

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY

2014 SCORING GUIDELINES

Question 1 — Document-Based Question (DBQ)

Analyze the factors that contributed to the emergence of a workers' opposition movement in communist Poland in the period 1956–1981.

Historical Background: After the Second World War, Poland became part of the Soviet bloc and the Polish communist party had a virtual monopoly on power.

BASIC CORE: 1 point each to a total of 6 points

1. Provides an appropriate, explicitly stated thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question. Thesis must not simply restate the question.

The thesis must refer to at least TWO specific causal factors. The thesis must suggest a *minimal level of analysis* drawn from the documents. The thesis may appear in *either* the introduction OR the conclusion.

2. Discusses a majority of the documents individually and specifically.

The essay must discuss **at least seven documents** — even if used incorrectly — by reference to anything in the box. Documents can be cited by number or by name, or they can be referenced in other ways that make it clear which document is being discussed. Documents cannot be referenced together in order to get credit for this point (e.g., “Documents 1, 4, and 6 suggest . . .”) unless they are discussed individually.

3. Demonstrates understanding of the basic meaning of a majority of the documents (may misinterpret no more than one).

An essay may not significantly misinterpret more than one document. A major misinterpretation is an incorrect analysis or one that leads to an inaccurate grouping or a false conclusion.

An essay cannot earn this point if no credit was awarded for point 2 (discusses a majority of the documents).

A document that is erroneously grouped with other documents is considered a misinterpretation.

4. Supports the thesis with appropriate interpretations of a majority of the documents.

The essay must use **at least seven documents** correctly, and the documents used in the body of the essay *must provide support for the thesis*.

An essay cannot earn this point if no credit was awarded for point 1 (appropriate thesis).

An essay also cannot earn this point if no credit was awarded for point 2 (discusses a majority of the documents).

5. Analyzes point of view or bias in at least three documents.

The student must make a reasonable effort to explain why a particular source expresses the stated view by:

- relating authorial point of view to author's place in society (motive, position, status, etc.); OR
- evaluating the reliability of the source; OR
- recognizing that different kinds of documents serve different purposes; OR
- analyzing the tone of the documents; analysis must be clear and relevant.

Note: 1. Attribution alone is not sufficient to earn credit for point of view (POV).

2. It is possible for essays to discuss point of view collectively (e.g., can include two or three documents to make a single POV analysis), but this counts for only one point of view.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

6. Analyzes documents by explicitly organizing them in at least three appropriate groupings.

A grouping must contain **at least two documents** that are used correctly and individually. Groupings and corresponding documents *may* include the following:

The following groupings are not exhaustive:

Political repression by Communist Party

Critique of dissent: 1, 3, 7, 12

Complaints about lack of rights (e.g., freedom of speech): 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9

Increasing discontent among workers: 6, 8, 9, 11, 12

Catholic criticism of repression: 5, 11

Political action by dissidents

Support of activists: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9

Opposition activists in Poland: 2, 6, 8, 9, 11

Support of workers' movement outside Poland: 4, 6

Expression of discontent from workers' and strikers' point of view

Defending workers' protest: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11

Support for workers by nonworkers: 2, 4, 5, 6

Desire for independent labor unions: 4, 9

Economic discontent

Failure of Communist party to provide economic well-being for workers: 2, 6, 9, 10

Workers' economic challenges: 6, 8, 9, 10

Religious actions and critiques

Catholic support for workers' movement: 5, 11, 7 (due to its reference to Pope John Paul II)

Intellectual dissent:

Disjunction between theory and practice of communism: 2, 4, 8, 9

Writers' critique of exploitation: 2, 4

EXPANDED CORE: 0–3 points to a total of 9 points

Expands beyond the basic core of 1–6. The basic score of 6 must be achieved before an essay can earn expanded core points. Credit awarded in the expanded core should be based on holistic assessment of the essay. Factors to consider in holistic assessment may include:

- Has a clear, analytical, and comprehensive thesis (that explicitly discusses three or more factors for the emergence of a workers' movement)
- Uses all or almost all of the documents (10-12 documents)
- Uses the documents persuasively as evidence
- Shows understanding of nuances of the documents
- Analyzes point of view or bias in at least four documents cited in the essay
- Analyzes the documents in additional ways (e.g., develops more groupings)
- Recognizes and develops change over time
- Brings in relevant "outside" information

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

A Closer Look at the Thesis Statement

Examples of acceptable and unacceptable theses:

Stronger theses:

