#### Question 5

Presidential elections between 1928 and 1948 revealed major shifts in political party loyalties. Analyze both the reasons for these changes and their consequences during this period.

#### The 8-9 Essay

- Contains a clear, well-developed thesis that examines how the elections between 1928 and 1948
  revealed major shifts in political party loyalties including both the reasons for these changes and
  their consequences during this period.
- Develops the thesis with substantial and relevant historical information regarding both the reasons for and consequences of shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948.
- Provides effective analysis of the reasons for/consequences of major shifts in political party loyalties
  revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948; treatment of the elections, reasons for shifts, and
  consequences may be unbalanced (discussion of all individual elections is not expected).
- May contain minor errors that do not detract from the overall quality of the essay.
- Is well organized and well written.

## The 5-7 Essay

- Contains a thesis, which may be partially developed, that addresses the reasons for and consequences of the major shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948.
- Supports the thesis with some relevant supporting information.
- Provides some analysis of the reasons for/consequences of major shifts in political party loyalties revealed by the elections between 1928 and 1948; treatment may be unbalanced.
  - o Discussion of all elections not required.
  - o Reasons for shifts and consequences of changes may be blurred.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the quality of the essay.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.

#### The 2-4 Essay

- Contains a weak or unfocused thesis or simply paraphrases the question.
- Provides few relevant facts; or lists facts with little or no application to the question.
- Provides simplistic analysis that may be generally descriptive or addresses only one reason or consequence.
- May contain major errors.
- May be poorly organized and/or written.

#### The 0-1 Essay

- Lacks a thesis or simply restates the question.
- Has little or no understanding of the question.
- Contains substantial factual errors.
- Is poorly organized and/or written.

#### The — Essay

• Is completely off topic or blank.

#### **Question 5 Information List**

#### Election of 1928

## **Basics**

#### Republicans

- Candidates: President—Herbert Hoover (Iowa); Vice President—Charles Curtis (former Senate majority leader, from Kansas).
- Political platform: continue Coolidge prosperity, probusiness.
- Personal characteristics: midwestern (Iowa) roots appealed to rural voters, personally opposed Prohibition but endorsed it as a "noble social experiment," "dry" candidate, supporter of business, self-made man.

#### **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—Alfred Smith (New York); Vice President—Joseph Robinson.
- Political platform: weak, hard to challenge Republican prosperity, tried to charge Hoover's expansion of the Department of Commerce as socialism.
- Personal characteristics: New York City (negative connection among southern, midwestern, and rural voters), Catholic, opposed Prohibition ("wet" candidate), Tammany Hall connection.

#### Results

• Popular vote: Hoover 58 percent; Smith 41 percent.

## Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republicans: loss of working class; voters in 12 largest cities voted Democrat.
- Farmers switch loyalties: not part of prosperity due to post—World War II lessening of demand for farm products and lower exports; Coolidge's veto of farm bills connects Republican Party with unwillingness to aid farmers.
- Democrats: southern Democrats shifted to the Republicans; first break in Solid South. Why? Anti-Catholic, anti-urban, nativist/anti-immigrant sentiments, influence of the KKK.

- New coalition of urban workers and dissatisfied farmers will form; Democratic Party becomes the party of the urban working class.
- End of the "log cabin" campaign; rural background will be seen as a social disadvantage.

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

#### Election of 1932

#### **Basics**

#### Republicans

- Candidates: President—Herbert Hoover (Iowa); Vice President—Charles Curtis (former Senate majority leader, from Kansas).
- Political platform: world depression was to blame for United States Great Depression; belief in "rugged individualism."
- Personal characteristics: attitude toward the Depression was denial, then appeared pessimistic
  and ineffectual; often considered stiff and robotic.

