

AP History Rubrics

Introductory notes:

- Except where otherwise noted, each point of the rubric is earned independently. For instance, a student could earn a point for evidence beyond the documents without earning a point for thesis/claim.
- Accuracy: The components of this rubric each require that students demonstrate historically defensible content knowledge. Given the timed nature of the exam, a response may contain errors that do not detract from its overall quality, as long as the historical content used to advance the argument is accurate.
- Clarity: Exam essays should be considered first drafts and thus may contain grammatical errors. Those errors will not be counted against a student unless they obscure the successful demonstration of the content knowledge, skills, and reasoning processes described in the rubrics.

AP History DBQ Rubric (7 points)

Reporting Category	Scoring Criteria	Decision Rules
A. THESIS/CLAIM (0–1 pt)	1 pt. Responds to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis/claim that establishes a line of reasoning.	<i>To earn this point, the thesis must make a claim that responds to the prompt rather than restating or rephrasing the prompt. The thesis must consist of one or more sentences located in one place, either in the introduction or the conclusion.</i>
B. CONTEXTUALIZATION (0–1 pt)	1 pt. Describes a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.	<i>To earn this point, the response must relate the topic of the prompt to broader historical events, developments, or processes that occur before, during, or continue after the time frame of the question. This point is not awarded for merely a phrase or reference.</i>

continued on next page

Reporting Category	Scoring Criteria	Decision Rules
C. EVIDENCE (0–3 pts)	Evidence from the Documents	<i>To earn one point, the response must accurately describe—rather than simply quote—the content from at least three of the documents.</i>
	1 pt. Uses the content of at least three documents to address the topic of the prompt. OR 2 pts. Supports an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.	<i>To earn two points, the response must accurately describe—rather than simply quote—the content from at least six documents. In addition, the response must use the content of the documents to support an argument in response to the prompt.</i>
	Evidence Beyond the Documents	<i>To earn this point, the response must describe the evidence and must use more than a phrase or reference. This additional piece of evidence must be different from the evidence used to earn the point for contextualization.</i>
D. ANALYSIS AND REASONING (0–2 pts)	1 pt. For at least three documents, explains how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.	<i>To earn this point, the response must explain how or why (rather than simply identifying) the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, or audience is relevant to an argument about the prompt for each of the three documents sourced.</i>
	1 pt. Demonstrates a complex understanding of the historical development that is the focus of the prompt, using evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the question.	<p><i>A response may demonstrate a complex understanding in a variety of ways, such as:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Explaining nuance of an issue by analyzing multiple variables</i> ▪ <i>Explaining both similarity and difference, or explaining both continuity and change, or explaining multiple causes, or explaining both cause and effect</i> ▪ <i>Explaining relevant and insightful connections within and across periods</i> ▪ <i>Confirming the validity of an argument by corroborating multiple perspectives across themes</i> ▪ <i>Qualifying or modifying an argument by considering diverse or alternative views or evidence</i> <p><i>This understanding must be part of the argument, not merely a phrase or reference.</i></p>

Section II

The following are examples of the kinds of free-response questions found on the exam. Note that on the actual AP Exam, students will answer one document-based question and will select one of the three long essay questions to answer.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

1. Evaluate the relative importance of different causes for the expanding role of the United States in the world in the period from 1865 to 1910.

In your response you should do the following:

- Respond to the prompt with a historically defensible thesis or claim that establishes a line of reasoning.
- Describe a broader historical context relevant to the prompt.
- Support an argument in response to the prompt using at least six documents.
- Use at least one additional piece of specific historical evidence (beyond that found in the documents) relevant to an argument about the prompt.
- For at least three documents, explain how or why the document's point of view, purpose, historical situation, and/or audience is relevant to an argument.
- Use evidence to corroborate, qualify, or modify an argument that addresses the prompt.

Document 1

Source: Treaty concerning the Cession of the Russian Possessions in North America by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias to the United States of America, June 20, 1867.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth. . . .

The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice . . . may return to Russia within three years; but if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may, from time to time, adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country. . . .

In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States agree to pay . . . seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold.

Document 2

Source: Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*, 1885.

