

# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY

## 2011 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 6

**Analyze the ways in which the policies of Joseph Stalin transformed the policies of Vladimir Lenin.**

#### **9–8 points**

- Thesis is explicit, with specific reference to one or more ways that Stalin transformed policies of Lenin.
- Organization is clear, consistently followed, and effective in support of the argument.
- Essay is well balanced and includes at least two examples of policies for both Lenin and Stalin.
- Assertions about transformation of policies are supported by multiple pieces of relevant evidence.
- Essay may contain errors that do not detract from argument.

#### **7–6 points**

- Thesis is explicit and makes reference to transformation of policies.
- Organization is clear and effective in support of the argument but may not be consistently followed.
- Essay is balanced and includes at least one specific policy for both Lenin and Stalin.
- Major assertions are supported by at least one piece of relevant evidence.
- Essay may contain an error that detracts from argument.

#### **5–4 points**

- Thesis is explicit but may not be fully responsive to the question or may fail to note transformational nature of policies.
- Organization is clear and effective in support of the argument but is not consistently followed.
- Essay shows some imbalance; may fail to develop evidence for either Lenin or Stalin.
- Major assertion(s) are supported unevenly.
- Essay may contain a few errors that detract from argument.

#### **3–2 points**

- There is no explicit thesis or a thesis that merely repeats or paraphrases the prompt.
- Organization is unclear and ineffective.
- Essay shows serious imbalance; may not discuss any policies.
- Assertions lack supporting evidence.
- Essay may contain several errors that detract from argument.

#### **1–0 points**

- No discernible attempt at a thesis is made.
- No discernible organization is evident.
- One or none of the major topics suggested by the prompt is mentioned.
- Little or no supporting evidence is given.
- Essay may contain numerous errors that detract from argument.

# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY

## 2011 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 6 (continued)

#### Historical Background

##### Vladimir Lenin

Lenin was a key figure in the Russian Revolution and its aftermath. He went into exile following the execution of his brother owing to his involvement in an assassination attempt against Tsar Alexander III. Lenin returned to Russia with the aid of the Germans in the midst of World War I.

Lenin's writings, perhaps most notably his *April Theses*, attempted to reconcile Marxist ideology with the circumstances of the Russian state and society. Lenin's attempts at reconciliation included the following assertions:

- Marx asserted that communist revolution would occur first in the most economically developed nations (e.g., Great Britain, Germany). However, Lenin argued that revolutionary activity would more easily establish a foothold in the “weakest link” of the capitalist system and subsequently spread throughout the capitalist chain.
- Lenin argued that a small group of professional revolutionaries could best enact a successful revolution in an autocratic nation such as Russia, rather than relying on a spontaneous workers' revolution.
- Lenin rejected any notion of cooperation with the Russian provisional government or other “compromise” socialist groups.
- Lenin added a condemnation of imperialism to the Marxist critique of capitalism.

Lenin utilized slogans such as “Peace, Bread, and Land” and “All power to the soviets!” to promote his Bolshevik agenda over that of the increasingly unpopular provisional government. He was able to capitalize on this lack of support to establish the Bolsheviks firmly in power during the October Revolution. Lenin entered into the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, despite substantial loss of territory for the Russians, both because he recognized the unpopularity of the war and because he believed that national borders would become inconsequential once the communist revolution spread.

The Bolsheviks validated peasant seizures of land and factories and disbanded a newly elected Constituent Assembly, which was dominated by Menshevik factions. Despite opposition from a coalition of forces known as the White Army, the Bolshevik forces under the leadership of Leon Trotsky were ultimately victorious in the Russian Civil War (1918–1923). The Bolsheviks implemented a policy known as “war communism,” which nationalized key industries and collectivized agriculture. Harsh policies were introduced for peasants who refused to surrender their grain and livestock. Further, the Bolsheviks formed a secret police force (known originally as the Cheka and later as the NKVD and the KGB) to root out opposition. By 1922 Lenin and the Bolsheviks exerted full authority over most of the territory of the former Russian Empire and used the Cheka to implement a Red Terror aimed at eliminating thousands of “class enemies” of the state through widespread execution without trial. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was declared in 1922.

Beyond the borders of the USSR, many communists maintained a belief in the imminent overthrow of capitalism. The Bolsheviks called for the formation of the Third International (or Comintern) in 1919. Though designed to be an international alliance of socialist groups, the Third International was clearly dominated by the ever increasing power of the newly emerging USSR.

# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY

## 2011 SCORING GUIDELINES

### Question 6 (continued)

#### Historical Background (continued)

War communism proved disastrous to the already struggling Russian economy. In the face of economic collapse, Lenin instituted a revised policy, known as the New Economic Policy (NEP), in 1921. The NEP represented a compromise with capitalism by allowing small-scale private ownership of businesses. Peasants also gained greater control over the distribution of their crops. The NEP produced some success, but it failed to boost Russian productivity beyond prewar levels and created a split among the USSR's leadership about the wisdom of such a compromise policy.

