



**AP[®] United States History
2004 Free-Response Questions
Form B**

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The Examination

2004 AP[®] UNITED STATES HISTORY FREE-RESPONSE QUESTIONS (Form B)

UNITED STATES HISTORY

SECTION II

Part A

(Suggested writing time—45 minutes)

Percent of Section II score—45

Directions: The following question requires you to construct a coherent essay that integrates your interpretation of Documents A-H and your knowledge of the period referred to in the question. High scores will be earned only by essays that both cite key pieces of evidence from the documents and draw on outside knowledge of the period.

1. How and for what reasons did United States foreign policy change between 1920 and 1941?

Use the documents and your knowledge of the period 1920-1941 to construct your response.

Document A

Source: Candidate Warren G. Harding in a speech at Des Moines, Iowa, October 1920.

I oppose the League not because I fail to understand what . . . 'we are being let in for,' but because I believe I understand precisely what we are being let in for.

I do not want to clarify these obligations; I want to turn my back on them. It is not interpretation but rejection that I am seeking. My position is that the present League strikes a deadly blow at our constitutional integrity and surrenders to a dangerous extent our independence of action.

Document B

Source: Charles Evans Hughes, secretary of state, Washington, D.C., November 12, 1921.

The world looks to this Conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. It is therefore proposed that the Conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament. . . .

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Document C

Source: Edwin L. James, European correspondent of *The New York Times*, October 1930.

Officially, our government stays out of world organizations . . . we continue to shy at the World Court. But such things count for less and less. We must deal with the world and the world must deal with us. Let there be an international conference, and imponderable influences bring the United States there. A conference on reparations, we are there. The International Bank is set up, an American is made president. The World Court meets, an American is put on the bench . . .

It is always the case that the American position is among the most important. Such is one of the prices of our power. Few world problems arise in which the influence of the United States will not swing the decision if we take a real interest. Opposition to the United States is a serious undertaking. Our dollars are powerful; there are so many of them.

Document D

Source: "Butchery Marked Capture of Nanking" *The New York Times*, December 18, 1937.

Through wholesale atrocities and vandalism at Nanking the Japanese Army has thrown away a rare opportunity to gain the respect and confidence of the Chinese inhabitants and of foreign opinion there . . . Wholesale looting, the violation of women, the murder of civilians, the eviction of Chinese from their homes, mass executions of war prisoners and the impressing of able-bodied men [have] turned Nanking into a city of terror. The killing of civilians [has been] widespread. Foreigners who traveled widely through the city Wednesday found dead on every street. Some of the victims were aged men, women, and children . . . Many victims were bayoneted and some of the wounds were barbarously cruel. Any person who ran because of fear or excitement was likely to be killed on the spot as was anyone caught by roving patrols in streets or alleys after dusk.

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Document E

Source: Republican Party platform, June 1940.

The Republican Party is firmly opposed to involving this nation in a foreign war. We are still suffering from the ill effects of the last World War . . .

The Republican Party stands for Americanism, preparedness and peace. We accordingly fasten upon the New Deal full responsibility for our unpreparedness and for the consequent danger of involvement in war.

We declare for the prompt, orderly, and realistic building of our national defense to the point at which we shall be able not only to defend the United States, its possessions, and essential outposts from foreign attack, but also efficiently to uphold in war the Monroe Doctrine.

Source: Democratic Party platform, July 1940.

The American people are determined that war, raging in Europe, Asia and Africa, shall not come to America.

We will not participate in foreign wars, and we will not send our army, naval or air forces to fight in foreign lands outside of the Americas, except in case of attack. We favor and shall rigorously enforce and defend the Monroe Doctrine . . .

We must be so strong that no possible combination of powers would dare to attack us. We propose to provide America with an invincible air force, a navy strong enough to protect all our seacoasts and our national interests, and a fully-equipped and mechanized army.

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Document F

Source: Full-page advertisement in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, September 1940.