- “The Communist party’s oppressive regime which grants no political voice nor freedom of speech to the workers significantly made the workers disenchanted with the regime, the pope [*sic*] support of the Polish People’s Liberalist movement to break out from the Communist party’s oppression also helped the workers’ movement gain force in a largely Catholic country like Poland. Finally, the dissatisfaction of the workers for their life, both in the factories where they may be subject to random dismissal, or in home where the lack of consumer goods made life all the more unsatisfactory, provided the Solidarity with a wide base of support with workers eager to advance their life quality.”
- “Many factors led to the worker opposition to the communist government. Workers protested because the government falsely represented their political motives and ignored their demands for more democratic rights. Other factors that contributed to the opposition included anger over poor economic conditions, the desire for independent unions, Polish Catholic religious traditions, and intellectuals who criticized the lack of freedom in the communist party.”

Adequate theses:

- “This emergence of a workers’ opposition movement was contributed to by the misrepresentation of the working class by the communist party, unfair treatment of the working class, and controlling ways of the communist party.”
- “The documents discuss three important factors during this time which was unemployment, distrust for communism, and a need for a new system.”
- “During this time the workers were seeking more rights, and protested in public assembly, despite danger of government oppression.”

Inadequate theses:

- “The worker’s opposition movement in Poland was sparked by workers who had been wronged by bosses and the government. While people tried to stop the opposition from happening like the authors in documents 3, 5 and 9, there were others who wanted the opposition to occur, like the authors in documents 1, 2, 4, 8, 10 and 12.”
- “The three different groups in the Polish community who were the Polish Communist Party, the Catholic Church, and the Polish intellectuals tried their best to bring the workers who were fired back to work because they had seen how their economy was declining.”

A Note on Factors: A listing of social groups alone does not constitute factors. A factor suggests some kind of action or causality.

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

A Closer Look at Misinterpretations

Examples of major misinterpretations or incorrect usage coming from the documents:

- Doc 6: “Document six shows how the average wages for Polish workers dropped dramatically in several regions throughout Poland. This demonstrates that the Communist party did not ensure living wages for the people.”
- Doc 6: “Government-sponsored aid from the Communist Party was insufficient in providing a living wage for fired workers.”
- Doc 12: “As a member of Solidarity, Jaruzelski describes how the Solidarity movement continued to grow due to worker dissatisfaction.”

Example of minor errors:

- “The bishops’ resolution could be influenced by the fact that in 1976 the ruling pope was Pope John Paul II, who was originally from Poland and lobbied for the wants of the Polish working class, so if the bishops made a good impression on Pope John Paul II, then they may be promoted to a higher position, such as a cardinal or archbishop”.
 - Pope John Paul II became pope in 1978, two years after Document 5 was published.
- “A chart depicting a trade union’s financial aid for fired workers shows that these workers are being paid less than half the yearly salary of what few who are still working have.”
 - The document is not from a trade union, and the payments are charitable contributions rather than salaries.

A Closer Look at Point of View

There are many means by which a student can demonstrate point-of-view analysis.
(*The following examples are not meant to be exhaustive.*)

Examples of ACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis:

Relating authorial point of view to author’s place in society

- “It is not surprising that a group of Catholic bishops in Poland would demand better treatment of the Polish people because as Church leaders they would naturally be in favor of social justice.”
- “The Polish Communist party is atheistic and would therefore oppose attempts by Christian Churches to advocate on behalf of workers.”

Evaluating the reliability of the source

- “Kuron and Modzelewski are most likely trustworthy sources because they are members of the Communist party yet they take a critical view of the party. They have seen the issues that they criticize first-hand. (Doc. 2)”
- “This document may not be reliable because Jaruzelski wrote his views in his memoir that he planned to publish and he might have wanted to make Solidarity look like more of a threat to his Communist government than it really was.”

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Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

Recognizing that different kinds of documents serve different purposes

- “Document 7 is obviously an overt attempt at Communist Party propaganda to convince Polish children that the pope is an enemy of the people. The government does not want the pope to successfully spread liberal ideas to the Polish people.”
- “The photograph in Doc. 10 was taken by a Communist party photographer so it is probably an attempt to document for the government economic problems that the Polish people are facing.”

