# EUROPEAN HISTORY SECTION II

Total Time—1 hour, 30 minutes

Question 1 (Document-Based Question)
Suggested reading and writing time: 55 minutes

It is suggested that you spend 15 minutes reading the documents and 40 minutes writing your response. Note: You may begin writing your response before the reading period is over.

**Directions:** Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

In your response you should do the following.

- Thesis: Present a thesis that makes a historically defensible claim and responds to all parts of the question. The thesis must consist of one or more sentences located in one place, either in the introduction or the conclusion.
- Argument Development: Develop and support a cohesive argument that recognizes and accounts for historical complexity by explicitly illustrating relationships among historical evidence such as contradiction, corroboration, and/or qualification.
- Use of the Documents: Utilize the content of at least six of the documents to support the stated thesis or a relevant argument.
- Sourcing the Documents: Explain the significance of the author's point of view, author's purpose, historical context, and/or audience for at least four documents.
- <u>Contextualization:</u> Situate the argument by explaining the broader historical events, developments, or processes immediately relevant to the question.
- Outside Evidence: Provide an example or additional piece of specific evidence beyond those found in the documents to support or qualify the argument.
- Synthesis: Extend the argument by explaining the connections between the argument and ONE of the following.
  - A development in a different historical period, situation, era, or geographical area.
  - A course theme and/or approach to history that is not the focus of the essay (such as political, economic, social, cultural, or intellectual history).
  - A different discipline or field of inquiry (such as economics, government and politics, art history, or anthropology).
  - 1. Evaluate whether the policies of Otto von Bismarck's government represented traditional conservatism or a new kind of conservatism in nineteenth-century Europe.

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#### Document 1

Source: Legislation passed by Bismarck's government, 1869–1878

Law Concerning the Equality of all Religions with Respect to Civil Rights and Citizenship of July 3, 1869: All restrictions on citizenship or civil rights based on differences in religious confession are abolished. The right to hold public office shall be independent of religious confession.

School Inspection Law of March 11, 1872: The supervision of all public and private school and educational institutions is solely under the control of the state and not of any clergy.

Law Concerning the Order of the Society of Jesus [The Jesuits] of July 4, 1872: The Order of the Society of Jesus and similar order-like Congregations, are banned hereby from the territory of the German Reich. The members of the Order of the Society of Jesus or similar order-like Congregations can be banished, if they are foreigners; if they are natives, their residence in certain districts or places can be denied, or they can be banished.

Law Against the Publicly Dangerous Endeavors of Social Democracy from October 21, 1878: Societies which aim at the overthrow of the existing political or social order through social-democratic, socialist, or communist endeavors are to be prohibited. Public festivities and processions shall be treated the same as meetings. Publications in which social-democratic, socialist, or communist endeavors aimed at the overthrow of the existing political or social order are manifested in a manner calculated to endanger the harmony among all classes of the population are to be prohibited.

#### Document 2

Source: Wilhelm Liebknecht, German socialist, political speech, 1869

Is it the duty of the Socialists to send delegates to the Reichstag [German parliament] at all? Our Social-Democratic Party (SPD)\* must not, under any circumstances, or in any field, engage in transactions with its opponents. We can only transact business where there is a common basis. To do business with those who are your opponents in principle is equivalent to a sacrifice of principle. . . . The slightest concession in matters of principle is a relinquishing of the principle entirely. He who parliamentarizes, compromises.

Suppose a candidate comes up for election and the government is absolutely opposed to having him in the Reichstag. The government will confiscate the newspapers that advocate his election—it will do so legally; it will confiscate his election handbills—also legally; or it will give permits for meetings of electors and then dissolve them—again legally; it will arrest the candidate's campaign managers—quite legally; it will arrest the candidate himself—also legally. They recently arrested a delegate to the Reichstag, and that delegate would still be in prison right now if the National Liberals\*\* had not been convinced by Bismarck of his harmlessness. There is no possibility of our having an influence on legislation. Tell me, in heaven's name, what would be the use of a presentation of our principles in the Reichstag? Do you think you would convert the members of the Reichstag? The idea is more than childish; it is infantile.

