

# AP<sup>®</sup> UNITED STATES HISTORY

## 2007 SCORING GUIDELINES (Form B)

### Question 1— Document-Based Question

In what ways did the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson respond to the political, economic, and social problems of the United States? Assess the effectiveness of these responses. Use the documents and your knowledge of the period 1960–1970 to construct your response.

#### The 8–9 Essay

- Articulates a clear, well-constructed thesis that addresses both of the following:
  - Ways in which the Johnson administration responded to political, economic, and social problems.
  - Effectiveness of these responses.
- Employs a significant number of documents concerning the effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to those problems.
- Provides substantial, relevant outside information from 1960 to 1970 concerning the effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to those problems.
- Supports the thesis with effective analysis of the Johnson administration's responses to those problems.
- Is well organized and well written.
- May contain minor errors.

#### The 5–7 Essay

- Contains a thesis, which may be partially developed, that presents one or both of the following:
  - Ways in which the Johnson administration responded to political, economic, and social problems.
  - Effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to America's political, economic, and social problems.
- Employs a reasonable array of documents concerning the effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to those problems.
- Provides ample, relevant outside information from 1960 to 1970 concerning the effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to those problems.
- Supports the thesis with some analysis of the Johnson administration's responses to those problems.
- Has acceptable organization and writing.
- May contain errors that do not seriously detract from the essay.

#### The 2–4 Essay

- Presents a thesis that may be simplistic, confused, or undeveloped; or no thesis is presented.
- Uses few documents concerning the effectiveness of the ways in which the Johnson administration responded to those problems.
- Includes little relevant outside information.
- Lacks analysis; deals with the question in a generally simplistic, superficial, or incomplete manner.
- May be poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain major errors.

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**Question 1—Document-Based Question (continued)**

**The 0–1 Essay**

- Lacks a thesis or restates the question.
- Refers to few, if any, of the documents.
- Includes no relevant outside information.
- Contains no analysis.
- Is poorly organized and/or poorly written.
- May contain numerous errors, both major and minor.

**The — Essay**

- Blank or completely off topic.

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**Question 1 Document Summary**

- Document A. Abraham Ribicoff, secretary of health, education, and welfare, testifying before the House of Representatives, July 1961, regarding the challenge faced by “the nation’s aged” in meeting the rising costs of health care.
- Document B. President Johnson to Congress, March 16, 1964, regarding the need to conquer poverty and calling for an Economic Opportunity Act to expand old programs and introduce new ones. Johnson says the act will provide educational and employment opportunities for the nation’s youth and opportunities for communities, workers, and farmers to fight poverty.
- Document C. Stokely Carmichael, “What We Want,” *New York Review of Books*, September 22, 1966. The article describes Black “freedom organizations” nominating candidates; the organizations’ symbol is the black panther, which represents dignity and respect. Carmichael discusses problems faced by Black families—loss of jobs, starvation, murder—and reaffirms the right of Black men to defend themselves, even with firearms. If Blacks find violence is necessary, it will be in reaction to the actions of the White community.
- Document D. NOW Statement of Purpose, October 29, 1966. Because there had been no civil rights movement for women, the founders of the National Organization of Women stressed true equality, equal partnership with men, and full participation in mainstream society.
- Document E. “The Train Robbery,” cartoon, *Punch*, 1967, depicting President Johnson dismantling his Great Society program in order to fund the war in Vietnam.
- Document F. President Johnson, interview remarks in 1967, lamenting that Americans are showing no appreciation for what he has done for the poor regarding food, schools, and jobs.
- Document G. Letter from a private citizen to United States Senator Sam Ervin, June 18, 1968, expressing disgust with crime, riots, “poor” people demonstrations, and favorable Supreme Court rulings for “a very small part” of society, while the writer minds his or her own business, pays bills and taxes, raises children “to be decent citizens,” and still has to pay for what others are getting.
- Document H. United States Department of Commerce Census Bureau table on the percentage of people (non-Whites, Blacks, Whites) below the poverty level for the years 1959 through 1974. Results show a steady decline in the percentage of all poor non-Whites, but figures for Blacks consistently remain three times higher than those for Whites.

