

Pearson Edexcel Level 3 GCE

Wednesday 5 June 2019

Afternoon (Time: 1 hour 30 minutes)

Paper Reference **9HI0/2H**

History

Advanced

Paper 2: Depth study

Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery

Option 2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

Sources Booklet

Do not return this booklet with the question paper.

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Sources for use with Section A.

Answer the question in Section A on the option for which you have been prepared.

Option 2H.1: The USA, c1920–55: boom, bust and recovery

Sources for use with Question 1.

Source 1: From a speech made to Congress by President Roosevelt, 19 June 1935. Here he is arguing for tax reforms in the proposed Revenue Act.

Social unrest and a deepening sense of unfairness are dangers to our national life which we must minimise rigorously. People know that vast personal incomes obtained through business come not only through the effort, ability or luck of those who receive them, but also because of the opportunities provided for business by the Government. Therefore, the duty rests upon the Government to restrict such incomes by very high taxes, since the transmission of vast business fortunes from generation to generation is not consistent with the ideals of the American people. 5

It seems only fair, therefore, to adjust our tax system in accordance with economic advantage and reality as well as the ability to pay. We have established the principle of differing levels of taxation for personal incomes. We should apply the same principle to business. Today the smallest business pays the same rate on its net profits as the corporation a thousand times bigger. 10

I therefore recommend the replacement of the present uniform business tax of 13.75% with a graduated rate, starting at 10.75% for small businesses, rising to 16.75% in the case of the largest corporations, with classifications of business size decided in the public interest. 15

Source 2: From a letter entitled *Policies Detrimental to Industry*, written by Roy W Howard to President Roosevelt, 6 September 1935. Howard was head of a newspaper chain generally friendly to the Roosevelt Administration. Here he is commenting on the President's New Deal strategy.

As an independent editor I am keenly interested in the objectives of the New Deal. I have been seeking reasons for the doubts and uncertainties of businessmen. Many are sceptics, critics, and outright opponents of your programme yet there is no equivalent dissatisfaction coming from other sections of the electorate. 20

It is an obvious fact that certain elements of business have been growing more hostile to your Administration. So long as this hostility came from financial racketeers, it was of slight importance. No crook loves a cop. But any experienced reporter will tell you that many successful businessmen, who once gave you sincere support, are now not merely hostile, they are frightened. They believe that your tax bill aims at revenge rather than revenue recovery from business. They also believe that there can be no real recovery until you grant a breathing spell to industry and a break from further experimentation until the country can recover its losses. 25 30

Our system has, up to now, enabled us to achieve greater progress than has been attained by any other system on earth. Therefore, instead of attacking business, you should concentrate on attacking those who oppose the New Deal by claiming it is a revolution in disguise. 35

2H.2: The USA, 1955–92: conformity and challenge

Sources for use with Question 2.

Source 3: From Joseph A Califano, *The Triumph and Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson, A Personal Memoir*, published 1991. Califano was President Johnson's chief domestic policy adviser. Here he is describing Johnson's attempts in January 1965 to secure support for his Voting Rights Bill.

When civil rights legislation was pending, Johnson would make call after call, hold meetings into the night, and make a head count of supportive congressmen. He would scrutinise the tally sheet with each member's name printed on it and the columns for 'yes', 'no' and 'undecided'. It was never too late to make one more call or hold another meeting to secure an uncertain vote. 5

LBJ would sit for hours with his friend, Senate Republican Minority Leader Dirksen, seeking his support. Dirksen enjoyed drinking bourbon and Johnson matched him drink for drink. But the President's drinks had only half an ounce of liquor in them; Dirksen's had an ounce and a half.

An aide told me that he was having difficulty with a Democrat senator. The President asked the aide if the senator's mistress knew how the senator intended to vote. 'The reason the-so-and-so won't talk about his vote is his mistress,' snapped Johnson. 'He's been with the Negro woman for years.' A few minutes later, the senator got a call in the Democrat cloakroom. 'Yes, dear. Well, I didn't realise how important it was to you,' he stammered. The aide said he knew he had one more precious vote. The story reflected his awe at Johnson's vote-getting determination. 10 15

Source 4: From President Johnson's special message to Congress, 15 March 1965. He was speaking eight days after the 'Bloody Sunday' incident where Martin Luther King began his civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

We are here tonight as Americans – not as Republicans or Democrats. Many of the issues of civil rights are most difficult. But about this there can be no argument: every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no excuse for the denial of that right. There is no duty that weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right. Yet the harsh fact is that, in many places in this country, men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes. Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen, turning up to register, is told the day is wrong or the official is absent. And, if he persists and manages to find the registrar, he may be disqualified because he cannot recite the whole Constitution or explain the most complex provisions of state law. 20 25

This time there must be no delay, no hesitation, no compromise with our purpose. We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election in which he may desire to participate. 30

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