

▼ Franklin Delano Roosevelt



▼ Roosevelt campaign banner

FDR Offers Relief and Recovery

Objectives

- Analyze the impact Franklin D. Roosevelt had on the American people after becoming President.
- Describe the programs that were part of the first New Deal and their immediate impact.
- Identify critical responses to the New Deal.

Terms and People

Franklin D. Roosevelt	CCC
Eleanor Roosevelt	NRA
New Deal	PWA
fireside chat	Charles Coughlin
FDIC	Huey Long
TVA	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Connect Ideas Fill in a chart like the one below with the problems that FDR faced and the steps he took to overcome them.

FDR Tackles Tough Problems	
Problem	FDR's Policy
Falling banks	

Vocabulary Builder

Use the information below and the following resource to teach students the high-use word from this section. Teaching Resources, Vocabulary Builder, p. 11

High-Use Word	Definition and Sample Sentence
ensure	v. to make safe; guarantee Many Americans worked in government programs that could ensure them an income.

WITNESS HISTORY

Overcoming Fear

Franklin D. Roosevelt's March 1933 inauguration came at a somber moment in American history. The U.S. economy had hit rock bottom. Many Americans wondered if they would ever find work again. With the first words of his Inaugural Address, FDR reassured the American people:

"This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

Why It Matters The Great Depression challenged the faith of Americans that democracy could handle the crisis. Faced with similar circumstances, people in Germany, Italy, and Japan had turned to dictators to deliver them from despair. The New Deal had great significance because America's response to the Great Depression proved that a democratic society could overcome the challenges presented by the severe economic crisis. **Section Focus Question:** How did the New Deal attempt to address the problems of the depression?

Roosevelt Takes Charge

In 1928, Herbert Hoover had almost no chance of losing his bid for the presidency. In 1932 however, Hoover had almost no chance of winning reelection. The depression had taken its toll. About 25 percent of the population was unemployed. Bank failures had wiped out peoples' savings. The hungry waited on long lines at soup kitchens.

Americans were ready for a change. In July of 1932, the relatively unknown governor of New York, **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, accepted the Democratic Party's nomination for President.

Roosevelt Overcame Obstacles Strangely enough, Americans had chosen a presidential candidate who had never known economic hardship. As a child, Franklin Delano Roosevelt had enjoyed all the privileges of an upper-class upbringing, including education at elite schools and colleges. From his parents and teachers, FDR gained a great deal of self-confidence and a belief that public service was a noble calling.

In 1905, Franklin married Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor Wood. In time, Eleanor would become First Lady.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, FDR was elected to the New York State election to the New York State Secretary of the Navy. In 1912, FDR was the vice-presidential nominee. Although FDR was not the rising star of the party, he was still a prominent figure.

Then, in the summer of 1919, FDR fell off his boat into the chilly water. He was struck with a high fever and severe pneumonia. Roosevelt was diagnosed with tuberculosis. He never fully recovered from the illness. FDR did not allow his physical condition to discourage him. He encouraged Roosevelt to run for governor of New York and eventually for the Democrats' presidential nomination.

Voters Elect a New President In 1932, voters elected a new president. Many voters had only a vague idea of how the federal government would provide relief to Americans. They wanted to know which one worked best.

Primary Source

"The country demands bold, persistent reforms and to try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try again."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt

The 1932 election campaign was a contest between two philosophies of government. Herbert Hoover believed that depression relief should be provided by the federal government. Roosevelt believed that depression relief should be provided by state and private governments. As Hoover's popularity declined, Roosevelt's popularity grew. Roosevelt's support of those who opposed Hoover's approach to the economy led to his victory, defeating Hoover by a landslide.

Americans had to wait for Roosevelt's election, in November, in March 1933. Mean-while, thousands of banks collapsed. What would Roosevelt do? The experts did not know.

Putting Together a Word The New Deal, FDR sought to help men and women. Among the beneficiaries were professionals and academics.

Connect to Your World

The Polio Vaccine From the late nineteenth century, polio was probably the most famous disease of the twentieth century, though it was not until the 1950s that polio was a major public health problem.

Polio is a very contagious disease. People who contract the disease may have no symptoms or none at all. In some cases, the symptoms can be severe, such as muscle weakness or, in some cases, paralysis.

STORY

Fear

well's March 1933 inauguration came at a time in American history. The U.S. economy had hit hard and many Americans wondered if they would ever recover. With the first words of his Inaugural Address, Roosevelt addressed the American people:

...nently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth and boldly. Nor need we shrink from hardships or conditions in our country today. This great crisis, as it has endured, will revive and will give life to all, let me assert my firm belief that these things have to be done, and that we have to have fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to retreat into advance.”

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

Recovery

The Great Depression challenged the faith of Americans during the crisis. Faced with similar circumstances, Germany and Japan had turned to dictators to lead. The New Deal had great significance because it showed that a democratic government could address the severe economic challenges presented by the depression.

Change

...almost no chance of losing his bid for the presidency, Hoover had almost no chance of winning. The depression had taken its toll. About 25 percent of the population was unemployed. Bank failures had wiped out people's savings and long lines at soup kitchens were common. In July of 1932, the relatively unknown Franklin D. Roosevelt, accepted the nomination for President.

...Strangely enough, Americans elected a candidate who had never known economic hardship. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had enjoyed a life of ease and success, including education from his parents and teachers, FDR's sense of purpose and a belief that public service was a noble profession.

In 1905, Franklin married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt. President Theodore Roosevelt, Eleanor's uncle and Franklin's fifth cousin gave the bride away. In time, Eleanor would become deeply involved in public affairs.

Like Teddy Roosevelt, Franklin rose quickly through the political ranks. After election to the New York State Senate, he served as Woodrow Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. In 1920, Roosevelt was the Democratic Party's vice presidential nominee. Although the Democrats lost the election, many considered him the rising star of the party.

Then, in the summer of 1921, tragedy struck. While vacationing, FDR slipped off his boat into the chilly waters of the North Atlantic. That evening, he awoke with a high fever and severe pains in his back and legs. Two weeks later, Roosevelt was diagnosed with polio, a dreaded disease that at the time had no effective treatment. He never fully recovered the use of his legs.

FDR did not allow his physical disability to break his spirit. With Eleanor's encouragement, Roosevelt made a political comeback. In 1928, he was elected governor of New York and earned a reputation as a reformer. In 1932, he became the Democrats' presidential candidate, pledging "a new deal for the American people."

Voters Elect a New President When FDR pledged a "New Deal," he had only a vague idea of how he intended to combat the depression. Convinced that the federal government needed to play an active role in promoting recovery and providing relief to Americans, he experimented with different approaches to see which one worked best.

Primary Source

“The country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and to try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something!”

—Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at Oglethorpe University, May 22, 1932

The 1932 election campaign pitted Roosevelt against President Herbert Hoover. The two men advocated very different approaches to the problems of the Great Depression. Hoover believed that depression relief should come from state and local governments and private agencies. Roosevelt believed that the depression required strong action and leadership by the federal government. As Hoover noted, "This campaign is more than a contest between two men. . . . It is a contest between two philosophies of government."

Hoover's popularity declined as the Great Depression worsened. Even longtime Republicans deserted him. FDR—with the support of those who embraced his ideas as well as those who opposed Hoover's approach—won a landslide presidential victory, defeating Hoover by more than 7 million votes.

Americans had to wait four long months between Roosevelt's election, in November 1932, and his inauguration, in March 1933. Meanwhile, they watched helplessly as thousands of banks collapsed and unemployment soared. What would Roosevelt do to combat the depression? Even the experts did not know what to expect.

Putting Together a Winning Team To help him plan the New Deal, FDR sought the advice of a diverse group of men and women. Among the most influential was a group of professionals and academics whom the press nicknamed the Brain Trust.

FDR Not Slowed by Polio

Despite the debilitating effects of polio, FDR continued to serve in public office. How do you think FDR's earlier jobs and experiences prepared him to serve as President?

- 1903 Earned BA in history from Harvard University
- 1910 Elected to the New York State Senate
- 1913 Appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy
- 1920 Campaigned as Democratic nominee for Vice President
- 1921 Contracted polio, which paralyzed his legs
- 1928 Elected governor of New York State
- 1933 Inaugurated as President of the United States



Connect to Your World

The Polio Vaccine Franklin Delano Roosevelt is probably the most famous victim of polio in American history, but he was far from alone. In the mid-twentieth century, thousands of Americans contracted polio each year.

Polio is a very contagious viral infection. Still, most people who contract the virus develop only mild symptoms or none at all. In those who are affected, the symptoms can be severe, sometimes causing muscle weakness or, as in Roosevelt's case, paralysis.

After years of research, Jonas Salk finally developed the first successful polio vaccine in 1955. Today, most children in America receive a polio vaccination. As a result, outbreaks of polio in the United States are rare. Public health authorities declared the entire Western Hemisphere free of polio in 1994.

Although polio has basically been eradicated from developed nations, it is still common in some developing areas of the world.

High-use word

...ms that could ensure them an

“Brain Trust.” Roosevelt, a Democrat, displayed his openness by nominating two Republicans, Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes (IHK uhs), to serve as his Secretary of Agriculture and Secretary of Interior. Roosevelt also nominated Frances Perkins, a social worker, to serve as his Secretary of Labor. She became the first woman Cabinet member in U.S. history.

Throughout his presidency, FDR depended heavily on his wife, Eleanor. She traveled widely, interacting with the American people and serving as FDR’s “eyes and ears.” For example, in 1933, the Bonus Army, which had marched on Washington, D.C., in 1932, returned to the capital, seeking an early payment of its bonus for World War I service. Like Hoover, FDR informed the marchers that the government could not afford to pay them their bonus. But unlike Hoover, who had sent the army to evict the Bonus Army, FDR sent Eleanor. She sang songs with the veterans and made them feel that the government cared.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did FDR’s background and actions help build confidence among the American people?

The First Hundred Days Provide Instant Action

During his first hundred days in office, Roosevelt proposed and Congress passed 15 bills. These measures, known as the First New Deal, had three goals: relief, recovery, and reform. Roosevelt wanted to provide relief from the immediate hardships of the depression and achieve a long-term economic recovery. He also instituted reforms to prevent future depressions.

FDR Swiftly Restores the Nation’s Confidence Roosevelt wasted no time dealing with the nation’s number one crisis. Late in 1932, banks had begun to

fail in great numbers. A banking panic gripped the nation as depositors lined up outside banks, trying to withdraw their money. The day after his inauguration, Roosevelt addressed Congress and convinced them to pass laws to stabilize the financial system. The Emergency Banking Bill gave the President the power to declare a four-day bank “holiday” during which banks were ordered to close. The closings gave banks time to reorganize before they reopened for business. Eight days after becoming President, Roosevelt gave his first “fireside” speech to the American people. This was the first of many “fireside chats.” They became an important way for Roosevelt to communicate with the American people. In the first fireside chat, Roosevelt was taken to stem the run on banks. His calming message helped restore confidence. When the bank holiday ended, Americans were encouraged to withdraw their funds. Roosevelt had convinced them that the government had a plan in place to keep their money safe.

