



AP[®] European History 2007 Scoring Guidelines

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Question 1—Document-Based Question

Identify the various assumptions about children in early modern Europe, and analyze how these assumptions affected child-rearing practices.

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 may not simply restate the question.**

The thesis must make some effort to address both assumptions and practices (with examples), though it may do so unevenly. The thesis must suggest a minimal level of analysis or context (drawn from the documents). It need not appear in the first paragraph.

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

The student must use at least seven documents—even if used incorrectly—by reference to anything in the box. Documents cannot be referenced together in order to get credit for this point (e.g., “Documents 1, 4, and 6 suggest ...”). Documents need not be cited by number or by name.

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

A student 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.

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

The student must use at least seven documents, and the documents used in the body of the essay must provide support for the thesis. *A student cannot earn this point if no credit was awarded for point 1 (appropriate thesis).*

- 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; must be well developed

Note: (1) Attribution alone is not sufficient to earn credit for point of view. (2) It is possible for students to discuss point of view collectively (e.g., Locke and Rousseau taken together), 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 into at least three appropriate groups.

A group must contain at least two documents that are used correctly. Groupings and corresponding documents *may* include the following (not exclusive):

Treasure and worthy of love	1, 2
Insufferable and annoying	4, 6
Traditional/harsh	3, 4, 6, 8
Corporal punishment	3, 8
Reason	9, 10, 11, 12
Religious/spiritual	2, 7, 10
Obey their parents	2, 7, 10
Gentle	1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 12
Progressive	10, 11, 12
Education	1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12
Parents	1, 2, 4, 8, 10
Patriarchal	1, 7, 8, 10
Philosophers	6, 11, 12
Detached	4, 6, 12
Inferior	4, 6

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 a student can earn expanded core points. Credit awarded in the expanded core should be based on holistic assessment of the essay. Factors to consider may include the following:

- Has a clear, analytical, and comprehensive thesis
- Uses all or almost all of the documents (11–12 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 POINT OF VIEW IN THE 2007 DBQ

Students must make a reasonable effort to address point of view in at least three documents, and there were many means by which they could demonstrate point of view in the 2007 DBQ. However, readers did not award credit for “canned” or formulaic attempts at point of view that did not show some degree of analysis as required in the core scoring guidelines.

Examples of ACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis

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

“As a preacher and moralist, the advice that Jean Benedicti gives in his *A Summary of Sins* seems fairly predictable, since it is likely important to him as a moralist that children learn obedience and respect while it is important to him as a preacher that children learn to honor God (doc 7).”

“Cavendish, as both a woman and a member of the nobility, would likely hold this view since she may have been raised in privileged circumstances (doc 9).”

Evaluating the reliability of the source

“John Locke can speak authoritatively on the subject of child-rearing since presumably, as both a philosopher and physician in the Enlightenment, he would have spent some time studying the issue before publishing an essay on education (doc 11).”

“Although Scheurl’s notes may be biased because they are of his own son, he is a perfect example of a parent who has pride in his son (doc 1).”

Recognizing that different kinds of documents serve different purposes

“Since Martin Luther is expressing his grief and even his failure to find comfort in his religion in a letter to a friend, it is reasonable to assume that this document contains more heartfelt and honest sentiments than a more official public document (doc 2).”

Examples of UNACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis

“Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, in a letter from the 1620s that describes her upbringing, explains that her mother avoided terrifying her children with threats (doc 9).”

Why is this unacceptable? This is merely attribution with no attempt at further analysis beyond the stated information from the document itself.

“Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, recalls fond memories of the times when she was a child. She reminisces about past memories and views her mother with care and love for she was a devoted parent. Cavendish’s letter is truly reliable, for it is a primary source and thus her comments are factual.”

Why is this unacceptable? It restates the document’s content and does not explain why Cavendish held these views; the comment about reliability is simply formulaic.

“Because this statement was made by a philosopher and physician, it reflects the attitudes of this time period.”

Why is this unacceptable? Again, it is really just attribution, as the student makes no effort to explain how or why Locke’s position as a philosopher and physician reflects the attitudes of the period.

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Question 1—Document-Based Question (continued)

“Michel de Montaigne’s essay from 1580 is biased when he says that newborn children have neither mental activities nor recognizable body shape by which to make themselves lovable (doc 6).”

Why is this unacceptable? This statement merely asserts that Montaigne is biased, with no attempt to explain why he may be inclined toward bias; the second part of the statement is simply a reference to the content of the document.

“Christoph Scheurl wrote annual notes on the progress of his son, and he claimed that his son delighted in learning. These were personal notes to himself.”

Why is this unacceptable? Although it may be relevant that these were notes Scheurl wrote for himself, this statement makes no attempt to explain why this may be significant in the interpretation of the document.

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Question 1 Document Summary

Document 1: Christoph Scheurl, Nuremberg jurist and diplomat, annual notes to himself on his son Georg's growth and progress, Nuremberg, Germany 1538

Scheurl reports that his six-year-old son is growing fast, likes to learn, and is reciting the Donat from memory. He says grace and “keeps his hands clasped so that he is not looked on as a child.” He chatters away, drinks new wine, and leaps about the house. “He holds his father dearer than his mother and his brother. . . .”

Document 2: Martin Luther, Protestant reformer, letter to a friend on the death of Luther's thirteen-year-old daughter Magdalene, Wittenberg, Germany, 1542

“ . . . [W]e are unable to refrain from . . . grieving. The features, the words, and the movements of our . . . obedient and respectful [daughter] remain engraved in our hearts; even the death of Christ is unable to take all this away as it should. You, therefore, please give thanks to God in our stead.”

Document 3: *The Domostroi*, a Russian manual on household management, Moscow, 1550s

“A man who loves his son will whip him often so that . . . he may be a joy to him. He who disciplines his son will . . . take pride in him. . . . He who gives his son a good education will make his enemy jealous and will boast of him among his friends.”

Document 4: Benvenuto Cellini, metal crafter and sculptor, autobiography, Florence, Italy, 1550s

Cellini went to see his two-year-old natural son, who was being nursed by the wife of one of his workmen, and he comments: “I found the boy in very good health. Sad at heart, I kissed him; . . . [the boy] refused to let me go, . . . breaking into a storm of crying and screaming. . . . [T]his was beyond belief. I detached myself . . . and left him crying his eyes out.”

Document 5: Pieter Brueghel, the Elder, detail from *Children's Games*, Spanish Netherlands, 1560

The painting depicts children engaged in games and activities.

Document 6: Michel de Montaigne, published essay, Bordeaux, France, 1580

“I cannot abide that passion for caressing newborn children, which have neither mental activities nor recognizable bodily shape by which to make themselves lovable, and have I never willingly suffered them to be fed in my presence.”

Document 7: Jean Benedicti, Franciscan preacher, moralist, and professor of theology, *A Summary of Sins*, Lyon, France, 1584

The child is obligated to obey the command of the father “except in matters that are against his conscience and the honor of God. . . . Likewise, if the father or the mother . . . [sells] the honor of their daughter, [and] commands her to submit to intercourse . . . , [she] must definitely not obey them, but rather suffer death, however poor her parents may be.”

Document 8: King Henry IV, letter to Madame de Montglat, governess to the king's six-year-old son, Louis, Paris, 1607

“I have a complaint to make. . . . I . . . command you to whip [my son when] . . . he is obstinate or misbehaves, knowing . . . that there is nothing in the world which will be better for him than that. I know this from [my own] experience, . . . for when I was his age I was often whipped. That is why I want you to whip him and make him understand why.”

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Question 1 Document Summary (continued)

Document 9: Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, letter describing her upbringing, Colchester, England, 1620s

“We were bred tenderly, for my mother . . . did strive to please and delight her children” rather than to terrify them with “threats, or lashing them with slavish whips. . . . [I]nstead . . . , reason was used to persuade us, and . . . deformities of vice were discovered, and the graces and virtues were presented unto us.”