It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future. Heretofore there has always been in the history of the world a comparatively unoccupied land westward, into which the crowded countries of the East have poured their surplus populations. But the widening waves of migration, which millenniums ago rolled east and west from the valley of the Euphrates, meet today on our Pacific coast. There are no more new worlds. The unoccupied arable lands of the earth are limited, and will soon be taken. The time is coming when the pressure of population on the means of subsistence will be felt here as it is now felt in Europe and Asia. Then will the world enter upon a new stage of its history—the *final competition of races, for which the Anglo-Saxon is being schooled*. . . . Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth.

Document 3

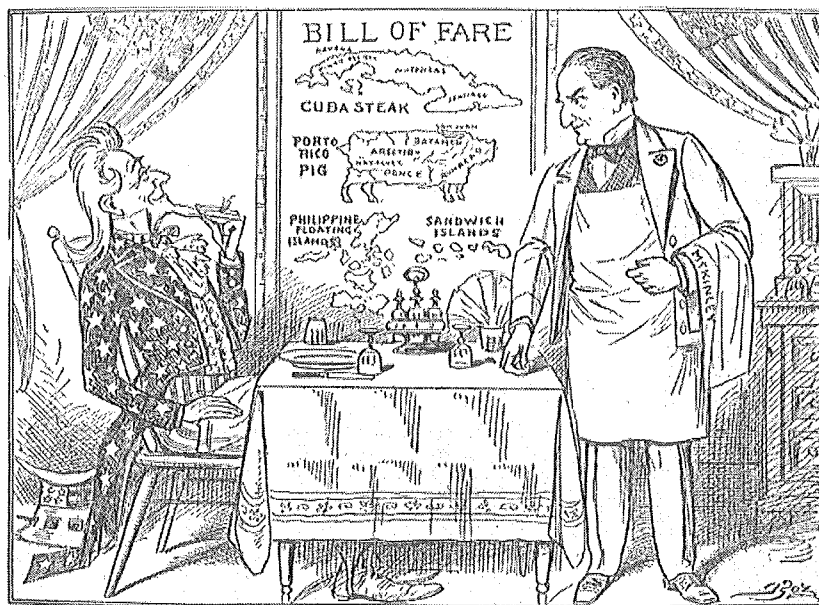
Source: Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power, Present and Future*, 1897.

To affirm the importance of distant markets, and the relation to them of our own immense powers of production, implies logically the recognition of the link that joins the products and the markets,—that is, the carrying trade; the three together constituting that chain of maritime power to which Great Britain owes her wealth and greatness. Further, is it too much to say that, as two of these links, the shipping and the markets, are exterior to our own borders, the acknowledgment of them carries with it a view of the relations of the United States to the world radically distinct from the simple idea of self-sufficingness? . . . There will dawn the realization of America's unique position, facing the older worlds of the East and West, her shores washed by the oceans which touch the one or the other; but which are common to her alone.

Despite a certain great original superiority conferred by our geographical nearness and immense resources,—due, in other words, to our natural advantages, and not to our intelligent preparations,—the United States is woefully unready, not only in fact but in purpose, to assert in the Caribbean and Central America a weight of influence proportioned to the extent of her interests. We have not the navy, and, what is worse, we are not willing to have the navy, that will weigh seriously in any disputes with those nations whose interests will conflict there with our own. We have not, and we are not anxious to provide, the defence of the seaboard which will leave the navy free for its work at sea. We have not, but many other powers have, positions, either within or on the borders of the Caribbean.

Document 4

Source: *The Boston Globe*, May 28, 1898.



WELL, I HARDLY KNOW WHICH TO TAKE FIRST!

Courtesy of the Library of Congress #LC-USZ62-91465

Document 5

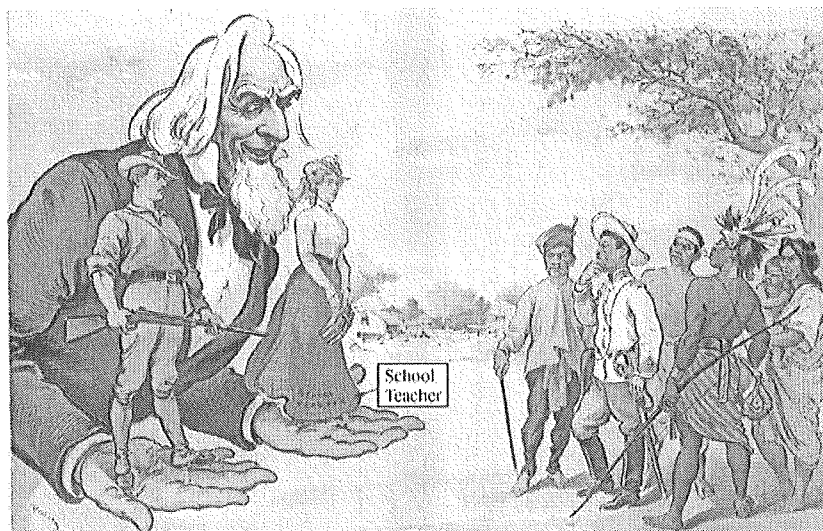
Source: John Hay, United States Secretary of State, The Second Open Door Note, July 3, 1900.