Reforming the Financial System A major goal of the New Deal was to reform the nation’s financial institutions. In the following year, Congress established the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) to regulate the stock market and make it fairer. These financial reforms helped restore confidence in banks that had ended, largely because Americans no longer wanted to lose their lifetime savings if a bank failed. The SEC also regulated trading practices to reassure investors.

INFOGRAPHIC

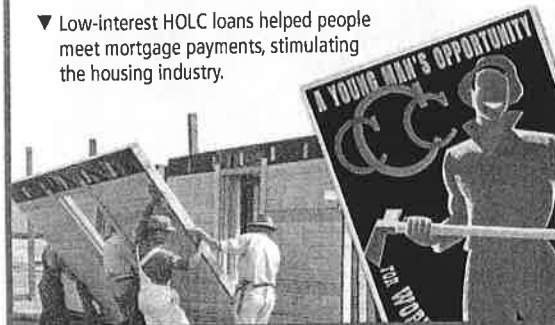
RELIEF, RECOVERY, AND REFORM THE FIRST 100 DAYS

Working together, President Roosevelt and Congress quickly passed many new laws to provide job relief, speed economic recovery, and reform business practices. These New Deal programs marked the beginning of the federal government’s increasingly active role in shaping the economy and society.



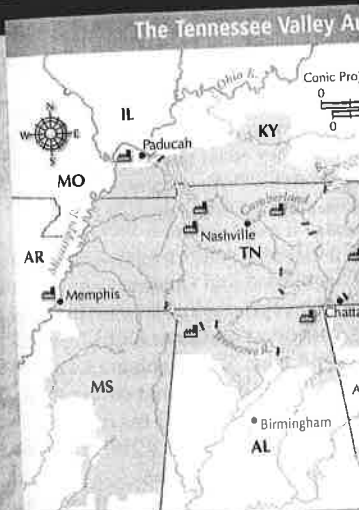
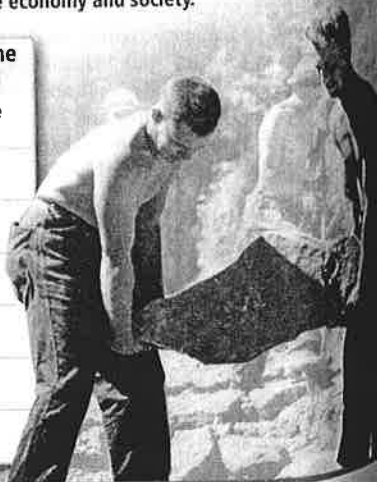
▲ FDR used his first “fireside chat” to explain reform measures taken to end bank runs.

▼ Low-interest HOLC loans helped people meet mortgage payments, stimulating the housing industry.



Achievements of the First Hundred Days

- Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC)
- National Recovery Administration (NRA)
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
- Public Works Administration (PWA)
- Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)
- Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC)



▲ The TVA built dams and power plants, and improved living conditions in the region.

◀ CCC workers like these young men labored on environmental conservation projects.

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L1 Special Needs Students **L2** English Language Learners **L3** Less Proficient Readers

To help visual learners summarize the various programs that were part of FDR’s New Deal, have them create an illustrated graphic organizer. Each graphic organizer should show the major programs discussed in the text. For each program, instruct students to write the name of the program in one column and

either to write a description of the program or draw a simple sketch illustrating something about the program in the other column. Then, tell students to use their graphic organizers to write paragraphs summarizing FDR’s New Deal programs.

Differentiated Instruction

L4 Advanced Readers **L4** Gifted

Draw this “vicious cycle” graphic organizer for students to analyze: Banks lose confidence in banks. → People withdraw money from banks. → More banks fail. → More banks fail to work in groups and answer the following questions: (1) Where would the government intervene to stop this vicious cycle?

...ed his openness by nominating
...es (IHK uhs), to serve as his Sec-
...rior. Roosevelt also nominated
...is Secretary of Labor. She became
...ry.

...heavily on his wife, Eleanor. She
...an people and serving as FDR's
...nus Army, which had marched on
...pital, seeking an early payment of
...; FDR informed the marchers that
...1 their bonus. But unlike Hoover,
...rmy, FDR sent Eleanor. She sang
...that the government cared.

...and actions help build

Provide Instant Action

Roosevelt proposed and Congress
...the First New Deal, had three goals:
...to provide relief from the imme-
...sive a long-term economic recovery.
...depressions.

Confidence Roosevelt wasted no time
...Late in 1932, banks had begun to

fail in great numbers. A banking panic gripped the nation as frightened depos-
...tors lined up outside banks, trying to withdraw their savings.

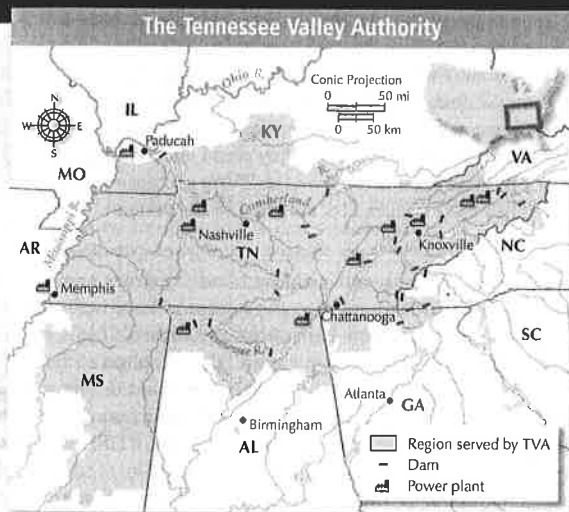
The day after his inauguration, Roosevelt called Congress into a special
...session and convinced them to pass laws to shore up the nation's banking sys-
...tem. The Emergency Banking Bill gave the President broad powers—including
...the power to declare a four-day bank "holiday." Banks all over the country were
...ordered to close. The closings gave banks time to get their accounts in order
...before they reopened for business.

Eight days after becoming President, Roosevelt delivered an informal radio
...speech to the American people. This was the first of many presidential fireside
...chats. They became an important way for Roosevelt to communicate with the
...American people. In the first fireside chat, FDR explained the measures he had
...taken to stem the run on banks. His calming words reassured the American peo-
...ple. When the bank holiday ended, Americans did not rush to their banks to
...withdraw their funds. Roosevelt had convinced them that the banks were a safe
...place to keep their money.

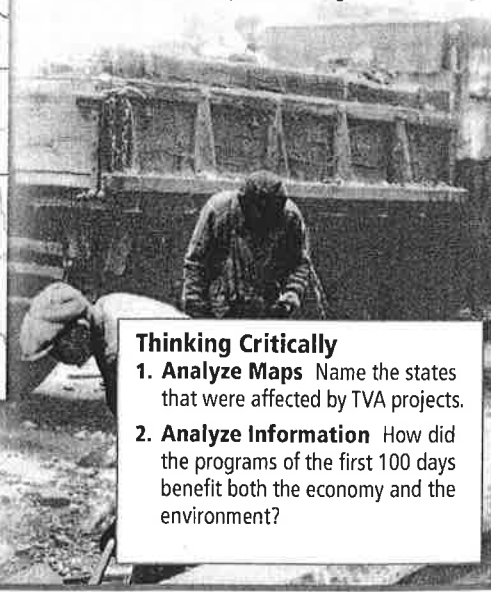
Reforming the Financial System A number of Roosevelt's proposals sought
...to reform the nation's financial institutions. One act created the **Federal Deposit
...Insurance Corporation (FDIC)**, which insured bank deposits up to \$5,000. In the
...following year, Congress established the Securities and Exchange Commission
...(SEC) to regulate the stock market and make it a safer place for investments.

These financial reforms helped restore confidence in the economy. Runs on
...banks ended, largely because Americans now had confidence that they would
...not lose their lifetime savings if a bank failed. The stock markets also stabilized
...as regulated trading practices reassured investors.

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...and reform business
...ing of the federal
...conomy and society.



▼ PWA projects provided construction jobs on roads, bridges, and public buildings.



- ▲ The TVA built dams and power plants, providing electricity and improving living conditions in the Southeast.
- ◀ CCC workers like these young men labored on environmental conservation projects.

Thinking Critically

1. **Analyze Maps** Name the states that were affected by TVA projects.
2. **Analyze Information** How did the programs of the first 100 days benefit both the economy and the environment?

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

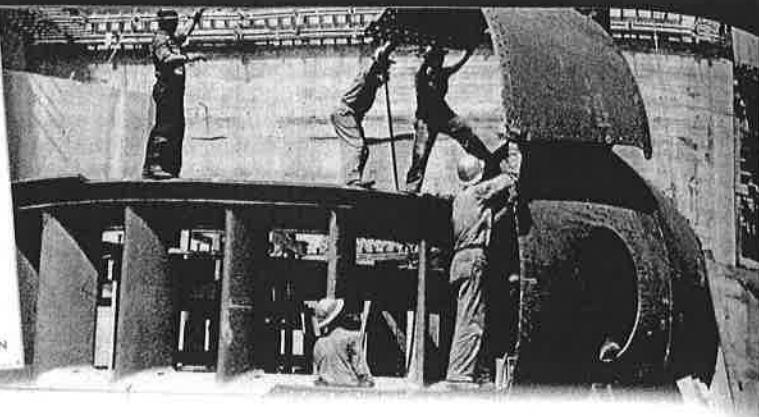
L4 Advanced Readers L4 Gifted and Talented Students

Draw this "vicious cycle" graphic organizer on the board for students to analyze: Banks fail. → People lose confidence in banks. → People withdraw their money from banks. → More banks fail. Ask students to work in groups and answer the following questions: (1) Where would the government have to intervene to stop this vicious cycle? For example,

would passing a law that prohibits people from taking their money out of personal bank accounts solve the problem, or would it make people panic and lose even more confidence in the system? (2) Where did Roosevelt initially intervene in this cycle and why? Why did Roosevelt's approach work?

2 Less Proficient Readers

...description of the program or draw
...illustrating something about the pro-
...column. Then, tell students to use
... organizers to write paragraphs summa-
...Deal programs.



Government Puts People to Work

The Works Progress Administration poster (above) promoted the benefits of putting people to work. These TVA workers (right) assembled generators at the Cherokee Dam in Tennessee. *If you had been out of work during the depression, what effect might these images have had on you? Why?*

Helping Farmers A number of New Deal programs aimed at easing the desperate plight of American farmers. For years, the supply of crops grown by American farmers had far exceeded demand. Prices dropped to the point where it was no longer profitable to grow some crops. To counter this, Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which sought to end overproduction and raise crop prices. To accomplish these goals, the AAA provided financial aid, paying farmers subsidies not to plant part of their land and to kill off excess livestock. Many Americans believed it was immoral to kill livestock or destroy crops while people went hungry. However, by 1934, farm prices began to rise.