Document 10: William Blundell, English Catholic gentleman, “An Exercise for the Children to Embolden Them in Speaking,” a dialogue performed by Blundell and his nine-year-old daughter, Lancashire, England, 1663

This is a conversation between a father and daughter about the father’s obligation to correct his daughter through God by praying and mending, rather than by using the rod. The daughter is grateful, because she expected much worse.

Document 11: John Locke, English philosopher and physician, “Some Thoughts Concerning Education,” London, 1693

Even though children are rational creatures, “I talk of reasoning with children . . . as is suited to . . . [their] capacity and apprehension. Nobody can think a boy of three or seven years should be argued with as a grown man. . . . [Y]ou should make them sensible by the mildness of your carriage” and show that what you do is reasonable and not done “out of caprice, passion, or fancy. . . .”

Document 12: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, philosophe, *Émile or On Education*, Amsterdam, 1762

“An excess of rigor and an excess of indulgence are both to be avoided. If you let children suffer, you expose their health . . . [and] make them miserable. . . . If by too much care you spare them every kind of discomfort, you are preparing great miseries for them; you make them delicate, sensitive.”

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Question 2

Analyze the impact of the rise of militarism and the Second World War on the lives of European women. In your answer consider the period 1930 to 1950.

8–9 Points

- Thesis is explicit and fully responsive to the question.
- Thesis is supported with substantial evidence and well-developed examples.
- Major topics suggested by the prompt are all covered at some length (militarism, Second World War, full 1930-50 period).
- Essay is well balanced and demonstrates understanding of the diversity of experience of European women during the entire period. (This is most commonly expressed through distinctions between or among nationality, region, or military alliances.)
- Analyzes at least two types of women's roles and or impacts on women (e.g., military, domestic, agricultural, or professional).
- Understands militarism as a prelude to the Second World War but need not deal explicitly with the concept.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument.

6–7 Points

- Contains a thesis that is responsive to the question.
- Each major assertion is supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- All major topics suggested by the prompt are covered at least briefly.
- Essay is balanced and contains some understanding of the experiences of European women either chronologically or geographically. (This is most commonly expressed through discussion of either one geographic region, military alliance, or country through the entire time period or two geographic regions, military alliances, or countries through a portion of the time period.)
- Contains some analysis of types of women's roles or impacts on women (military, domestic, agricultural, or professional).
- May deal with militarism in a limited fashion.
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument.

4–5 Points

- Thesis is relevant but may not address militarism (addresses question with generally accurate but limited specific information).
- Contains a limited discussion of at least one portion of the time period with limited understanding of the diversity of women's experiences. (This is most commonly expressed through reference to one geographic region, military alliance, or country. May largely discuss Europe in general or deal exclusively with the Second World War.)
- Contains at least one specific reference to a type of women's role or impact on women (military, domestic, agricultural, or professional). Analysis may be limited.
- Essay shows some imbalance; may focus only on militarism or the Second World War.
- May contain errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 2 (continued)

2–3 Points

- No explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective; does not support analysis.
- Offers very limited specific evidence concerning the experiences of European women; may cite only one nongeneric example.
- Conflates militarism and World War II.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

0–1 Point

- No discernable attempt at a thesis.
- No discernable organization.
- Addresses the question only in general terms not specifically relevant to the period.
- Only notes that women worked and/or suffered without providing specific evidence.
- May contain significant errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 2 Historical Background

The peace settlement at the end of the First World War was more of a truce, or cease-fire, than a genuine “peace agreement.” The children of those who had fought the “Great War” would fight the Second World War, following a decade of virulent militarism. By the 1930s, several of the major powers were committed to overturning the Peace of Paris and thus began to rapidly increase military production (in violation of the terms of several treaties in some cases). The Great Depression of the 1930s provided further incentive for some European nations to begin militarization in earnest as a way of creating employment opportunities.

Between 1930 and the outbreak of the Second World War, every European country, including democratic ones, had concerns about what the falling birth rates would do to the supply of soldiers, if war should break out. Women were also trained, long before the outbreak of the war, in civil defense units, as every government expected future wars to involve a far more extensive use of airpower than previous ones. In the first half of the 1940s, during the hostilities, most nations had committed their civilian populations to “total war.” Even in nations such as Italy and Germany, where women of the early 1930s had been encouraged to remain at home, providing their nations with more numerous progeny, women began to enter the workforce, but usually only to increase agricultural production, while men engaged in battle. Their presence in industrial workplaces was still discouraged, especially in Germany. Women also contributed directly to the war effort by serving in field hospitals as nurses and medics or by transporting goods and weapons to the troops. In the Soviet Union, some women even participated in combat, most notably in the Soviet Air Force.

Following the war, many women remained active in the workforces of European countries, as the total devastation of many regions virtually required their participation in Europe’s reconstruction. In France and Italy, women finally gained the franchise in 1945, in recognition of their contributions to civil society, and their political rights.

Specific Information Relevant to Question 2

Note: The list that follows is suggestive, not prescriptive, and is not intended to be exhaustive. It is organized largely by geography, because this is the way many students approached the question with respect to specific examples, but other organizational structures are possible and were used by some students.

Russia

Night witches (combat pilots) and snipers; women in combat, resistance
Active in farms and factories in 1930s
Stalin reduced women’s rights in Russia from revolutionary gains
Holocaust
Starvation and food shortages (Leningrad, Stalingrad)
Women depicted in posters and art as motivators
Women utilized in the workplace to strengthen the state

Eastern Europe

Women remain in factories after war
Holocaust
In Balkans, women revert to prewar status and rights

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Question 2 Historical Background (continued)

Germany

Lebensborn program; women as breeders

Women on a pedestal; glorification of motherhood

Loss of positions in professions

Nazis do not want women to work, but they go to work in factories anyway, especially late in the war

Women as motivators through propaganda, including posters

Militarism seen as German rearmament

Suffering in concentration camps, bombing, occupation

Italy

Mussolini and “Battle for Births,” but birth rate goes down

No factory work wanted for women

Women gain rights after WWII

France

Suffrage won in 1945; women vote

Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, after WWII

Resistance fighters: rescued British pilots, hid Jews, engaged in sabotage, and served as spies and messengers

Women lose jobs in the Depression

Britain

Women lose jobs after WWI (Depression era)

Women in factories again to manufacture various war materials

Sending children out of London during the Blitz

Propaganda posters as motivators

Nurses in Battle of Britain help wounded

Take over traditional male jobs owing to mobilization/military service/deaths of men

Role in food rationing, using substitutes, doing without items such as gasoline, rubber, and nylons

Women in noncombat military roles

European equivalents of “Rosie the Riveter” as role models and propaganda devices (note that Rosie herself is American and not appropriate)

Further rights, opportunities won to complement suffrage gained after WWI

Combat Areas

Threatened by bombing, military attacks

Serious shortages

Work in dealing with air raids; wardens in blackouts

Food shortages, starvation, family disruption

Jewish Women

Die in Auschwitz

Survive to tell stories

Protect their children

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Question 2 Historical Background (continued)

Aspects of Militarism

Stockpiling weapons/rearmament

Gearing up factories for war production

Societal acceptance of military mindset

Physical education programs for youth

Propaganda to promote nationalism/militarism: posters, film, print media

Cult of domesticity/baby production to create future soldiers

Nationalism

Development of technology for military purposes

Glorification of soldiers, war, and “masculine virtues”

Emphasis on role of women in supporting state/race/ideology

Reduction of women’s rights/opportunities

Many other examples were used, despite the appearance that they were drawn from experiences of Americans or Europeans during nineteenth-century or earlier wars, ranging from the Crimean War to World War I. These items were not considered as effective specific evidence, because they were not European or not responsive to the question, which dealt with the period 1930-50.

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Question 3

Considering the period 1953 to 1991, analyze the problems within the Soviet Union that contributed to the eventual collapse of the Soviet system.