#### **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), governor of New York; Vice President—John Nance Garner (Texas); served as President Woodrow Wilson's assistant secretary of the navy.
- Political platform: promises a "New Deal," "experimentation" to fight the Depression; blamed Republican spending and Hoover's inaction for problems; few specific plans were proposed; basic conservative view of the economy, no radical proposals.
- Personal characteristics: wealthy family background, governor of New York, physical limitations due to polio; campaign inspired feeling of optimism—radio broadcasts, "Roosevelt Special" train.

#### Others

- Socialists, communists, and others.
- Political platform: country has serious problems that the two major parties cannot fix.

#### Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 57 percent; Hoover, 40 percent; others, 3 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 472; Hoover, 59.
- States: FDR, 42; Hoover, 6.

#### Issues

- The Great Depression: blamed Hoover ("Hoovervilles," "Hoover blankets," "Hoover flags," "Hoover cars"); soup lines and street-side apple stands became Depression symbols.
- Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC): new federal institution designed to help banks, railroads and other businesses; RFC left Hoover open to charges that he wanted to help businesses but not the jobless.
- Prohibition (Eighteenth Amendment).
- The Bonus Army: backlash against Hoover.
- Tariffs: Smoot–Hawley Tariff of 1930.

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

## Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republicans: people voted as they were affected by the Depression. The six states carried by Hoover were all in the Northeast, a stronghold of business and banking.
- Democrats: carried all parts of the country including black voters, Catholics, farmers, immigrants, and urban workers.
- Reemergence of the Socialist Party is evidence of dissatisfaction and desperation among the voters.
- FDR demonstrated pragmatism and flexibility, endorsing traditional Democratic themes, such as balanced budgets and limited government spending, while also advocating increased government regulation and planning.
- Unequal distribution of wealth: the rich grew richer and the poor more impoverished.
- Support from progressives: FDR won considerable support from progressive Republicans because of his family name and also adopting many of their issues.
- Unemployment in industrial regions such as the Midwest persuaded many Republican voters to vote Democratic.

## Consequences of Changes During This Period

- Democrats were labeled as "liberals," and Republicans labeled as "conservatives."
- Voters have expectations of presidential/government action in times of economic trouble.
- FDR's win transcended region—truly a national victory. Hoover's six states were all in the Northeast and New England (Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont).
- Marked the beginning of Democratic majorities (House in 1930 and Senate in 1932) in Congress, allowing FDR to win easy passage of New Deal legislation during his first term.
- Women, who had mostly voted Republican since passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, began to join the Democratic Party.
- Young voters supported FDR, and many of them stayed Democratic for the rest of their lives.
- FDR's administration encouraged pluralism (journalist Joseph Alsop said FDR "included the excluded"). Appointed Catholic judges and an unofficial "black cabinet" of high-ranking administration appointees who advocated for civil rights.

## Election of 1936

#### **Basics**

#### Republicans

- Candidates: President—Alf Landon (Kansas); Vice President—Frank Knox.
- Political platform: condemned New Deal and demanded that federal relief programs be turned over to states (Landon admired the goals of New Deal but opposed methods). Democrats' waste, inefficiency, and antibusiness philosophy were impeding recovery; "Landon Slide."

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

## **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York) renominated; Vice President—John Nance Garner (Texas) renominated.
- Political platform: praise and expansion of New Deal; Republicans portrayed as the party of economic disaster.

#### Others

- Union Party: William Lemke; coalition of supporters of Townsend, Coughlin, and Long.
- Political platform: party of the disenfranchised; country still has serious problems that the two major parties cannot fix.

#### Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 61 percent; Landon, 37 percent; others, 2.6 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 98 percent; Landon, 2 percent.

#### **Issues**

• Continued unemployment.

#### Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) endorsed Roosevelt for federal recovery programs that aided the poor (in spite of harm done to blacks by Agricultural Adjustment Act [AAA]). Ninety-five percent of black voters voted for FDR (from nearly 75 percent voting Republican in 1932).
- Northern cities continued move to Democratic Party in 1936, as Roosevelt worked to shift Democratic support "from acreage to population."
- Roosevelt's message molded somewhat by rhetorical challenges by Huey Long, Francis Townsend, and Charles Coughlin.

