right and left; parliamentary governments seem unable to deal with crises so dictator looks more attractive; nationalism growing.
- Social and economic factors: changed economic conditions as result of war and depression (war debt, inflation, increased government regulation of economy, beginnings of welfare states, rise of corporatism, increasingly militant working class); cultural change causes uncertainty, right-wing promises return to roots; middle class loses savings and security in economic crises and fear the left.
- Fascist ideology
 - Mass mobilization but not political participation; hierarchical structure; rejection of parliamentary rule
 - Borrowed from other ideologies: conservative values of hierarchy and order and contempt for parliamentary ineffectiveness; popular racist doctrines; corporatism (unity over class warfare); Christian images of blood and martyrdom
 - New social and political order based on the nation; national identity overrides all others (rejection of class distinction); usually expansionist (not Spain or Portugal)
- Fascism's Appeal:
 - Spoke to many groups: World War I vets renew "camaraderie of the trenches" and patriotism; rural society threatened by urbanization; small businesses threatened by large corporations; businessmen threatened by workers; middle class threatened by socialism; old elites threatened by democracy; unemployed threatened by depression; religious way of life threatened by secularism; all fear communism.
 - Notion of service to the nation attractive; emphasizes unity over individualism; uniforms (shirts of one color that anyone can afford); paramilitary organization; decisive action to remake society through discipline and force; street drama, symbols, propaganda; violence; technology and modernization; seen as outside of corrupting politics of democracy; patriotism of World War I; holds "enemies" responsible for poor economy and bad governments (liberal politicians, Jews, Marxists, foreigners); fascism promises orderly, united and prosperous state.

4A-1

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

After the collapse of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires during the first world war, various nation states took the place of the unoccupied territories in Eastern Europe, including Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Though these nations were set up based on the principle of democratic self-determination, ~~they~~ all except for Czechoslovakia devolved into militaristic regimes. A similar fascist takeover occurred in Spain. Although economic decline and ~~political~~ the weakness of existing democratic liberties proved influential factors in this trend, the most important reason for right-wing regimes was ~~the diplomatic and international~~ ~~with~~ international affairs, as governments tended to fear the socialist experiment of the Soviet Union and developed reactionary regimes in response.

Economic difficulties during the inter-war period led to dissatisfaction with liberalism. After the world war, the Versailles Treaty, signed by U.S., Britain, and France, required the payment of reparations ~~on~~ the losing states and their successors, particularly Germany, under the War Guilt Clause. The economic issues were exacerbated in Germany due to hyperinflation of the Reichsmark. Such difficulties arising from the harsh terms of the peace aroused ~~strong~~ sentiment against the Versailles Treaty and the

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

7A.2

western bourgeois-democratic powers. In Paris, Hitler rejected the reparations due to France in his 25 Points. Economic difficulties imposed by foreign powers convinced Eastern European nations to pursue ultra-nationalist anti-foreign policies, mostly sympathetic to right-wing fascism. After the Great Depression in the 1930's, economies continued to suffer stagnation and unemployment, and farmers were convinced that ~~capitalism~~ western capitalism would fail. The Nazis used the economic decline to its advantage, and other European nations such as Hungary depended on Nazi assistance in their weak agrarian economies. Thus, economic difficulties aroused opposition to foreigners and discontent with liberalism.

Another key factor in the ~~cause~~ rise of rightist regimes was the lack of political liberties in the predecessors to Eastern European states. Before the World War, ~~the~~ the German Empire, ~~the~~ the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the Russian Empire were all anti-democratic conservative powers. ^{The German Reichstag & the Duma} Thus, any politically liberal developments that took place elsewhere in Europe were suppressed in these empires. After the World War, the sudden absence of autocratic imperial regimes was not properly handled by the politicians of the successor states due to lack of experience with civic liberties. The ~~absence of~~ initial absence of an oppressive empire allowed ethnic strife between

7A3

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minority groups and nationalist concerns to erupt. The disquiet was not handled democratically, but by the rise of oppressive dictatorships that took advantage of the power vacuum in the weak governments to form rightist regimes.