8–9 Points

- Thesis explicitly identifies and defines the problems *within* the Soviet Union in the period 1953-91 that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet system.
- Essay is clearly organized, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument regarding the problems within the Soviet Union that led to the collapse of the Soviet system.
- Essay is balanced, analyzing at least TWO major problems *within* the Soviet Union AND how and why such problems led to the collapse of the Soviet system; essay takes into account the chronological parameters required by the question.
- At least TWO major problems *within* the Soviet Union that led to the collapse of the Soviet system are supported with multiple pieces of relevant evidence.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument.

6–7 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question but may not fully define the problems *within* the Soviet Union that contributed to the collapse of the Soviet system.
- Essay is adequately organized, supportive of the argument, but may on occasion stray off task in terms of the prompts of the question (analysis, problems *within* the Soviet Union, linkage of such problems to the collapse of the Soviet system, coverage of the period 1953-91).
- Essay analyzes at least TWO major problems *within* the Soviet Union AND how and why such problems led to the collapse of the Soviet system but not in equal depth; essay may concentrate on the post-1985 period but suggests at least some awareness of the broader chronology required by the question.
- At least TWO major problems *within* the Soviet Union that led to the collapse of the Soviet system are supported by at least ONE piece of relevant evidence each.
- May contain one error that detracts from the argument.

4–5 Points

- Thesis explicitly addresses the question but may provide no development of its arguments.
- Essay is organized but may not always address the requirements of the question (analysis, the period 1953-91, problems *within* the Soviet Union, linkage to the collapse of the Soviet system).
- Essay shows some imbalance; some of the major topics suggested by the prompt may be neglected: (1) may only provide effective analysis for only one problem *within* the Soviet Union that led to the collapse of the Soviet system; (2) may describe MULTIPLE problems *within* the Soviet Union that led to the collapse of the Soviet system; (3) may focus exclusively on the period after 1985.
- At least ONE of the problems *within* the Soviet Union is supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- May contain more than one error that detracts from the argument.

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Question 3 (continued)

2–3 Points

- Contains no explicit thesis OR the thesis provided may be irrelevant OR inaccurate OR is simply a paraphrase of the question.
- Essay lacks organization and may wander off task repeatedly; fails to respond effectively to the question by focusing on the Cold War OR Soviet relations with its Eastern European satellites OR Russian and/or Soviet history before and/or after the time period 1953-91.
- Essay shows serious imbalance, because most major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected (may simply describe problems, either within or outside the Soviet Union, may provide no linkage between the problems within the Soviet Union and the collapse of the Soviet system, may demonstrate no knowledge of the chronology).
- Most assertions may be generalized OR rarely supported by relevant evidence.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

0–1 Point

- Essay lacks any discernable thesis OR is simply a paraphrase of the question OR an irrelevant AND inaccurate thesis.
- Disorganized response suggests little or no understanding of the question.
- Essay may be polemical rather than analytical OR may not attempt to discuss problems and/or collapse in any effective way OR shows no knowledge of the proper chronology.
- Offers little or no supporting evidence.
- May contain numerous errors of interpretation and/or fact that detract from the argument.

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Question 3 Historical Background

Material in this section is derived from the following texts:

Hunt et al., *The Making of the West* (2nd edition, 2005)

Kagan et al., *The Western Heritage* (8th edition, 2004)

McKay, *A History of Western Society* (8th AP edition, 2006)

Palmer, Colton, and Kramer, *A History of the Modern World* (9th edition, 2002)

Spielvogel, *Western Civilization* (5th edition, 2003)

In addition, textbooks by Coffin and Stacey, Hollister, Levack, Hause and Maltby, and King and Chambers were scanned. They do not appear to provide anything that cannot be found in the textbooks listed above.

CENTRAL TOPICS

Late Stalinism (1945-53)

All of the textbooks offer some discussion of the Soviet regime's foreign and domestic policies between the end of the World War II and Stalin's death, with Palmer providing the most thorough treatment. Most texts take note of the tremendous devastation experienced by the USSR as a result of World War II, although no consensus exists regarding the extent of the damage, especially when noting the loss of life (generally placed at between 20 million and 25 million dead.) Some textbooks indicate that the Soviet population hoped the Soviet regime would reward the public's heroic efforts during the war with greater freedom and more consumer goods. Hunt notes that some peasants expected an end to collectivization, while Kagan indicates that public expectations included less repression and more consumer goods. Stalin, however, moved quickly to reassert control over society and the economy. Palmer emphasizes the growth of the Gulag during and after World War II, describing "tighter ideological restrictions" and xenophobia. McKay also speaks of purges and "cultural conformity" and the emphasis on heavy industry and the military to the relative neglect of consumer goods, agriculture, and housing. Spielvogel likens Stalin's postwar policies to those of the 1930s, writing of growing political and cultural repression, as well as the focus on heavy industry and the military, with low levels of consumption and continued housing shortages. Kagan writes that with recovery and reassertion of authority as his principal objectives Stalin continued purges until his death in 1953. Hunt, while not denying that Stalin emphasized economic recovery and greater collectivization, also describes the creation of a welfare state, with the regime offering child care, family allowances, and maternity benefits, as well as modest national health care. All of the textbooks describe Stalin's imposition of Communist regimes in Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1948, linking the process to the Cold War. The Eastern European satellites adopted, to varying degrees, Soviet economic, social, and political policies in the years after World War II.

Nikita Khrushchev and De-Stalinization (1953-64)

Stalin died in 1953, leaving a distinctive legacy to his successors. Palmer identifies industrialization, victory in World War II, expansion into Eastern Europe, and the establishment as a military and nuclear superpower, pointing out that such an achievement came with "a heavy human cost." Initially a collective leadership, the regime was eventually led by Nikita Khrushchev, although the books offer different dates for his unquestioned domination of his colleagues. Despite his background, Khrushchev eventually challenged aspects of the Stalinist legacy. Palmer characterizes the Khrushchev era as an "abortive effort at reform," and McKay states that the party leadership acknowledged the need for reform and that de-Stalinization was "genuine." Kagan characterizes Khrushchev's policies as a "retreat from Stalinism but

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Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

not authoritarianism,” whereas Hunt notes that cultural freedom was “erratic and uneven,” although Khrushchev is viewed as more sympathetic to urban and rural complaints. All of the books mention Khrushchev’s denunciation of some aspects of Stalinism in his “Secret Speech” delivered before the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956, even if certain terms (“cult of personality,” “Secret Speech,” “thaw,” and “Twentieth Party Congress”) do not appear in every textbook. The books also vary in their coverage of the Khrushchev reforms. Some of the authors indicate that under Khrushchev the prison system known as the Gulag began to release its prisoners (Spielvogel, Hunt). Agricultural reform is treated most thoroughly by Palmer, who uses the term “virgin lands” in Central Asia and judges Khrushchev a failure because he did not alter the bureaucratic system of collectivization. Spielvogel and Kagan offer less detail: Spielvogel writes of failed efforts to grow more corn and the cultivation of lands east of the Urals, while Kagan indicates greater grain cultivation but “ultimate failure” and the need to import grain from abroad. He credits Khrushchev with the removal of some restrictions on private cultivation but offers no details. McKay limits his remarks to greater spending on agriculture, while Hunt merely notes greater spending by the state on consumer goods. All of the textbooks mention the unrest in Eastern Europe that followed the “Secret Speech” and the differences in the Soviet responses to Poland and Hungary. Treatment of Khrushchev’s administrative and party reforms tends to be sketchy and not very developed. Spielvogel refers to attempts by Khrushchev to limit the privileges of the party elite and links such efforts at least in part to the fall from power in 1964; Kagan speaks of limited economic decentralization but offers no details; McKay notes that Khrushchev “shook up” the party and added new members. Hunt indicates that the courts operated in a less repressive manner with some limits placed on the secret police. Palmer also writes of “restraints” on the secret police; he is more precise in identifying economic decentralization and adds that some central planning ministries were moved from Moscow, with their authority granted to regional economic councils. Regarding the party, he credits Khrushchev with an unsuccessful effort to introduce term limits for some party posts, an effort defeated by the concerted opposition of government and party bureaucrats. All of the textbooks discuss the greater degree of cultural freedom known as the “thaw,” although not all authors use the term. Four of the authors address the issue of inconsistency in cultural policy by comparing the regime’s treatment of Boris Pasternak and Alexander Solzhenitsyn; the exception is Spielvogel, who only refers to the publication of Solzhenitsyn’s *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* in 1962. Miscalculations in foreign policy along with failed domestic policies and attacks on the privileges of the *apparatchiks* ultimately contributed to the removal of Khrushchev by his colleagues in 1964.

