

Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option C

**C2 The United States, 1917–54:
Boom, Bust and Recovery**

**SOURCES
ACCOMPANYING
SECTION B**

SOURCE 1

From William E. Leuchtenburg, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932–1940

The New Deal left many problems unsolved and even created some perplexing new ones. It never demonstrated that it could achieve prosperity in peacetime. As late as 1941, the unemployed still numbered six million, and not until the war year of 1943 did the army of the jobless finally disappear. It enhanced the power of interest groups who claimed to speak for millions, but sometimes represented only a small minority.

SOURCE 2

From Michael Parrish, Anxious Decades, America in Prosperity and Depression 1920–1941

Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal failed the American people. In six years of effort, economic prosperity had not returned and the Depression lingered. Near 10 million citizens, over 17% of the labour force, remained out of work in 1939. A much larger percentage remained in 1939 as in 1936 'ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-nourished.' Conservative critics of the New Deal offered a simple explanation of this. Too much government regulation, too much reform, and too much radical argument from the President and his administration had destroyed the confidence of businessmen, undermined the incentive to invest, and thereby prolonged the country's economy misery.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

SOURCE 3

From Robert S. McElvaine, America 1929–1941: Great Depression

The military build up of 1940–41 did more to revive American industry and reduce unemployment than any New Deal program. This in not, though, the criticism of Roosevelt's policies that it might seem. It simply means that the deficit-spending, 'demand-side' approach which the New Deal had used timidly worked when employed boldly. Rather than representing reversal of the New Deal prescription, the military spending of 1940 and subsequent years represented a much larger dose of the same medicine.

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SECTION A

Examiner's Specific Advice

Unit 3 essays require a series of skills. These include focusing on the specific requirements of the question, selecting appropriate and detailed historical knowledge, and analysis and evaluation.

First, it is important to understand what the question is asking. For example, does the question implicitly or explicitly refer to a specific time period? You also need to consider the topic that the question is addressing, and the 'key concept' raised by the question. The key concept could be causation, consequence, continuity, change or significance.

Second, you will need to make a series of points supported by detailed historical knowledge. It is important that this knowledge is relevant to the question.

Third, you must avoid telling the story of the events you are covering. A better approach is to break down, or analyse, the events. This could be done by arranging your information thematically rather than chronologically.

Finally, it is important to deal correctly with the 'key concept'. For example, in a question addressing causation, you need to explain explicitly how the factors you have discussed caused the event in question. In a question regarding significance, on the other hand, you need to weigh the different factors and reach an overall judgement.

Exemplar Question

How effective was opposition to the New Deal in the years 1933–36?

(30 marks)

Planning Your Response

In order to evaluate the effectiveness of the opposition to the New Deal, it is necessary to consider the different forms of opposition faced by Roosevelt and the impact of these different groups on the nature and progress of the New Deal. At the end of the essay, you must reach a judgement about the level of effectiveness of the opposition. It is important that this judgement considers the extent of the effectiveness rather than concluding only that it was effective. In addition, you may want to consider whether opposition had a uniform impact across the time period, or whether it was more effective at some times than others.

Plan

One possible way of structuring an answer to this question would be:

- Introduction: list the factors you are going to discuss and provide a brief answer to the question
- The effectiveness of Supreme Court opposition
- The effectiveness of left-wing opposition
- The effectiveness of right-wing opposition
- Conclusion

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

Opposition to the New Deal was very effective in the years 1933–36. First, the Supreme Court effectively shut down some of the New Deal's most important agencies; second, the right wing spent a lot of money winning over supporters; the left wing too gained a lot of popular support for more radical alternatives to the New Deal, and religious leaders persuaded many Christians that the New Deal was not to be trusted. All in all these groups and individuals provoked widespread popular dissatisfaction with the New Deal (1).

The Supreme Court was very effective in opposing the New Deal. In 1935, for example, the Supreme Court shut down the NRA, one of FDR's flagship measures. The 'sick chickens case' came about because the NRA fined the Schechter Poultry Corp for selling diseased chickens that were unfit to be eaten. However, Schechter Poultry argued that the government had no right to regulate their business. The Supreme Court agreed and declared the NRA

(1) This introduction is focused and clear, but it only addresses the ways in which the opposition was effective. There is no indication that it was anything but effective.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

unconstitutional. Because of this the NRA was forced to close. The Supreme Court also closed down the AAA. A year after it shut the NRA, the Supreme Court ruled that the AAA was illegal because it forced food-processing companies to subsidise farming, which they said was unconstitutional. As in the case of the NRA, the Supreme Court was very effective in opposing the New Deal because the AAA was a comprehensive measure set up as part of the New Deal to tackle the problems in farming (2).

The American Liberty League, a right-wing organisation, was also very effective in challenging New Deal legislation. In 1934, their first year of operation, the ALL raised \$500,000 and spent it on a publicity campaign opposing the New Deal. The ALL had cross-party support as it was founded by Al Smith, who had been the Democratic Party's presidential candidate in 1928, and members of the du Pont family, a wealthy family with important connections to the Republican Party. The ALL received big donations from U.S. Steel, Birdseye, General Motors, Standard Oil, Colgate, Heinz Foods and Chase National Bank and used this money to campaign against the New Deal. The ALL were very effective as they had 125,000 members by 1936 and used their finances to support the Republicans during the election campaign of 1936 (3).