Socially, women made substantial gains in terms of equality under Lenin's rule. Women gained the right to vote in 1918. They also gained the right to divorce and greater access to birth control and abortion. Fundamental changes to the position of women in Soviet society were somewhat slow in coming, however, despite the formation of a women's bureau designed to promote education among women. The Soviets also created the Communist Youth League to promote communist ideology and party membership. Artists and intellectuals were also involved in promoting procommunist ideology, though artists were allowed to engage in experimental techniques in genres such as film and visual art.

#### Joseph Stalin

Lenin suffered a series of strokes that left him increasingly debilitated, setting up a power struggle between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin. Despite Trotsky's dynamic leadership as commissar of war in the early part of the Russian Revolution, Joseph Stalin's successful manipulation of patronage as the Communist Party's general secretary allowed him to gain party support and cement his power by 1928.

Stalin ended the NEP and began building his "socialism in one country" program, since a communist world revolution seemed increasingly unlikely. To promote his goal of rapid industrialization, Stalin imposed the first of a series of Five Year Plans in 1928 aimed at making the USSR competitive with the rest of the industrialized world. These plans called for a central government agency known as Gosplan to manage resource allocation and production. The Five Year Plans were aimed primarily at increasing capital good production. Despite significant hardships as a result of this emphasis on capital goods, the Five Year Plans produced some degree of success and brought the USSR into a competitive position with other leading nations in heavy industry.

Stalin took aim at the wealth of the kulaks to build Soviet industry and infrastructure. He forcibly collectivized agriculture. Resistance from the kulaks led to reprisals and millions of deaths; some died from open resistance to collectivization policies, while others died from famine resulting from confiscation of food or the intentional destruction of crops and livestock during the resistance movement.

Stalin imposed totalitarian rule on the USSR. Independent political parties were outlawed and freedom of expression was eliminated. The cultural life of the Soviet Union existed primarily as a means of propaganda. Stalin advocated socialist realism, forms of artistic expression that glorified the worker and industry. Further, Stalin promoted his own cult of personality by having life-sized posters of himself displayed throughout the country.

To achieve his goals, Stalin attempted to strengthen the party bureaucracy under his control. Stalin remained fearful of the "Old Bolsheviks" who were part of the original revolution. He conducted a series of Great Purges that eliminated these perceived threats through a series of public confessions and executions.

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## **2011 SCORING GUIDELINES**

### **Question 6 (continued)**

#### **Historical Background (continued)**

Socially, women saw setbacks in some of the steps toward legal equality that they had achieved under Lenin. Stalin was concerned about declining birthrates. Therefore, in an effort to increase the Soviet birthrate, the Stalinist regime undid many of the gains that women had made in controlling reproduction.

Abortion was outlawed. Stalin praised the family and its role in inculcating traditional values of duty and discipline. Divorce became much more difficult and motherhood was promoted. The Stalinist regime made education more attainable, especially for technical or engineering-related fields.

Events before and during the Second World War led Stalin to a more assertive foreign policy. Despite significant ideological differences, Stalin entered into a nonaggression pact with Hitler's Nazi Germany just before the outbreak of the war. Stalin used the interval of peace with Germany to expand Soviet territory, taking the Baltic states, Bessarabia, eastern Poland and parts of Finland. Eventually, however, the USSR was forced to join forces with the Allied powers after being invaded by Nazi Germany in 1941. Despite the devastation wrought by World War II on the USSR, Stalin capitalized on his status as leader of a victorious power and was instrumental in exacerbating the tensions leading to the emergence of the Cold War.

6A-1

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

When leadership of the Soviet Union transferred from ~~then~~ Vladimir Lenin to Joseph Stalin, communism changed. The policies established under Lenin were built upon and developed to create new policies under Stalin. These new policies ~~that~~ transformed the economic and political basis of communism to make it a nationalist movement under Stalin's complete and exclusive control.

Among the most significant changes after Lenin's death was the development of Stalin's singular leadership ~~again~~ of the communist movement. Lenin had developed his own variation of Marxism. His policies called for an elite group of revolutionary leaders rather than a simple proletarian overthrow. In the Soviet Union, this group included leaders such as Trotsky and Stalin himself. After Lenin's death, though, Stalin took this idea of an elite group one step further and made himself the elite individual leader of the communist movement. Beginning with Trotsky, he eliminated any opposition through political assassinations and his infamous purge trials. He used Lenin's policy of elitism to make himself the sole

possessor of Soviet power.

Stalin also transformed Lenin's economic policies. He took Lenin's policy of government control that allowed for minimal amounts of private ownership and made it fully communist. Stalin eliminated Lenin's New Economic Policy and removed any private ownership. He instituted collectivization to ensure that all agriculture was government-owned. Stalin's full implementation of communist policy ~~was~~ in the Soviet economy built on Lenin's more gradual steps taken years earlier.