The TVA Aids Rural Southerners Americans living in the Tennessee River valley were among the poorest in the nation. Few had electricity, running water, or proper sewage systems. In 1933, Congress responded by creating a government agency called the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**. The TVA built a series of dams in the Tennessee River valley to control floods and to generate electric power. The agency also replanted forests, built fertilizer plants, created jobs, and attracted industry with the promise of cheap power.

Despite its accomplishments, the TVA attracted a host of critics. Some called the TVA “socialist,” because it gave government direct control of a business. Private power companies complained that they could not compete with the TVA, because the agency paid no taxes. However, the TVA’s successes in improving life in the Tennessee Valley have ensured its survival to the present.

Providing Relief and Promoting Industrial Recovery During his first hundred days as President, Roosevelt proposed and Congress enacted numerous other relief measures. To counter the depression’s devastating impact on young men, FDR created the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**. The CCC provided jobs for more than 2 million young men. They replanted forests, built trails, dug irrigation ditches, and fought fires. As time went on, programs such as the CCC became more inclusive, extending work and training to Mexican American and other minority youth, as well as to whites. FDR called the CCC his favorite New Deal program.

Congress passed a number of other relief acts. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) granted federal funds to state and local agencies to help the unemployed. The short-lived Civil Works Administration (CWA) provided jobs on public-works projects. On another front, Congress created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), which loaned money at low interest rates to homeowners who could not meet mortgage payments. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) insured bank loans used for building and repairing homes.

These New Deal measures made Hoover administration, which had appropriated \$500 million for federal government expenditure by the federal government. The centerpiece of the early New Deal was the National Industrial Recovery Act, which established the National Recovery Administration (NRA). Roosevelt called the NRA “the most important ever enacted by the American Congress.” The NRA developed codes of fair competition, established minimum wages for workers, and set maximum prices for necessities sold. The idea behind these programs was that if workers could buy more goods and raise prices, they could buy more goods and raise prices.

Another New Deal legislative act was the Public Works Administration (PWA), which built bridges, dams, and other public-works projects. PWA was responsible for building New York City’s Triborough Bridge, the West, and the Bonneville Dam on the Tennessee River. Public-works projects improved the economy and created new jobs for workers.

✓ **Checkpoint** What actions did Roosevelt take during his first hundred days?

Opposition to the New Deal Emerges

While Roosevelt had little support from Congress for his program, many Americans expressed their opposition to the New Deal. Some thought the change was too radical. Others thought that the New Deal was too radical enough. Several of FDR’s mass followings and made plans to challenge the presidency in 1936.

The Right Says “Too Much” Opposition to the New Deal was the most powerful. Critics complained that the government was spending too much money on public-works projects. To many conservatives, the New Deal was undermining individual liberties. Former President Herbert Hoover, who had lost the 1920 presidential election to Woodrow Wilson, and other leading Republicans in Congress argued for individual freedom.

In 1934, these critics formed the Liberty League, which included prominent business leaders like General Motors’ Walter P. Reuther. L. Frank Underhill, a Democrat’s presidential nominee in 1928, joined the Liberty League. The Liberty League argued that the Democratic Party’s principles were being abandoned.

History Background

The Green Towns The architects of the New Deal not only built dams, roads, bridges, and water tunnels. They also built towns. In the mid-1930s, FDR’s New Deal planners came up with the idea of building several planned communities. The towns would provide years of work for the unemployed and low-cost housing for low-income families in healthy, green environments.

In 1935, the government broke ground for the first of the government-owned garden towns, Greenbelt, Maryland. Homes were built in clusters with walkways in between. A buffer of park or woodland surrounded

the whole community. Labor-saving machinery was not used, so that the construction crews could work and collect needed paychecks for as long as possible. Even an artificial lake was dug with shovels instead of heavy machinery. The first residents of Greenbelt moved into the town in 1937. The plan to build green towns throughout the country was never realized. However, two other green towns were completed: at Greenhills, Ohio, and Greendale, Wisconsin. The three green towns still exist today, although the federal government gave up its control of them decades ago.

Differentiated Instruction

1 Special Needs Student

To help students understand the opposition to the New Deal, ask students to summarize each side’s position. In the first column of their journals, describe why the New Deal has gone too far. In the



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Recovery During his first
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These New Deal measures marked a clear break from the policies of the Hoover administration, which had disapproved of direct relief to individuals. The \$500 million appropriated for FERA represented the largest peacetime expenditure by the federal government to that time.

The centerpiece of the early New Deal's recovery program was the National Industrial Recovery Act, which established the **National Recovery Administration (NRA)**. Roosevelt called the NRA "the most important and far-reaching legislation ever enacted by the American Congress." Working with business and labor leaders, the NRA developed codes of fair competition to govern whole industries. These codes established minimum wages for workers and minimum prices for the goods that businesses sold. The idea behind these codes was to increase the wages of workers so they could buy more goods and raise prices so companies could make a profit.

Another New Deal legislative achievement was the **Public Works Administration (PWA)**, which built bridges, dams, power plants, and government buildings. The PWA was responsible for building many important projects still in use today, such as New York City's Triborough Bridge, the Overseas Highway linking Miami and Key West, and the Bonneville Dam on the Columbia River in the Pacific Northwest. These public-works projects improved the nation's infrastructure and created millions of new jobs for workers.

✓ **Checkpoint** What actions did Roosevelt take during his first hundred days in office?

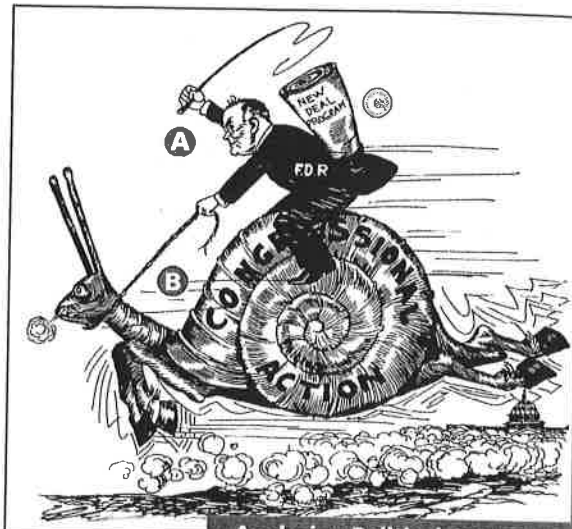
Opposition to the New Deal Emerges

While Roosevelt had little difficulty gaining support from Congress for his proposals, a minority of Americans expressed their opposition to the New Deal. Some thought the changes it brought were too radical. Others thought that the New Deal was not radical enough. Several of FDR's critics attracted mass followings and made plans to challenge him for the presidency in 1936.

The Right Says "Too Much" The chief complaint against the New Deal was that it made the government too powerful. Critics contended that the government was telling business how to operate, spending large sums of money, and piling up a huge national debt.

To many conservatives, the New Deal was destroying free enterprise and undermining individualism. In a 1934 book entitled *The Challenge to Liberty*, former President Herbert Hoover described the New Deal as "the most stupendous invasion of the whole spirit of liberty" in the nation's history. Robert Taft, the son of former President William Howard Taft and a leading Republican in Congress, claimed Roosevelt's programs threatened individual freedom.

In 1934, these critics formed the American Liberty League. Supporters included prominent business leaders, such as Alfred Sloan and William Knudsen of General Motors. Leading Democrats, such as John W. Davis, the Democrats' presidential nominee in 1924, and Al Smith, the nominee in 1928, joined the Liberty League because they felt Roosevelt had deserted the Democratic Party's principles of a limited federal government.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Galloping Snail This cartoon represents the relationship between President Roosevelt and Congress during FDR's first hundred days in office.

- A** President Roosevelt
- B** Congress
- C** Roosevelt's New Deal agenda

1. Why did the cartoonist use a snail to represent Congress?
2. What is the cartoonist saying about the relationship between the President and Congress?

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- 1. **Special Needs Students**
- 2. **English Language Learners**
- 3. **Less Proficient Readers**

To help students understand the debate between conservatives and socialists over FDR's New Deal programs, ask students to create two-column charts to summarize each side's position on the New Deal. In the first column of their charts, have students list details describing why conservatives believe the New Deal has gone too far. In the second column of their

charts, have students list details describing why socialists believe the New Deal has not gone far enough. Pair students, and have students compare their charts with their partners' charts.

Then, tell students to use their charts to help them complete the worksheet *Interpreting a Political Cartoon: The New Deal*. Teaching Resources, p. 19

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The New Deal: Too Much—or Not Enough?

Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal raised the issue of how involved the government should be in the economy and in the lives of its citizens. This question divided many Americans.

ALFRED E. SMITH

Smith (1873–1944) served as governor of New York and ran for President in 1928. He believed the New Deal made the government too powerful and described it as a "trend toward Fascist control" and "the end of democracy."

Primary Source

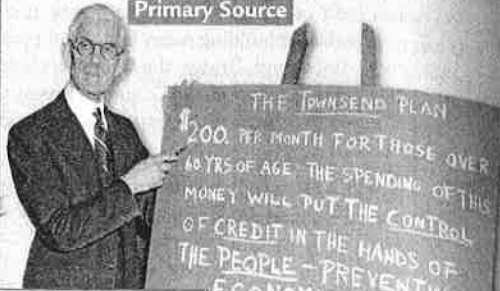
"Something has taken place in this country—there is a certain kind of foreign 'ism' crawling over [it]. . . . There can be only one Capitol, Washington or Moscow! There can be only one atmosphere of government, [the] clear, pure, fresh air of free America, or the foul breath of Communist Russia."



FRANCIS TOWNSEND

Townsend (1867–1960) was a medical doctor who felt the New Deal did not do enough to help older Americans devastated by the depression. He proposed a pension plan funded by a national sales tax.

Primary Source



Compare

1. Which man thought that the New Deal went too far? Which man thought that the New Deal did not go far enough?
2. Why does each oppose the New Deal?

The Left Says "Not Enough" While conservatives accused FDR of supporting socialism, some leading socialists charged that the New Deal did not do enough to end the depression. Norman Thomas, the Socialist Party's presidential candidate, claimed that FDR's only concern was saving the banking system and ensuring profits for big business. The American Communist Party described the New Deal as a "capitalist ruse."

Populist Critics Challenge FDR The most significant criticism of FDR came from a cluster of figures whose roots were in the Populist movement. They saw themselves as spokesmen for poor Americans, challenging the power of the elite. Roosevelt's strongest critics were Francis Townsend, Father Charles Coughlin, and Huey Long.

Townsend, a doctor from California, had a simple program. It called for the federal government to provide \$200 a month to all citizens over the age of 60. These funds, he argued, would filter out to the rest of society and produce an economic recovery. To promote this plan, he established "Townsend Clubs" and held meetings that resembled old-time church revivals.