FDR was also opposed by people on the left. Francis Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pensions scheme is a good example. Townsend proposed that everyone over the age of 60 should be given a \$200 pension. As a result, old people would be encouraged to retire and therefore there would be more jobs for young people. Also the extra money that the pensioners spent would boost the economy. Another example is the Share Our Wealth scheme. Share Our Wealth was the idea of Huey P. Long. Long was governor of Louisiana and he had introduced a big work-creation scheme prior to the New Deal. In 1934 Long accused FDR of not being radical enough. Long wanted more radical left-wing measures such as a state-provided pension, a minimum wage, free college education for young people and the confiscation of all private fortunes over \$3 million. All of these campaigns were very affective because they gained a lot of popular support for alternatives to the New Deal. Townsend set up 'Townsend Clubs' across America and these had 500,000 members by 1936. More effective still was Long's Share Our Wealth clubs, which had 4.6 million members by 1935. Indeed, Long was so popular that he planned to run for President in 1936 (4).

In conclusion, the opposition was extremely effective. On the left and the right groups such as the 'Townsend Clubs' and the ALL gained hundreds of thousands of members who opposed the New Deal and in the Supreme Court the most important New Deal legislation was struck down. Therefore in

(2) This paragraph is focused and detailed. It also evaluates the extent of the Supreme Court's effectiveness.

(3) Again, this paragraph is focused and detailed. However, its evaluation of the information that it includes could be improved. Notably, the 125,000 membership is not a success for the Liberty League as this is just a tiny proportion of America's population.

(4) This is clearly focused on the question. However, there is no indication that the achievement of the left is so much more significant than the achievement of the right.

(5) The major problem with this conclusion is its lack

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

terms of its legal and popular impact the opposition was extremely effective (5).

Examiner's Assessment

In many ways this is a good essay. However, the lack of balance and evaluation mean that it cannot go beyond a High Level 3. A better answer would consider the ways in which, and the extent to which, opposition was effective as well as the ways in which, and the extent to which, it was ineffective.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

Opposition to the New Deal was partially effective in the years 1933–36. The Supreme Court put up the most effective challenge to the New Deal in the years 1933–36 as it effectively shut down some of the New Deal's most important alphabet agencies. Opposition from the left was also quite effective as it helped to organise a mass campaign of over 4 million people demanding more radical measures. Finally, the right wing was fairly ineffective in opposing the New Deal. They certainly raised a great deal of money to oppose FDR, but they never succeeded in generating large-scale popular opposition and their 1936 electoral campaign failed as FDR won a second term with an even bigger share of the vote than he won in 1933. Indeed, in the final analysis, neither the left nor the right was able to defeat FDR in the 1936 election and therefore in this sense both movements failed. Nonetheless, the left had more success as they forced FDR to adopt more radical measures to ensure that he remained popular. The change in policy that was forced on FDR by the left indicates that they were partially effective, whereas the right made no real impact on FDR or the policies of the New Deal (6).

The Supreme Court was extremely successful in opposing the New Deal in the period from 1933 to 1936. For example, in 1935 the Supreme Court closed down the NRA. The case of *Schechter Poultry Corporation v. United States*, which is also known as the 'Sick chickens case', pitched a small chicken company against the US government. The NRA fined *Schechter Poultry* for selling diseased chickens for people to eat. However, *Schechter Poultry* argued that the government had no right to tell them what to do. The Supreme Court agreed and declared the NRA unconstitutional because it had attempted to regulate trade. The Court argued that the federal government only had the right to regulate trade that took place between different states, such as California and New Mexico, but trade that happened within a single state could not legally be regulated by the Federal Government. As a result the NRA collapsed. This shows just how effective the

of balance.

(6) This introduction focuses on the question in the very first line. Moreover, the use of the word 'partially' indicates that the writer is already thinking in terms of 'how far'. The introduction helpfully sets out the different types of opposition that the New Deal faced. What is more, it also categorises the different aspects of opposition, so the Supreme Court's opposition is characterised as legal, the left's opposition is 'mass', and the right's opposition is primarily financial. Finally, the essay ranks the opposition so the Supreme Court is the most effective, while the right-wing opposition is the least effective and the left wing, although failing to unseat FDR, was effective in the sense that it forced the New Deal to radicalise.

(7) This paragraph is focused and detailed. Moreover, it shows

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

Supreme Court was in opposing the New Deal, as the NRA was the most ambitious part of the New Deal's attempt to reform industry. The Supreme Court was also highly effective challenging FDR's attempts to reform agriculture. In 1936 the Court ruled that the AAA was illegal at the end of the case *United States v. Butler*. The Court ruled that the AAA was illegal because it imposed a tax on food-processing plants was in fact a subsidy for the farmers and the US Government had no right to force the food processors to subsidise the farms. Again, this opposition was highly effective as it ended the government's most ambitious policy for dealing with the problems in farming. Taken together, these two rulings were an extremely effective way of opposing the New Deal, because they ended FDR's most radical measures in the country's two most important economic areas: agriculture and industry. (7).

FDR was also opposed by 'thunder from the left'. One example was Francis Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pensions scheme. Townsend suggested that every unemployed person over 60 should be given a pension of \$200 a month, which they would have to spend. This would encourage old people to retire, thus freeing up jobs for young people, and all of the extra spending would stimulate the economy. A third example is Huey Long's Share Our Wealth scheme. Long was governor of Louisiana and he had commissioned an extensive program of public works to give unemployed people jobs during the worst years of the Great Depression. In 1934 he argued that the New Deal was not going far enough and therefore that a new more radical scheme was needed. Long's scheme included a state pension, a minimum wage, free college education and the confiscation of all private fortunes in excess of \$3 million. All of these campaigns were very effective because they gained a lot of popular support for alternatives to the New Deal. Both schemes were effective as they attracted a lot of support. Townsend set up 'Townsend Clubs' across America and these had 500,000 members by 1936. More effective still was Long's Share Our Wealth clubs, which had 4.6 million members by 1935. Indeed, Long was so popular that he planned to run for President in 1936. Nonetheless, FDR responded by changing policy. The Second New Deal was much more left-wing than the first. It included higher taxes and the Social Security Act of 1936 also introduced an old age pension. In this sense the popular opposition from Townsend and Long was effective because it forced FDR to change policy. Nonetheless, the left never succeeded in beating FDR in the polls. Long was assassinated in 1935 and therefore could not run for the presidency. (8).