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### Question 1 Outside Information

- 1960 Civil Rights Act, May 6, 1960—strengthened 1957 Civil Rights Act, which had established a Commission on Civil Rights, and provided assistance for Blacks barred from voting in the South.
- June 11, 1963, President Kennedy endorsed civil rights objectives: voting rights, outlawing public segregation, and withholding funds from programs that discriminate.
- March on Washington, August 28, 1963.
- Early 1960s civil rights goals were expanded to combat the links between discrimination and economic inequality.
- Michael Harrington's *The Other America* (1962) focused on housing problems, malnutrition, poor medical care, and walls of prejudice.
- January 1964, President Johnson's State of the Union address called for his Great Society Programs and a War on Poverty:
  - Economic Opportunity Act, enacted August 1964.
    - Job Corps for urban Blacks
    - Neighborhood Youth Corps
    - VISTA—a domestic Peace Corps for teachers
    - Community Action Programs
    - Federal Legal Services program
    - Head Start
    - Upward Bound
    - Medicare and Medicaid
    - Comprehensive Community Health Centers
- Twenty-fourth Amendment to Constitution outlawing poll tax ratified January 1964.
- July 2, 1964, President Johnson took the lead on a Civil Rights Act: prohibitions on discrimination and bias in funded programs, employment, and places of public accommodation; funds for school desegregation; establishment of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
- Spring 1964, Freedom Summer Project: established freedom schools, freedom parties in the South, including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.
- Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam and established the Organization of Afro-American Unity.
- March from Selma to Montgomery, March 1965: Bloody Sunday, March 27; marchers called for voting rights legislation.
- Voting Rights Act, August 1965, provided for federal registrars and outlawed discriminatory tests for voter registration.
- Urban unrest, 1965 to 1968: Blacks demanded jobs, housing, health care, public transportation, curbs on police abuses, and an end to white racism; Martin Luther King Jr. challenged the impact of the Vietnam War on the War on Poverty.
- White backlash against Black gains and urban unrest grew in mid-1960s to the 1970s.
- Vietnam War:
  - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, August 1964.
  - By 1967 there were nearly half a million troops in Southeast Asia.
  - War costs exceeded \$21 billion per year, leading to a 10 percent tax increase, raids on the Social Security fund, inflation, and cuts in Great Society programs.
  - Tet Offensive, January 1968, shattered the aura of American invincibility and prospects of victory.

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**Question 1 Outside Information (continued)**

- Johnson faced growing opposition from the antiwar movement and a “credibility gap.”
- Many domestic programs were not sustained or were diminished because of struggles among competing groups and diversion of funds to the war effort.
- March 31, 1968, Johnson declined to run for reelection; he ended bombing in Vietnam and initiated talks with North Vietnam.
- Parallel trends, 1964–1967:
  - Berkeley Free Speech Movement.
  - Haight-Ashbury, the counterculture, and student strikes.
  - Black Power Movement, Chicano Movement, American Indian Movement, and Women’s Liberation Movement.
  - Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), led to formation of National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. NOW focused on laws against sex discrimination and supporting maternity leaves and day-care centers; opposed laws against birth control and abortion; and sought passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Assassinations, spring 1968: Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4; Robert F. Kennedy on June 4.
- Violence-plagued Democratic National Convention, Chicago, August 1968, nominated Vice President Hubert Humphrey, who was identified closely with the unpopular war, for president.
- August 1970, NOW called for a Women’s Strike for Equality, while a major Chicano anti-war demonstration in East Los Angeles was broken up by police violence, a clash repeated in January 1971.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

1A

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The 1960's in the United States was a decade of upheaval, turmoil, and revolution. Beginning with Kennedy, the youngest President in the nation's history, an era of sexual and drug revolutions began. Race riots, student protests, anti-war demonstrations and beat poets were all common. Lyndon B. Johnson, a brilliant leader, had the misfortune of taking over the white took over the White House upon Kennedy's assassination. He had the misfortune of inheriting the Vietnam War, a foreign policy blunder which would stain his administration. Though Lyndon B. Johnson passed progressive legislature and engineered the Great Society programs, his failure overseas perpetually overshadowed his domestic successes. Thus, though Johnson had some successes in dealing with ~~domestic~~ internal domestic and social problems he was unable to effectively navigate the Vietnam War and the political landscape of the 1960's as a whole.