Father **Charles Coughlin** presented an even bigger challenge to FDR. Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest, had attracted millions of listeners to his weekly radio show. At first, Coughlin supported the New Deal, but in time he broke with FDR, accusing him of not doing enough to fight the depression. Coughlin

Vocabulary Builder

ensure—(ehn SHUR) *v.* to make safe; guarantee

said that Roosevelt had "out-Hoovered Deal "the raw deal."

Coughlin mixed calls for the national Semitic remarks and attacks on "comm running the country. By the early 1940; extreme that Roman Catholic officials fo

Canadian by birth, Coughlin could no election. However, he threatened to thro more popular New Deal critic, Senator I was an expert performer whose folksy Long's solution to the depression was hi that proposed high taxes on the wealthy redistribution of their income to poor Am

Primary Source

"God invited all we wanted. He smiled on our land and we wear. . . . [But then] Rockefeller, Morgan, and took enough for 120,000,000 people and left all the other 125,000,000 to eat. And so the without those good things God gave us unle: it back."

Roosevelt viewed Long as a serious: Roosevelt, Long did not have a deep fait ana as if he owned the state, he made m: assassinated Long, ending the most seri

Checkpoint What were the two m economic policies?

SECTION 1 Assessment

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it affected the lives of people during the New Deal.

- Eleanor Roosevelt
- fireside chat
- TVA
- PWA
- Charles Coughlin
- Huey Long

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- 1** Special Needs Students **2** English Language Learners **3** Less Proficient Readers

To help students master vocabulary, have them list this section's high-use words and key terms and people. Then, have students create flashcards with a term on one side and its definition (or in the case of key people, one-sentence identifying statements) on

the other. For English Language Learners, you may wish to have students add explanations in their first language to go with the flashcards. Pair students and have them quiz each other using the flashcards.

Section 1 Assess

1. Sentences should demonstrat comprehension of the way th person, event, or program af Americans during the New I
2. In general, the New Deal put in place to give quick relief to fering the effects of the Great sion, such as creating jobs. It programs to help the nation i the long term, such as buildi bring electricity and attract i poorly developed regions. It a reformed the banking system

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Huey Long Challenges the Roosevelt Administration
 Huey Long used his Share Our Wealth Society to promote the redistribution of wealth in the country. How might Long's efforts have influenced FDR's policies?

said that Roosevelt had “out-Hoovered Hoover” and called the New Deal “the raw deal.”
 Coughlin mixed calls for the nationalization of industry with anti-Semitic remarks and attacks on “communists” who, he charged, were running the country. By the early 1940s, Coughlin’s views became so extreme that Roman Catholic officials forced him to end his broadcasts.
 Canadian by birth, Coughlin could not run against FDR in the 1936 election. However, he threatened to throw his support behind an even more popular New Deal critic, Senator **Huey Long** of Louisiana. Long was an expert performer whose folksy speeches delighted audiences. Long’s solution to the depression was his “Share Our Wealth” program that proposed high taxes on the wealthy and large corporations, and the redistribution of their income to poor Americans.

Primary Source “God invited us all to come and eat and drink all we wanted. He smiled on our land and we grew crops of plenty to eat and wear. . . . [But then] Rockefeller, Morgan, and their crowd stepped up and took enough for 120,000,000 people and left only enough for 5,000,000 for all the other 125,000,000 to eat. And so the millions must go hungry and without those good things God gave us unless we call on them to put some of it back.”

—Huey Long radio broadcast, 1934

Roosevelt viewed Long as a serious political threat. But unlike Roosevelt, Long did not have a deep faith in democracy. Ruling Louisiana as if he owned the state, he made many enemies. In 1935, a political enemy assassinated Long, ending the most serious threat to Roosevelt’s presidency.

✓ **Checkpoint** What were the two major criticisms of FDR’s New Deal economic policies?

medical doctor who felt
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 He proposed a pension
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ives accused FDR of support-
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 illions of listeners to his weekly
 New Deal, but in time he broke
 to fight the depression. Coughlin

SECTION 1 **Assessment**

Progress Monitoring Online
 For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each item below, write a sentence explaining how it affected the lives of people during the New Deal.
- Eleanor Roosevelt
 - fireside chat
 - TVA
 - PWA
 - Charles Coughlin
 - Huey Long

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Connect Ideas** Use your problem-solution table to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal attempt to address the problems of the depression?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Identify Main Ideas** Before you can synthesize, you must understand the main idea, or thesis, of each source. Study the political cartoon in this section and write a sentence summarizing its main idea about FDR. Then, review the Alfred E. Smith primary source quote. Write a sentence paraphrasing Smith’s view of FDR.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Inferences** Why did President Roosevelt need his wife, Eleanor, to serve as his “eyes and ears”?
- 5. Make Comparisons** How did FDR’s economic policies differ from those of Herbert Hoover?
- 6. Identify Central Issues** Why do you think the depression led to the development of some extreme proposals?

Section 1 Assessment

1. Sentences should demonstrate students’ comprehension of the way that each person, event, or program affected Americans during the New Deal era.
2. In general, the New Deal put programs in place to give quick relief to people suffering the effects of the Great Depression, such as creating jobs. It created programs to help the nation recover over the long term, such as building dams to bring electricity and attract industry to poorly developed regions. It also reformed the banking system, the stock

market, and the relationship between business and labor to help prevent future depressions.

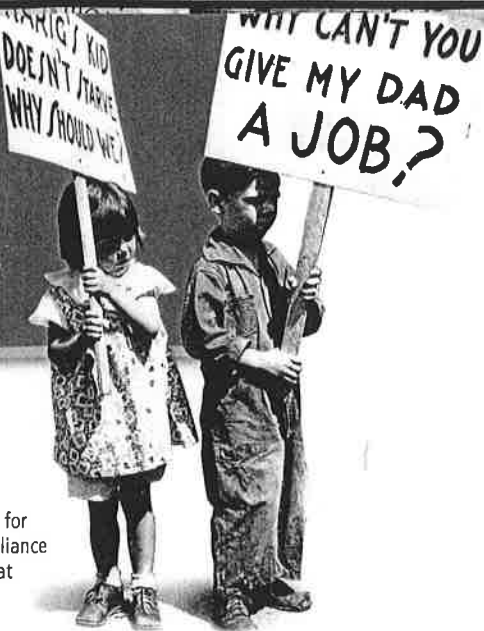
3. Responses should show students’ ability to synthesize the main idea conveyed by a political cartoon or a quotation.
4. It is often difficult for a President to make frequent trips to talk to people personally. It was easier for Eleanor Roosevelt to do this and tell the President what she had learned.
5. Hoover believed that state and local governments and private institutions should provide relief during the Great Depression.

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[www.pear](http://www.pearson.com)

Less Proficient Readers

Language Learners, you may
 add explanations in their first
 the flashcards. Pair students and
 other using the flashcards.



Children picket for the Workers' Alliance during the Great Depression. ►

The Second New Deal

Objectives

- Discuss the programs of social and economic reform in the second New Deal.
- Explain how New Deal legislation affected the growth of organized labor.
- Describe the impact of Roosevelt's court-packing plan on the course of the New Deal.

Terms and People

Second New Deal	collective bargaining
WPA	Fair Labor Standards Act
John Maynard Keynes	CIO
pump priming	sit-down strikes
Social Security Act	court packing
Wagner Act	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Connect Ideas Complete a table like the one below to record problems and the second New Deal's solutions.

The Second New Deal	
Problem	Solution
Unemployment	

WITNESS HISTORY

Trying to Survive

During the Great Depression, people found themselves desperate for work. Daily visits to the unemployment office and workplaces often turned up nothing. Some of the jobless lost their homes. Others could not feed their children. One 12-year-old boy wrote to President Roosevelt to ask for help for his family.

"My father hasn't worked for 5 months. . . . Please you do something. . . . We haven't paid the gas bill, and the electric bill, haven't paid grocery bill. . . . I have a sister she's twenty years, she can't find work. My father he staying home. All the time he's crying because he can't find work."

—Anonymous 12-year-old boy, Chicago, 1936

Why It Matters FDR's goals for the first New Deal were relief, recovery, and reform. Progress had been made, but there was still much work that needed to be done. Beginning in early 1935, Roosevelt launched an aggressive campaign to find solutions to the ongoing problems caused by the Great Depression. This campaign, known as the Second New Deal, created Social Security and other programs that continue to have a profound impact on the everyday lives of Americans. **Section Focus Question:** What major issues did the Second New Deal address?

Extending Social and Economic Reform

In his fireside chats, press conferences, and major addresses, Roosevelt explained the challenges facing the nation. He said that the complexities of the modern world compelled the federal government to "promote the general welfare" and to intervene to protect citizens' rights. Roosevelt used legislation passed during the **Second New Deal** to accomplish these goals. The Second New Deal addressed the problems of the elderly, the poor, and the unemployed; created new public-works projects; helped farmers; and enacted measures to protect workers' rights. It was during this period that the first serious challenges to the New Deal emerged.

New Programs Provide Jobs In the spring of 1935, Congress appropriated \$5 billion for new jobs and created the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)** to administer the program. Roosevelt placed his longtime associate Harry Hopkins in charge. The WPA built or improved a good part of the nation's highways, dredged rivers and

harbors, and promoted soil and water conservation programs in the arts for displaced workers. "We had to eat just like other people."

By 1943, the WPA had employed 8.7 million workers and spent \$11 billion. Its workers built more than 66,000 public buildings. Among the most famous was the San Antonio River Walk and parts of the New York State Thruway.

All of these programs were expensive. In 1936, the government was spending more money than it had in 1935. The deficit grew to \$4.4 billion in 1936. The enormous spending program drew many critics. Some economists disagreed. British economist John Maynard Keynes argued that deficit spending was needed to end the depression. He believed that people would buy more goods, stimulating the economy. This is called **pump priming**.

Social Security Eases the Burden Social Security was one of the few industries that had some form of pension system. Many elderly people had lost their homes and were living in poverty. On January 17, 1935, Congress passed the Social Security Act.

In addition to creating a pension system, the Social Security Act that Congress passed provided unemployment insurance for workers. The law also created insurance for workers who were disabled, and aid for poor children, the blind, and the elderly.

The Social Security Act had many limitations. It did not apply to domestics or farmworkers. Many workers were disproportionately employed in agriculture and were not eligible for many of the benefits. Widows received smaller benefits than men. Many people presumed that elderly women would need more money than elderly men. Despite these limitations, Social Security proved the most popular and successful New Deal program.

More Aid Goes to Farmers The New Deal included further help for farmers. The Agricultural Adjustment Act began, only 10 percent of all farms were profitable because utility companies did not find it profitable to run power lines to communities with small farms. In 1935, Congress established the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). The REA provided electric utilities to build power lines to isolated rural areas. By 1950, more than 80 percent of American farms had electricity.

