

**AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY
2006 SCORING GUIDELINES**

Question 6

In the period 1815–1900, political liberalization progressed much further in western Europe than in Russia. Analyze the social and economic reasons for this difference.

9–6: Stronger

- Has a clear, well-developed thesis.
- Is well organized.
- Addresses the terms of the question.
- Supports the thesis with specific evidence.
- May contain minor errors; even a 9 need not be flawless.

Indicators for 9–8–7–6

- Has a relevant thesis.
- Analyzes social and economic reasons; evidence prior to 1815 may be used.
- Links political liberalization to social and economic factors.
- Provides evidence for Russia and the West; 6's and 7's may primarily focus on one or the other.

5–4: Mixed

- Contains a thesis, perhaps superficial or simplistic.
- Demonstrates uneven response to the question's terms.
- May contain errors, factual or interpretive.

Indicators

- Has a thesis.
- Contains superficial discussion of social and/or economic factors.
- Hints at connection between political liberalization and social and/or economic factors.
- Identifies characteristics of Russia and/or the West.

3–0: Weaker

- Thesis is confused, absent, or merely restates the question.
- Misconstrues the question or omits major tasks.
- May contain major errors.

Indicators for 3–2

- Has an ineffective thesis or has thesis that remains totally unsupported.
- Makes no connection between social and economic factors and political liberalization.

Indicators for 1–0

- Essays scored 0 or 1 may attempt to address the question but fail to do so.
- Minimal or no reference to social or economic factors.
- Irrelevant or unfocused response.

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Question 6 Historical Background

In the post-Napoleonic period, Europe went through decades of conflict between the forces of conservatism, or reaction, and those who sought political, economic, and social change. This question asks students to identify social and economic differences between Russia and the West that account for the differing degrees of political liberalization that had been achieved by each.

Economic reasons for the West's greater political liberalization:

- Earlier Agricultural Revolution decreased the number of people needed in agrarian production.
- Industrialization and urbanization: populations shifted from countryside to cities with greater concentrations of people.
- Economic power shifted from the landed aristocracy to the new capitalists (or middle classes). This new group demanded political power reflective of its economic power.
- Increased prosperity enhanced educational possibilities.
- Less restrictive trade practices increased the wealth of western European nations and their industrialists.

Social reasons for the West's greater political liberalization:

- Creation of capitalist class (or middle class) and an urban working class, disgruntled and easily organized.
- Increased literacy and rapid spread of liberal ideas among groups; daily newspapers proliferated in Western cities in the second half of the nineteenth century.
- Creation of unions and labor parties with greater demands for liberal programs.
- Greater social fluidity or mobility as opportunity increased.

Historical developments that might be included in discussion of the West's advantages:

- July revolution of 1830 in France: liberals, supported by bankers, industrialists, and the urban middle class replaced the reactionary Charles X with the "Bourgeois King," Louis Philippe; revolutionary workers were instrumental in the revolt. This influenced revolutions in Belgium (successful) and Poland (unsuccessful).
- Reform Bills in England (1832, 1867, 1884) all of which expanded the franchise and contributed to political liberalization; students may emphasize the role of Parliament.
- Poor Laws of 1834, and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, represented the supremacy of the English bourgeoisie, an expression of political liberalization.
- The Chartist movement and demands for working-class participation in the political process, many of which were eventually incorporated into the English system.
- Revolutions of 1848: sparked by the February Revolution in France, virtually every capital in continental Europe (Moscow excepted) was rocked by liberal, nationalist, or radical revolutions, the aims of which typically included demands for political liberalization.
- Prussian Constitution of 1850 expanded representation to powerful industrialists.
- 1860's French unions become legal and win the right to organize and strike.
- Bismarck's compromises with socialists and other workers, including expansion of suffrage and other political rights, in the 1860's and 1870's.

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Question 6 Historical Background (continued)

- The evolution of the Conservative and Liberal Parties in England during the 1870's and 1880's under Disraeli and Gladstone; expanded the franchise by turns, and passed laws granting and protecting enhanced workers' rights.
- The formation of the third French Republic in the 1870's, including universal manhood suffrage.
- Social legislation in Bismarck's Germany during the 1880's provided various forms of insurance for the working classes.
- Creation of the British Labour Party in 1900.