Johnson recognized Americans' need for government support. Specifically, he ~~was~~ constructed a plan for the Great Society programs, effectively a watered-down continuation of Roosevelt's New Deal. As Abraham Ribicoff, testified before the House of Representatives in 1961, "With life

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1A

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spans lengthened and medical science breaking into undreamed realms of discovery," an important question arose. How exactly will society handle the growing population of seniors? Is it the government's responsibility to provide aid? And, more specifically, "how to meet the mounting costs of health care." Johnson's Great Society programs were aimed at finding an effective solution to these questions, and poverty and dispare in the third class as a whole. His Creation, Medicare survives to this day, providing the elderly with necessary funds to counter the ~~paper~~ perpetually increasing cost of pharmaceuticals. In addition, his program; Medicaid provides support to the poor, helping them maintain at least a basic standard of living and health care. Moreover, in response to heightening racial tensions Johnson avidly supported the Civil Rights act of 1964. It effectively called for the end of employer discrimination against employees and established the Equal Opportunities Commission. Johnson, in a message to Congress expressed his support for the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 zealously. Using his refined oratory skills he called for support

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of this act which would "give almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop skills, continue education, and find useful work." In essence, his reforms were effective and did initiate a decrease in poverty (as evident by the consistent decrease of people ~~below~~ below the poverty line from 1959 to 1969). However, it is rather unfortunate that his moderate domestic successes in dealing with prominent social and economic issues was, in effect, stunted by the Vietnam War. The United States in 1945, initially entered Vietnam as advisors and general overseers. It was not until the Johnson administration that the Vietnam War had spiraled out of control. Following the Tet offensive, public support for the war began to dwindle. Specifically, with the rise of hippies, and an anti-authoritarian youth culture, war efforts were met with harsh protests and demonstrations. It was during Johnson's presidency that the phrase "don't trust anyone over 30" was coined, and rebellious youths were only further infuriated by the draft, forcing involuntary service in the war. (though college attendance exempted young men from being drafted). Johnson



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faced a wave of disapproval, and despite his efforts to improve Americans' quality of life he continually lost support. Johnson had "tried to make it possible for every child of every color to grow up in a nicer house, ... to attend a decent school" and he got very little thanks in return. The cartoon, the Train Robbery, <sup>(from 1967)</sup> exemplifies the tragedy of the times. Johnson's valient efforts in creating the Great Society are being symbolically destroyed and fed to the flames of the Vietnam war. Moreover, with falling public support for the war in Vietnam, the decades of the 60's was wrought with class and racial struggles. Johnson's administration, bogged down in Vietnam was unable to effectively deal with continual race riots, "poor" people ~~and~~ demonstrations, or the rise of militant, and often violent "black" freedom organizations". One <sup>such</sup> example can be found in the rise of the Black Muslims, led by Malcom X. In 1968, with the assassination of Martin Luther King, the struggle for racial equality turned violent. ~~The cartoon~~ <sup>Stokely Carmichael supported the idea</sup> ~~was developed~~ that the black man had the right "to defend themselves when threatened or attacked" ~~and he may also~~

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need a gun." Thus, with the Johnson administration there was a decrease in public satisfaction. Blacks, the poor, and women (who's cause had been perpetually overlooked since the birth of the abolitionist movement & who felt there had ~~been~~ been "no civil right movement to speak for ~~women~~ women, as summarized by a NOW statement) were unable to appease frictions, and everywhere demonstrations occurred.

Thus, ~~upon~~ as Johnson took office following Kennedy's meager 1,000 days in office he was forced to deal with not only domestic and social issues, but the Vietnam War abroad. Though he successfully created the Great Society, strive to increase medical care, and <sup>generally improve</sup> ~~improve~~ living conditions of the poor and old, his efforts were ~~also~~ tainted by the disastrous war overseas. ~~His~~ His complete ineffectiveness in getting out of Vietnam thus also caused only moderate success in his social and economic programs. ~~So~~ In an epitomy of the devastating effect the Vietnam War had on <sup>the effectiveness of</sup> his administration, Johnson announced on national television that he would not run for re-election.