New Deal programs changed the role of the federal government to the American people. The government was now committed to providing jobs, relief, and aid for agriculture. Critics attacked the New Deal as undermining the free market. Others

Vocabulary Builder

Use the information below and the following resource to teach students the high-use word from this section. Teaching Resources, Vocabulary Builder, p. 11

High-Use Word

Definition and Sample Sentence

upsurge

n. a sudden rapid increase

FDR's recovery programs during the first 100 days created an **upsurge** in public confidence.

History Background

John Maynard Keynes Keynesian economics is best remembered for his theory of "Keynesian" economic theory. It advocates government intervention to spur employment and spending when economies stall. Early in his career, Keynes did not believe in the prevailing economic wisdom—large government intervention in the opening years of the Great Depression—of laissez faire, or let the market correct itself. In Britain, Keynes saw that this policy resulted in millions of people losing their jobs during periodic rec-

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farms, not small farmers, benefited most from federal farm programs. Even during the 1930s, many noticed that tenant farmers and sharecroppers, often African Americans, did not fully share in the federal programs. Yet farm prices stabilized, and agriculture remained a productive sector of the economy.

Water Projects Change the Face of the West Many of the New Deal public-works water projects had an enormous impact on the development of the American West. The government funded the complex Central Valley irrigation system in California. The massive Bonneville Dam in the Pacific Northwest controlled flooding and provided electricity to a vast number of citizens. In 1941, the Department of the Interior's Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) hired folk singer Woody Guthrie for one month to write songs for a movie they had made

promoting the benefits of electr
tribute to the projects that harn

Primary Source

“Your power is
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✓ **Checkpoint** Why did the
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▼ Supplemental Security
Income benefits help
people who are blind.



INTERACTIVE
Whiteboard

Events That Changed America

Milestones in SOCIAL SECURITY

During the Great Depression, many elderly Americans had lost their life savings and were struggling to survive. The 1935 Social Security Act created a pension system as well as unemployment insurance for workers who had lost their jobs. Financed through a payroll tax on employers and workers, Social Security is one of the country's most important legislative achievements.



1935–1950 The Social Security program was expanded in 1939 to pay benefits to the widows and young children of deceased workers. In 1950, amendments to the Social Security Act increased benefit payments and extended coverage to more workers. As a result, almost all working Americans now contribute to Social Security and are eligible for benefits.

◀ Since 1940, senior citizens have depended on their monthly Social Security retirement checks.

Social Security benefits ▶ helped widows feed their children.



Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L4 Advanced Readers L4 Gifted and Talented Students

Beginning during the Great Depression, more than a dozen large dams were built to harness the power of the Columbia River for hydroelectricity. Have students draw a map of the Columbia River, locating the major dams built along it between the 1930s and 1950s. The availability of large amounts of cheap electricity contributed to the growth of towns and industries—especially the energy-intensive aluminum industry—in the Pacific Northwest. Then, ask

students to draw on the map major towns and industrial and government facilities that grew up along the Columbia because of the availability of cheap energy.

Have students prepare a short oral presentation in which they display the map and explain how federal programs of the New Deal contributed to development in this region.

Differentiated Instruction

L1 Special Needs Students

Have students reread the he and Economic Reform.” Ren term *economic* refers to bu *social* refers to all interactio partners make a chart and li nomic changes brought abo

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(BPA) hired folk
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promoting the benefits of electricity. Guthrie's song, "Roll on, Columbia," pays tribute to the projects that harnessed the power of the Columbia River.

Primary Source

"Your power is turning our darkness to dawn,
And on up the river is the Grand Coulee Dam,
The Mightiest thing ever built by a man,
To run the great factories and water the land."
—Woody Guthrie, "Roll On, Columbia," 1941

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did the onset of the depression make it essential to have some form of Social Security?

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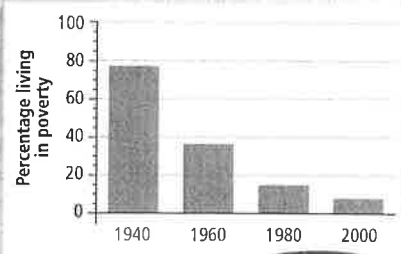
1950–1970 During the 1950s and 1960s, Social Security expanded to provide benefits to people with disabilities. In 1965, two new Social Security programs, Medicare and Medicaid, were introduced. Medicare is a health-insurance program for Americans age 65 and older, and Medicaid provides health insurance to needy persons of any age.



▲ Medicaid makes healthcare more available to low-income families.

1970–Today The Supplemental Social Security Income (SSI) program, begun in 1974, provides monthly payments to the needy elderly and to people who are blind or who have a disability. The Medicare Prescription Drug program, passed in 2003, provides Medicare recipients with voluntary prescription-drug coverage and discounts. President George W. Bush's proposal to allow younger workers to invest Social Security tax money in personal retirement accounts was rejected by the public in 2005.

The Elderly and Poverty, 1940–2000



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

▼ Supplemental Security Income benefits help people who are blind.

► The Medicare Prescription Drug program helps seniors manage rising drug costs.



Why It Matters

For more than 70 years, Social Security has provided basic economic security to millions of Americans. Social Security programs act as a safety net for senior citizens, the poor, and others in financial need. Popular support for Social Security continues, although concern mounts over the program's long-term funding.

Thinking Critically

Describe four different kinds of benefits that the Social Security system provides today.

History Interactive

For: More about Social Security
www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- ④ Special Needs Students
- ④ English Language Learners
- ④ Less Proficient Readers

Have students reread the heading "Extending Social and Economic Reform." Remind students that the term *economic* refers to business and finance, while *social* refers to all interactions between people. Have partners make a chart and list in one column the economic changes brought about by the New Deal and

in a second column the social changes that resulted. Review the charts as a class. Then, lead a class discussion concerning how these two terms can influence each other. Discuss how economic changes can cause social changes, and vice versa.

Answers

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Thinking Cri

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Vocabulary Builder

upsurge—(UHP serj) *n.* a sudden, rapid increase

Labor Unions Find a New Energy

Even before the Great Depression, most industrial workers labored long hours for little pay. Few belonged to labor unions. However, during the Great Depression, there was an **upsurge** in union activity. New unions enlisted millions of workers from the mining and automobile industries.

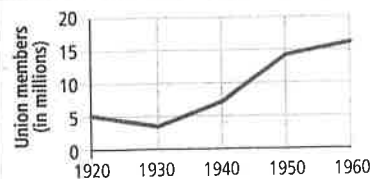
Granting New Rights to Workers Roosevelt believed that the success of the New Deal depended on raising the standard of living for American industrial workers. This, he believed, would improve the entire economy. The National Labor Relations Act was the most important piece of New Deal labor legislation. Called the **Wagner Act**, it recognized the right of employees to join labor unions and gave workers the right to **collective bargaining**. Collective bargaining meant that employers had to negotiate with unions about hours, wages, and other working conditions. The law created the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to look into workers' complaints.

The **Fair Labor Standards Act** of 1938 provided workers with additional rights. It established a minimum wage, initially at 25 cents per hour, and a maximum workweek of 44 hours. It also outlawed child labor. The minimum wage remains one of the New Deal's most controversial legacies. In the years ahead, the minimum wage would be gradually raised. Today, whenever a raise in the minimum wage is proposed, economists and political leaders debate the wisdom of such an increase.

Sit-Down Strikes Lead to Union Gains

The success of the UAW's sit-down strike against General Motors led the U.S. Steel Company to recognize the steelworkers' union. *How do you think strikes affected union membership?*

Labor Union Membership, 1920–1960



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

Workers Use Their Newfound Rights The upsurge in union activity came at the same time as a bitter feud within the major labor federation, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL represented skilled workers—such as plumbers, carpenters, and electricians—who joined trade or craft unions. Few workers in the major industries belonged to the AFL, and the union made little effort to organize them.

Fed up with the AFL's reluctance to organize, John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, and a number of other labor leaders established the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)**. The workers targeted by the CIO-organizing campaigns tended to be lower paid and ethnically more diverse than those workers represented by the AFL.



Connect to Your World

Labor Unions The strength of labor unions increased in the 1930s under the New Deal. Union membership continued to climb throughout the 1940s and into the start of the 1960s, along with the clout of organized labor.

Since that time, membership in unions has dropped off considerably in the United States. Today, union workers represent between 12 and 13 percent of the American workforce—only about one third of the percentage of workers in the mid-1950s. Reasons include massive layoffs, plant closings, and the

outsourcing of jobs in industries that have been heavily unionized.

Roosevelt's pro-union policies were meant to raise the wages and standard of living of industrial workers—whose higher earnings would then be used for consumer spending that would help the entire economy. Because union members have traditionally earned higher wages than unorganized industrial workers, the decline in union membership could have a negative effect on the economy as spending on consumer goods falls.

The Second New Deal

Program	Year
Social Security Act (SSA)	1935
Works Progress Administration (WPA)	1935
Rural Electrification Administration (REA)	1935
National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)	1935
National Youth Administration (NYA)	1935
Banking Act of 1935	1935
United States Housing Authority (USHA)	1937
Fair Labor Standards Act	1938
Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act	1938

In December 1936, members of the Workers Union (UAW) staged a sit-down strike against General Motors' most important plant. The workers refused to leave the workplace until their demands were met. A state militia threatened to reorganize the strike, but Governor Frank Murphy refused.

Primary Source

"How many of us will be killed and our children, to the people of the world, will follow from the attempt to eject us from our deaths!"

—Auto worker

The strike lasted for 44 days. In 1937, the UAW, the largest union in the world, agreed to recognize the National Labor Relations Board. In 1940, 9 million workers belonged to unions. Just as important, union men

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the sit-down strikes affect unions?

Challenges to the New Deal

Franklin Roosevelt won a second term in 1936. He received 61 percent of the vote over his Republican challenger, Alf Landon. In 1936, Roosevelt won Maine and Vermont. FDR encouraged a group that he considered the "New Deal coalition" that had struck down many of the

Differentiated Instruction

Special Needs Student

To help students analyze the New Deal, have students create a timeline. Use the following headings: *FDR's New Deal* and *FDR's New Deal Setbacks*.

Energy

industrial workers labored long hours. However, during the Great Depression, new unions enlisted millions of workers in the automobile industries.

Roosevelt believed that the success of the New Deal depended on the standard of living for American industrial workers. The National Industrial Conference Board, the entire economy. The National Labor Relations Act, a key piece of New Deal labor legislation, gave employees the right to join labor unions and to bargain collectively. Collective bargaining meant that workers could negotiate about hours, wages, and other work conditions. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to enforce these laws.

The act provided workers with additional benefits, such as a minimum wage of 25 cents per hour, and a maximum of 48 hours of work per week. The minimum wage and maximum hours were major legacies. In the years ahead, these standards would be raised. Today, whenever a raise in the minimum wage is proposed, political leaders debate the wisdom of the move.