- NAACP endorsement marked fundamental and historic shift of African Americans from the party of Lincoln to the Democrats.
- Blacks became central element of Democratic coalition ever since, in spite of discriminatory elements of Social Security, Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and National Recovery Administration (NRA). Popular African American criticism of New Deal.
- Cities largely remained Democratic supporters through end of century.
- Roosevelt attempts to pack the Supreme Court—little interference from court after that.
- By the end of the 1930s, a New Deal coalition emerged that embraced farmers, older people, northern African Americans, urban poor, southern whites, and labor.

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

#### Election of 1940

#### **Basics**

#### Republicans

- Candidates: President—Wendell Willkie; Vice President—Charles McNary. Willkie won only on sixth ballot at convention; former Democrat who broke with Democrats over Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA]).
- Political platform: condemned New Deal for "regimentation" and administrative inefficiency. Criticized Roosevelt administration for military unpreparedness. Platform also called for two constitutional amendments: equal rights for women and limit presidency to two terms.

#### **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—Franklin D. Roosevelt renominated; Vice President— Henry Wallace (contested primaries against own Vice President John Nance Garner and Postmaster General James Farley)
- Political platform: praise of New Deal successes; pledged to keep the United States out of World War II, although called for maintaining a strong military as deterrent against aggression.
   Internationalism clearly came to the forefront.

#### Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 55 percent; Willkie 45 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 85 percent; Willkie, 15 percent.

#### **Issues**

- Supreme Court packing scheme.
- Rise of fascism, appeasement.
- World War II, Lend-Lease.

## Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- New Deal programs that helped underprivileged, plus Eleanor Roosevelt's attention to racial injustices (e.g., Marion Anderson's 1937 Easter Sunday concert on the Washington Mall) further encouraged African Americans to support the Democratic Party.
- Ninety-seven percent of blacks voted for FDR, in spite of the fact that large parts of New Deal overlooked blacks.

- African Americans became solid element of the New Deal Democratic coalition—largely true until end of century.
- Weapons sales to Great Britain vastly increased employment, as the nation anticipated United States entry into the war.
- Democrats are labeled as "liberals" and Republicans labeled as "conservatives."
- Voters have expectations of presidential/government action in times of economic trouble.

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

#### **Election of 1944**

#### **Basics**

#### Republicans

- Candidates: President—Thomas E. Dewey, governor of New York, former prosecutor; Vice President—John Bricker, senator from Ohio.
- Personal characteristics: an internationalist and moderate progressive. Dewey endorsed most
  wartime policies at home and abroad and supported continuation of most New Deal programs such
  as Social Security, farm subsidies, and regulation of the banking industry; astute politician; Bricker
  personally disliked Dewey.

#### **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—FDR nominated for fourth term; Vice President—Harry S. Truman, senator from Missouri,
- Political platform: war needed consistency in leadership; FDR respected as war president, revered
  by liberals (minorities, working class, farmers, and urban ethnics) for his New Deal programs.
  Increasingly despised by conservatives for turning the nation toward socialism with the New Deal,
  and for state management of key economic institutions to mobilize the nation for the war.
  Conservative Democrats remained loyal to the party thanks to the addition of Truman to the ticket.

#### Results

- Popular vote: FDR, 53 percent; Dewey, 46 percent.
- Electoral vote: FDR, 81 percent; Dewey, 19 percent.

#### **Issues**

People tired of war, rationing, economic controls.

#### Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Republican conservatives played on concerns about length of war/sacrifices, but they were still tainted by Hoover's Depression-era failures.
- Democratic victory resulted from FDR's continued personal popularity, unwillingness to shift leaders as the Allies neared victory, and southern Democrats' fears that Republican electoral victory would cost them control of congressional committees.