Economic reasons for Russia's limited political liberalization:

- Lack of industrialization; genuine industrialization was delayed until the very late portion of the period in question.
- The economy was more feudal than capitalistic.
- As Russia began to industrialize late in the nineteenth century, much of the capital was provided either by the state or foreigners (French, British, and German).
- Russia was an exporter of grain but lacked the resources to purchase capital goods from the West; thus there was limited commercial interaction between the regions.
- Poverty and famine were prevalent at various times during the nineteenth century.

Social reasons for Russia's limited political liberalization:

- With very limited industrialization, no real middle class developed that would agitate for greater voice in policy.
- There was no large urban working class that might organize and rally to demand rights and protections.
- Oppressive serfdom continued to exist during the first portion of the period in question; their "liberation" brought little real change in their condition as they remained a poor peasant class with limited opportunity.
- The great mass of Russian people remained illiterate; educational opportunities of the West were mostly unavailable.
- The Russian *Intelligentsia* was a small class with little identity beyond an interest in ideas; they subscribed to a wide range of ideologies from liberalism to socialism, anarchism, and nihilism.

Historical developments that might be included in discussion of Russia's limitations in political liberalization:

- Russia's role in Congress Europe (1820's) as Alexander I shifted from liberal to reactionary under Metternich's tutelage.
- The Decembrist revolt of 1825 and the ultrareactionary Nicholas I.
- Impact of the Crimean War (1850's), demonstrated Russian weaknesses in confronting Western powers.
- The Emancipation of the serfs in 1861 by Alexander II; while no longer "owned" they remained a desperately poor peasantry with little real freedom of movement or opportunity.

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Question 6 Historical Background (continued)

- Alexander's other reforms of the 1860's (zemstvos, courts) and their limited impact on liberalization.
- The assassination of Alexander II in 1881; he was succeeded by the more reactionary and autocratic Alexander III who applied brutal repression to calls for political liberalization.

The period of 1815-1900 brought a steady increase in political liberalization in Western Europe, especially England, while Russia remained under the strict control of the autocratic tsars of the Romanov Dynasty. A combination of social and economic reasons account for this difference, including greater literacy, capitalism, growth of a middle class, and reform in Western Europe and a general lack of all these in Russia, and industrialization and capitalism that were present in Western Europe but not in Russia.

The majority of the ~~Western~~ Western European nations experienced a rising middle class, which meant that the average European was increasingly better educated and more involved in politics, while in Russia the majority of the population was rural and poor while the tsar possessed all the power. England took the lead in industrialization, and many other countries in Western Europe followed her example. During this time period, the middle class also grew substantially. Education became compulsory and free in many states up to a certain age in many nations. As more and more Western Europeans were educated, they began to play a greater role in politics and consequently to recognize the need for and to demand reform. This rise of the middle class led to an increase in liberalization because no longer were the conservative aristocracy the sole influencers of government policy. The humanitarian movement in Western Europe led to such reforms as the abolition of slavery. The English reform bills and Chartist movement pressed for an expansion of the electoral district and a more truly representative government. While Russian tsars such as Alexander II attempted a limited degree of reform, it was in no way designed to encourage political liberalism. Alexander II abolished serfdom in 1861; however, these former serfs became poor peasants who were forced to pay the nobility to compensate for their loss of land. The Russian government was not representative of its people. The Romanov tsars ruled autocratically and had complete political control.

~~with varying degrees of success.~~ The majority of the Russian population was ~~unable~~ unable to read and in no condition to press for reform except in ~~isolated~~ sporadic and unsuccessful peasant revolts. Russia did not permit freedom of speech or freedom of expression, and used its secret police to suppress dissidents.

In addition to a variety of social factors that encouraged liberalization in Western Europe and discouraged it in Russia, economic factors also contributed. Western Europe enjoyed a system of free trade, productive economies, ^{economic} competition encouraged by capitalism, and technological and agricultural innovations due to the Agricultural and Industrial ^{Revolution}. Economic prosperity in Western Europe encouraged political liberalization because this prosperity allowed for and led to the rise of the middle class. Russia did not experience any similar economic prosperity. Russia was not industrialized, which proved to be a major problem in later years. Russia had no class of entrepreneurs and business men that spurred each other on through capitalistic competition. Also, Russia had no colonies as many of the Western powers did. Colonies generally provided a source of new materials and new markets for the Western European countries. In addition, the abolition of serfdom did not have an incredibly positive effect on the economy. Widespread famine and hunger was rampant throughout Russia. The majority of the population was ~~extremely~~ extremely poor and unable to better their condition in life.