To the Representatives of the United States at Berlin, London, Paris, Rome, St. Petersburg, and Tokyo Washington, July 3, 1900

In this critical posture of affairs in China it is deemed appropriate to define the attitude of the United States as far as present circumstances permit this to be done. We adhere to the policy . . . of peace with the Chinese nation, of furtherance of lawful commerce, and of protection of lives and property of our citizens by all means guaranteed under extraterritorial treaty rights and by the law of nations. . . . We regard the condition at Pekin[g] as one of virtual anarchy. . . . The purpose of the President is . . . to act concurrently with the other powers; first, in opening up communication with Pekin[g] and rescuing the American officials, missionaries, and other Americans who are in danger; secondly, in affording all possible protection everywhere in China to American life and property; thirdly, in guarding and protecting all legitimate American interests; and fourthly, in aiding to prevent a spread of the disorders to the other provinces of the Empire and a recurrence of such disasters. . . . The policy of the Government of the United States is to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.

Document 6

Source: *Puck*, a satirical magazine, November 20, 1901.



It's "Up To" Them.

Uncle Sam (to Filipinos).—You can take your choice;—I have plenty of both !

Courtesy of the Library of Congress #LC-DIG-ppmsca-25583

Document 7

Source: President Theodore Roosevelt, Fourth Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1904.

There are kinds of peace which are highly undesirable, which are in the long run as destructive as any war. Tyrants and oppressors have many times made a wilderness and called it peace. Many times peoples who were slothful or timid or shortsighted, who had been enervated by ease or by luxury, or misled by false teachings, have shrunk in unmanly fashion from doing duty that was stern and that needed self-sacrifice, and have sought to hide from their own minds their shortcomings, their ignoble motives, by calling them love of peace. . . .

It is our duty to remember that a nation has no more right to do injustice to another nation, strong or weak, than an individual has to do injustice to another individual; that the same moral law applies in one case as in the other. But we must also remember that it is as much the duty of the Nation to guard its own rights and its own interests as it is the duty of the individual so to do. . . .

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and . . . the exercise of an international police power.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.***DIRECTIONS:** Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent to which the settlement of the American West changed the lives of peoples in the region between 1865 and 1900.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Comanche Chief Ten Bears, Medicine Lodge Treaty Address, October 1867.

"I was born on the prairie where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. . . . When I was at Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers and the sun and the wind and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. . . .

If the Texans had kept out of my country there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live on is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Acts of the Wyoming Territorial Legislature, 1869 and 1870.

"AN ACT to confer to women all the rights of citizenship.

That every woman of the age of twenty-one years, residing in this territory, may, at every election . . . cast her vote. And her rights to the elective franchise, and to hold office, shall be the same under the election laws of the territory, as those electors.

AN ACT to protect married women in their separate property, and the enjoyment of their labor.

That all the property, both real and personal, belonging to any married woman as her sole and separate property . . . shall, notwithstanding her marriage, be and remain . . . her sole and separate property, under her sole control, and be held, owned, possessed and enjoyed by her, the same as though she were sole [single] and unmarried, and shall not be subject to the disposal, control or interference of her husband."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: A Remonstrance from the Chinese in California to the Congress of the United States, c. 1870.

"When we were first favored with the invitations of your ship-captains to emigrate to California, and heard the laudations [praises] which they published of the perfect and admirable character of your institutions, and were told of your exceeding respect and love toward the Chinese, we could hardly have calculated that we would now be the objects of your excessive hatred. . . .