The American Liberty League, a right-wing organisation, were very effective in raising money for a right-wing campaign against FDR. In 1934, their first year of operation, the ALL

excellent selection, as it addresses the most important interventions by the Supreme Court, the cancellation of the NRA and the AAA. Finally, the paragraph ends with a mini-conclusion which evaluates the effectiveness of the court's opposition, and in so doing the mini-conclusion directly answers the question.

(8) Again, this paragraph is focused, detailed and evaluative. In addition, the paragraph clearly explains how the left's popular success forced FDR to radicalise.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

raised \$500,000 and spent it on a publicity campaign opposing the New Deal. Indeed, the ALL received big donations from U.S. Steel, General Motors, Standard Oil, Birdseye, Colgate, Heinz Foods and Chase National Bank and used this money to campaign against the New Deal. However, the ALL never became a mass organisation. By 1936 they only had 125,000 members, which is a tiny figure in a country as large as the USA. The ALL's failure to put up an effective opposition is also shown in the election of 1936. The ALL backed the Republican Party. However, FDR won with 61% of the vote, while the Republicans received a mere 37%. Clearly, the right wing was an ineffective opposition between 1933 and 1936 because it got a smaller vote in 1936 than they had received in 1932, showing that it was even less popular than President Hoover (9).

In conclusion, judicial opposition to the New Deal was extremely effective as the Supreme Court was able to stop many of the New Deal's most important measures. The political opposition was also effective, but in a different way. The left did not succeed in stopping the New Deal, or in defeating FDR in the 1936 election. Nonetheless, they were effective in forcing FDR to adopt more radical measures. The right wing were largely ineffective as they had no noticeable impact on FDR's popularity or on the New Deal as a set of policy. (10)

Examiner's Assessment

This is a sophisticated and nuanced answer with a sustained focus and an analytical structure. It constantly evaluates the extent of the opposition's effectiveness. Therefore, this is a good Level 5 response.

(9) This paragraph really focuses on the extent to which the right wing put up an affective opposition. It does this by examining different aspects of the right wing's opposition. In so doing it is able to acknowledge the relative success in terms of finance and the relative failure in terms of mobilising popular opposition and therefore it reaches a nuanced judgement.

(10) The conclusion summarises the main points of the essay and draws them together to produce an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the opposition. It does this, again, by considering the different aspects of the opposition and their relative success and failure.

Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
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Controversies
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Boom, Bust and Recovery**

**Mark Scheme
for Section A**

How effective was opposition to the New Deal in the years 1933–36?

(30 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (13%) (30 marks)

Level 1	Candidates will produce a series of statements, some of which	(1–6)
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Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>may be simplified. The statements will be supported by factual material which has some accuracy and relevance although not directed at the focus of the question. The material will be mostly generalised. The writing may have some coherence and it will be generally comprehensible, but passages will lack clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 3–4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 5–6 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	
<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce statements with some development in the form of mostly accurate and relevant factual material. There will be some analysis, but focus on the analytical demand of the question will be largely implicit. Candidates will attempt to make links between the statements and the material is unlikely to be developed very far. The writing will show elements of coherence but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. The range of skills needed to produce a convincing essay is likely to be limited. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 7–8 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 9–10 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 11–12 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(7–12)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates' answers will be broadly analytical and will show some understanding of the focus of the question. They may, however, include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus in places. Factual material will be accurate, but it may not consistently display depth and/or relevance. The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes will not normally be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate some of the skills needed to produce a convincing essay, but there may be passages which show deficiencies in organisation. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 13–14 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 15–16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 17–18 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(13–18)</p>
<p>Level 4</p>	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response which relates well to the focus of the question and which shows some understanding of the key issues contained in it, with some evaluation of argument. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material, which will be mostly relevant to the question asked. The selection of material may lack balance in places. The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce a convincing and cogent essay will be mostly in place.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 19–20 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 21–22 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p>	<p>(19–24)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>High Level 4: 23–24 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 5	<p>Candidates offer a sustained analysis which directly addresses the focus of the question. They demonstrate explicit understanding of the key issues raised by the question, evaluating arguments and – as appropriate – interpretations. The analysis will be supported by an appropriate range and depth of accurate and well-selected factual material. The answer will be cogent and lucid in exposition. Occasional syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but they will not impede coherent deployment of the material and argument. Overall, the answer will show mastery of essay writing skills.</p> <p>Low Level 5: 25–26 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 27–28 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 29–30 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	

Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
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Historical
Controversies
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**C2 The United States, 1917–54:
Boom, Bust and Recovery**

SECTION B

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

Examiner’s Specific Advice

The Unit 3 Section B essay requires you to demonstrate the following skills.

- You need to comprehend the sources and understand the ways in which they support or challenge the view advanced in the question.
- You must evaluate the interpretations of the sources in the light of your own knowledge.
- You are expected to select information from the sources in order to make an argument that addresses the question.
- You must use your own knowledge to either develop or contradict the interpretations offered by the sources.
- You should treat the sources as a package rather than as separate entities. In practice, this means cross-referencing.

When approaching a Section B question, it is important to identify the debate that the question concerns. In this option, there are two possible debates. The first concerns the origins and nature of the Great Depression, and the reasons why it continued in the period 1929–33. The second debate concerns the economic successes and failures of the New Deal, and the extent to which economic recovery can be attributed not to the New Deal, but to the Second World War.