- FDR died on April 12, 1945. Truman becomes president. He was a moderate Democrat who had minimal knowledge of wartime policy and FDR's postwar diplomatic policy (no awareness of the Manhattan Project or most other key United States policies and initiatives).
- Truman was more confrontational than FDR with Stalin at Potsdam.
- Angered progressive Democrats for canceling price controls but continuing wage controls.
- Lacked the personal touch necessary to rally the Democrats in Congress.

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

#### Election of 1948

#### Basics

## Republicans

- Candidates: President—Thomas E. Dewey (New York); Vice President—Estes Kefauver.
- Political platform: campaign of slogans: "To Err Is Truman," "Had Enough?" "Confusion, corruption, and communism."
- Personal characteristics: Dewey looked like "the little man on the wedding cake." Dewey confident of a victory; speeches were bland; among platitudes he uttered: "Unless labor is free, none of us are free"; "You know that your future is still ahead of you"; "Our rivers are full of fish."

#### **Democrats**

- Candidates: President—Harry Truman; Vice President—Alben Barkley.
- Political platform: hold the course. Democratic slogans: "Give 'em hell, Harry." During September and October, Truman traveled more than 22,000 miles on a "whistle-stop" train tour.
- Personal characteristics: Truman was compared to FDR. Republicans portrayed Truman as struggling in a job that was too large for him. Truman came across as a feisty and bold underdog, battling great odds to keep his job. He also appeared to be the champion of the common person.

#### Others

- Progressive: Henry Wallace, former vice president, former commerce secretary; Wallace accused of being a communist because he supported arms control with and a softer line toward the Soviet Union
- States Rights Party (Dixiecrats): J. Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina; focused on states' rights as a way to avoid the race card.

#### Results

- Popular vote: Truman, 49.5 percent; Dewey, 45.1 percent; Thurmond, 2.4 percent; others, 3 percent.
- Electoral vote: Truman, 303; Dewey, 189; Thurmond, 39.
- States: Truman, 28; Dewey, 16; Thurmond, 4 (South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana).

#### **Issues**

- Communism and the Cold War: Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Loyalty Review Board, Berlin Airlift.
- Economic problems: continued high taxes, double-digit inflation, shortages of critical goods (meat, cars, and appliances), and unemployment for returning veterans.
- Civil rights: desegregation of the armed forces; resulted in two splinter parties, Dixiecrats and Progressives, that caught Truman between the conservative South and Democratic liberals, respectively (the right and left wings of the Democratic Party).
- All polls and pundits called the election for Dewey. Newsweek predicted a Dewey "landslide."
   During this election the *Chicago Tribune* famously printed the erroneous headline, "Dewey Defeats Truman."

## **Question 5 Information List (continued)**

## Reasons for Shifts in Political Party Loyalties

- Economic problems: continued high taxes, double-digit inflation, shortages of critical goods (meat, cars, and appliances), and unemployment for returning veterans. Voters also blamed Truman for high taxes ("High Tax Harry").
- In 1946 strikes paralyzed country as workers demanded higher wages. Truman seized key industries, including meatpacking, coal, oil, and railroads. Anger over the work stoppages led to Republican victories in the 1946 midterms.
- The Fair Deal: Truman supported liberal legislation (despite the conservative direction of the Eightieth Congress) such as a higher minimum wage, repeal of the antilabor Taft–Hartley Act, and more public housing. Republican Congress' antilabor legislation like Taft–Hartley Act made organized labor realize that it preferred a Democrat in the White House.
- Truman's campaign recognized the importance of black voters and courted them.
- The New Deal coalition came through for Truman: labor, older people, urban residents, underprivileged people, farmers, Catholics, and northern African Americans voted for Truman, allowing the president to prevail even without full support from the Solid South.