The Brezhnev–Andropov–Chernenko Era (1964-85)

Palmer indicates that the new Soviet leadership intended to rebuild Soviet military strength at all costs without much regard to the impact of such a policy on the Soviet economy. Ultimately, the regime pursued détente with the United States in the 1970s in part to gain access to Western aid in order to deal with the economic problems caused by the arms race. That assistance took the form of technology, credits, and grain. Brezhnev displayed no tolerance for any deviation in Eastern Europe; in 1968 Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces crushed Czechoslovakia’s “Prague Spring,” justifying intervention by the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine. The Soviet leadership felt confident enough of its authority to sign the Helsinki Accords in 1975, despite its pledges to respect human rights. Palmer indicates that the pledge would encourage Soviet dissenters to challenge repression within the USSR. Ultimately more serious was the decision in 1979 to prop up a neighboring Communist regime in Afghanistan, which plunged the Soviet Union into a prolonged war that the text likens to Vietnam. By the 1980s, the country was in deep trouble, a reality acknowledged even by the leadership who in desperation selected Mikhail Gorbachev leader of the Soviet state.

McKay claims that Brezhnev pledged to maintain the status quo and rejected the previous campaign of de-Stalinization. “Re-Stalinization” took place under a collective rather than an individual dictatorship;

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Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

coercion replaced terror. Dissidents were generally blacklisted rather than executed. Soviet citizens experienced a gradual improvement in the standard of living despite continuing shortages of basic commodities. Brezhnev also took care to preserve the privileges enjoyed by the party elite. The party increasingly identified itself with Russian nationalism, fearful of possible demands for greater autonomy or even independence from Eastern Europe and the ethnic minorities living within the Soviet Union. The text mentions the arms buildup of the 1960s without Palmer’s assessment of the impact of such a policy on the Soviet economy. A tight grip was maintained on Eastern Europe (the text mentions the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the Brezhnev Doctrine) and the Helsinki Accords’ pledges on human rights were ignored. The troublesome critic Alexander Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Union and went into exile. To many observers, the Soviet Union of the 1970s appeared a stable society. McKay takes note of the “social revolution” that occurred during the Brezhnev era—the continued urbanization of the country, the growth of educated experts who desired greater intellectual freedom and the emergence of a “civil society” that began debating “nonpolitical” issues. At the time of Brezhnev’s death in 1982, the new Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov, recognized the existence of some social problems (the text mentions the apathy among the masses), but the Communist party appeared solidly in control. The decision to invade Afghanistan in 1979, however, served to rekindle the Cold War.

Spielvogel cites Brezhnev’s pledge of “no experimentation” as evidence of a party leadership that intended to promote stability. The regime stamped heavily on dissent (the text mentions Czechoslovakia in 1968 and the punishment of Andrei Sakharov). Spielvogel points out that Brezhnev continued the emphasis on heavy industry, a policy that eventually resulted in the gradual decline of economic growth. He concludes that centralized planning put in place a bureaucracy that “discouraged efficiency and reduced productivity.” The economic system of guaranteed employment and the absence of incentives produced “apathy, complacency, absenteeism, drunkenness” among the workers. The ruling order was based on patronage, which led to “inefficiency and corruption.” The nation’s inability to feed itself was concealed by purchases of grain from the United States. Spielvogel says little about the Helsinki Accords except that the Soviets signed despite its pledge to respect human rights. The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is likened to Vietnam in its effect on the USSR. By 1980, the declining economy, rising mortality rates, a surge in alcoholism, and loss of belief in the system had created demands for reform *within* the party.

Kagan describes the Brezhnev domestic policies as a return to Stalinism. He emphasizes greater repression (the expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1974) but also shows awareness of the emergence of a dissident movement (Andrei Sakharov and the calls to respect the Helsinki Accords). Nevertheless, the emphasis is on repression (harassment of Soviet Jews, use of psychiatric hospitals against dissidents and house arrest). The party is described as becoming more rigid and corrupt, demoralizing younger members of the party about to enter the Soviet bureaucracies. By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union had reached nuclear parity with the United States, but the regime was faced with a variety of foreign policy problems. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 (likened to Vietnam) demoralized the USSR; Eastern Europe was restive (Solidarity and the declaration of martial law in Poland in 1981); and the arms buildup undertaken by the Reagan administration (SDI is specifically mentioned) created formidable challenges. Kagan concludes that the American military buildup contributed to Soviet economic problems by forcing the Soviets to increase their military spending and thus helped bring about its collapse.

Hunt views the Soviet difficulties after Khrushchev as part of a global competition that challenged the legitimacy of the Soviet system. A rigid bureaucracy hindered Soviet scientific research, and the Soviet public by the 1970s showed increasing interest in the world beyond Soviet Russia (as measured by their television viewing habits). The regime is depicted as initially favoring reform, as evident in greater emphasis on the production of consumer goods (televisions, household appliances, cheap housing) and the efforts to encourage plant managers to earn a profit. In addition, cultural and scientific contacts with the West were easier. Repression returned, however, in the late 1960s and early 1970s (the invasion of

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Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

Czechoslovakia and the Brezhnev Doctrine in 1968, the expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn in 1974, the use of psychiatric hospitals as prisons for dissidents, various forms of discrimination against Soviet Jews). Nevertheless, one of the consequences of the repressive measures was the growth of a dissident movement (*samizdat* culture.) At the end of the 1970s, the Soviet Union became involved in a costly war in Afghanistan. By the early 1980s, the Soviet Union faced a series of profound problems. Hunt identifies a deteriorating economy, corrupt political and economic management, a declining standard of living as evidenced by housing and food shortages, and increasing alcoholism that affected productivity and morale. Efforts to reform the system occurred at a time of growing protests by workers, artists, and intellectuals; instead of stabilizing the system, reform created greater rebellion.

Mikhail Gorbachev and the End of the Soviet Union (1985-91)

Palmer characterizes the collapse of the Soviet Union and Soviet rule in Central and Eastern Europe as an “implosion” with relatively little violence in Eastern Europe, with the exception of Romania. Gorbachev introduced a series of reforms that were intended to save Communism by reform. *Perestroika* is described as a “cautious” approach that was designed to eliminate restraints on the economy in order to address consumer demands. Gorbachev hoped to raise productivity, and improve the quality of goods by decentralization, extending self-management to economic enterprises, removing bureaucratic control over production, and providing incentives for greater productivity. In agriculture, he offered a limited transfer of land to entrepreneurs. Unfortunately, the economic problems of the nation intensified, as even these modest steps encountered considerable opposition from entrenched interests. In the end, most economic reforms existed only on paper. *Glasnost* was designed to allow Soviet citizens greater freedom in their investigations of Soviet society and history. The process ended the Communist party’s monopoly on power, as censorship gradually disappeared. Soviet citizens now learned the truth about poor harvests, inefficient state enterprises, and the Chernobyl accident. Gorbachev freed Andrei Sakharov from house arrest, permitted emigration by Soviet Jews, and took a more tolerant attitude toward religion. Once again, Stalin’s legacy came under criticism. Democratization followed, and Soviet citizens elected a Congress of People’s Deputies in 1989. In 1990, Gorbachev was elected president of the USSR by the Congress. By the late 1980s, however, the absence of economic progress resulted in growing criticism of Gorbachev for his failure to undertake a more radical reform program. Looser controls also led to nationalist upheaval in Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union. In the satellite countries, long-time party oppression, the absence of a “civil society,” economic stagnation, environmental degradation, and debts to Western banks eventually resulted in a relatively nonviolent transfer of power in 1989 (Romania is identified as the exception to this pattern). Within the Soviet Union, greater freedom resulted in what Palmer identifies as “long-suppressed” ethnic rivalries (Georgia, the Baltic republics, and Azerbaijan versus Armenia are specifically mentioned). As the economic situation worsened and as the Baltic republics threatened secession, Gorbachev temporarily shelved reform (the 500 Days economic plan and pressure on Lithuania are mentioned). Democratic reformers viewed such measures with alarm and increasingly turned to other political leaders. Boris Yeltsin, expelled from the Communist leadership in 1987, was elected president of Russia in 1991. Hard-liners, faced with the possible breakup of the Soviet Union, attempted to seize power in a failed coup in August 1991. Eventually, leaders of some of the republics agreed to create a loose federation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Gorbachev, who is called “crucial in the destruction of the Soviet system,” resigned in December 1991.

