

## **2014 AP® EUROPEAN HISTORY FREE-RESPONSE QUESTIONS**

### **EUROPEAN HISTORY**

#### **SECTION II**

##### **Part A**

**(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)**

**Percent of Section II score—45**

**Directions:** The following question is based on the accompanying Documents 1-12. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. Write your answer on the lined pages of the Section II free-response booklet.

This question is designed to test your ability to work with and understand historical documents. Write an essay that:

- Provides an appropriate, explicitly stated thesis that directly addresses all parts of the question and does NOT simply restate the question.
- Discusses a majority of the documents individually and specifically.
- Demonstrates understanding of the basic meaning of a majority of the documents.
- Supports the thesis with appropriate interpretations of a majority of the documents.
- Analyzes point of view or bias in at least three documents.
- Analyzes the documents by explicitly grouping them in at least three appropriate ways.

You may refer to relevant historical information not mentioned in the documents.

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

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

#### **Document 1**

Source: Editorial in the official Polish communist party newspaper *People's Tribune*, October 1956.

In these exciting and uncommon times\* the Polish working class has clearly made its voice heard. This class leads the nation not by someone's appointment or decree, but by virtue of its position in society. . . . It is evident that the leading role of the [communist] Party has been tangibly confirmed. The Party has been united as never before with the working class which gave it birth, with the peasant masses, with the student youth, with the progressive intelligentsia, and with the Polish People's Army. The Party is united with the nation.

\* a reference to the June 1956 workers' strike in the city of Poznan, the first large-scale protest against communist rule in Poland; several dozen workers were killed in the government's suppression of the strike

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### **Document 2**

Source: Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, professors at Warsaw University and Polish communist party members, open letter addressed to party members, 1965.

The [communist] Party considers itself the representative of the interests of the working class and its power is supposed to be a guarantee of working class power. But . . . we must ask what opportunities there are for the working class to influence the decisions of the state apparatus. Outside the Party—none.

Formerly, government officials loved to wear blue overalls, willingly advertising their working-class origins; they gave medals to the best workers and were embarrassed to pay a manager ten times more than a worker. Today, government officials dress in elegant clothing, and the managers' [expensive] cars and villas are eloquent testimony to their social prestige. Today exploitation is out in the open for all to see; it is no longer carried on by means of propaganda, but openly by means of the whip of administrative duress, and—if any attempt is made to resist—by police coercion. . . .

The end of exploitation could only come through the creation of a [new] system where the organized working class will truly be the master of its labor and its labor product.

### **Document 3**

Source: Edward Gierek, head of the Polish communist party, conversation with workers on strike at the Szczecin Shipyard, January 1971.

I see what you mean, comrades. You mean you want information about what is happening here, in your city and in your shipyard? Well, we are all for keeping people informed, but not, you know, not about every detail that just anyone might want to publish. There are certain rules, comrades, that must be strictly observed. Don't ask for the same sort of democracy to be applied to everybody—friend and enemy alike! Don't demand that kind of democracy!

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### **Document 4**

Source: Open letter signed by several prominent Polish intellectuals and read on Polish-language radio stations broadcast from Western Europe, June 1976.

We declare our solidarity with the workers of Poland who have gone on strike. . . . In the system of government presently prevailing in our country, the only form in which people can express their real attitudes is through outbursts of social discontent, outbursts which are dangerous in their consequences. . . . Without the establishment of a system of real representation of workers it is not possible to study effectively the needs and aspirations of our society. In their present form the official trade unions do not fulfill this role. Recent events have again confirmed how completely fictitious the [official] unions are.

### **Document 5**

Source: Resolution of the bishops of the Catholic Church in Poland, September 1976.

The government should fully respect civic rights, conduct a real dialogue with society, and take account of society's wants when making decisions that affect the whole nation. We therefore ask the state authorities to stop all repression of workers involved in the antigovernment protests [of June 1976]. Those workers who have been dismissed must be reinstated and their social and professional positions restored. They should receive compensation for their losses, while those sentenced should be pardoned.

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### Document 6

Source: Workers' Defense Committee, a dissident organization dedicated to providing aid\* to workers who had been fired, arrested, or imprisoned in the government crackdown against the 1976 strikes, account of expenses, June 1976–May 1977.

City	Number of Workers or Workers' Families Receiving Monetary, Legal, or Medical Aid from the Committee	Average Yearly Aid per Worker's Family (in Polish zloty)**
Ursus	169	4,233
Radom	640	2,552
Gdansk	34	2,376
Lodz	68	2,685
Plock	32	12,500
Grudziadz	25	7,232

\* The committee raised money entirely through voluntary contributions in Poland and among Polish communities abroad.

\*\* In 1976 the average yearly pay of an industrial worker in Poland was about 22,000 zloty.

### Document 7

Source: Polish communist party, instructions distributed to schoolteachers in advance of a visit by Pope John Paul II, the first Polish pope, March 1979.