#### Consequences of Changes During This Period

- Democratic Congress enacted some of Truman's domestic initiatives, such as raising the minimum wage and providing more public housing (Housing Act of 1949), but Congress rejected most Fair Deal programs.
- During the Korean War, Truman desegregated the armed forces.
- Truman continued containment policies, which won bipartisan support. He sent United States ground troops to Korea beginning in 1950.
- Dewey's defeat caused a temporary shift within the Republican Party favoring conservatives, which allowed Joe McCarthy and other senators to gain more power, stirred anticommunist concerns, and helped further fuel the Red Scare during the early 1950s.
- Truman's support of civil rights marked the Democratic Party's change toward advocating African
  American causes and attracting black voters, thus moving away from conservative white
  southerners who began to break from the party, leaving a new Democratic coalition of northern
  liberals, urbanites, blacks, and organized labor.

## Notes

- Balance not required, nor is discussion of all of the elections between 1928 and 1944.
- Reasons for shifts and consequences of changes may be blurred.

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Starting in 1928, a major trend in voter loyalties expensed by the tenter appearance that would have important to consequences for the Future of American politics began to become apparent on the national level. That trend was the example of the Domocratic Party. It was recent immigrants, and black voters to the Domocratic Party. It was brought about by long-term party efforts to appeal to those groups and by the adoption of policies that seemed to busor their interests, and it would eventually allow the Domocratic Party to dominate notional politics for most of a deneration.

The Democrats had been attempting to win the loyalty of urban and immigrant noters (value groups that often overlapped) for decades; nost of the great political machines of the early 20th century we re urbanary Democratic, and the Democrats were able to cultivate an image as the

Party that cared about and defended the interests of the urban poor. If The

payoff for this work was clearly visible in the presidential election of 1928, wherein the Democrats, despite a poor overall chowing, wor in every naisr

City in the country. This trend accelerated after the arrival of the Great Depression, which temporarily crippled the Republican Party that presided over

its early stages and gave voters a reason to be loyal to the Party of the New Deal.

The Depression also beiped of the Democrets pick up another important constituency, that of African-Americans. Blacks had traditionally voted (when they could) for the Republican Party, the Party of Frincolny but millions of them voted for Franklin Roosevelt during the 1920s, Partially this was because of his New Deal policies, which benefited the lower classes to which blacks disproportionately belonged, but it was also because he was able to create the impression that he and his Party really

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# AP® UNITED STATES HISTORY 2008 SCORING COMMENTARY

#### Question 5

#### Overview

The intent of the question was to test students' knowledge of the shifts in support for various political parties during the period 1928 to 1948, as well as the reasons and consequences for any shifts. Students needed to know about six presidential elections and the major national events and people involved—in addition to analyzing both cause and effect for the shifting political loyalties—in order to write an effective essay. The question required students to address not just the elections but the developments that impacted the outcome of those elections.

Sample: 5A Score: 8

This essay has a well-developed thesis arguing that Depression-era politics drew "recent immigrants, and black voters to the Democratic Party." The thesis is supported with information, some of which is implicit (the New Deal gave "the impression that [FDR] and his party really cared about [African American] struggles"). The essay includes a good analysis of the tensions within the New Deal coalition that included southern whites. The analysis is sophisticated enough to place this essay in the top category even with only a brief discussion of consequences and elections after 1928.

Sample: 5B Score: 5

This essay has a partially developed thesis. It provides relevant factual information to explain Hoover's shortcomings in addressing the Depression and FDR's efforts to end the Depression. The essay includes a limited discussion of conservative resurgence in Congress. It makes the error of identifying a shift to the Republican Party as occurring in 1928. The essay offers just enough analysis to place it at the bottom of the 5–7 score category.

Sample: 5C Score: 3

This essay contains a weak and unfocused thesis. It contains several simplistic generalizations regarding the frustration with Hoover-era response to the Depression. It includes little analysis (considers social reform and New Deal programs to be the same) and does not connect isolationist and internationalist ideas to a given party or shifts in party loyalty.