\*the largest socialist party in Germany

\*\*one of the main parties supporting Bismarck's government at the time

## Document 3

Source: Hermann Wagener, high public official and conservative politician, memorandum written for Otto von Bismarck, "Why the Government Cannot Ignore the Social Question: A Conservative View," 1872

It is extremely dangerous to take up the battle against the ultramontane [extremely Catholic] and socialist parties simultaneously. It is important to keep those pursuing anti-national aims away from the social movement but it would be a political mistake to subject socialist leaders to emergency laws on account of their social advocacy, particularly without also doing something substantial to satisfy the just efforts of their followers. It would be hopeless to fight a powerful idea merely with material means, and, with respect to the extremely powerful Catholic-clerical idea, there is currently only one idea that can be used as a political counterweight with any prospect of success—and that is the social idea. The "social Kaiser" has a stronger position than even the "social Pope." At the moment, the mass of the population is wavering, unsure of the direction in which to turn. So far, the international agitation has not gained a broader basis; where the masses turn, however, will be of crucial significance not just for politics but also for the character of the army. The army will only be completely reliable if the workers, who make up its main contingent, are won over and bound to the idea of the Reich through its very benefits and performance.

## Document 4

Source: "At the helm," political cartoon portraying Bismarck, published in a satirical German magazine, 1879



bpk, Berlin / Dietmar Katz / Art Resource, NY

Caption: The Liberal says to the other two: "Don't worry; when the wind shifts, I'll be on top again."

## Document 5

Source: Kaiser Wilhelm I's speech opening the Reichstag, Berlin, November 1881

We, Wilhelm, German Emperor by the Grace of God, King of Prussia announce that in February of this year, We let Our conviction be known that curing social defects will be pursued not only through the repression of Social Democratic excesses but also through the promotion of workers' welfare. We deem it Our Imperial Duty to urge the Reichstag to take this task to heart once again. We would look back with all the more satisfaction on the many successes with which God has blessed Our government [and] We could be content having left the fatherland lasting guarantees of internal peace and having given the needy greater security and the assistance to which they are entitled. We trust that we have the support of the Reichstag, despite party differences.

The draft bill submitted during the last session on insuring workers against industrial accidents will be revised. Another bill will be added; the additional bill will give consistent organization to the commercial health insurance system. [It should not be forgotten], however, that all those persons who have become unfit for gainful employment through age or disability also have a legitimate claim to a greater degree of state welfare than they have received thus far. Finding the proper ways and means to ensure this level of welfare is difficult, but it is also one of the highest tasks of any community that rests upon the moral foundation of a Christian national life.

#### Document 6

Source: Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, speech in support of the new accident insurance bill, Berlin, March 5, 1884

Government according to Frederick the Great is to serve the people; the opposite is to dominate the people. We want to serve the people. It is not correct that we made the proposal to win more support for the Anti-Socialist law. At the time of the proposal of the law, His Majesty the Emperor and the majority of the Reichstag promised that as a corollary to this law there would also be a serious effort to better conditions for the workers.

The whole problem is rooted in the question: does the state have the responsibility to care for its helpless fellow citizens, or does it not? I maintain that it does have this duty and not simply the Christian state but indeed every state. There are objectives that only the state can fulfill including national defense and the general system of transportation. But the state must help persons in distress and prevent the workers' complaints that can be exploited by the Social Democrats.

If one argues against my position that this is socialism, then I do not fear that at all. The question is what are the limits of state socialism? Each law for poor relief is socialism. There are states that distance themselves so far from socialism that poor laws do not exist at all. These states take the French view that every French citizen has the right to starve and that the state has no responsibility to hinder him in the exercise of his right.

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#### Document 7

Source: Eugen Richter, liberal journalist and politician, newspaper article, 1890

The dismissal of Reich Chancellor Prince Bismarck is an accomplished fact. Thank God he's gone! A continuation of the domestic policy pursued up to now would actually have brought Germany to ruin, had it been followed by another such period. The fact that in the last elections one-fifth of the German people declared their support for the Social Democratic Party is mainly the fault of the Bismarckian system of government; it boosted socialism artificially by offering the carrot one moment and applying the stick the next.

Existing religious differences were exacerbated through the battle over church policy, carried out by way of the police and criminal regulations. The incitement of the parties against each other, the suspicions cast upon people's patriotism, and the denial of patriotism to any political dissident resulted from a press corrupted by bribery and fear. Before the eyes of the world, what he did to unify the Fatherland was shown to the fullest advantage; but later generations, those destined to suffer the consequences of his flawed domestic policies, will become fully aware of how these measures have sinned against national life. We must once again draw inspiration from the idea that the people themselves are called upon to participate in their own destiny. In the long term, people get only the kind of government they deserve.

## **END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1**

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