McKay argues that the Gorbachev reforms contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union, despite the fact that destruction of the system was not Gorbachev’s intention. Gorbachev gained office as the economy worsened in the mid-1980s. Initially, he attacked corruption and incompetence within the bureaucracy and alcoholism in society, although the text does not offer any specific examples. *Perestroika*, which the text describes as “timid,” meant the abandonment of some price controls, greater independence for state enterprises, and the establishment of some profit-seeking cooperatives. *Glasnost*, viewed as “bold and far-

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Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

reaching,” led to a reduction of censorship and renewed criticism of Stalin. Finally, democratization resulted in an attack on corruption within the Communist party and free elections in 1989 for the Congress of People’s Deputies. One consequence of democratization was increased demands for autonomy and/or independence (Georgia in 1989). Revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, which began with Solidarity and Poland, ended Communist rule in most of Eastern Europe in a relatively peaceful manner (Romania is identified as the exception). By 1990, some of the non-Russian republics within the Soviet Union demanded independence (Lithuania is mentioned). Gorbachev, who had been chosen president, experienced continuing erosion of his authority and proved reluctant to risk full elections. He faced criticism from those who felt he was proceeding too slowly (Boris Yeltsin) and hard-liners, who executed a futile coup in August 1991 in order to save the Soviet Union. The USSR, which ended in December, ultimately lost the “will and the means to be a superpower.”

Spielvogel states that Gorbachev came to power in 1985, succeeding an ailing leadership. The clear decline in the standard of living was evident in the growing technological gap between the Soviet Union and the West (computers are specifically identified). *Perestroika* involved a reordering of economic policy, offering limited free enterprise and some opportunities for the ownership of private property. The limited progress persuaded Gorbachev to expand his reform program to include changes in the social and political order of the country. *Glasnost* encouraged a frank and open discussion of problems within the Soviet system. Political reform permitted non-Communist groups to compete in the 1989 elections for the Congress of People’s deputies. In 1990, Gorbachev was elected president of the Soviet Union. Confronted with revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, Gorbachev chose not to interfere with the removal of Communist regimes. More seriously, the period 1988-90 witnessed the emergence of nationalist movements and ethnic violence within the Soviet Union (Georgia in 1988, Lithuanian independence in 1990). Spielvogel notes that the USSR contained 92 nationalities and 112 recognized languages. As the regime tottered, Gorbachev struggled with opposition from the new democratic forces led by Boris Yeltsin and the “old guard,” who opposed reform. The 1991 August coup carried out by conservative forces within the KGB, military, party, and government failed and accelerated the collapse. Ukraine declared independence later that year; eventually Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus proclaimed the creation of a voluntary federation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Kagan defines the collapse of the USSR as an “implosion.” A variety of problems (economic stagnation, party corruption, the war in Afghanistan) weakened Soviet authority, but “what brought those forces to a head and began the dramatic collapse of the Soviet Empire was the accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985.” Attempts at reform released forces that ultimately destroyed the Soviet Empire. Gorbachev took office confident that the Soviet system could be reformed, but his reforms released social forces he proved unable to control. *Perestroika* was introduced in order to revive the economy and raise the standard of living. The size and authority of centralized economic ministries was reduced, better wages and greater liberties were promised (Kagan mentions the 1989 coal miners’ strike in Siberia), and in 1990, Gorbachev advocated recognition of the principle of ownership of private property and “liberalization” of the economy. The modesty of early attempts at economic reform pushed Gorbachev to endorse more radical political reforms. *Glasnost* reduced the level of censorship and encouraged an open discussion of Soviet history and institutions. Democratization resulted in relatively free elections in 1989 to the Congress of People’s Deputies and the eventual selection of Gorbachev as president. In the face of the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe, Gorbachev refused to interfere militarily as the former satellites moved toward independence. The most devastating problem faced by the Soviet regime between 1986 and 1991, however, proved to be the nationalities question within the Soviet Union. Ethnic violence erupted (Georgia in 1989, Azerbaijan and Lithuania in 1990, the Central Asian republics of Azerbaijan and Tajikistan in 1990-91). As Gorbachev reduced the size of the Soviet military, some of the Soviet republics began to establish their own military forces. Resistance to conscription by some republics provided further evidence of growing opposition to central Soviet authority. As the Communist party abandoned its monopoly on

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Question 3 Historical Background (continued)

power, Gorbachev faced criticism from the “old guard,” which fought to preserve the structures of the Soviet system; democratic forces led by politicians like Boris Yeltsin, who demanded an acceleration of efforts to establish democratic institutions and a market economy; and regional unrest as the Baltic republics pushed in the direction of independence. The effort by hard-liners in August 1991 to halt changes in the constitutional arrangement failed, and the Soviet Union ceased to exist in December 1991.

Hunt credits Gorbachev with recognition of the country’s problems. His aim was reform not the elimination of socialism. By the mid-1980s, the Soviet Union suffered from low fertility rates; massive grain imports, because 20 to 30 percent of Soviet grain rotted in the fields, owing to the inefficient state-directed economy; industrial pollution; a huge bureaucracy that prevented innovation and failed to produce a decent standard of living; staggering military spending that at 15 to 20 percent of GNP reduced the availability of resources for consumer goods; and a cynical younger generation with no memory of Stalin or World War II. Hunt places these problems within the context of the 1960s, an era that saw criticism of certain features of postindustrial society—the concentration of bureaucratic power, environmental degradation that resulted from an emphasis on industrialization, and social inequality. Neither the Soviet Union nor the satellites ever addressed these concerns. *Perestroika* sought to raise the standard of living by promoting productivity, greater investment in modern technology and encouraging some market reforms like prices and profits. *Glasnost*, stirred in large part by the mishandling of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear accident, led to criticism of party officials, existing social problems, and, ultimately, the Soviet past. In local elections held in Moscow in 1989, not a single Communist was elected—a sign of the nation’s alienation from the regime. Gorbachev is credited for refusing to intervene militarily in the Eastern European revolutions of 1989 and with reducing Cold War tensions, withdrawing from Afghanistan, for instance, in 1989. By the end of the decade, nationality groups within the Soviet Union demanding political and/or cultural autonomy were increasingly challenging Soviet authority. Hunt compares such pressures with the difficulties experienced by the Habsburg Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Soviet leadership was confronted by more than 100 ethnic groups and 50 million Muslims. Throughout its history, the Soviet Union had attempted to create a Russian and Soviet identity while still respecting some local cultural traditions, but the efforts failed. Furthermore, *perestroika* failed to halt the breakdown of the economy (inflation, unemployment, and shortages of basic commodities). The system collapsed in 1991 in the face of ethnic violence (Tajikistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan), secession (the Baltic republics’ declaration of independence), the election of Boris Yeltsin as president of Russia, and a bungled coup in August by hard-liners (the latter is blamed for accelerating the collapse). Twelve of the 15 republics proclaimed the creation of a new federation, the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and the Soviet Union dissolved on January 1, 1992.