Having recognised the debate, read the sources and identify which source(s) support(s) the proposition in the question, and which source(s) challenge(s) it. Note that some sources will not have a marked opinion and could be used to support either side of the debate.

Exemplar Question

Use Sources 1, 2 and 3 and your own knowledge.

How far do you agree with the view that the New Deal ‘never demonstrated that it could achieve prosperity in peacetime’?

Explain your answer, using the evidence of Sources 1, 2 and 3 and your own knowledge.

(40 marks)

Planning Your Response

This question relates to the second debate: the successes and failures of the New Deal. The question contains a small quote from Source 1, which is backed up by the first half of Source 2 and is also broadly supported by Source 3. Nonetheless, Sources 2 and 3 offer different reasons for the failure of the New Deal. Source 2 refers to conservative critics of the New Deal who argued that the New Deal failed because the government did too much. Source 3, however, states that the New Deal was ineffective because Roosevelt did too little and it was only during the war, when the government became much more active, that the Depression finally ended.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

Plan

One possible way of structuring an answer to this question would be:

- Introduction: agrees with the view stated in the question and sets out the different interpretations and the different themes the essay will discuss
- The extent of and reasons for the New Deal's failure to solve unemployment
- The extent of and reasons for the New Deal's failure to revive business and industry
- The extent of deficit spending during the New Deal and the war
- Evaluation of the conservative explanation of the 'Roosevelt recession'
- Conclusion

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 1

The New Deal was a phrase used by Franklin Delano Roosevelt to describe his policies and his program for government in the period 1933–40. They included the establishment of Alphabet Agencies which gave jobs to the unemployed, legislation which gave Americans new economic rights and propaganda to boost the confidence of the consumer and business. The New Deal started in 1933 with the Hundred Days, a radical period of legislation which created the AAA, the CCC and most significantly the NRA. However, there were set-backs as the Supreme Court stepped in to rule many of these attempts at reform were unconstitutional. Roosevelt responded with the Second New Deal, a package of measures which were more radical than those of the original New Deal. By 1936 there was a measure of recovery, and therefore Roosevelt stopped spending on New Deal projects. This, in turn, led to the recession of 1936 and 1937. Between 1938 and the beginning of the Second World War the government spent more money on projects such as the WPA and the 'Roosevelt recession' ended. Nonetheless, it was the Second World War rather than the New Deal that brought prosperity back to the United States of America (1).

This is clearly the view of Leuchtenburg, historian and author of 'Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932-1940', published in 1933. Essentially, Leuchtenburg argues that the New Deal failed to solve all of America's problems. Indeed, he suggests that Roosevelt's policies created new ones. The fact that by 1941 there were still 6 million workers unemployed indicates that between 1933 and 1941 the New Deal decisively failed to deal with

(1) This introduction is essentially a narrative account of the New Deal. It contains material that is relevant, but not focused on the question.

(2) The next three paragraphs deal with the sources in turn, rather than as a package. It is clear that the candidate understands the sources, but each paragraph does little

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

unemployment. Finally, Leuchtenburg acknowledges that it was 'not until the war year of 1943 did the army of the jobless finally disappear', again indicating that it was the war, rather than the New Deal, that finally ended the Great Depression and ushered in a new era of prosperity in America (2).

This view is backed up by Michael Parrish, the author of Source 2. For Parrish, the issue is personal: 'Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal failed the American people.' Parrish supports this with a series of damning facts such as the statistic that in 1939 as many as 17% of America's work force – some 10 million people – were still out of work. This is not the worst of it, for Parrish goes on to acknowledge that even those who had jobs were still, as in 1936, 'ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-nourished.' Parrish concludes by quoting right-wing opponents of the New Deal who argue that government regulation and government interference more generally had destroyed business confidence and in so doing destroyed America's best hope for future prosperity.

Source 3, an extract from Robert S. McElvaine, 'America 1929-1941: Great Depression' published in 1984, puts the other side of the argument. It was not too much government, as Source 2 suggests, that was the problem, it was too little government intervention that made the New Deal fail. The New Deal projects were too 'timid', but once America entered the war the government spent billions of dollars and, therefore, accrued a vast deficit and spent their way out of the Depression (3).

From my own knowledge I agree that it was the war that solved the Depression and that the New Deal 'never demonstrated that it could achieve prosperity in peacetime' (Source 1). For example, the government spent \$2 billion on the Manhattan Project (the project which built the American nuclear bombs) alone. This is double the amount spent by the WPA on building projects, and, significantly, the WPA was one of the better-funded New Deal projects. The war gave Roosevelt a reason to borrow large sums of money that he could pump into the economy and therefore to end the Depression. Prior to this Roosevelt had not wanted to borrow money in the long term. This is clear from the fact that America's deficit actually decreased from 1936 to 1938. The 1936 deficit was \$4.4 billion, this dropped to \$2.7 billion a year later and \$1.2 billion in 1938. Deficits during the war

more than paraphrase the information from them. The information from the sources is not supported by the candidate's own knowledge. Additionally, there is no attempt to evaluate the different interpretations.

(3) This paragraph begins to use the sources in tandem, but the comparison is under-developed and brief.

(4) Here, the candidate includes some own knowledge relevant to the question. There is an attempt to integrate this with one of the sources, but again this is

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

grew and grew and it was this that rescued the economy from the Great Depression (4).

Examiner's Assessment

This essay is extremely well written but it does not score highly on either of the AO1 or AO2 criteria. In AO1, the answer would achieve a High Level 2 mark. This is because it is factually accurate, but the focus on the question is largely implicit and the essay lacks a truly analytical structure. In AO2, the essay would get a Low Level 2 mark. This is because the essay does little more than paraphrase the sources. Specifically, cross-referencing is extremely limited, and integration of sources and own knowledge is similarly limited. Additionally, there is no explicit attempt to evaluate the interpretations offered by the sources and therefore this essay cannot be awarded a mark at a higher level.