Political liberalization expanded further in Western Europe ~~than~~ than in Russia during the time after the Congress of Vienna due to the middle class, literate public, to fairly free societies, industrialization, colonies, and ~~free~~ economic prosperity of Western Europe on the one hand, and extreme poverty, famine, and economic duress of Russia. Western Europe continued to set the tone for liberal politics up into the 20th century, as Western Europe and the United States were among the first to adopt changes such as the right of women to vote. Russia's history of a lack of liberalization enabled totalitarianism.

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6

6A-3

rulers such as Lenin and Stalin to fill the power vacuum after the overthrow of the Romanov Dynasty in 1917.

In the 1800s an expansion of democratic freedoms and an end to the class system were goals of many in Europe, and they often succeeded at a rapid pace, with many even succeeding fully in their goals. Yet Russia's attempts at advancement were forced to proceed at a much slower pace. Why?

One glance at the political and social systems in Russia in the 14th century provide an obvious answer: Russia resembled more strongly Europe in the 1400s than Europe in the 1800s. It was one of only two European countries where the manorial system still had any place in society, and ~~it~~ very little industry. All of its lower class, about 90% of the population, were poor farmers with no education. Even many in the nobility had very little schooling. The economy had very little foreign trade, and produced almost nothing but food for itself.

The government was ruled by an autocrat, who made essentially all decisions himself, with the support of a small noble class. There were no elections or free government party, as in many other countries, and there was no parliament. There wasn't even a constitution until very late in the Russian Empire, and only after massive political agitation. Rights were often an arbitrary thing and very often the government went to extreme lengths to quell any dissent. Assassination attempts on the tsar and his

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6-B-2

advisors were frequent, either by dissatisfied peasants or by nobles angry about any attempt at reform or desiring to seize power for themselves. That any reforms got done at all can be considered a minor miracle. Compared to the Russians, the European countries with advanced, booming economies, some degree of political freedom, and a educated populace were understandably further advanced than their Russian counterparts.

6

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GC-1

Political liberalization took a very long time to come about for all of Europe. Most of the countries were very stuck in their old ways and unwilling to change their traditional form of government. However, it is truly the social and economic aspects that tell why some countries progressed faster than others. Political liberalization progressed much further in Western Europe than in Russia because of the West's industrialized and politically democratic society, Russia's isolation, and the age old traditions of Russian society.

The phrase "The west is a head of the rest" rings true in this situation. Industrialization started out in England and spread to all the western nations. Although this could definitely be accounted for a reason, the primary reason for its rapid liberalization is Western democratic society that had been implanted for several years. Russia, although constantly behind the rest of Europe, never economically and politically managed to catch up.

Russia's isolation proved to be a factor in its lack of political unity. Separated from the rest of Europe, it never had the same

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6-C-2

opportunities and cultural expansion as the rest of Europe. Also, Russia was not open to the idea of liberalization. Russian government was always very strict and set in its ways. With strong control over the country, Russians seemed to be trapped in a society that didn't want to change. However, eventually revolutions sparked from those who wanted change. Leaders such as Lenin changed the face of Russia and managed to make it one of the world's super powers. With several revolutions under its belt, Russia changed its position and took its society to new heights.

Both western Europe and Russia remain at very different statuses, but it is good to see that the world isn't as unequal as it used to be. Although political liberalization remains a goal for all of Europe, time will tell whether this ^{goal is} ~~is~~ attainable or not.

AP[®] EUROPEAN HISTORY 2006 SCORING COMMENTARY

Question 6

Overview

A common theme in the study of nineteenth-century Europe is the political liberalization that took place in the “West” (the reforms in Britain; the revolutions in France and other continental nations). Russia is generally viewed as minimally (if at all) participating in this process of political liberalization. This question asked students to analyze **social** and **economic** factors that might account for this difference.

Sample: 6A

Score: 9

While the thesis here is a little awkward, it is thorough, relevant, and specific. The essay addresses all terms of the question (social and economic factors in England and Russia) and is rich with specific examples (English reform bills, Chartist movement, abolition of serfdom, rise of the middle class). This is a superior essay.

Sample: 6B

Score: 4

This is a mixed essay that includes some accurate information (“poor farmers with no education” in Russia) and some errors or exaggerations (“many even succeeding fully in their goals”). Most discussion is superficial. This essay does not convincingly connect social and economic factors to political liberalization.

Sample: 6C

Score: 3

This essay has a thesis, but it is not well supported. The student focuses more on political and cultural factors that contributed to, or hindered, political liberalization rather than analyzing the social and economic reasons for the differences.