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Question 4

Analyze the problems and opportunities associated with rapid urbanization of western Europe in the nineteenth century.

8–9 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responds fully to the prompt, addressing both problems and opportunities; engages directly with nineteenth-century urbanization; and demonstrates or supports an analytical approach.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument and may follow a variety or combination of approaches: by task (problems, opportunities), chronological/change over time, or thematic (political, social, cultural, everyday life, comparison/contrast).
- Essay is well balanced; both topics are covered at length, and the essay is consistently focused on urbanization, while other topics, when referenced, are directly linked to the question's tasks and do not detract from the primary focus on urbanization.
- Major assertions and generalizations are supported by multiple pieces of relevant, specific evidence linked to urbanization.
- Preponderance of analysis and evidence are clearly linked to urbanization.
- The essay is predominantly analytical in its approach.
- May contain errors or brief off-topic content that do not detract from the argument.

6–7 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responds to both problems and opportunities; engages with nineteenth-century urbanization; and demonstrates analysis, perhaps with terms that are less sophisticated and more generalized than those that would earn 8 or 9 points.
- Organization is clear and supports the argument, but may be more implicit than in essays that score higher.
- Both major tasks are discussed within the context of urbanization, perhaps unevenly. Specific evidence is used, more frequently and more effectively in an essay scored a 7 than in one scored 6.
- Major assertions in the essay are supported by relevant evidence, and the bulk of analysis and evidence are linked to urbanization, more clearly in a 7 essay than in a 6. The essay may at times describe rather than analyze, but it is mostly analytical.
- May contain an error or off-topic discussion that detracts but does not significantly interfere with the essay tasks.

4–5 Points

- Thesis is explicit, but less effectively expressed because it may not fully respond to the question, OR it may satisfactorily respond to one task but not to the other, OR a substantial portion of the thesis may be off-topic, OR although more than a restatement of the prompt, it largely relies on the prompt's assumptions.
- Organization is apparent but inconsistently followed.
- Essay may show imbalance by insufficiently responding to a major task, OR it introduces outside information without linking it to the tasks, OR problems and opportunities are explicitly discussed, but one or both may be discussed in general terms, lacking specificity.
- Attempts to respond to the tasks are mostly narrative rather than analytical, and analysis may be broadly stated (limited or superficial linking between evidence and analysis for a 5; mostly ineffective attempt at linking in a 4).
- May contain significant errors or off-topic discussions that detract from the argument.

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Question 4 (continued)

2–3 Points

- No relevant thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt. Organization is unclear and ineffective; it merely supports a narrative of events, and it may contain significant off-topic material.
- Essay shows serious imbalance in treatment of the two tasks by ineffectively developing one of them.
- There are few assertions supported by relevant evidence. Essay may contain accurate facts about cities, but these are ineffectively linked to analysis dealing with urbanization's problems and opportunities, OR problems, opportunities, and/or urbanization are misconstrued.
- May contain several errors or off-task discussion that detracts from the essay's purpose.

0–1 Point

- No discernable attempt at a relevant thesis.
- Organization does not contribute to the essay's purpose.
- Events or evidence related to urbanization, if present, lack pertinent context.
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is addressed.
- Little or no supporting evidence is effectively used.
- May contain numerous errors or off-topic discussion.

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Question 5

Analyze the factors that prevented the development of a unified German state in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

8–9 Points

- Thesis must include reference to at least three factors (a factor can be an event, like the posting of the 95 Theses or the Thirty Years' War).
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument.
- Essay is well balanced; at least three factors are *discussed and analyzed* (even briefly).
- Three factors in the essay are supported by multiple pieces of specific evidence.
- Must refer to factors *in both centuries* (may even go beyond 1648).
- Contains no major errors; may contain minor errors that do not detract from the argument. (It is a major error to say that the Peace of Augsburg ended the Thirty Years' War; however, this is a minor error if the essay later appropriately places the war in the seventeenth century. Another major error is asserting that Germany was a multiethnic state when the phrase is used in a nineteenth- and twentieth-century sense, and especially when groups such as Serbians and Italians are named.)

6–7 Points

- Thesis must include reference to at least two factors.
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed.
- Essay is balanced; at least two factors are discussed and analyzed.
- At least two factors in the essay are supported by at least one piece of specific evidence.
- Refers to factors *in both centuries* (may even go beyond 1648).
- May contain one major error or several minor errors that detract from the argument.

4–5 Points

- May contain an explicit thesis that refers to only two factors or one that is not fully responsive to the question. (An essay in this range may also have a strong thesis with three factors.)
- Organization is apparent but is ineffective or inconsistently followed.
- Essay shows some imbalance; facts are *listed* rather than *analyzed*.
- Most of the major factors in the essay are supported by least one piece of relevant (possibly generalized) evidence.
- May refer to factors in only one century.
- May contain errors or misleading overgeneralizations that detract from the argument.

2–3 Points

- May contain a weak or invalid thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay shows serious imbalance, most factors that could be discussed are neglected or treated cursorily.
- The essay lists rather than analyzes factors.
- Only one or two factors are supported by relevant evidence.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 5 (continued)

0–1 Point

- No discernable attempt at a thesis.
- Little or no discernable organization.
- One or none of the major factors that could be discussed is mentioned.
- Little or no supporting evidence used.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 5 Historical Background

This is a straightforward, mainstream question. The necessary information is covered in all the standard textbooks, although it is usually broken into several sections: the Reformation, religious warfare in the sixteenth century, Thirty Years' War, early modern absolutism, the wars initiated by France, and the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia. The information needed to answer this question is by no means obscure, but the question does require students to assemble a response from different sections of the textbook. Below are the factors students could discuss. Although these factors are grouped, each group is not a factor—so a student could discuss two political factors or two religious factors, and each would be counted separately.

Political: The Holy Roman Emperor (HRE; Charles V will appear most often) was a weak monarch, thanks to the fact of his being elected and not controlling a strong army or administrator; Germans lived in approximately 300 small principalities, duchies, principedoms, and independent cities that were only weakly unified under the HRE; German rulers did not want to submit to a strong ruler; after 1648, Prussia began to be transformed into an absolutist, more powerful state; Germany's problems were complicated by the fact that the HRE also ruled Spain and had to deal with other problems, including the Ottoman Empire. Some students might note that, beginning with the reign of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg Prussia (1640-88), the long-term foundations of German unity in the nineteenth century were laid, as Frederick William effectively used the techniques of absolutism.

Religious: Luther challenged the HRE's religious as well as political power; Protestantism supports keeping power fragmented within the numerous principalities; several different forms of Christianity, especially Calvinism, limit unity in a world where each state must share a religion; Calvinism also threatens any state's political power because it seeks theocracy. Anabaptists were based in Moravia after their persecution following the Peasants' Wars. Religious conflicts led to military conflicts: see below.

Military: German wars of religion divide Germans among themselves (1524-55; Peasants' War, 1524-25; Schmalkaldic Wars, 1546-55); foreign powers (France, Ottoman Empire) intervened. These wars were settled by the Peace of Augsburg, which reinforced the power of princes by allowing them to choose the religion of their realm (*cuius regio, eius religio*). The Thirty Years' War, which began with the rebellion against Ferdinand Habsburg (who became HRE in 1619) in May 1618 (the Defenestration of Prague) ultimately decimated the population through disease, famine, and combat. In 1600, the population of Germany was 15 million; in 1650 it was 11 million. This period of warfare was also characterized by foreign involvement: Denmark, Sweden, and France. The Thirty Years' War was ended by the series of agreements known as the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which decisively limited the political, military, and diplomatic powers of the HRE. In particular, the German states of Bavaria and Brandenburg emerged as strong counterweights to the HRE. Louis XIV's wars kept much of German Europe in costly fighting through the War of Spanish Succession (1701-13).