Examiner's Exemplar Answer 2

It is clear that while the New Deal was a very ambitious project, it never succeeded in restoring prosperity in peacetime. This is clearly shown by all three sources, which indicate that the New Deal failed to solve the problems of unemployment and failed to revive American business. What is more, Roosevelt's 'timidity' (Source 3) in 1937 sabotaged the Second New Deal, which had, until this point, looked very promising. Left- and right-wing critics (shown in Sources 2 and 3 respectively) offer contradictory interpretations of the reasons for the failure of the New Deal, but all agree that it was only after America went to war in 1941 that prosperity returned (5).

All three sources agree that the New Deal failed to solve the problem of unemployment. Source 2 says that as late as 1939 '10 million citizens, over 17% of the labour force' were still unemployed. Source 3 agrees, arguing that as late as 1940-41 unemployment was still a major problem. Source 1 states that it was only in 1943 'the army of jobless finally disappeared.' This shows that even Alphabet Agencies such as the CCC – established during the First New Deal and recruiting 250,000 men in its first year – and the WPA – established during the Second New Deal, and finding employment for 20% of the workforce by 1941 – never succeeded in ridding America of unemployment. Indeed, unemployment only ended in 1942, having fallen

under-developed. The essay ends without a conclusion.

(5) This introduction has a clear focus on both the question and the sources provided. It uses the sources as a package to establish the argument that the essay will develop.

(6) This paragraph cross-references Sources 1, 2 and 3 to back up Source 1's argument that the New Deal failed to bring about economic recovery.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

from 14.6% of the workforce in 1940. By 1944, the war economy needed so much labour that 6.5 million women entered the labour force. Evidently, Source 1 and Source 3 are correct in stating that it was the war economy, rather than the New Deal, that succeeded in ending unemployment and therefore returning America to prosperity (6).

The New Deal also failed to return prosperity to America before the war in the sense that it failed to revive business and industry. The conservative interpretation advanced by Source 2 clearly indicates that this was the case. Indeed, it goes further and suggests that the New Deal damaged business through excessive regulation and interference. Source 3, for different reasons, states that it was the 'military build up' and not the New Deal that finally revived American industry. However, Source 1 indicates that the New Deal 'enhanced the power of interest groups' which may well indicate that it increased the power of business and industrial bosses. The NRA is a good example of this. In 1934, the National Recovery Review Board reported that the NRA favoured big business over small businesses, suggesting that the NRA reinforced the power of big business, rather than disadvantaging it as the conservatives in Source 2 suggest. Perhaps the reason why the New Deal did not revive business is that it did too little rather than too much. This is the view put forward in Source 3. Indeed, this would explain why the relatively small amounts of spending undertaken by the New Deal were unable to revive business, whereas the massive investment during the Second World War finally ended the Depression. In this sense the New Deal could not restore prosperity before the war because it did not spend enough (7).

Further evidence to suggest that the New Deal failed to achieve prosperity in peacetime due to its unwillingness to spend more comes from Source 3. McElvaine, the author of Source 3, states that the New Deal did not do enough in terms of 'deficit-spending'. This is certainly reflected in Roosevelt's attitude towards government spending. By 1936, the more radical methods of the Second New Deal had restored a measure of prosperity to America. For example, unemployment dropped from 25% in 1933 to 14% in 1937. Moreover, the total number of people employed was comparable to the total employment in 1927 at the height of the economic boom. However, at this stage, Roosevelt decided that the New Deal had done its job and therefore

Importantly, it integrates this with own knowledge regarding the achievements of the CCC and the WPA. It reaches a clear conclusion supported by the sources and the writer's own knowledge.

(7) Again, this paragraph cross-references the sources to explore the conservative interpretation given in Source 2. It goes on to challenge this view using own knowledge. It concludes that the interpretation given by Source 3 is more plausible than the conservative interpretation given in Source 2.

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

cut government spending in order to balance the budget. As a result, unemployment spiked and Roosevelt started spending again, raising \$3.75 billion which was split between the PWA and the WPA. Nonetheless, \$3.75 billion was comparatively little compared to the spending during the war. In 1939 government spending accounted for 40% of GDP. This shot up to 80% of GDP in 1944. Clearly, as Source 3 says, the government could have spent more particularly as many Americans were 'ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill nourished' in the period 1936 to 1939 (Source 2). In this way, the New Deal failed to achieve prosperity in peacetime due to the fact that the government would not spend enough, whereas prosperity returned in the war due to the fact that the government worked more 'boldly' (Source 3) and borrowed heavily to finance the war (8).

Right-wing critics would disagree, arguing that the New Deal prevented the return of prosperity because of 'too much government regulation, too much reform.' This is certainly clear during the 'Roosevelt recession' of the late 1930s. Conservatives argue that the Union rights granted as part of the National Labour Relations Act, or Wagner Act, of 1935 made it hard for business to organise efficiently in the late 1930s and this is why the economy did not recover. Indeed, Source 1 alludes to this perspective when it says that the New Deal 'enhanced the power of interest groups who claimed to speak for millions, but sometimes represented only a small minority.' The General Motor's strike of 1936 and 1937 is a good example of the consequent lack of productivity. What is more, many workers chose security and low pay working for the WPA rather than a higher risk job and better pay working for a private firm. Clearly, there were problems with the New Deal's regulation and spending. But even so, there does seem to have been a correlation between government spending and prosperity. Spending during the original New Deal stopped the American economy from getting worse, spending during the Second New Deal brought unemployment down further, and spending during the war restored prosperity. For these reasons, although there is some truth in the allegations of the right, the General Motor's strike of 1936-37 on its own cannot explain the 'Roosevelt recession', and therefore it is more plausible to suggest, as Source 3 does, that it was the 'timidity' of government action during the New Deal that explains its failure to restore prosperity in

(8) This paragraph considers Source 3's perspective that the New Deal failed due to insufficient deficit spending. It backs this up with precisely selected own knowledge regarding the initial success of the Second New Deal. It concludes by evaluating the success of the New Deal and concludes that Source 3's interpretation is correct.