The upsurge in union activity came from a major labor federation, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which represented skilled workers—such as machinists—who joined trade or craft unions. Industries belonged to the AFL, and workers organized them.

To organize, John L. Lewis, the president of the United Mine Workers, led a number of other labor leaders in the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The work-union campaigns tended to be lower paid than those of the AFL. Workers represented by the AFL.



industries that have been... policies were meant to... standard of living of industrial... er earnings would then be used... that would help the entire... on members have traditionally... than unorganized industrial... union membership could have... ie economy as spending on

The Second New Deal

Program	Year	Effects
Social Security Act (SSA)	1935	Established a pension system and unemployment insurance; provided payments to workers injured on the job, the poor, and people with disabilities
Works Progress Administration (WPA)	1935	Employed millions of people on government projects ranging from highway construction to arts programs
Rural Electrification Administration (REA)	1935	Provided loans to electric companies to build power lines, bringing electricity to isolated rural areas
National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act)	1935	Outlawed unfair labor practices; granted workers the right to organize unions and to bargain collectively; created the National Labor Relations Board
National Youth Administration (NYA)	1935	Trained and provided jobs and counseling for unemployed youth between the ages of 16 and 25
Banking Act of 1935	1935	Finalized the creation of the FDIC and made insurance for bank deposits permanent; created a board to regulate the nation's money supply and interest rates on loans
United States Housing Authority (USHA)	1937	Subsidized construction of low-cost public housing by providing federal loans
Fair Labor Standards Act	1938	Banned child labor, established a minimum hourly wage, and set the workweek at 44 hours
Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act	1938	Prohibited the mislabeling of food, drugs, and cosmetics, and ensured the safety and purity of these products

In December 1936, members of the CIO's newly formed United Automobile Workers Union (UAW) staged a **sit-down strike**, occupying one of General Motors' most important plants in Flint, Michigan. In a sit-down strike, workers refuse to leave the workplace until a settlement is reached. When the police and state militia threatened to remove them by force, the workers informed Michigan governor Frank Murphy that they would not leave.

Primary Source

"We fully expect that if a violent effort is made to oust us many of us will be killed and we take this means of making it known to our wives, to our children, to the people of the State of Michigan and the country, that if this result follows from the attempt to eject us, you are the one who must be held responsible for our deaths!"

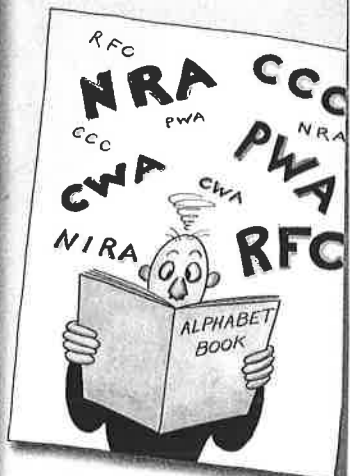
—Auto workers sit-down committee, Flint, Michigan, January 1936

The strike lasted for 44 days until General Motors, then the largest company in the world, agreed to recognize the UAW. This union success led to others. By 1940, 9 million workers belonged to unions, twice the number of members in 1930. Just as important, union members gained better wages and working conditions.

Checkpoint How did the New Deal affect trade unions?

Challenges to the New Deal

Franklin Roosevelt won an overwhelming victory in the presidential election of 1936. He received 61 percent of the vote, compared to just 37 percent for his Republican challenger, Alfred M. Landon. Roosevelt carried every state but Maine and Vermont. FDR entered his second term determined to challenge the group that he considered the main enemy of the New Deal—a Supreme Court that had struck down many of his programs.



This 1934 cartoon pokes fun at the many programs of FDR's New Deal. Critics mocked the abbreviated titles, or acronyms, of the New Deal programs as "alphabet soup." Use the chart to identify five programs from the second New Deal that helped workers.

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- 11 Special Needs Students
- 12 English Language Learners
- 12 Less Proficient Readers

To help students analyze the events of the second New Deal, have students create a chart with the following headings: *FDR's New Deal Successes* and *FDR's New Deal Setbacks*. Have pairs of students use

the information from this section to categorize events. Then, have students use the chart to write paragraphs explaining whether the Second New Deal was a success or a disappointment overall.

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The Supreme Court Opposes the New Deal A year before the 1936 election, the Supreme Court had overturned one of the key laws of Roosevelt's first hundred days. In the case of *Schechter Poultry v. United States*, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that since the President has no power to regulate interstate commerce, the National Industrial Recovery Act was unconstitutional. One pro-New Deal newspaper captured the mood of many Democrats: "AMERICA STUNNED; ROOSEVELT'S TWO YEARS' WORK KILLED IN TWENTY MINUTES."

Not long afterward, the Court ruled a key part of the Agricultural Adjustment Act unconstitutional. Roosevelt charged that the Court had taken the nation back to "horse-and-buggy" days. He expected the Court to strike down other New Deal measures, limiting his ability to enact new reforms.

FDR Proposes "Packing" the Court On February 5, 1937, in a special address to Congress, FDR unveiled a plan that would dilute the power of the sitting Justices of the Supreme Court. He called for adding up to six new Justices to the nine-member Court. He justified his proposal by noting that the Constitution did not specify the number of judges on the Court. He added that many of the Justices were elderly and overworked. Critics, recognizing that Roosevelt's new appointees would most likely be New Deal supporters, called his plan **court packing**. They accused him of trying to increase presidential power and upsetting the delicate balance between the three branches of the federal government. Some critics urged Americans to speak out.

Primary Source "If the American people accept this last audacity of the President without letting out a yell to high heaven, they have ceased to be jealous of their liberties and are ripe for ruin."

—Dorothy Thompson, newspaper columnist, 1937

Given Roosevelt's enormous popularity, he might have convinced Congress to enact his plan but he did not have to because the Court began to turn his way. On March 29, 1937, the Court ruled 5 to 4 in favor of a minimum wage law. Two weeks later, again by a vote of 5 to 4, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Wagner Act. In both cases, Justice Owen J. Roberts provided the deciding vote. Pundits called it the "switch in time to save nine," because Roberts had previously voted against several New Deal programs. Roberts's two votes in support of the New Deal removed FDR's main reason for packing the Court.

Shortly after this switch, Judge Willis Van Devanter, who had helped strike down several New Deal programs, resigned from the Court. This enabled FDR to nominate a Justice friendlier to the New Deal. With more retirements, Roosevelt nominated a number of other new Justices, including Felix Frankfurter, one of his top advisers.

Indeed, 1937 marked a turning point in the history of the Court. For years to come, the Court more willingly accepted a larger role for the federal government. Yet the court-packing incident weakened FDR politically. Before the court-packing plan, FDR's popularity prevented critics from challenging him. Now that Roosevelt had lost momentum, critics felt free to take him on. And even though the Court did not strike down any more laws, after 1937 Roosevelt found the public much less willing to support further New Deal legislation.



Analyzing Political Cartoons

The Ingenious Quarterback! This 1937 cartoon makes fun of FDR's court-packing plan.

1. Why did the cartoonist make FDR the quarterback and Congress the referee?
2. What is the cartoonist's message?

History Background

Schechter Poultry v. United States The Supreme Court decision in this case struck down one of the most important pieces of New Deal legislation, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA).

The case began in New York, with a lawsuit brought against a Brooklyn poultry slaughterhouse. The suit claimed the Schechter Company sold sick chickens, failed to pay workers the minimum wage (at least 50 cents per hour), and did not adhere to the maximum work hours rules (no more than 40 hours per week). These regulations were mandated by the NIRA's

Live Poultry Code. The Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional on several grounds, ruling that the federal government could regulate interstate commerce but could not set rules for a business operating within a state. In addition, the power to make such rules for industry belonged to Congress and could not be delegated to the President.

The Court then struck down other New Deal legislation, causing FDR to worry that the Court would ultimately revoke his whole New Deal program. "Court packing" became his solution.



A New Downturn Spun Court had barely faded w During 1935 and 1936, eco had fallen 10 percent in fo on federal spending in orde

While Roosevelt reduce interest rates, making it n ers to borrow to buy new g Unemployment soared to employment and producti Largely because of the 1938 congressional electi seats. Although Democrat gress, Roosevelt's power b were lukewarm supporter: eign policies, FDR chose n

✓ **Checkpoint** What se as President?

SECTION 2 Assess

Comprehension

1. **Terms** For each act or N agency below, explain how conditions during the dep
 - WPA
 - Social Security Act
 - Wagner Act
 - Fair Labor Standards Ac

Section 2 A

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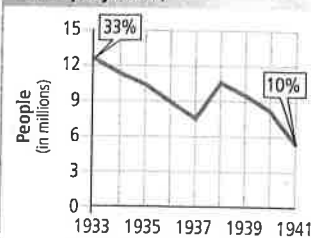
A New Downturn Spurs Conservative Gains The turmoil over the Supreme Court had barely faded when the Roosevelt administration faced another crisis. During 1935 and 1936, economic conditions had begun to improve. Unemployment had fallen 10 percent in four years. With the economy doing better, FDR cut back on federal spending in order to reduce the rising deficit. But he miscalculated.

While Roosevelt reduced federal spending, the Federal Reserve Board raised interest rates, making it more difficult for businesses to expand and for consumers to borrow to buy new goods. Suddenly, the economy was in another tailspin. Unemployment soared to more than 20 percent. Nearly all of the gains in employment and production were wiped out.

Largely because of the downturn, the Democrats suffered a setback in the 1938 congressional elections. Republicans picked up 7 Senate and 75 House seats. Although Democrats still maintained a majority in both houses of Congress, Roosevelt's power base was shaken because many southern Democrats were lukewarm supporters of the New Deal. Needing their support for his foreign policies, FDR chose not to try to force more reforms through Congress.

- ✓ **Checkpoint** What setbacks did Roosevelt face during his second term as President?

Unemployment, 1933–1941



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

Millions Look for Jobs

While New Deal programs employed many Americans, millions of others continued to search for work. *What happened to the unemployment rate in 1937?*

SECTION 2 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
www.pearsonschool.com/ushist

Comprehension

1. **Terms** For each act or New Deal agency below, explain how it eased conditions during the depression.
 - WPA
 - Social Security Act
 - Wagner Act
 - Fair Labor Standards Act

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Connect Ideas Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: What major issues did the second New Deal address?

Writing About History

3. **Quick Write: Compare and Contrast** In order to synthesize, you need to compare and contrast different sources. List some emotions expressed by the photos on the first and last pages of this section. Do these images convey the same idea as the graph above? Explain in one or two sentences.

Critical Thinking

4. **Identify Central Issues** What were the most important reforms of the Second New Deal?
5. **Make Comparisons** Why did American labor make greater progress during the 1930s than during the prosperous 1920s?
6. **Demonstrate Reasoned Judgment** Do you think that FDR's court-packing plan was justified? Explain your answer.