You should convey to your students that the pope is our enemy, because he celebrates mass for [political dissidents]. Due to his uncommon skills and great sense of humor, he is dangerous because he charms everybody, especially journalists. Besides, he goes for cheap gestures in his relations with the crowd. For instance, he puts on a folksy hat, shakes all hands, kisses children, etc. His behavior is modeled on American presidential campaigns.

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### **Document 8**

Source: Founding Committee of the Independent Trade Unions, brochure handed out to workers in the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, August 14, 1980.

Anna Walentynowicz\* has worked at our shipyard since 1950. Sixteen years as a welder, then as a crane operator. . . . She has always been a model worker, what is more, one who reacted to every wrong and injustice. She [recently] received a disciplinary notice of being fired for “major infraction of worker’s responsibilities.” . . . Anna Walentynowicz has been a thorn in the side of the shipyard’s administration, because she is a model activist [who] defends others and is capable of organizing her colleagues. . . . We appeal to you, defend the crane operator Walentynowicz. If you don’t, many of you may find themselves in the same miserable situation.

\* editor of the underground newspaper *Coastal Worker*

### **Document 9**

Source: Interfactory Strike Committee, “21 Demands,” a political platform written on wooden boards and hung on the gates of the Gdansk shipyard, August 18, 1980.

Our demands are:

1. Acceptance of free trade unions independent of the communist party. . . .
2. A guarantee of the right to strike and of the security of strikers. . . .
3. Compliance with the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech, the press, and publication. . . .
9. Guaranteed automatic increases in pay on the basis of increases in prices and the decline in real income.
10. A full supply of food products for the domestic market, with exports limited to surpluses. . . .
12. The selection of management personnel on the basis of qualifications, not party membership. Privileges of the secret police, regular police, and party apparatus to be eliminated.

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### Document 10

Source: Marek Langda, Polish photographer employed by the official Central Photography Agency, Warsaw grocery shop interior, June 1981.



Marek Langda/CAF/PAP

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### Document 11

Source: Photograph of Lech Wałęsa and other Solidarity\* activists kneeling in prayer at a Catholic mass held at the opening of Solidarity's national convention, September 1981.



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\* a coalition of independent trade unions established in Gdansk in September 1980

## **2014 AP® EUROPEAN HISTORY FREE-RESPONSE QUESTIONS**

### **EUROPEAN HISTORY SECTION II**

#### **Part B**

**(Suggested planning and writing time—35 minutes)**

**Percent of Section II score—27 1/2**

**Directions:** You are to answer ONE question from the three questions below. Make your selection carefully, choosing the question that you are best prepared to answer thoroughly in the time permitted. You should spend 5 minutes organizing or outlining your answer. Write your answer to the question on the lined pages of the Section II free-response booklet, making sure to indicate the question you are answering by writing the appropriate question number at the top of each page.

Write an essay that:

- Has a relevant thesis.
  - Addresses all parts of the question.
  - Supports thesis with specific evidence.
  - Is well organized.
2. Analyze the differences in the approaches to church-state relations advocated by various Protestant groups in the 1500s.
3. Analyze the similarities in the methods that various absolute monarchs used in the 1600s and 1700s to consolidate and increase their power.
4. Analyze the differences in the ideas held by various Enlightenment figures concerning the roles of women in European society.

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## Question 1 — Document-Based Question (DBQ)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

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

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

The following groupings are not exhaustive:

#### **Political repression by Communist Party**

Critique of dissent: 1, 3, 7, 12  
Complaints about lack of rights (e.g., freedom of speech): 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9  
Increasing discontent among workers: 6, 8, 9, 11, 12  
Catholic criticism of repression: 5, 11

#### **Political action by dissidents**

Support of activists: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9  
Opposition activists in Poland: 2, 6, 8, 9, 11  
Support of workers' movement outside Poland: 4, 6

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

Defending workers' protest: 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11  
Support for workers by nonworkers: 2, 4, 5, 6  
Desire for independent labor unions: 4, 9

#### **Economic discontent**

Failure of Communist party to provide economic well-being for workers: 2, 6, 9, 10  
Workers' economic challenges: 6, 8, 9, 10

#### **Religious actions and critiques**

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

#### **Intellectual dissent:**

Disjunction between theory and practice of communism: 2, 4, 8, 9  
Writers' critique of exploitation: 2, 4

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

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

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

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## Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

### A Closer Look at the Thesis Statement

#### Examples of acceptable and unacceptable theses:

##### Stronger theses:

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

##### Adequate theses:

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

##### Inadequate theses:

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

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

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## Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)

### A Closer Look at Misinterpretations

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

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

#### Example of minor errors:

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

### A Closer Look at Point of View

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

#### Examples of ACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis:

##### Relating authorial point of view to author's place in society

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

##### Evaluating the reliability of the source

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

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## **Question 1 — Document-Based Question (continued)**

### Recognizing that different kinds of documents serve different purposes

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

### Analyzing the tone of the documents

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

### **Examples of UNACCEPTABLE point-of-view analysis:**

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