(9) Here the candidate uses Source 2 to counter the argument of Source 3. What is more, it backs up the counter argument with own knowledge relating to the Wagner Act and strikes during the 'Roosevelt recession'. Finally, it concludes, using evidence from Source 2 and own knowledge, that the evidence to support the conservative view is not strong enough to support the claims that it

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

<p><u>peacetime and the boldness of government efforts in the war which explains America's renewed economic success (9).</u></p> <p><u>In conclusion, it is clear that Source 1 is right to argue that the New Deal never succeeded in restoring prosperity in peacetime. It came close during the Second New Deal, and if Roosevelt had kept spending in 1936 and 1937 rather than proposing a balanced budget, it might have restored prosperity before the outbreak of war. In this sense, as outlined in Source 3, the New Deal failed to restore prosperity due to the fact that it did not commit the government to enough deficit spending. Evidently, Roosevelt was not as radical as his conservative critics in Source 2 made him out to be. Indeed, he shared the conservative belief that deficit spending could not go on in the long term. For this reason it was only when America faced war that Roosevelt felt able to spend large sums of government money. Thus, it was the military build up rather than the New Deal that restored prosperity (10).</u></p> <p>Examiner's Assessment</p> <p>This is a fluent and confident essay that would score a High Level 5 in both AO1 and AO2. In AO1 the candidate scores highly because the answer shows an explicit understanding of the key issues raised by the question. Own knowledge and source material are well integrated, with the own knowledge being precise, detailed and focused. In AO2, the candidate scores highly because the sources are used with confidence and discrimination to build a sustained and evaluative argument.</p>	<p>makes; whereas Source 3's view is fully supported by the evidence.</p> <p>(10) The conclusion presents a precise summary of the argument, weighs up the different interpretations offered by the sources and reaches a judgement that the New Deal never achieved prosperity in peacetime.</p>
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Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option C

**C2 The United States, 1917–54:
Boom, Bust and Recovery**

**Mark Scheme
for Section B**

How far do you agree with the view that the New Deal ‘never demonstrated that it could achieve prosperity in peacetime’?

(40 marks)

Target: AO1a and AO1b (16 marks); AO2b (24 marks) (Total 40 marks)

The question will require candidates to compare the provided source material in the process of exploring an issue of historical debate and reaching substantiated judgements in the light of their own knowledge and understanding of the issues of interpretation and controversy. Students must attempt the controversy question that is embedded within the period context.

AO1a and AO1b (16 marks)

<p>Level 1</p>	<p>Candidates will produce a series of statements, some of which may be simplified, on the basis of factual material which has some accuracy and relevance although not directed at the focus of the question. Links with the presented source material will be implicit at best. The factual material will be mostly generalised and there will be few, if any, links between the statements. The writing may have some coherence and it will be generally comprehensible but passages will lack clarity and organisation. The skills needed to produce effective writing will not normally be present. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1 mark</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 1: 2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 1: 3 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	<p>(1–3)</p>
<p>Level 2</p>	<p>Candidates will produce statements deriving from their own</p>	<p>(4–6)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>knowledge and may attempt to link this with the presented source material. Knowledge will have some accuracy and relevance. There may be some analysis, but focus on the analytical demand of the question will be largely implicit. Candidates will attempt to make links between the statements and the material is unlikely to be developed very far. The writing will show elements of coherence but there are likely to be passages which lack clarity and/or proper organisation. The range of skills needed to produce a convincing essay is likely to be limited. Frequent syntactical and/or spelling errors are likely to be present.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 2: 5 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 2: 6 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.</p>	
<p>Level 3</p>	<p>Candidates attempt a broadly analytical response from their own knowledge, which offers some support for the presented source material. Knowledge will be generally accurate and relevant. The answer will show some understanding of the focus of the question but may include material which is either descriptive, and thus only implicitly relevant to the question's focus, or which strays from that focus in places. Attempts at analysis will be supported by generally accurate factual material which will lack balance in places. The answer will show some degree of direction and control but these attributes will not normally be sustained throughout the answer. The candidate will demonstrate some of the skills needed to produce a convincing essay, but there may be passages which show deficiencies in organisation. The answer is likely to include some syntactical and/or spelling errors.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 7 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 3: 8–9 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less</p>	<p>(7–10)</p>

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 3: 10 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	
Level 4	<p>Candidates offer an analytical response from their own knowledge which supports analysis of presented source material and which attempts integration with it. Knowledge will be generally well selected and accurate and will have some range and depth. The selected material will address the focus of the question and show some understanding of the key issues contained in it with some evaluation of argument and – as appropriate – interpretation. The analysis will be supported by accurate factual material which will be mostly relevant to the question asked although the selection of material may lack balance in places. The exposition will be controlled and the deployment logical. Some syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but the writing will be coherent overall. The skills required to produce a convincing and cogent essay will be mostly in place.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 11 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 4: 12 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 4: 13 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	(11–13)
Level 5	<p>Candidates offer a sustained analysis from their own knowledge which both supports, and is integrated with, analysis of the presented source material. Knowledge will be well selected, accurate and of appropriate range and depth. The selected material directly addresses the focus of the question. Candidates demonstrate explicit understanding of the key issues raised by the question, evaluating arguments and – as appropriate – interpretations. The analysis will be supported by an appropriate range and depth of accurate and well-selected factual material. The answer will be cogent and lucid in exposition. Occasional syntactical and/or spelling errors may be found but they will not impede coherent deployment of the material and argument. Overall, the answer will show mastery of essay-writing skills.</p>	(14–16)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>Low Level 5: 14 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth and the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>Mid Level 5: 15 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth or the quality of written communication does not conform.</p> <p>High Level 5: 16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	
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AO2b (24 marks)