If . . . you grant us, as formerly, to mine and trade here, then it is our request that you will give instructions to your courts that they shall again receive Chinese testimony; that they shall cease their incessant discussions about expelling the Chinese; that they shall quit their frequent agitations as to raising the license fees; that they shall allow the Chinese peace in the pursuit of their proper employments; and that they shall effectually repress the acts of violence common among the mountains, so that robbers shall not upon one pretext or another injure and plunder us."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Letter from Uriah Oblinger, a Nebraska homesteader, to his wife, December 1872.

"I am confident that I can live when I have 160 [acres] of my own. . . .

[T]he longer I stay here the better I like it, there are but very few old families here. They are mostly young families just starting in life the same as we are and I find them very generous indeed. . . .

I think any one that is not able to own a farm in Indiana or any of the older states and make their living by farming are foolish for staying any longer than to just get enough to leave on. . . . It is going to be rough starting as I always told you but when started it will be ours. . . . Those that are here seem to be as happy as birds. They are all Homesteaders, yet there is not more than one in 25 that has a deed for their land yet."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Interview of Nancy Guptil, a black migrant to Kansas, 1880.

"Came from Middle Tennessee. Heard neighbors talking of Kansas two or three years. We received two or three circulars that told about Kansas. . . . I find things here a heap better than I expected. We have forty acres. We came last May. We built our house in the fall. My husband finds enough work around here to support us. We had plenty of supplies to live on through the winter. . . . People treats us better here than they did there because they is willing to pay us what we work for. . . . I wouldn't go back for nothing. . . . All my people are mighty well satisfied here."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Joseph Nimmo Jr., "The American Cowboy," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1886.

"The Texas cowboys were frontiersmen, accustomed from their earliest childhood to the alarms and the struggles incident to forays of Indians of the most ferocious and warlike nature. The section of the State in which they lived was also for many years exposed to incursions of bandits from Mexico, who came with predatory intent upon the herds and the homes of the people of Texas.

The carrying of firearms and other deadly weapons was consequently a prevalent custom among them. And being scattered over vast areas, and beyond the efficient protection and restraints of civil law, they of necessity became a law unto themselves. It is not a strange thing that such an occupation and such environment should have developed a class of men whom persons accustomed to the usages of cultivated society would characterize as ruffians of the most pronounced type.

But among the better disposed of the Texas cowboys, who constitute, it is believed, much more than a majority of them, there were true and trusty men, in whom the dangers and fortunes of their lives developed generous and heroic traits of character. The same experiences, however, led the viciously inclined to give free vent to the worst passions. Upon slight provocation they would shoot down a fellow man with almost as little compunction as they fired upon the wild beasts."

Questions 4–5 refer to the excerpt below.

“Sec. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress—

- 1) To establish and maintain such balance between the production and consumption of agricultural commodities . . . as will reestablish prices to farmers at a level that will give agricultural commodities a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy, equivalent to the purchasing power of agricultural commodities in the base period. The base period in the case of all commodities . . . shall be the prewar period. . . .
- 2) To approach such equality of purchasing power by gradual correction of the present inequalities therein at as rapid a rate as is deemed feasible in view of the current consumptive demand in domestic and foreign markets.”

The Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1933

4. The challenges faced by the agricultural sector of the economy in the 1930s were driven primarily by
 - a. federal deregulation of agricultural markets.
 - b. improvements in mechanization increasing productivity.
 - c. changes in regional cultures.
 - d. patterns of mass migration.
5. The legislation in the excerpt emerged most directly from the context of
 - a. Franklin Roosevelt's attempts to stimulate the economy.
 - b. debates over the best means to maintain traditional cultural values.
 - c. movement of the majority of the United States population to urban centers.
 - d. the expansion of popular participation in government.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS *Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.*

“The guarantor state . . . under the New Deal was . . . a vigorous and dynamic force in society, energizing and . . . supplanting private enterprise when the general welfare required it. . . . When social and economic problems . . . were ignored or shirked by private enterprise, then the federal government undertook to do the job. [If] private enterprise failed to provide adequate and sufficient housing for a minimum standard of welfare for the people, then the government would build houses. . . . Few areas of American life were beyond the touch of the experimenting fingers of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal Revolution has become so much a part of the American Way that no political party which aspires to high office dares now to repudiate it.”

Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, 1959

“The critique of modern capitalism that had been so important in the early 1930s . . . was largely gone. . . . In its place was a set of liberal ideas essentially reconciled to the existing structure of the economy and committed to using the state to compensate for capitalism's inevitable flaws. . . . When liberals spoke now of government's responsibility to protect the health of the industrial world, they defined that responsibility less as a commitment to restructure the economy than as an effort to stabilize it and help it grow. They were no longer much concerned about controlling or punishing ‘plutocrats’ and ‘economic royalists,’ an impulse central to New Deal rhetoric in the mid 1930s. Instead, they spoke of their commitment to providing a healthy environment in which the corporate world could flourish and in which the economy could sustain ‘full employment.’”

Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*, 1995

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Degler's and Brinkley's historical interpretations of the New Deal.
 - b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Degler's argument.
 - c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Brinkley's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a. Briefly explain ONE important difference between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
 - b. Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
 - c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity or difference between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
 - a. Briefly present an argument why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to greater environmental conservation in the United States in the 1930s.
 - The establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps
 - The creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority
 - The onset of the Dust Bowl
 - b. Explain ONE specific historical event or development to support your argument in (a).
 - c. Explain why ONE of the other options is less convincing as the most significant factor contributing to greater environmental conservationism.

The New Deal and Public Works

More than half a dozen New Deal programs were devoted to building up the physical and cultural infrastructure of the country. The former included roads, bridges, dams, trails, and national parks. The latter included artwork, murals, plays, and other forms of literary expression. Examine the following documents and use them collectively to analyze the New Deal's relationship to infrastructure, art, culture, and politics.

1. Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, *The New Democracy*, 1934.

Our Government is no longer a laissez-faire Government, exercising traditional and more or less impersonal powers. There exists in Washington a sense of responsibility for the health, safety, and well-being of the people. . . . I believe that we are at the dawn of a day when the average man, woman, and child in the United States will have an opportunity for a happier and richer life. And it is just and desirable that this should be so. . . . We are not here merely to endure a purgatorial existence in anticipation of a beatific eternity after the grave closes on us. We are here with hopes and aspirations and legitimate desires that we are entitled to have satisfied to at least a reasonable degree. Nor will such a social program as we are discussing cause a strain on our economic system.

3. Federal Writers' Project interview with a WPA draftsman, Newburyport, Massachusetts, June 25, 1939.

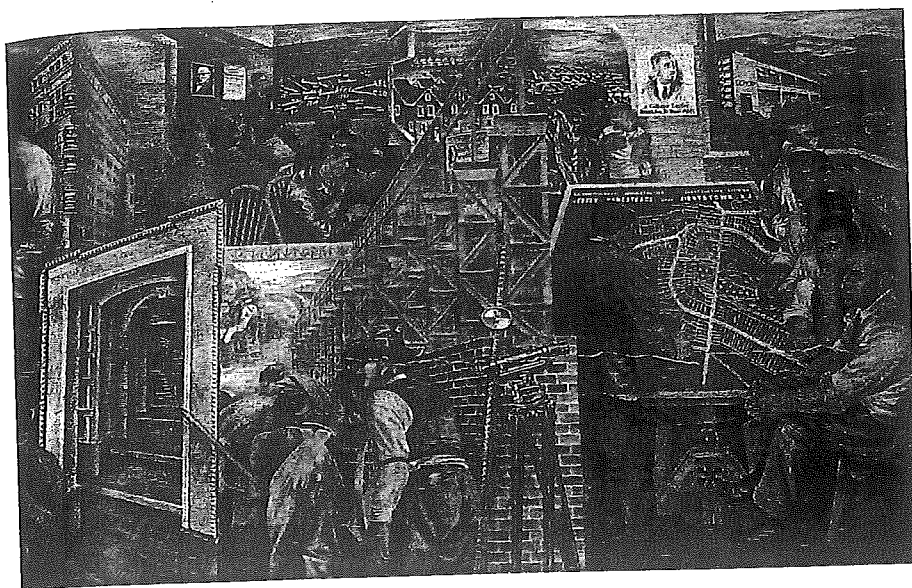
One reason people here don't like the WPA is because they don't understand it's not all bums and drunks and aliens! Nobody ever explains to them that they'd never have had the new High School they're so [. . .] proud of if it hadn't been for the WPA. They don't stop to figure that new brick sidewalks wouldn't be there, the shade trees wouldn't be all dressed up to look at along High Street and all around town, if it weren't for WPA projects. To most in this town, and I guess it's not much different in this, than any other New England place, WPA's just a racket, set up to give a bunch of loafers and drunks steady pay to indulge in their vices! They don't stop to consider that on WPA are men and women who have traveled places and seen things, been educated and found their jobs folded up and nothing to replace them with.