Section 2 Assessment

1. Statements should demonstrate students' understanding of each term.
2. The Second New Deal addressed problems of the elderly, the poor, and the unemployed. It created new public-works projects, helped farmers, and enacted legislation to protect workers' rights.
3. Responses should demonstrate students' ability to both analyze the graph and interpret the photos.
4. Samples: the Social Security system for providing pensions for the first time to the elderly and guaranteeing an income for the disabled, the unemployed, and those injured at work; the Fair Labor Standards Act and Wagner Act for giving more power to workers to improve their wages and working conditions
5. Several pieces of New Deal legislation strengthened unions, mandated minimum wages, limited normal work hours,

- and outlawed child labor.
- most industrial workers were paid low wages and long hours for low pay from union members.
6. Accept either point of view. Students will think FDR's court-packing plan was justified if they believe the New Deal. Others will think it was not justified if they believe it was an overreach of power.

For additional assessment, access **Progress Monitoring** at www.pearsonschool.com

Assess

Assess Proc

- Have students complete the Assessment.
- Administer the Assessment.
- To further assess student understanding, use the Assessment.

Reteach

- If students need reteaching, have them read the Assessment.
- Reading and Note Taking Study Guide
- Adapted Reading Note Taking Study Guide
- Spanish Reading Note Taking Study Guide

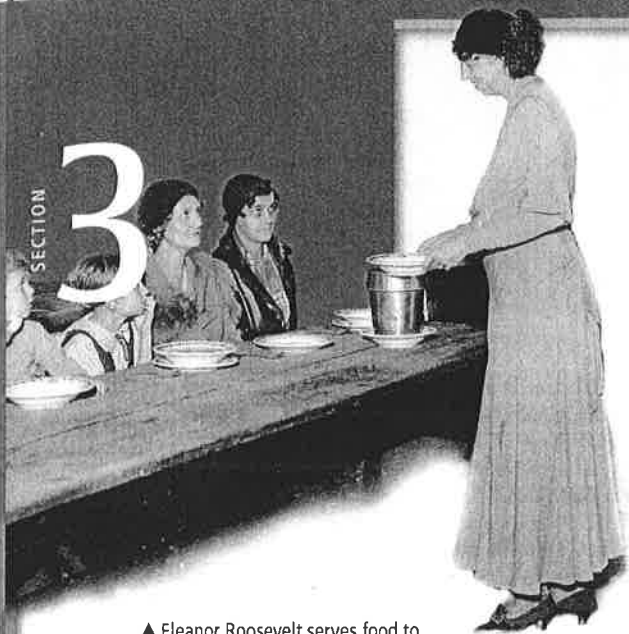
Extend

- Have students write headlines that describe the New Deal program.

Answers

- ✓ The Supreme Court's decision was a key provision of the New Deal. It was unconstitutional when the Court ruled that the New Deal's economic policies were unconstitutional. The cost of the New Deal was high.

Caption After 10 years, the unemployment rate in 1937.



▲ Eleanor Roosevelt serves food to unemployed women and their children.

WITNESS HISTORY

The Caring First Lady

Eleanor Roosevelt played a crucial role in the New Deal. She traveled to places FDR could not, advised her husband, and served as an inspiration to millions of Americans. Mrs. Roosevelt also corresponded with thousands of citizens. The following letter reflects the affection that many citizens felt for the first lady.

“Ridley Park, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

... Just to look at your picture and that of our President seems to me like looking at the picture of a saint. So when you answered my letter and promised to have some one help me it only proved that you are our own Mrs. Roosevelt. I have told everyone what you have done for me. I want them to know you are not too busy to answer our letters and give us what help and advice you can. You hold the highest place any woman can hold still you are not to[o] proud to befriend the poor. ... Thank you and God bless you both.”

—Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt, September 1, 1935

Effects of the New Deal

Objectives

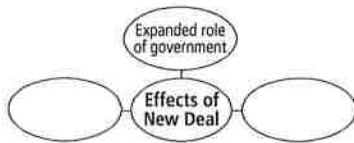
- Describe how the New Deal affected different groups in American society.
- Analyze how the New Deal changed the shape of American party politics.
- Discuss the impact of Franklin D. Roosevelt on the presidency.

Terms and People

Black Cabinet New Deal coalition
Mary McLeod Bethune welfare state
Indian New Deal

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, identify the lasting effects of the New Deal upon American society.



Why It Matters The New Deal provided desperately needed relief from the depression and enacted reforms that guarded against economic catastrophe. It did not end the depression. World War II, with its massive military spending, would do that. Yet, the New Deal mattered enormously because it brought fundamental changes to the nation. It changed the role of the federal government in the economy, the power of the presidency, and the relationship of the American people to their government. **Section Focus Question:** How did the New Deal change the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States for future generations?

Women Help Lead the New Deal

The New Deal provided some women with the opportunity to increase their political influence and to promote women's rights. Foremost among them was Eleanor Roosevelt, who transformed the office of First Lady from a largely ceremonial role to a position of action and deep involvement in the political process. Representing the President, she toured the nation. She visited farms and Indian reservations and traveled deep into a coal mine. She helped FDR on his campaigns and offered advice on policy issues. In her newspaper column, “My Day,” she called on Americans to live up to the goal of equal justice for all.

“Eleanor Roosevelt is the F writer Margaret Marshall. “Sh Yet she makes friends on a pla causes included advancing pul rural areas, and even addressi traveling more than 60,000 mi

Molly Dewson, head of th observed that Eleanor Rooseve to the President. “When I wan gave [me] the opportunity to si settled before we finished our s

The Roosevelt Administratio tary of Labor Frances Perkins. Security. Perkins also helped wi ended child labor and establishe

However, the New Deal did workplace. Indeed, some histo programs reinforced traditiona programs employed women bu men first. For example, women the increased homeownership New Deal were of special bene:

✓ **Checkpoint** What impact

African Americans Challenges

When the depression hit, Afri were often the first to lose the unemployment rate for African 50 percent, more than twice t Eleanor Roosevelt and others u improve the situation of African

As the New Deal progresse increasingly used her position to discrimination. At a meeting h Conference on Human Welfare, sought to promote racial reform with the black delegates—a dari Birmingham, Alabama. When t told her that she was violating l Mrs. Roosevelt moved her chair the black and white sides. She th and provocative keynote address i

Primary Source “W

democracy of the world and as suc world that democracy is possible a up to the principles upon which it v eyes of the world are upon us, and are not too friendly eyes.”

—Eleanor Roosevelt,

Vocabulary Builder

Use the information below and the following resource to teach students the high-use words from this section. Teaching Resources, Vocabulary Builder, p. 11

High-Use Words

Definitions and Sample Sentences

gender

n. a person's sex

Before 1920, the absence of women's suffrage was one kind of **gender** discrimination.

ethnic

adj. relating to groups of people with a common national, racial, religious, or cultural heritage

Because of immigration, the people of the United States belong to many **ethnic** groups.

Connect to Your Wor

Women in the Cabinet FDI woman to the Cabinet when he Secretary of Labor. Fewer than t level officials since Washington' women—and most of those we dents Bill Clinton or George W. I

The highest-ranking women to taries have been Madeleine Albr Rice. Both served as Secretary of currently holds the position. Albr female Secretary of State, and Ri American woman in this positio

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a crucial role in the New Deal. FDR could not, advised her in inspiration to millions of It also corresponded with thou- lowing letter reflects the affect- elt for the first lady.

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picture and that of our President ng at the picture of a saint. So y letter and promised to have nly proved that you are our own told everyone what you have em to know you are not too busy and give us what help and advice highest place any woman can o[o] proud to befriend the nd God bless you both.” nor Roosevelt, September 1, 1935

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“Eleanor Roosevelt is the First Lady of Main Street,” explained magazine writer Margaret Marshall. “She occupies the highest social position in the land. Yet she makes friends on a plane or a train even as you and I.” Mrs. Roosevelt’s causes included advancing public health and education, promoting the arts in rural areas, and even addressing flood control. She exhibited boundless energy, traveling more than 60,000 miles in two years.

Molly Dewson, head of the Women’s Division of the Democratic Party, observed that Eleanor Roosevelt provided women with an unprecedented access to the President. “When I wanted help on some definite point, Mrs. Roosevelt gave [me] the opportunity to sit by the President at dinner and the matter was settled before we finished our soup.”

The Roosevelt Administration included the first female Cabinet member, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. She played a leading role in establishing Social Security. Perkins also helped win approval of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which ended child labor and established a minimum wage.

However, the New Deal did not fight to end gender discrimination in the workplace. Indeed, some historians have argued that a number of New Deal programs reinforced traditional gender differences. The WPA and other relief programs employed women but made a much greater effort to provide work to men first. For example, women were not eligible to work for the CCC. However, the increased homeownership and insured savings accounts brought by the New Deal were of special benefit to the widows of men who were covered.

✓ **Checkpoint** What impact did the New Deal have on women?

African Americans Make Advances and Face Challenges

When the depression hit, African American workers were often the first to lose their jobs. By 1934, the unemployment rate for African Americans was almost 50 percent, more than twice the national average. Eleanor Roosevelt and others urged the President to improve the situation of African Americans.

As the New Deal progressed, Eleanor Roosevelt increasingly used her position to protest against racial discrimination. At a meeting held by the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, a biracial group that sought to promote racial reforms, the first lady sat with the black delegates—a daring move in segregated Birmingham, Alabama. When a white police officer told her that she was violating local segregation laws, Mrs. Roosevelt moved her chair to the space between the black and white sides. She then delivered a rousing and provocative keynote address in favor of racial reform.

Primary Source

“We are the leading democracy of the world and as such must prove to the world that democracy is possible and capable of living up to the principles upon which it was founded. The eyes of the world are upon us, and often we find they are not too friendly eyes.”

—Eleanor Roosevelt, November 22, 1938

HISTORY MAKERS

Frances Perkins (1882–1965)

After graduating from college, Frances Perkins earned her master’s degree in economics. From 1912, until being named Secretary of Labor, she held various jobs in New York State government. She was a strong voice for consumers and workers, especially working women and children.



Mary McLeod Bethune (1875–1955)

Mary McLeod Bethune was a teacher who worked to improve educational opportunities for African Americans. Bethune served as FDR’s special adviser on minority affairs. As the director of Negro Affairs of the National Youth Administration, Bethune was the first black woman to head a federal agency.



Connect to Your World

Women in the Cabinet FDR appointed the first woman to the Cabinet when he named Frances Perkins Secretary of Labor. Fewer than three dozen Cabinet-level officials since Washington’s time have been women—and most of those were appointed by presidents Bill Clinton or George W. Bush.

The highest-ranking women to serve as Cabinet secretaries have been Madeleine Albright and Condoleezza Rice. Both served as Secretary of State. Hillary Clinton currently holds the position. Albright was the first female Secretary of State, and Rice was the first African American woman in this position.