Level 1	<p>Comprehends the surface features of sources and selects from them in order to identify points which support or differ from the view posed in the question. When reaching a decision in relation to the question, the sources will be used singly and in the form of a summary of their information. Own knowledge of the issue under debate will be presented as information but not integrated with the provided material.</p> <p>Low Level 1: 1–2 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 1: 3–4 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 1 are securely displayed.</p>	(1–4)
Level 2	<p>Comprehends the sources and notes points of challenge and support for the stated claim. Combines the information from the sources to illustrate points linked to the question. When supporting judgements made in relation to the question, relevant source content will be selected and summarised and relevant own knowledge of the issue will be added. The answer may lack balance but one aspect will be developed from the sources. Reaches an overall decision but with limited support.</p> <p>Low Level 2: 5–6 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 2 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 2: 7–9 marks</p>	(5–6)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	The qualities of Level 2 are securely displayed.	
Level 3	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence, showing the ability to analyse some key points of the arguments offered and to reason from the evidence of the sources. Develops points of challenge and support for the stated claim from the provided source material and deploys material gained from relevant reading and knowledge of the issues under discussion. Shows clear understanding that the issue is one of interpretation. Focuses directly on the question when structuring the response, although, in addressing the specific enquiry, there may be some lack of balance. Reaches a judgement in relation to the claim, supported by information and argument from the sources and from own knowledge of the issues under debate.</p> <p>Low Level 3: 10–11 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 3: 12–14 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 3 are securely displayed.</p>	(10–14)
Level 4	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence, showing the ability to understand the basis of the arguments offered by the authors and to relate these to wider knowledge of the issues under discussion. Discussion of the claim in the question proceeds from an exploration of the issues raised by the process of analysing the sources and the extension of these issues from other relevant reading and own knowledge of the points under debate. Presents an integrated response with developed reasoning and debating of the evidence in order to create judgements in relation to the stated claim, although not all the issues will be fully developed. Reaches and sustains a conclusion based on the discriminating use of the evidence.</p> <p>Low Level 4: 15–16 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 4: 17–19 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 4 are securely displayed.</p>	(15–19)
Level 5	<p>Interprets the sources with confidence and discrimination, assimilating the authors' arguments and displaying independence of thought in the ability to assess the presented views in the light of own knowledge and reading. Treatment of argument and discussion of evidence will show that the full demands of the question have been appreciated and addressed.</p>	(20–24)

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

	<p>Presents a sustained evaluative argument and reaches fully substantiated conclusions demonstrating an understanding of the nature of historical debate.</p> <p>Low Level 5: 20–21 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are displayed, but material is less convincing in its range/depth.</p> <p>High Level 5: 22–24 marks</p> <p>The qualities of Level 5 are securely displayed.</p>	
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**Edexcel – A2 GCE
Unit 3: Depth Studies
and Associated
Historical
Controversies
Option C**

**C2 The United States, 1917–54:
Boom, Bust and Recovery**

Chronology

Chronology: Key Events in *The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery*

Year	Month	Event
1917		Lever Act
1919		Eighteenth Amendment – introduction of Prohibition
1920		Palmer Raids
		Nineteenth Amendment – women given the vote
1921		Emergency Immigration Act
		Emergency Tariff Act
		Budget and Accounting Act
		Sheppard-Towner Act
1922		Fordney-McCumber Act
		Creation of the Debt Funding Commission
1923		Agricultural Credits Act
1924		Johnson-Reed Immigration Act
		McNary-Haugen Bill first debated
		Dawes Plan
1925		Scopes Trial
1926		End of the Florida Land Boom
1927		Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti
1929		Young Plan
		Agricultural Marketing Act
	October 24–29	Wall Street Crash – collapse of the stock market
1930	June	Hawley-Smoot Tariff

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

1931	June	Moratorium on foreign debts
	October	National Credit Corporation set up
1932	January	Reconstruction Finance Corporation set up
	June	Bonus Army march on Washington
	July	Federal Home Loan Bank Act
	July	Emergency Relief and Construction Act
1933	March	Emergency Banking Relief Act
		Farm Credit Act
		Civilian Conservation Corps
		Abolition of Prohibition
	May	Glass-Steagall Act
		Truth-in-Securities Act
		Agricultural Adjustment Act
		Tennessee Valley Authority
		Federal Emergency Relief Act
	June	National Industrial Recovery Act – created the National Recovery Administration and the Public Works Administration
		Home Owners Refinancing Corporation
	July	London Economic Conference
	November	Civil Works Administration
1934	January	Gold Reserve Act
	June	Silver Purchase Act
		Indian Reorganisation Act
		Federal Housing Administration
1935	April	Emergency Relief Appropriation Act
	May	Resettlement Administration
		Rural Electrification Administration
		'Black Monday'
	June	Revenue Act
	July	National Labor Relations Act
	August	Public Utility Holding Company Act
		Social Security Act
		Banking Act
1937		Judiciary Reform Bill proposed
		'Roosevelt Recession'
	July	Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act
	September	Wagner-Steagall National Housing Act
1938	February	Second Agricultural Adjustment Act
	June	Fair Labor Standards Act
1939		Executive Office of the President created
		Beginning of research in the USA into nuclear weapons
1941		American enters World War Two
1942		Executive Order 8802 – Fair Employment Act
1943		Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act
1944		Bretton Woods Conference: IMF and World Bank set up
		Economic Bill of Rights
1945		Death of Roosevelt
		End of the Second World War