However, the most influential factor in allowing rightist-regimes to maintain authoritarian power was the international politics due to the development of leftist political parties and states. ~~Immediately~~ Immediately after the war, the Soviet Union was established on socialist and Bolshevik revolutionary principles, which posed a threat to bourgeois democratic governments in Western Europe. Communist revolutions in Hungary, and Benito Mussolini and Germany, and Benito Mussolini, also heightened the fear of workers' revolution in Eastern Europe. As a result, right-wing regimes that could receive moderate support from Western capitalist powers by ideologically opposing the socialist revolution. The Policy of appeasement in the Munich conference, when the Western powers allowed German occupation of Sudetenland, demonstrated moderate Western sympathies to rightist regimes, which solidified their power in Europe. After the Republican government came to power in Spain, the perceived threat of communism was brought to Western Europe. ~~As a result, the opposition of the Soviet Union~~ As a

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7A-4

~~result of Soviet support for the~~

result of Soviet support for the democratic Spanish government, anti-Bolshevik forces were invited to support the Falangist Fascist takeover in Spain. The bourgeois democratic powers of the west pursued neutrality during the Spanish Civil War due to common opposition with rightist governments against the spread of Soviet communism. Thus, the ~~and~~ emergence of Soviet power led to international relations among western powers sympathetic to right-wing authoritarian states to maintain conservative traditions and shield them from the spread of leftism.

Thus, the economic difficulties following the war and the depression, the absence of political liberalism in predecessor states, and the international support against Soviet communism led to the rise of authoritarian regimes. The regimes of Europe would eventually lead to ~~the~~ the conflicts of the second world war.

7B-1

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

~~After world war I, during~~ During the interwar period European countries were rebuilding from the devastation caused by world war one both structurally and economically. The weakened state of some of these nations allowed strong men ^{right winged} dictators to emerge. The weakened German economy left lots of German people starving because of inflation. They ~~also had a weak government these conditions~~ allowed ~~Hitler~~ ^{Adolf} Hitler to rise to power. ~~the~~ ^{and} Italian economy was also ~~weakened~~ weak. Central Government also allowed the dictators to emerge because they had the support of the people. The weak economy and weak central governments helped lead to the rise of strong-men ^{right winged} dictators.

In Germany the Weimer Republic printed lots of money to help pay off the war reparations. This led to huge inflation of the German mark. The mark became worthless and thousands of people starved to death because it took wheelbarrows full of money to get to buy bread. With the weakened economy many people wanted change, and someone to blame for the problem. Hitler promised that he could improve the economy and used the Jews as a scapegoat for ~~his~~ the reason the economy was so bad. Italy also had economic problems, although not as severe it allowed Mussolini to promise that he he could ^{make it} ~~do better~~ better. This allowed Mussolini to gain favor with the people.

A weak central government also helped the ~~right~~ right winged authoritarian regimes to rise. After world war ~~one~~ the German

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

7B-2

Weimar republic was ~~weak~~ ^{not strong} enough to keep order. Hitler used his SA stormtroopers to cause ~~panic~~ ^{panic} and show the people how weak the Government was. The SA would cause riots and beat and kill opposing political party members. With the Government not strong enough to stop them the people turned to Hitler to ensure safety. He used his power to eventually become the German Prime minister and put Nazi officials in office. In Italy Mussolini also exploited the government's weakness by using his black shirts to start riots and cause chaos. He got the people scared enough that they wanted someone to protect them. Mussolini promised peace and order if he was in charge. He took his blackshirts to Rome and demanded to become Prime minister. After a stand off the president elected him Prime minister. Both Hitler and Mussolini exploited the clause in the constitutions ^{stating} ~~saying~~ that ~~the~~ ^{the} constitution can be suspended in a time of danger.