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1B / of 4

As Lyndon B. Johnson ascended to presidency after the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, Johnson met various difficulties during the era of turbulence. ~~Although Lyndon B. Johnson's administration tried~~ Many African Americans were calling for Civil Rights, many poor people needed governmental support, and the conflict in Vietnam against communism was intensifying. In trying to solve these problems, Lyndon B. Johnson was willing to use the power of the federal government; however, many of these were limited and often contradicted by ~~the Vietnam War~~, leading more and more to unrest and turbulence.

Lyndon B. Johnson, following the precedents Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, thought that the government should exert great power for the welfare of the U.S. citizens. In his message to Congress in 1964, Johnson clearly affirmed that "it is possible to conquer poverty." He thought that the government needed to "give almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop a comprehensive plan to fight its own poverty." While submitting the Economic Opportunity Act, He also passed several other reform measures, such as VISTA, and responding to Abraham Ribicoff, secretary of health, that "the nation's

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aged how to face another aspect of insecurity: how to meet the mounting costs of health care. Johnson passed Medicare for the elderly and Medicaid for the poor, a milestone of American social welfare programs. In addition, he was willing to pass several Civil Rights measures, such as the Voting Rights Act of 1965, to provide equality for social minorities and further ensure the welfare for all Americans.

Nevertheless, many of these actions were sometimes limited and contradicted as the U.S. met the toughest political crisis against ~~the spread~~ the spread of Communism in Vietnam. Johnson's administration believed in the domino theory and the U.S.'s obligation to block such communist encroachments against ~~the~~ the free nation, and Johnson began to send huge numbers of troops to Vietnam. As Document E depicts, as the U.S. began a war in Vietnam, such an act costed economic development. The "Great Society" plan, as Johnson named it, faltered as the administration needed to fuel the tremendous costs of soldiers in Vietnam. Prices soared, leading to inflation, and ~~such~~ many poor people had to suffer. Such an economic crisis also limited the Civil Rights legislations for African Americans.



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~~1~~ According to the United States Department of Commerce Census Bureau, from 1959 to 1974, Blacks and all non-whites' below poverty level scored ~~the~~ extremely higher than those of Whites, which remained only around ten percent. In addition, while some of the Civil Rights legislations might have passed, many African Americans had to suffer racial inequality and violence. Many ~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> such as in Birmingham, met violent opposition ~~despite~~ <sup>despite</sup> it from Whites, and many African Americans were now getting tired of such opposition and reluctance of the government. As a result, drifting away from the original non-violent protests of Martin Luther King Jr, to a more violent and rigorous movements, such as Black Power. Much of this resulted from economic hardships and limits of governmental support, as Stokely Carmichael, leader of the SNCC and supporter of the Black Power movements, asserted <sup>the cause</sup> in his article, "What We Want": "Responsibility for the use of violence by Black men... lies with the white community."

Blacks were not the only ones to protest. Witnessing the deadliest war dragging on, many whites also protested. Student groups such as SDS, calling themselves the "New Left, violently opposed the American intervention in Vietnam. All

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these led to chaos and insecurity during the 1960s. Even Lyndon B. Johnson, seeing all the violent protests and the failure of his "Great Society plan" ~~failed~~<sup>investigated</sup> in an interview in 1967: "How is it possible that all these people could be so ungrateful after I have given them so much?" But for many Americans living in such an era of turbulence were tired of all the menace and chaos, as a letter from private citizen to Senator Ervin wrote, "I'm sick of crime everywhere, I'm sick of riots, I'm sick of 'poor people' demonstrations, ... I'm sick of the lack of law enforcement."

Although well-intentioned, the "Great Society" plan of Johnson to solve ~~part~~ various problems faltered as Johnson met the Vietnam War. Sick and tired of such insecurity and violence, American people then turned more to social order and conservatism, leading to the election of a conservative president, Richard Nixon in 1968.

Circle the Section II question number you are answering on this page.

1C

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President Lyndon B. Johnson envisioned furthering Kennedy's "war on poverty" with a "new Great Society." Johnson's lack of control over the social and political movements during his tenure undermined this vision ~~and~~ however. President Johnson did implement Acts to help society, but the conflict in Vietnam and the intensified civil rights movement hurt his push.