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

1946		Employment Act
		Iron Curtain speech
1947		Taft-Hartley Act
		Truman Doctrine or containment
1948		Marshall Aid
		Berlin Airlift begins
		China becomes Communist
		USSR exploded its first atomic bomb
1950-53		Korean War
1950		McCarthy's anti-Communist 'witch-hunt' begins
1954		USA explodes its first hydrogen bomb

Teaching Activities

1. Debate: This House believes that President Hoover's policies prolonged the Great Depression

Preparation for the debate

Divide the class into two teams. Team One will argue that President Hoover's policies prolonged the Great Depression. Team Two will argue that President Hoover's policies played an important role in alleviating the Depression. Each team prepares a five-minute opening statement explaining their point of view. They should ensure that this statement makes general points and supports them with specific examples. The teams choose speakers for the debate.

The debate

Team One begins the debate. The speaker for the team gives their opening statement. Following this, the speaker for Team Two responds with their opening statement. After the statements, the floor is 'opened' and students may ask questions of the opposing team.

The chairperson (the teacher) scores all contributions to the debate as follows:

General point	1 point
Specific examples	3 points
Relevant question	1 points

At the end of the debate, the speaker for each team makes a closing statement, responding to the issues raised in the debate and summarising their argument. Finally, a vote is taken.

The winning team is the team with the most points, regardless of who wins the vote.

Hints

- Team Two will have to formulate a more complex argument; therefore teachers may wish to put more able students in this team.
- To encourage all students to participate in the debate, the teacher should have a collection of tokens of some sort. Every time a student participates in the debate, they should be given a token. At the end of the debate, each student is awarded one vote per token in their possession. This incentivises

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

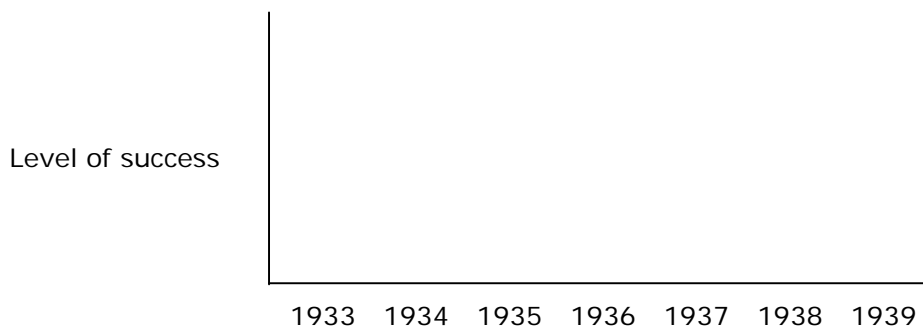
contribution. Additionally, a bonus score of 20 points could be given to the first team in which every student contributes.

2. New Deal or No Deal!

Students struggle to learn the measures of the New Deal. This game works well as a revision exercise. Give students mini-whiteboards. On one side, they write 'New Deal', and on the other 'No Deal'. The teacher then reads out a list of acronyms. Some of these are New Deal measures (e.g. AAA, TVA, REA) and some are made up. Students should flip their whiteboards to show whether each measure is part of the 'New Deal' or 'No Deal'.

3. Graph of success

In small groups, students are given a large sheet of paper. They draw the following axes on the paper:



Groups are also given small cards on which are written the key measures of the New Deal. Students place these small cards along the x-axis according to when the measures were passed, and up the y-axis according to how successful each measure was at promoting economic recovery.

Once the cards are placed, students use the graph to plan an answer to the question 'How successfully did the New Deal promote economic recovery in the period 1933-39?'

Hints

- Students could colour-code the cards to show which aspect of the economy each measure addressed. For example, all cards relating to agriculture could be one colour, and those relating to industry could be another colour. They could then consider organising the information in their essay according to the different economic areas that the measures addressed.
- Alternatively, students could draw vertical lines on the graph to show the different stages of the New Deal (for example, the Hundred Days, the First New Deal and the Second New Deal). They could then organise their essay by time period.

Additional Sample Questions

Section A

Access to History Online Edexcel Unit 3 – C2 The United States, 1917–54: Boom, Bust and Recovery

1. How far do you agree that Republican government policies were responsible for American prosperity in the 1920s?
2. 'Prohibition was a failure.' How far do you agree with this view?
3. 'Old versus new'. How far is this a fair interpretation of tensions in American society in the 1920s?
4. Why did the Ku Klux Klan rise to prominence in the early 1920s?
5. How far was the New Deal hindered by opposition in the period 1933-38?

Section B

1. How far do you agree with the view that Hoover's policies in the period 1929-33 were responsible for the length of the Depression?
2. How far do you agree with the view that Republican economic policies throughout the 1920s can be held responsible for the onset of the Depression?
3. How far do you agree with the view that the New Deal was more effective in terms of reform than recovery?
4. How far do you agree with the view that it was the Second World War, and not the New Deal, that solved the problems of the Depression?

Resources

Anthony J. Badger, *FDR: The First Hundred Days* (Hill and Wang, 2008)

William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932* (Chicago University Press, 1993)

William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932–1940* (Harper Perennial, 2009)

Michael E. Parrish, *Anxious Decades: America in Prosperity and Depression, 1920–1941* (Norton, 1994)

Eric Rauchway, *The Great Depression and the New Deal: A Very Short Introduction* (OUP, 2008)