2. Herbert Johnson cartoon, *Saturday Evening Post*, 1935.



SOURCE: The Granger Collection, New York.

4. **Ben Shahn, WPA mural, 1938.** This is part of a three-panel mural commissioned by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and painted at a public school in Roosevelt, New Jersey, by the well-known artist Ben Shahn.



SOURCE: Picture Research Consultants & Archives.

5. **David E. Lilienthal, TVA: Democracy on the March, 1944.** Written by the former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

I believe men may learn to work in harmony with the forces of nature, neither despoiling what God has given nor helpless to put them to use. I believe in the great potentialities for well-being of the machine and technology and science; and though they do hold a real threat of enslavement and frustration for the human spirit, I believe those dangers can be averted. I believe that through the practice of democracy the world of technology holds out the greatest opportunity in all history for the development of the individual, according to his own talents, aspirations, and willingness to carry the responsibilities of a free man. . . .

Such are the things that have happened in the Tennessee Valley. Here men and science and organizational skills applied to the resources of waters, land, forests, and minerals have yielded great benefits for the people. And it is just such fruits of technology and resources that people all over the world will, more and more, demand for themselves. That people believe these things can be theirs — this it is that constitutes the real revolution of our time, the dominant political fact of the generation that lies ahead.

SOURCES: (1) Harold L. Ickes, *The New Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1934), 60–61; (3) Federal Writers' Project Life Histories, Library of Congress, lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html; (5) David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1944), xxii, 3.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What sorts of reasons do the authors of sources 1 and 5 give for supporting New Deal programs? What does the "good life" look like in their view, and how is it connected to the New Deal?
2. What do sources 2 and 3 suggest about possible opposition to New Deal programs? What sorts of public burdens do New Deal opponents envision?
3. Consider source 4. What can we learn from a mural about the spirit of the New Deal? Identify specific elements of the mural and think about what they might signify about the society the muralist envisioned. What kind of faith in the federal government does the mural reveal?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using evidence from the sources in this feature, alongside material from the chapter and from your knowledge of the period, write an essay in which you analyze Americans' attitudes toward New Deal public works projects. If they were positive or optimistic, what was the basis of their optimism? If they were critical, what was the basis of their criticism? From these sources, can you identify a governing spirit of New Deal reform?

Was the New Deal a Reform or a Revolution?

The 1930s Great Depression left a deep imprint on the lives of the millions of Americans who suffered the economic consequences of financial collapse. The familiar images of farm foreclosures, soup lines, and dusty migrants heading west with only a fading faith in the future to keep them moving tell a story of personal and national despair. Many of these disheartened Americans brightened at the 1932 election of President Franklin Roosevelt, whose New Deal programs gave them hope that, as his campaign said, "happy days are here again."

Happier days dawned for some, but not for others. The New Deal did not solve every problem. Commentators at the time and historians ever since have tried to understand exactly what the New Deal accomplished. Did Roosevelt's New Deal reform the relationship between the federal government and the economy, or revolutionize it? Two historians, Carl Degler and Alan Brinkley, pick up this theme and offer competing interpretations of the New Deal and its legacy.

CARL N. DEGLER

SOURCE: Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 414–415.

[T]he guarantor state . . . under the New Deal was . . . a vigorous and dynamic force in the society, energizing and . . . supplanting private enterprise when the general welfare required it. . . . When social and economic problems . . . were ignored or shirked by private enterprise, then the federal government undertook to do the job. [If] private enterprise failed to provide adequate and sufficient housing for a minimum standard of welfare for the people, then the government would build houses. . . . Few areas of American life were beyond the touch of the experimenting fingers of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal Revolution has become so much a part of the American Way that no political party which aspires to high office dares now to repudiate it.

ALAN BRINKLEY

SOURCE: Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 6–7.

The critique of modern capitalism that had been so important in the early 1930s . . . was largely gone. . . . In its place was a set of liberal ideas essentially reconciled to the existing structure of the economy and committed to using the state to compensate for capitalism's inevitable flaws. . . . When liberals spoke now of government's responsibility to protect the health of the industrial world, they defined that responsibility less as a commitment to restructure the economy than as an effort to stabilize it and help it to grow. They were no longer much concerned about controlling or punishing "plutocrats" and "economic royalists," an impulse central to New Deal rhetoric in the mid-1930s. Instead, they spoke of their commitment to providing a healthy environment in which the corporate world could flourish and in which the economy could sustain "full employment."