Finally, Stalin transformed Lenin's idea of communism as an international revolution. To Lenin, communism was a movement that transcended political borders and would soon spread to other nations of its own accord. Stalin took this idea of a world movement and infused it with elements of nationalism. He made communism a ~~special~~ movement especially for Russia, who would then be obliged to spread the movement under its leadership through European dominance. In this way Stalin justified his political actions in other nations throughout his rule of the Soviet Union.

6A-3

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

Stalin's policies ~~was~~ ~~the~~ ~~sketchy~~ ~~was~~ increased his own power and transformed the nature of Soviet communism. Though they built on Lenin's original policies, they changed much of the economic and political basis of the Soviet Union. Stalin's policies of complete government control and individual leadership allowed Lenin's policies to be developed for a new generation of communist citizens.

Joseph Stalin made the policies much more radical than the USSR's policies under Vladimir Lenin<sup>of the USSR</sup>. Instead of the NEP, his economic policy, Stalin used a series of 5 year plans to advance industrialization, crop production, ~~and nationalize~~ and ~~the~~

After the overthrow of Czar Nicholas II in 1917, Lenin had to fight a civil war of the Whites versus the Reds. ~~the~~ During that time the government adopted war time communism which was harsh and demanding. However once the Reds (Communists) won, Lenin issued his New Economic Policy (NEP) This allowed for some local private industry and a more moderate system.

When Lenin died suddenly Stalin came into power (after a conflict w/ Lenin's supporter, Trotsky). Shutting down the NEP he ~~to~~ began his Five Year Plans to quickly Westernize Russia. Many people worked in factories mass producing lots of materials that were not of high quality. He also divided Russia up into large farming communities. The people were ~~supposed~~ supposed to take what they needed to survive and give the rest to the government. Instead they often destroyed extra crops and slaughtered extra cattle to keep the gov. from getting it. ~~He also used propaganda~~

6B-2

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

~~are~~ There were no more private industries and Stalin ruled mainly by fear.

Joseph Stalin, in many ways, transformed the policies of Vladimir Lenin. Stalin did so, after Lenin died and he took power after him.

Vladimir Lenin before he died, made the (NEP) New Economic Policy, to stimulate the U.S.S.R.'s economy. After dying, Stalin transformed his ~~the~~ idea of the NEP, to his Five-Year plans. Stalin also wanted a very economically stable Russia. However, Stalin ruled completely different, with fear.

Stalin promised everybody "Peace, land and bread". A good and well U.S.S.R. Stalin did not lie. He did end the war, he did give land, especially to the kulaks, and he did provide food. He maintained this through the five-year plans he made. However, instead of bringing to his country's inhabitants like Lenin, Stalin killed anyone in his way. For example, Stalin had people killed like in the purges.

6C-2

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

Stalin used collectivization farming, to increase U.S.S.R's economic status, and Stalin also increased the output of steel production. In the end, Stalin was successful in making the U.S.S.R. <sup>have</sup> a stable government.

In conclusion Stalin did transform Lenin's plans to his because they were similar, but had different features.

# AP<sup>®</sup> EUROPEAN HISTORY 2011 SCORING COMMENTARY

## Question 6

### Overview

This question required students to address differences between the policies of Vladimir Lenin and the policies of Joseph Stalin. The question did not require students to identify similarities or continuities between the two leaders' policies, but many student responses addressed continuities by way of highlighting the differences. Students needed to show evidence that they understood key policies of both Lenin and Stalin in the context of their discussion about policy transformations.

### Sample: 6A

#### Score: 9

The essay has a solid thesis that is clearly responsive to all parts of the question. The body paragraphs discuss specific changes of policy from Lenin to Stalin in the fields of leadership structure, economic policy and international affairs. For each of these three areas, the essay systematically outlines both Lenin's policy and the way it was transformed under Stalin. In doing so, the essay refers to multiple policies of the two Soviet leaders and provides ample evidence of understanding the relevant details of these policies. The organization demonstrates clear and consistent analysis.

### Sample: 6B

#### Score: 6

The essay has a specific thesis that clearly addresses transformation of policies. It is sufficiently balanced in that it contains references to policies of Lenin (war communism and NEP) and Stalin (Five Year Plans and the creation of the *kolkhozes*). However, the essay offers only minimal explanations of these policies in support of the main argument, and this lack of supporting detail prevented it from earning a score of 7. The essay meets the minimum requirements necessary for earning a score of 6.

### Sample: 6C

#### Score: 3

The attempted thesis is a mere restatement of the prompt. NEP and the Five Year Plans are mentioned, but there is no evidence to suggest understanding of these terms. The essay erroneously attributes the slogan "Peace, [L]and and Bread" and providing land to the kulaks (seemingly a reference to NEP) to Stalin. It correctly identifies the purges, collectivization of agriculture, and increased steel production with Stalin. There is sparse supporting detail, however, and the errors suggest limited overall understanding of the topic.