Analyzing the tone of the documents

- “It is ironic that the editorial in the People’s Tribune proclaims that the Communist party and its workers are unified when a large-scale strike a few months earlier resulted in several dozen workers killed at the hands of the government. (Doc. 1)”

Examples of UNACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis:

- “Edward Gierek is biased because he is a Communist Party leader.”
 - Why is this unacceptable? This is merely attribution with no attempt at further analysis beyond the stated information from the document itself; the statement does not explain why a Communist Party official might be biased against increased democracy for workers. (Authorial POV and reliability)
- “General Wojciech Jaruzelski might be stretching the truth in Document 12 because he wrote this statement in a memoir.”
 - Why is this unacceptable? The statement does not explicitly analyze how an account written in a memoir might influence the veracity of the author’s account. (Documents serving different purposes)
- “The Document 11 is not biased because it is a photograph and photographs don’t lie.”
 - Why is this unacceptable? This is merely attribution with a feeble attempt analysis. The analysis is erroneous in implying that the use of photographs is purely objective. (Documents serving different purposes)

downplay the workers' strike, suggesting that their input has been ~~accepted~~ heard and the threat of dissent from this unusual ~~or~~ unusual outburst has passed, when in reality they're only momentarily suppressed the workers' protests. This ~~persuasive~~ persuasive tone of certainty is also employed when dealing directly with the opposition members. In a ¹⁹⁷¹ conversation with the workers on strike ~~at~~ at the Szczecin Shipyard, ~~the~~ the head of the Communist party ~~recognizes~~ recognizes their desire to be politically informed, but argues that ~~the~~ the government can't ~~provide~~ provide any or every detail they may ~~all~~ want. He continues to state that "there are rules, comrades, that must be strictly observed" (3). ~~This~~ This "dialogue" allowed the Party to reassert the facade of inclusion and moderate ~~openness~~ openness, ~~while~~ while suggesting that the workers' demands are outrageous, and even dangerous. The unsatisfying appeal did nothing to ~~quiet~~ quiet the opposition. ~~When~~ When the Interfactory Strike Committee released their "21 demands" in 1980, the specifically noted that "the selection of management ~~personnel~~ personnel" must be

based on "qualifications, not party membership" and the ~~the~~ "privileges of the secret police, regular police, and party apparatus" must be eliminated (9). These demands, which reflect the ultimate interests of the ~~the~~ discontent working class, reliably signify the factors behind the opposition's growth. ~~The Party's~~ The Party's insistence on denying workers a voice in politics is addressed by denying the Party members their unjust privileges.

~~The~~ As is true with many ~~the~~ dissenting groups throughout history, the Polish opposition movement was propelled by a ~~steadily~~ steady decrease in the ~~the~~ average worker's quality of life. Many workers ~~who~~ were fired ^{arrested, or imprisoned} during this period of opposition, which ~~the~~ only ~~the~~ ~~worsened~~ worsened their living situations. ~~The~~ The Workers Defense committee provided aid to these kinds of families in 6 different cities, each having anywhere between 25 ~~to~~ - 640 families in need (6). Although families only received a fraction of their typical income, this service ensured that

the hardships workers faced as a result of this backlash ~~also~~ encouraged the opposition, rather than discourage it. Released in ~~the~~ the mid-late 70s, this data reflects what would be the peak of the opposition's struggle. The opposition actually embraced the idea of a ~~new~~ anti-party worker, as seen in a brochure distributed by the Founding Committee of the Independent Trade Union, which employed fellow workers to fight for the model activist and ~~ex~~ skilled crane operator Anna Walentynowicz, who had been unfairly fired (8). Although the brochure is a persuasive, ~~even~~ even slightly ominous, piece of propeganda, it ~~successfully~~ depicts the ~~successfully~~ successfully motivating influence of ~~the~~ this unemployment trend. Also contributing to the decline of living conditions, the ~~shortage~~ shortage of food available to the Polish ~~workers~~ workers is adressed in their "21 demands" when they request a "full supply of food products for the domestic market" (9). Marek Langda's photo of a wursaw Grocery Shop ~~shows~~ depicts ~~rows~~ rows of empty

shelves (10). Taken in ~~the~~ 1981, it reveals how the food supply had ~~greatly~~ declined as the opposition, partly in response to this ~~the~~ unsolved hardship, grew in strength.