Economic: Many principalities made economic growth slower because of trade barriers, different coinage and so forth; opening of the Atlantic moved trade away from cities on the Baltic and slowed the economy; Treaty of Westphalia hurt the economy of all Germany by giving control of mouths of rivers to Holland and Sweden.

Social/Cultural: Linguistic and cultural differences (which some students overstate, making Germany "multiethnic"); Germans had a local rather than a "German" identity until the development of nationalism in the late Enlightenment and early Romantic era; no one state is big enough and strong enough to provide the nucleus of a new state until after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714, which "upgrades" Prussia to a kingdom.

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Question 5 Historical Background (continued)

Geographical: German was made up of several hundred territorial states: princely states, ecclesiastical principalities, free imperial cities. They owed loyalty to the HRE, but had a great deal of independence.

Important Dates

1517: Luther posts his 95 Theses

1524-25: Peasants' War

1529: Marburg Colloquy (Luther–Zwingli debates on the Eucharist)

1530: Diet of Augsburg

1546-55: Schmalkaldic Wars (ended by the Peace of Augsburg)

1555: Peace of Augsburg

1556: Abdication of Charles V

1617: Archduke Frederick Habsburg elected king of Bohemia

1618: Defenestration of Prague

1618-25: Bohemian phase of the Thirty Years' War

1625-29: Danish phase of the Thirty Years' War

1630-35: Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War

1635-48: Franco–Swedish phase of the Thirty Years' War

1640-88: Reign of Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg Prussia

1648: Peace of Westphalia

1688: Accession of Frederick as elector of Prussia; becomes king of Prussia in 1701

1688-97: War of the League of Augsburg/War of the Grand Alliance begins with the French attack on the Palatinate

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Question 6

Britain and France were engaged in a geopolitical and economic rivalry during the eighteenth century. Identify the factors that contributed to this rivalry, and assess the results for both countries over the period 1689 to 1789.

8–9 Points

- Thesis is explicit, clearly identifies the factors, and assesses the results for both countries.
- Organization is clear with consistent and effective analysis in support of the argument (may either assess the results throughout the essay or assess the results in a separate paragraph).
- Essay identifies BOTH the geopolitical and economic factors AND assesses the results for BOTH countries at some length (students often use geographical, political, or territorial factors instead of geopolitical ones).
- Identification of factors and assessment of results are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence.
- Specifically addresses how the rivalry between Britain and France led to changes in the period between 1689-1789 for both countries.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the argument.

6–7 Points

- Thesis is explicit, identifies the factors and assesses the results for both countries.
- Organization is clear with less effective analysis in support of the argument than in an essay scoring higher.
- Essay identifies BOTH the geopolitical and economic factors AND assesses the results for BOTH countries at least briefly.
- Identification of factors and assessment of results are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- Specifically addresses how the rivalry between Britain and France led to changes in the period between 1689 and 1789 for both countries.
- May contain an error that detracts from the argument.

4–5 Points

- Thesis is explicit, but may put more emphasis on factors or results.
- Organization is apparent but not consistently followed or not effective.
- Essay shows some imbalance; mentions BOTH the geopolitical and economic factors AND assesses the results for BOTH countries but develops only one.
- Most of the factors and assessment of results are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- May be very generalized with little chronological connection.
- May contain a few errors that detract from the argument.

2–3 Points

- No explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay may completely ignore one of the question's tasks (identify the factors OR assessment of results).
- The factors and/or assessment of results are supported by at least one or two pieces of relevant evidence.
- May contain several errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 6 (continued)

0–1 Point

- No discernable attempt at a thesis.
- No discernable organization; may attempt to answer the question but fails to do so.
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned (may suggest a rivalry but supports it with evidence that is out of the time period).
- Little or no supporting evidence used.
- May contain numerous errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 7

Identify the grievances of the groups that made up the Third Estate in France on the eve of the French Revolution, and analyze the extent to which ONE of these groups was able to address its grievances in the period from 1789 to 1799.

8–9 Points

- Thesis is explicit and fully responsive to the question.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument. It addresses the 1789–91 period and may have awareness of events up to 1799.
- Essay is well balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are covered at some length. In addition, it responds to the tasks of the question (grievances, groups, and extent to which ONE group addressed its grievances) and identifies at least TWO specific groups and at least TWO specific grievances. The groups and grievances need not be linked.
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence. The essay analyzes the ability of one group to address its grievances through the application of at least THREE examples of relevant evidence.
- May contain errors that do not detract from the analysis.

6–7 Points

- Thesis is explicit and responsive to the question.
- Organization is clear, effective in support of the argument, but not consistently followed. It addresses the 1789–91 period and may have awareness of events up to 1799.
- Essay is balanced; all major topics suggested by the prompt are covered at least briefly. In addition, it responds to the tasks of the question (grievances, groups, and extent to which ONE group addressed its grievances) and identifies at least TWO specific groups and at least TWO specific grievances. The groups and grievances need not be linked.
- All major assertions in the essay are supported by at least ONE piece of relevant evidence. The essay analyzes the ability of ONE group to address its grievances through the application of at least ONE example of relevant evidence. It may refer to more than ONE group and support that reference with at least ONE piece of relevant evidence.
- May contain an error that detracts from the analysis.

4–5 Points

- Thesis is explicit, but not fully responsive to the question. The essay may omit ONE task of the question (grievances, groups, and extent to which ONE group addressed its grievances).
- Organization is apparent but not consistently followed or ineffective; chronology may be limited or confused.
- Essay shows some imbalance; some major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected. It may identify at least ONE specific group and at least ONE specific grievance, OR may identify the ability of ONE group to address its grievances with the identification of at least ONE example of relevant evidence.
- May contain errors that detract from the argument.

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Question 7 (continued)

2–3 Points

- No explicit thesis or thesis that merely repeats/paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective; awareness of chronology may be absent.
- Essay shows serious imbalance; major topics suggested by the prompt are neglected. It inadequately responds to tasks of the question (grievances, groups, extent of address) AND/OR refers to a single grievance AND/OR refers to a single example of the ability of the Third Estate to address a grievance.
- May contain several errors that detract from argument.

0–1 Point

- No discernible attempt at thesis.
- No discernible organization; chronology may be merely repetition of the prompt.
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned; little or no supporting evidence used. The essay refers to Third Estate as a single group OR refers to a single grievance of the Third Estate OR refers to a single example of the ability of the Third Estate to address a grievance.
- May contain numerous errors.

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Question 7 Historical Background

Material in this section is derived from the following texts:

Chambers et al., *The Western Experience*, 9th ed.

Hunt et al., *The Making of the West*, 2nd ed.

Kagan et al., *The Western Heritage*, 9th ed.

Kishlansky et al., *Civilization in the West*, 6th ed.

McKay et al., *A History of Western Society*, 8th ed.

Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 2nd ed.

Palmer et al., *A History of the Modern World*, 10th ed.

“ . . . [T]he Old Regime had ceased to correspond with social reality by the 1780s. Legally, society was still based on rigid orders inherited from the Middle Ages. In reality, France had already moved far toward being a society based on wealth and education, where an emerging elite . . . was frustrated by a bureaucratic monarchy that continued to claim the right to absolute power” (McKay, 699).

Groups in the Third Estate

The population of France on the eve of the French Revolution consisted of three estates: the first (clergy), second (nobility), and third (commoners). The Third Estate, which constituted approximately 95 to 97 percent of the population, was highly diverse: it included the *bourgeoisie*, or “middle class”; the peasants (perhaps 80 percent of the total population of France); and the urban, or working, poor, who lived in all of the cities and towns of France, and were particularly influential in the city of Paris. Paris was by far the largest city in France, with a population of perhaps 600,000 people.