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify the major difference in the interpretations of the New Deal offered by Degler and Brinkley.
2. What does each historian see as the impact of New Deal policies on America's system of capitalism and private enterprise?
3. What two pieces of evidence from the chapter can you identify to make an argument for or against the revolutionary impact of the New Deal?

10 percent, bringing industrial output back to 1929 levels. Unemployment had declined from 25 percent to 14 percent. "The emergency has passed," declared Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. Acting on this assumption, Roosevelt slashed the federal budget. Following the president's lead, Congress cut the WPA's funding in half, causing layoffs of about 1.5 million workers, and the Federal Reserve, fearing inflation, raised interest rates. These measures halted recovery. The stock market dropped sharply, and unemployment jumped to 19 percent. Quickly reversing course, Roosevelt began once again to spend his way out of the recession by boosting funding for the WPA and resuming public works projects.

Although improvised, this spending program accorded with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, a visionary British economist. Keynes transformed economic

Economic Nationalism in the United States and Mexico

President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal sought to regulate the economy and provide a degree of economic security to American citizens while maintaining the structures of capitalism. In Mexico, President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) also hoped to achieve economic security for his country's citizens, but he took different steps than Roosevelt. His most famous action was to *nationalize* the oil industry—that is, the government took ownership of the industry away from private companies, most of which were based in Europe and the United States. In what follows, compare how each leader describes his new policies.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT "Annual Message to Congress," 1936

SOURCE: Deborah Kalb, Gerhard D. Peters, and John Turner Woolley, eds., *State of the Union: Presidential Rhetoric from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007), 267.

In March, 1933, I appealed to the Congress of the United States and to the people of the United States in a new effort to restore power to those to whom it rightfully belonged. The response to that appeal resulted in the writing of a new chapter in the history of popular government. You, the members of the Legislative branch, and I, the Executive, contended for and established a new relationship between Government and people.

What were the terms of that new relationship? They were an appeal from the clamor of many private and selfish interests, yes, an appeal from the clamor of partisan interest, to the ideal of the public interest. Government became the representative and the trustee of the public interest. Our aim was to build upon essentially democratic institutions, seeking all the while the adjustment of burdens, the help of the needy, the protection of the weak, the liberation of the exploited and the genuine protection of the people's property. . . .

To be sure, in so doing, we have invited battle. We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed.

LÁZARO CÁRDENAS "Speech to the Nation," 1938

SOURCE: Nora E. Jaffary, Edward Osowski, and Susie S. Porter, eds., *Mexican History: A Primary Source Reader* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010), 348–349.

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the oil industry has brought additional capital for the development and progress of the country. This assertion is an exaggeration. For many years throughout the major period of their existence, oil companies have enjoyed great privileges for development and expansion, including customs and tax exemptions and innumerable prerogatives; it is these factors of special privilege, together with the prodigious productivity of the oil deposits granted them by the Nation often against public will and law, that represent almost the total amount of this so-called capital.

Potential wealth of the Nation; miserably underpaid Native labor; tax exemptions; economic privileges; governmental tolerance—these are the factors of the boom of the Mexican oil industry.

. . . it was therefore necessary to adopt a definite and legal measure to end this permanent state of affairs in which the country sees its industrial progress held back by those who hold in their hands the power to erect obstacles as well as the motive power of all activity and who, instead of using it to high and worthy purposes, abuse their economic strength to the point of jeopardizing the very life of a Nation endeavoring to bring about the elevation of its people through its own laws, its own resources, and the free management of its own destinies.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Roosevelt mean by "a new relationship between Government and people"?
2. What were the "economic privileges" that Cárdenas opposes? How did his goal differ from Roosevelt's?

thinking in capitalist societies in the 1920s by arguing that government intervention could smooth out the highs and lows of the business cycle through deficit spending and the manipulation of interest rates, which determined the money supply. This view was sharply criticized by Republicans and conservative Democrats in the 1930s, who opposed government management of the economy. But **Keynesian economics** gradually won wider acceptance as World War II defense spending finally ended the Great Depression.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare classical liberalism and Keynesian economics.