The workers' opposition flourished between 1956 and 1981 due to the support of both Catholics and Polish Intellectuals. Jack Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, professors at Warsaw University and Communist Party Members, wrote an open letter to their party in which they identify the lack of opportunity for workers to influence their government, as well as the government's exploitation of the working class (2). With their ~~rich~~ ~~rich~~ experience as professors, Kuron and Modzelewski can appreciate the hypocritical shift in their own party's identity, and, even ~~so~~ though they must take a moderate approach as members of the party in question, they are unafraid to encourage self-reflective criticism, perhaps trying to bring about some internal change during the early years of the

workers' dissent. As the strikes continue, several notable Polish Intellectuals declared their solidarity with the working class, who deserve real forms of representation, rather than the fictitious "official unions" (4). As intellectuals, they ~~cannot~~ see through the deceptive structures, like the "official unions" that the government would promote. ~~Because~~ Because they chose to broadcast this message from the comfort and safety of Western Europe, their support is ~~a~~ a ^{reliably} genuine, if risky, ~~staunch~~ stance. In ~~a~~ September of 1976, the ~~Polish~~ bishops of the Catholic Church in Poland called for the government to respect civil rights, and to stop all repression of workers involved in the ~~the~~ protests of June 1976 (5). The list of demands from the bishops, ~~that~~ ~~the~~ as well as the ~~firm~~ firm, while somewhat scolding tone in which they're made, reveal the Church's unwavering support for the Polish workers. The value of ~~the~~ Church support is reflected in the Party's ~~scandalous~~ fearful response to ~~the~~ Pope John Paul II's visit that same year. Instructions distributed to school teachers by

The Party ~~was~~ told teachers to teach ~~the~~ Polish children that the Pope was a deceptively charming enemy (7). While the outrageous villainization of John Paul II is partially ~~due~~ due to the fact that children are ~~more~~ simply more receptive to ~~the~~ exaggerated character, these instructions show the genuine desperation of the communist Party by the end of the decade. ~~By~~ By the end of 1980, a coalition of independent trade unions, referred to as the Solidarity, was established. A year later, they gathered for ~~the~~ Catholic Mass at the opening of the Solidarity's national convention (11). Though the photograph of this event does not claim that all Solidarity members attended the mass, ~~its~~ its notable prominence ~~in~~ in the event reflects the powerful impact the Catholic Church's support had in the success of the workers' opposition.

~~The~~ The growth of the Polish Workers' opposition was ~~a~~ a result of several different factors. The Communist Party continually denied the working class a voice in government.

IA p.80+8

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

Between 1956 and 1981, living conditions of Polish workers suffered as many were fired ~~or~~ imprisoned, and the food supply decreased. The support of Polish Intellectuals and the Catholic Church was also vital in the opposition movement.

After World War II the Polish Communist Party had a monopoly on power in the government. Workers' opposition movements began due to lack of opportunity outside of the Communist Party, lack of representation for workers' rights, violent police suppression of strikes, and repression of the workers involved in anti-government protests.

~~Communism is a form of government.~~

As sole power in ~~government~~ government, the Communist Party controlled all areas of economy, politics, and foreign affairs. The aim of communism is to create a unified nation in which all citizens are equal, and all property is ~~publicly~~ publicly owned. Those who opposed ~~the~~ or spoke out were quickly and often violently repressed. Workers on strikes were fired, arrested, or imprisoned. In document 2 the idea of equality was called into question as ~~the~~ officials dressed extravagantly, the pay was unequal. Resisters were put to rest through police coercion. In document 4 it states that the freedom of speech, however, could only be given through these outbursts of discontent, the workers were not being represented and the needs were not being met. The only choices were acceptance or strike until a system of real representation of workers could be created.

In document 5 the Catholic Church speaks out against the repression, calling for reinstatements and positions returned, and those imprisoned released, with all workers

compensated. Aid was provided for those workers by the workers Defense Committee (Document 6) and the money raised entirely through voluntary contributions with no government involvement. The aid was still significantly less than the yearly average pay for one worker. In 1979 Communist party distributes guidelines telling school teachers to teach children to go against the pope, due to his opposition. The party uses persuasion to picture the pope as a hypocrite, a liar, and the model of American ~~presidential~~ presidential campaigns, the enemy. (Document 7)

In 1980 the Interfactory Strike Committee posts the "21 Demands" listing the demand of the workers including free trade unions without party intervention, right to strike, freedom of speech, management on basis of qualification vs. party membership, etc. (Document 9) Document 11 shows public opposition of communist rule as independent trade unions kneel in prayer.

Communist party united as one with the nation, engaging in the working class ~~class~~ (Doc. 1) but failed to meet the people's needs until the 1980's when rights were defined and accepted.