Mr. Roosevelt today committed an act of war. He also became America's first dictator. Secretly his Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, entered into an agreement with the British Ambassador that amounts to a military and naval alliance with Great Britain . . .

The President has passed down an edict that compares with the edicts forced down the throats of Germans, Italians and Russians by Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin. He hands down an edict that may eventually result in the shedding of the blood of millions of Americans: that may result in transforming the United States into a goose-stepping regimented slave-state . . . Of all the sucker real estate deals in history, this is the worst, and the President of the United States is the sucker.

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Document G

Source: *Chicago Daily News*, November 25, 1940.



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Document H

Source: President Franklin D. Roosevelt, press conference, December 17, 1940.

In the present world situation . . . it is important from a selfish viewpoint of American defense that we should do everything to help the British Empire defend itself.

Suppose the home of the President's neighbor catches fire and he has a length of hose, 400 or 500 feet. If he can take the hose and connect it to the neighbor's hydrant, he may be able to put out the fire. He does not say his hose cost \$15; pay me \$15. He doesn't want \$15, but his [hose] back when the fire is over. The neighbor gives back the hose and pays him for the use of it. If it gets smashed in the fire, the President says he was glad to lend it. The neighbor says he will replace the part destroyed. If the President has got back his hose, he has done a pretty good job.

END OF DOCUMENTS FOR QUESTION 1

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Question 1

How and for what reasons did United States foreign policy change between 1920 and 1941? Use the documents and your knowledge of the period 1920-1941 to construct your response.

The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a well-developed thesis that effectively addresses changes in United States foreign policy between 1920 and 1941 and the reasons for them.
- Presents a strong analysis of changes in both the 1920s and 1930s.
- Uses effectively a substantial number of documents.
- Supports thesis with substantial and relevant outside information.
- May contain minor errors.
- Is clearly organized and well written.

The 5-7 Essay

- Contains a thesis that discusses changes in United States foreign policy between 1920 and 1941 and the reasons for them.
- Discusses events in both the 1920s and 1930s but allows for some imbalance in coverage.
- Uses effectively some documents.
- Supports thesis with some outside information.
- May have errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Shows acceptable organization and writing; language errors do not interfere with the comprehension of the essay.

The 2-4 Essay

- Contains a limited or undeveloped thesis.
- Responds to the question in a general manner; simplistic treatment of changes in United States foreign policy.
- Merely refers to, quotes, or briefly cites documents.
- Contains little outside information or information that is inaccurate or irrelevant.
- Merely refers to, quotes, or briefly cites documents.
- May have minor errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

The 0-1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Demonstrates an incompetent or inappropriate response.
- Has little or no understanding of the documents, or ignores them completely.
- Has a substantial factual error.
- Is poorly organized, and/or poorly written.

-- blank or completely off task

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Document Information and Inferences

Document A: President Harding's speech, 1920

Information:

- Opposition to League of Nations
- Isolationist sentiment
- Rejects "obligations"
- Threatens American sovereignty

Inferences:

- Return to "normalcy," a popular position
- Rejection of Wilsonian vision of a new world order
- Republican rebuff of Democratic Party
- Likely is speaking to an isolationist audience

Document B: Secretary of State Hughes, November 1921

Information:

- Precursor to Washington Naval Conference
- Calls for arms limitation
- Armaments race is costly

Inferences:

- Looks to international cooperation
- Reflects the costliness of World War I
- Harding administration is looking ahead to cut taxes and reduce federal debt
- Wishes to head off a costly and destabilizing armaments race with Japan and Britain

Document C: Edwin James, *New York Times*, Oct. 1930

Information:

- U.S. talks isolationist, but is playing an active political and economic role in the world
- U.S. is influential in matters concerning it
- U.S. economic might recognized

Inferences:

- The U.S. cannot avoid involvement in international affairs even though its role differs from Wilson's vision
- Recognition that Republican Party has followed an independent course that reflected its own interest
- Economic rivalry and political tensions are increasing

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Document Information and Inferences (cont'd.)