These groups were, in their turn, diverse as well. Many of the *bourgeoisie* were very wealthy, and many were well educated. Members of this group were lawyers, bankers, financiers, industrialists, scientists, and landowners. By the eighteenth century, serfdom no longer existed in France. To be sure, many peasants lived in poverty and had to obey remnants of feudal obligations, but many peasants were prosperous and owned their own land, and all peasants were legally free. Peasants were usually opposed to local authority, particularly the local nobility, but they tended to be vaguely royalist and fervently Catholic. The urban poor ranged from ordinary shopkeepers, skilled laborers and artisans, through all of the various forms of unskilled labor. Many were desperately poor. The working poor are often described as the *sans culottes* (without breeches). That phrase accurately describes the daily dress of the urban poor, but the concept more properly refers to a political philosophy that embraced radical (for the eighteenth century) forms of popular sovereignty, economic opportunity, and social interaction (types of dress and terms of address.) Some members of the *bourgeoisie*—Robespierre, for example—were closely allied with the *sans culottes*. Women were, at the time, not considered a separate group, but most modern textbooks consider them so, particularly urban women. These texts usually mention universal lack of political representation, economic hardship (price of bread), group action (march on Versailles, October 1789), and political theory or ambition (Olympe de Gouges, *The Rights of Women*, 1791) as unifying principles of this group.

Grievances of the Groups

A financial crisis of epic proportion—it developed over the course of more than a century—gripped France by the 1780s. The principal causes were a lack of income, based on an archaic system of taxation, and overspending. The monarchy was blamed for the over spending (Queen Marie Antoinette was known colloquially as “Madame Deficit”), but the more significant expense was the cost of more than a century of warfare and military spending. By the late 1780s, military spending constituted about 25 percent of the annual budget, and about 50 percent of the annual budget was applied to the interest on the accumulated debt (and not on retiring the principal). Perhaps 6 percent went to the monarchy, and that left only about

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Question 7 Historical Background (continued)

20 percent to run the entire nation. *The principal grievance was the “seemingly unwarranted privileges held by nobles and other corporate groups” (Merriman, 453), which meant the Catholic Church. The nobles were exempt from many forms of taxation, and the Church and clergy were exempt from all forms of taxation. The Third Estate bore the burden of taxation, and collections did not meet the expenses of the government. Many groups, particularly the bourgeoisie, resented the political structure of France. The authority of the French monarchy (theoretically, an absolute monarchy) and of the nobles’ councils (parlements) opposed the concepts of popular sovereignty embraced by the educated and the liberal. There was a general resentment of the privileges of the first two estates, as privilege opposed the concepts of “equality before the law” and “equality of opportunity.” Many bourgeoisie were well educated and had been imbued with an “enlightened” distrust of monarchy, religion, and tradition, which, they considered, were neither “rational” nor “natural.” The resentment of privilege naturally focused on the most privileged: the monarchy. Monarchical incompetence—Louis XVI was considered lazy, stupid, and naive; Marie Antoinette profligate, devious, and treasonous—was widely blamed for national problems. Finally, a series of unsuccessful wars resulted in a humiliating loss of territory in North America, the Caribbean, and India.*

A series of poor harvests in the 1780s affected all groups, but particularly the peasants. The government subsidized the price of grain, but there was less food and more economic instability. The peasants were subject to all taxes, and, in addition, to “feudal” obligations, such as the *corvée* (state labor) and “*banalités*” (payments to the lord). Peasant resentment resulted in widespread attack on noble property in the summer of 1789; this became a major factor in “the Great Fear.” Higher food costs also affected the urban poor, some bourgeoisie (employers), and housewives. In fact, the famous “women’s march on Versailles” began as a protest against the rising cost of bread. Political issues were also among the grievances of women. None of the several constitutions of the Revolution granted any political rights to any women, and most of the textbooks mention Olympe de Gouges, whose *The Rights of Women* was published in 1791. As the Revolution continued, the urban (working) poor became more committed to popular sovereignty and radical democracy; this was particularly significant in the Reign of Terror (1793-94).

Ability to Address Grievances, 1789-99

General Political Context of the French Revolution

Louis XVI responded to the financial crisis by summoning an Estates General, which met at Versailles in May and June 1789. Members of all three estates selected representatives, and Louis XVI allowed the “doubling of the third,” although he adamantly maintained the traditional principle of “vote by order.” The Third Estate overwhelmingly selected members of the bourgeoisie as its representatives. The collection of the famous *cahiers de doléances* and the publication of radical tracts, particularly *What Is the Third Estate?*, raised expectations of significant reform. This did not happen: the Estates General never recommended any reform to the king, who eventually attempted to turn out the representatives of the Third Estate. This led immediately to the convening of the National Assembly and adoption of the Tennis Court Oath (June 1789). The National Assembly enacted many important reforms, such as the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (August 1789), the abolition of privilege (August 1789), and the Constitution of 1791, which established the next government, the Legislative Assembly. This unicameral legislature, which defined “passive citizens” (those with civil rights) and “active citizens” (those who could vote and hold office), lasted only a little more than a year; it failed by August 1792, owing in no small part to political inexperience and the role of the urban poor. The next government, the Convention, ruled in theory from 1792 to 1795, but it had become ineffectual by the spring of 1793, doomed by war and political partisanship, particularly between two radical factions, the Girondins and the Jacobins. The ascendancy of the Jacobins led to the infamous Reign of Terror (1793-94), a violent dictatorship based on the principles of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in which the role of the urban poor was significant. The excesses of the Jacobins led to their downfall in the “Thermidorian Reaction” of July 1794; this led directly to the last government of

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Question 7 Historical Background (continued)

this period, the Directory (1795-99.) The Directory included a bicameral legislature elected by all male taxpayers, although only “men of property” could vote or hold office. It was an unstable government that survived all but the last of several coups d’état, that of Brumaire, Year VIII (November 1799). Napoleon Bonaparte was one of the conspirators in this plot.

Ability to Address Grievances (by Group)

BOURGEOISIE (“MIDDLE CLASS”)

Specific grievances

Eliminate noble and clerical privilege
 Tax exemption
 Political authority
Religious toleration
Civil/political rights
Protection from nobility

Extent of ability to address grievances

Estates General (May–June 1789)
National Constituent Assembly (1789-91)
Tennis Court Oath (June 1789)
Destruction of privilege (August 1789)
Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789)
Constitution of 1791
Legislative Assembly (1791-92)
 Limited monarchy (unicameral legislature)
 “Active” and “passive citizens”
 Religious toleration
 Confiscation of church property
National Convention (1792-95)
 Monarchy abolished (First Republic)
 Universal male suffrage
Reign of Terror (June 1793–July 1794)
 “Republic of Virtue”
Directory (1795-99)
 “Men of property”
 Restriction of the urban poor

PEASANTS

Specific grievances

Taxes, feudal obligations
Agricultural problems/high price of bread
Protection from nobility
Protection from political radicalism

Extent of ability to address grievances

Attack on châteaux (July–August 1789)
 Civil/political rights (limited)
“Great Fear” (August–September 1789)
Destruction of privilege (August 1789)
Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1789)
Constitution of 1791
 “Passive citizens”
National Convention (1792-95)
 Monarchy abolished (First Republic)
 Universal male suffrage
Rural revolt (1793)

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Question 7 Historical Background (continued)

URBAN POOR (“SANS CULOTTES”)

Specific grievances

High grain prices, unemployment
Civil/political rights (limited)
Protection from nobles
Democracy (1793-95)

Extent of ability to address grievances

Public demonstrations, attack on Bastille
Destruction of privilege (August 1789)
Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 1889)
Constitution of 1791
“Passive citizens”
Attack on Tuileries (August 1792)
September massacres (September 1792)
Convention (1792-95)
Monarchy abolished (First Republic)
Universal male suffrage
Reign of Terror (June 1793–July 1794)
“Republic of Virtue”

WOMEN

Specific grievances

High grain prices, unemployment
Civil/political rights (limited)

Extent of ability to address grievances

March on Versailles (October 1789)
Constitution of 1791
“Passive citizens”
Some civil rights (divorce, property, financial support)
Olympe de Gouges, *The Rights of Women* (1791)