After the conclusion of the second world war, the Polish Communist Party had a monopoly of governmental power. During this time, from 1956 to 1981, times were tough in Poland (as illustrated by the picture of noticeably empty supermarket shelves in document 10). Thus, it should have come to no one's surprise that a workers' opposition movement arose in Communist Poland. While many factors played a role in this development, those against it were mainly overpowered by those people who believed that it was necessary, and those who saw it as inevitable.

Perhaps no way was support shown for the workers' opposition more obviously than in the amount of money collected by the workers' defense committee for the purpose of helping those fired, arrested, or imprisoned by the government. Through donations only the organization raised hundreds of thousands of Zloty for their cause (doc 6). History has shown that movements with such clear financial support by the public are often inevitably successful.

The inevitable victory of the working class victory was seen by those who believed ~~such~~ a statement seen in doc. 1, "[The working] class

leads the nation not by someone's appointment or decree, but by virtue of its position in society". Even though the remainder of this document goes on to proclaim that the Party ~~was~~ was united with the workers, that freestanding quote was clearly much more representative of the real state of Polish Politics. Even the official Polish Communist Party newspaper could clearly not change that. This, was a fact that years later was confirmed and admitted by Polish Party Leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in his 1992 memoir. He states that "Such a powerful social and Political movement radicalizes and gathers momentum on its own" (Doc. 12). This quote confirms that although Polish leaders did not admit it at the time, perhaps they did understand the inevitability of what they were up against.

There were also those in Poland who simply believed that the ~~the~~ success of the Workers' Opposition movement in Poland was necessary. These included ~~men~~ ^{those} such as Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, who, even though were Polish Communist Party members, called for an end to the end of the exploitation of the

Working class (Doc 2). The workers also gained the support of the Catholic Church in Poland, when in 1976 they said that "The Government should... take account of society's wants when making decisions that affect the whole nation" (Doc 5). Recognizing the terrible situations that many workers were finding themselves in, the Founding Committee of Independent Trade Unions pleaded that shipyard workers support ~~the~~ now former shipyard employee, Anna Walentynowicz, claiming that it was necessary for them to do so ~~in~~ in order to avoid a similar situation (Doc 8).

However, there were those against the movement. Demands such as those hung on the gates of the Gdansk Shipyard on August 18th, 1980, calling for things such as the "Acceptance of free trade unions independent of the Communist Party" seemed unreasonable to the Party (Doc 9). In an obvious attempt to express his anti-opposition views, Edward Gierek, head of the Polish Communist Party simply told workers that there were rules to be followed and not to "demand that type of Democracy!" (Doc 3). Overall, many views

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Question 1

Overview

The intent of this question was for students to use the documents provided to identify causal factors that contributed to the emergence of a dissident workers' movement in Poland between 1956 and 1981, to arrange the documents into analytically useful groups, and to provide examples of point of view that were implicit in the documents.

Sample: 1A Score: 9

The thesis describes three key factors that include (1) the Communist Party's suppression of workers' rights, (2) the increasingly difficult living conditions of Polish workers, and (3) the support of intellectuals and the Catholic Church. The essay uses 11 documents correctly (1, 3, 9, 6, 8, 10, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11) and supports the thesis with evidence from each of these documents. There are six strong examples of point-of-view analysis (using Documents 1, 3, 9, 2, 4, 7) and two more subtle but still acceptable examples of point-of-view analysis (using Documents 8 and 5). There are three clear groupings of the documents. The essay received extended core points for providing a comprehensive thesis, using all but one of the documents and providing multiple examples of sophisticated point-of-view analysis. The essay demonstrates a nuanced understanding of the documents, uses the documents persuasively to support the thesis, and concludes with a clear reiteration of the key factors. The essay earned core points 1–6 and all 3 extended core points.

Sample: 1B Score: 5

The thesis describes three factors: (1) the workers' lack of opportunities outside the Communist Party, (2) the lack of representation of workers' interests, and (3) government repression of strikes and antigovernment protests. The essay uses seven documents, a majority, correctly (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11) and alludes to an eighth document (Document 1) in the conclusion. The thesis is supported with evidence from a majority of the documents. There are three valid groupings of the documents. There are no valid examples of point-of-view analysis. The essay earned core points 1–4 and 6.

Sample: 1C Score: 2

Neither the introduction nor the conclusion provides a thesis that identifies specific factors addressing the prompt. The essay uses nine documents correctly (10, 6, 1, 12, 2, 5, 8, 9, 3). There are no valid attempts at point-of-view analysis. The attempted groupings do not explicitly address causal factors and, consequently, the essay failed to earn core point 6. The essay earned core points 2 and 3.