President Johnson's vision of giving "almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop skills," as he preached to congress, was clearly evident in his Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. ~~The act,~~ ~~which~~ Johnson's response to fighting the economic problems was ~~inconsistent~~ ~~not~~ in many ways. ~~As Abraham Ribicoff~~ While Johnson's Economic Opportunity Act helped the youth, it failed to address the senior citizens. As Abraham Ribicoff said, the "mounting costs of health care" was a burden on the senior citizens. In the grand scope, Johnson helped the current working class, as seen by the decrease in ~~those~~ ~~but~~ white and non-white persons below the poverty line. ~~On the other hand,~~ ~~the table indicates that~~ During '64 - '69, ~~during~~ Johnson's administration, blacks saw a significant percentage drop in those below the poverty line. There is, no doubt that President Johnson helped some Americans cope with poverty, but Johnson also left out many other classes from the picture. As seen in Document E, many felt that the Vietnam war was destroying

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1C

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America's society. By fighting this costly war, both in terms of money and man power, many were angered by the draft and death toll from ~~the~~ the war. The cartoon depicts the Johnson's goal of a "great society" falling to pieces in part from the Vietnam war. By sending America's youth off to war, and getting America involved in this conflict, many felt that Johnson was contradicting and hurting his Great Society.

Johnson's term in office ~~was marked by~~ is noted as a period of huge social movements. Beginning with the student movements in Berkeley to the Black Panthers and finally NOW, Johnson's presidency was marked with social upheaval. Johnson's inability to deal with the crisis of the Black Panthers epitomized his inability to respond to actions. As Stokely Carmichael wrote "Responsible for the use of violence by black men ... lies with the white community." And exactly as Carmichael said, it did. When a Black Panther leader was arrested on supposed ~~that~~ <sup>murder</sup> charges, it not only rallied the black panthers but many other movements, all under the banner of "free Huey!" The letter from a private citizen to Senator Sam Ervin shows the anger over the "lack of law enforcement" by the president. Instead of intervening, ~~with~~ Johnson did nothing and let the riots and crimes go unheeded. The NOW statement of purpose cites this "revolution of



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human rights now taking place" as one of the reasons why it was created. This quote shows the chaos and uncontrolled number of riot rocking ~~the~~ the country. Johnson did little to stop it, and his lack of response hurt the social networks of ~~the~~ America. As the private citizen continued to write, he was "sick of the US supreme court ruling for the good of a very small part rather than the whole of our society." This sentiment that a handful of groups, the student movement, black Panthers and NOW ~~domin~~ ~~in~~ ~~particular,~~ were seemingly controlling society was prevalent throughout. ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~average~~ ~~American~~ did not support many of these ~~radical~~ radical movements.

President Lyndon B. Johnson did help the financial situation of the ~~war~~ economy, but his lack of response to the social movements that were hurting the country greatly ~~then~~ destroyed his position. Had Johnson acted in response to these movements, then his presidency would be much more successful. His lack of action angered the majority that a minority groups were causing this ruckus. ~~At~~ Johnson's failure in properly dealing with Vietnam also further his ineffectiveness. Johnson did little to the political upheaval of the war, and in a fitting end, he ~~retir~~ resigned with never completing the mission.

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**2007 SCORING COMMENTARY (Form B)**

**Question 1**

**Sample: 1A**  
**Score: 8**

This nicely argued essay has a good thesis and a tight, careful analysis that balances the tension between policy initiatives and the demands of the Vietnam War. It effectively mobilizes nearly all of the documents, with keen insight and analysis (e.g., the discussion of the cartoon and the Ribicoff document). The student also includes considerable outside information, such as Medicare, Medicaid, and race relations. The essay is well organized and well written, with no significant errors.

**Sample: 1B**  
**Score: 6**

While this essay begins with a somewhat imprecise thesis statement, the student develops a clearer thesis, culminating in a strong conclusion. The essay has relevant outside information and places events in historical context. On balance, the primarily descriptive nature of the essay placed it in the middle score category.

**Sample: 1C**  
**Score: 4**

This essay has a simplistic thesis, contains very little analysis, and quotes extensively from the documents. Although the student correctly interprets the table in Document H and ties it to the cartoon, the assertion that President Johnson left “other classes” out of his anti-poverty programs is incorrect. The essay also incorrectly claims that Johnson’s economic policy was inconsistent because Ribicoff noted mounting medical costs. Lack of outside information and the limited analysis kept this essay out of the middle score range.