There were three main factors that led to the rise of right winged authoritarian regimes. A weak economy which made the people resent the government because they could not provide for them, ~~and~~ weak central governments also ^{let them rise} ~~led to the rise~~ because they were not strong enough to stop them. There was also an amendment in the constitution allowing the constitution be suspended and the leader given dictatorial powers.

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

70-1

The twentieth century was a turbulent period in time that gave rise to extreme radical forms of government. It was the introduction of three dictators that the world would never forget. ~~These men~~ rocketing these men to power, Mussolini used terror tactics to scare the government into giving him power. Hitler convinced the people that they were wronged by WWI, and Stalin was able to gain top seat in the Politburo.

Starting with Mussolini, he was a ruler unlike anything the world had seen before. He single handedly invented the term fascist, which refers to a government type that suppresses the people and bears full power. Mussolini primarily rose to power from terrorizing the people and threatening the government. He employed thugs on the street called squadristi to kill people until the government granted his party full power. To seal the deal he conducted the march on Rome, where, in a "heroic" display, managed to snatch the power from the weak government and gain control of the people. The squadristi later turned into a more formal army called the Blackshirts.

Adolph Hitler was an admirer of Mussolini. He loved the idea of a fascist government and he too very strategically became a dictator. By convincing the people of Germany that they were being treated poorly from the treaty of Versailles, he presented that he was able to right the wrongs. He was a cunning master of deception.

7C-2

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

and used propaganda with his minister Goebbels to convince and control the people. Also, by Neville Chamberlaine, the British prime minister appeasing to Hitler's every request in order to avoid another war, Hitler was able to push around the rest of Europe and get exactly what he wanted.

Stalin, the supreme dictator of the soviet union, rose quickly to power after Lenin died. His position in the politburo was general secretary, which granted him full power to appointing and removing people from the group. So he simply expelled Trotsky, his highest competitor, and took over as the leader of the politburo and thus Russia. Stalin eliminated all opposing parties simply by killing them. He centralized all industry, farms, etc. which granted him full power over everything.

Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin rose to power through organized terror, clever propaganda, and cunning loopholes in the governmental system.

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY 2013 SCORING COMMENTARY

Question 7

Overview

The question was intended to assess students' ability to analyze the problems in the interwar period, the failure of post-1918 governments to address those problems, and how this failure contributed to the rise of right-wing dictatorships in continental Europe.

Sample: 7A

Score: 9

The essay has a fully responsive, explicit thesis at the end of the first paragraph. The essay is organized thematically by factors with multiple pieces of evidence for every major assertion. The essay is well-balanced: it emphasizes the factors that led to the rise of right-wing regimes and includes linkages specific to Germany and Spain, and it uses several East European countries to highlight the particular problems faced there in the interwar period. The essay contains a sophisticated analysis of factors and linkages for several countries, and it has no errors that detract from the argument. The essay was scored higher than 8 because of the strong analysis and use of relevant evidence from several regimes to support the argument.

Sample: 7B

Score: 6

The essay has a workable thesis at the end and thematic but straightforward organization that addresses the prompt. The essay is balanced between factors and rise of regimes but is stronger and has more evidence on Germany than on Italy. It contains adequate evidence with clear linkages between factors and rise of regimes. The essay was scored lower than 7 because the evidence is not developed in an analytical manner, and the essay was scored higher than 5 because it contains more relevant, accurately presented evidence than the typical essay that received a 5.

Sample: 7C

Score: 2

The essay has a simplistic thesis, minimal organization by regime, and generic information about the rise to power of right-wing dictators with very little discussion of causal factors. The argument is simplistic and limited with only a hint of evidence to support its assertions. The essay contains a major error by including the Soviet Union as a right-wing government. The essay was scored lower than 3 because it fails to provide even rudimentary coverage of the question, and it was scored higher than 1 because it has a thesis and demonstrates a basic understanding of the prompt.