Document D: Butchery in Nanking, *New York Times*, Dec. 1937

Information:

- "Rape of Nanking"
- Atrocities everywhere in the city

Inferences:

- Japanese imperial designs becoming more obvious
- *Panay* incident had occurred just a week earlier
- Japanese methods foreshadow Japanese treatment of American prisoners during World War II
- U.S. citizens may need to leave China
- Show how ineffectual President FDR's "Quarantine Speech" in Oct. 1937 has been

Document E: Republican Party platform, 1940

Information:

- Republican Party still basically isolationist in its worldview
- Supports military preparedness
- New Deal is criticized for lack of military preparedness
- Republican Party reflects the "hemispheric defense" position of former President Hoover

Inferences:

- "American First" sentiment is strong in the GOP
- Nominee Wendell Willkie later voices certain views that contrasted with those expressed in his party's platform
- Republican Party is not pacifist and is willing to defend the country when attacked

Document E: Democratic Party platform, 1940

Information:

- Democrats will not participate in a foreign war
- Need military strength so that no nation would attack U.S.
- Will defend the Monroe Doctrine
- Party platform is similar to that of the GOP in foreign affairs

Document F: Advertisement in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 1940

Information:

- FDR circumvents Congress in concluding the Destroyers-for-Bases deal
- FDR seems little different than a dictator
- War may come as a result of FDR's executive agreement
- The U.S. may lose its freedom

Inferences:

- European events are threatening to pull the U.S. into war
- Presidents should rely on Congressional action, not executive agreements
- Presidents should take a hardheaded approach to the "national interest."

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Document Information and Inferences (cont'd.)

Document G: *Chicago Daily News* cartoon, Nov. 1940

Information:

- Many signs suggest isolationist sentiment
- The U.S. is retreating to a "hemispheric defense" policy
- Europe not important to U.S. interests
- Caption cautions: "Pattern for Disaster"

Inferences:

- The U.S. should follow an appeasement policy
- Caption suggests that appeasement leads to "Munich"
- The *Daily News* cartoonist understands what unfolding events in Europe mean for the U.S.
- Cartoon is criticizing a narrow conception of national defense
- America First Committee should reconsider its position

Document H: President Roosevelt's press conference, Dec. 1940

Information:

- President Roosevelt determines that helping other nation's militarily is an effective way to protect America's interests
- Uses the garden hose analogy in arguing for aid to other nations

Inferences:

- The U.S. should aid friendly nations like Britain with a lend-lease arrangement
- Britain is virtually bankrupt and is standing alone against the Nazis
- Roosevelt has just won election to a third term and can afford a more aggressive response to German attacks in Europe
- Cash-and-carry requirements of the Neutrality Acts harmed our friends

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Outside Information for Overseas DBQ, 2004

Republican return to "normalcy," 1921

"Isolationist" term: not fully adequate for the 1920s

- Played active role in world affairs, but not through alliances
- Washington Naval Conference, 1921
- Five-Power Pact of 1922
- Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928
- Dawes Plan renegotiated German debt
- Heavy economic investments in Latin America during 1920s
- Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt repudiated Roosevelt Corollary
- American manufacturers, such as in automobiles, were capturing a larger share of European market
- Problematic tariff policies: Fordney-McCumber Act, 1922; Smoot-Hawley, 1930
- "Good Neighbor" Policy

Japan invades Manchuria, 1931

Roosevelt scuttles the World Economic Conference, 1933

U.S. recognizes the Soviet Union, 1933, largely in hopes of new trade relationships

Isolationist sentiment increases as events in Europe sour and Nye Committee investigations suggest corporate war profiteering during WWI

U.S. Neutrality Acts, late 1930s

FDR's "Quarantine Speech," October 1937

Panay incident, 1937

Munich Conference, 1938

Germany overruns western Europe and invades USSR, 1940 and 1941

Destroyers-for-bases deal, 1940

Lend-Lease plan, 1941

Pearl Harbor, December 1941

Good Neighbor Policy

Oil Embargo of Japan, 1941

"Rape of Nanking"