Some other Cabinet milestones for women include:

- Patricia Robert Harris (Secretary of HUD and HHS under Jimmy Carter) who became the first African American woman to serve in a Cabinet in 1977.
- Janet Reno (Attorney General under Bill Clinton) who became the first female Attorney General in 1993.
- Elaine Chao (Secretary of Labor under George W. Bush) who became the first Asian American woman to serve in a Cabinet in 2001.

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The President invited many African American leaders to advise him. These unofficial advisers became known as the **Black Cabinet**. They included Robert Weaver and William Hastie, Harvard University graduates who rose to high positions within the Department of the Interior. Hastie later became a federal judge, and Weaver was the first African American Cabinet member.

Mary McLeod Bethune was another member of the Black Cabinet. The founder of what came to be known as Bethune Cookman College, she was a powerful champion of racial equality. In her view, the New Deal had created a "new day" for African Americans. She noted that African Americans gained unprecedented access to the White House and positions within the government during Roosevelt's presidency.

Nevertheless, Roosevelt did not always follow the advice of his Black Cabinet. Racial discrimination and injustice continued to plague African Americans. When the NAACP launched an energetic campaign in favor of a federal anti-lynching law, the President refused to support it. FDR told black leaders that he could not support an anti-lynching law, because if he did, southern Democrats "would block every bill I ask Congress to pass." Hence, no civil rights reforms became law during the 1930s.

Several New Deal measures also unintentionally hurt African Americans. Federal payments to farmers to produce fewer crops led white landowners to evict unneeded black sharecroppers from their farms. Even though they benefited from the WPA and other relief measures, African Americans often did not receive equal wages. Social Security and the Fair Labor Standards Act exempted domestic workers and farm laborers, two occupations in which African Americans were employed in great numbers.

✓ **Checkpoint** How did the New Deal affect African Americans?

Native Americans Benefit From Building Projects

Navajo medicine men attend the opening of a new hospital in Fort Defiance, Arizona, in 1938. *How was this project part of the Indian New Deal?*



The New Deal Affects Native Americans

Attempting to improve the lives of Native Americans, the Roosevelt administration made major changes in long-standing policies. The 1887 Dawes Act had divided tribal lands into smaller plots. By the early 1930s, it was clear that the

act had worsened the condition. The 138 million acres American Indian remained in American Indian Collier, the New Deal's Comm Act was resulting in "total lan

To prevent further loss of lan icans, Collier developed the Inc nomic assistance and greater c from New Deal agencies for the create an Indian Civilian Co Indian Affairs, in a reversal o Indian religions, native languu vinced Congress to pass the In centerpiece of the Indian New I American land.

Although it did not immediat Reorganization Act gave Nativ But some New Deal measures a eral authorities determined that causing soil erosion on the Color. enacted a Navajo Livestock Re dated that the Navajo sell or Navajo deeply resented this act. sheep threatened the soil and th government agents.

✓ **Checkpoint** In what ways policies toward Native Amer

The New Deal Crea Political Coalition

By the time he died in 1945, Roc terms as President. His legendary unlikely group of Americans into a **New Deal coalition**. This coaliti whites, northern blue-collar wo immigrant roots—poor midwester

African American voting patter tion. Before the New Deal, most A of Abraham Lincoln. Responding to African Americans began to vote strongest in the West and the Nort African American Democrat, deft Republican, to represent the largel the first African American Democr

The New Deal coalition gave th houses of Congress. Before FDR's ity party in the House of Represent from 1932 to 1995, the Democrats of Representatives for all but four 1932 went on to secure the White eight presidential elections.

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

L4 Advanced Readers L4 Gifted and Talented Students

Ask students who need an extra challenge to do library and Internet research on organizations that worked to advance racial justice for African Americans in the New Deal era, such as the NAACP and the Urban League. Students should provide a history of the organization, explain its purpose, and

describe the social services it provided or continues to provide today.

Ask students to report their findings to the rest of the class in the form of a news release from the organization.

History Background

The Dawes Act The Dawes Act Rep. Henry Dawes of Massachusetts 1887. Its goal was to break up Na groups and force Native American late into white American culture.

Rep. Dawes laid out his goals pl that he was hopeful the law would making the Native Americans "... [and] wear civilized clothes . . . cu live in houses, ride in Studebaker | send children to school, drink whi property."

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act had worsened the condition of the people it was designed to help. Of the original 138 million acres American Indians had owned in 1887, only 48 million remained in American Indian hands, and much of it was too arid to farm. John Collier, the New Deal's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, warned that the Dawes Act was resulting in "total landlessness for the Indians."

To prevent further loss of land and improve living conditions for Native Americans, Collier developed the **Indian New Deal**, a program that gave Indians economic assistance and greater control over their own affairs. Collier got funding from New Deal agencies for the construction of new schools and hospitals and to create an Indian Civilian Conservation Corps. In addition, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in a reversal of previous policies, encouraged the practice of Indian religions, native languages, and traditional customs. Collier also convinced Congress to pass the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, considered the centerpiece of the Indian New Deal. This law restored tribal control over Native American land.

Although it did not immediately improve their standard of living, the Indian Reorganization Act gave Native Americans greater control over their destiny. But some New Deal measures actually hurt Native Americans. For example, federal authorities determined that large herds of sheep tended by the Navajos were causing soil erosion on the Colorado Plateau. As a result, the federal government enacted a Navajo Livestock Reduction program, which mandated that the Navajo sell or kill thousands of sheep. The Navajo deeply resented this act. They did not believe that their sheep threatened the soil and they did not trust the motives of government agents.

✓ **Checkpoint** In what ways did the New Deal alter the U.S. policies toward Native Americans?

The New Deal Creates a New Political Coalition

By the time he died in 1945, Roosevelt had been elected to four terms as President. His legendary political skills had united an unlikely group of Americans into a strong political force called the **New Deal coalition**. This coalition brought together southern whites, northern blue-collar workers—especially those with immigrant roots—poor midwestern farmers, and African Americans.

African American voting patterns show the importance of the New Deal coalition. Before the New Deal, most African Americans voted Republican, the party of Abraham Lincoln. Responding to the efforts of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, African Americans began to vote Democratic during the 1930s. This trend was strongest in the West and the North. For example, in 1934, Arthur W. Mitchell, an African American Democrat, defeated Oscar De Priest, an African American Republican, to represent the largely black south side of Chicago. Mitchell became the first African American Democrat elected to Congress.

The New Deal coalition gave the Democratic Party a sizable majority in both houses of Congress. Before FDR's election, the Democrats had been the minority party in the House of Representatives for all but eight years since 1895. But from 1932 to 1995, the Democrats controlled the majority of seats in the House of Representatives for all but four years. The coalition that elected Roosevelt in 1932 went on to secure the White House for the Democrats in six of the next eight presidential elections.

History Background

The Dawes Act The Dawes Act, the brainchild of Rep. Henry Dawes of Massachusetts, was passed in 1887. Its goal was to break up Native American groups and force Native American people to assimilate into white American culture.

Rep. Dawes laid out his goals plainly when he said that he was hopeful the law would have the effect of making the Native Americans "... be civilized ... [and] wear civilized clothes ... cultivate the ground, live in houses, ride in Studebaker [chuck] wagons, send children to school, drink whiskey [and] own property."

The Act provided for 160 acres of farmland or 320 acres of pasture land for grazing for each head of an Indian household. The Native Americans had to give up any remaining land, and it was offered to white settlers. Within a couple of decades of the passage of the Dawes Act, much of the land that had belonged to Native Americans was gone.

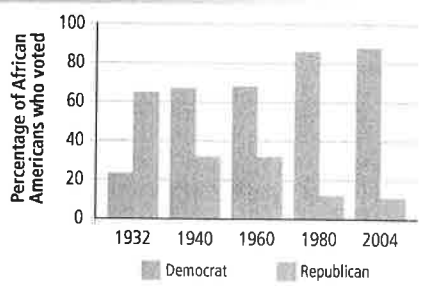
The Dawes Act remained a main feature of the relationship between the federal government and Native American nations until the 1930s, when John Collier, as head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, changed the policy.

African Americans Join New Deal Coalition

In Atlanta, African Americans register to vote in a Democratic primary election. *What percentage of African American voters voted Democratic in 1932? What was the percentage in 2004?*



Presidential Vote of African Americans, 1932–2004



SOURCES: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia*; Sean J. Savage, *Roosevelt: The Party Leader, 1932–1945*; CNN.com

The New Native A

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Caption about 90 percent

Vocabulary Builder

ethnic—(EHTH nihk) *adj.* relating to groups of people with a common national, racial, religious, or cultural heritage

Besides forging a powerful political coalition, Roosevelt and the New Deal helped to unify the nation. Social and ethnic divisions, so much a part of the 1920s, diminished significantly during the 1930s. Immigrant communities, in particular, gained a greater sense of belonging to the mainstream. Programs such as the CCC and WPA allowed individuals of varied backgrounds to get to know one another, breaking down regional and ethnic prejudices. As one CCC worker observed:

Primary Source

“The Civilian Conservation Corps is a smaller melting pot within the big one. We are thrown together in such a way that we have to get acquainted whether or not we want to. . . . Different races and nationalities look each other in the face, work and eat together for the first time. And it is a safe bet, we think, that this process many times results in the elimination of traditional prejudices based on ignorance and misinformation.”

—C. W. Kirkpatrick, CCC worker

- ✓ **Checkpoint** How did New Deal policies affect ethnic and social divisions?

The Role of Government Expands

New Deal programs greatly increased the size and scope of the federal government. “For the first time for many Americans,” writes historian William Leuchtenburg, “the federal government became an institution that was directly experienced. More than the state and local governments, it came to be *the* government.” Moreover, the government began to do things it had never done before, from withdrawing taxes directly from workers’ paychecks to distributing benefits to the elderly.

Though the New Deal did not end the depression, it did help restore the American economy. It created the foundation for sustained and stable growth. According to Pulitzer Prize-winning historian David Kennedy, “the unparalleled economic vitality of the post-1940 decades was attributable to many factors. But the [economic expansion] . . . owed much to the New Deal.”

Playing a Larger Role in the Economy With the New Deal, the federal government broke from the tradition of *laissez faire*, or leaving the economy alone, which had characterized most of American history. Now the federal government accepted responsibility for spurring economic growth, or pump priming. For the first time, the government had acted as an employer of the unemployed and a sponsor of work projects. FDR accepted the idea that the federal government had to do something to get the economy going again, and Democrats and many Republicans agreed.

FDR’s rejection of *laissez-faire* policies led a number of New Deal critics to accuse him of promoting socialism. However, many New Deal measures actually strengthened capitalism and helped make possible the economic boom of the post-World War II era. The FDIC and SEC restored Americans’ trust in banks and the stock market. The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) provided low-interest loans, increasing homeownership.

The New Deal affected millions of workers and their families. The Wagner Act boosted union membership, which continued to grow after World War II. Minimum wage increases improved the purchasing power of minorities and those at the bottom rung of the economic ladder. New Deal legislation created child labor laws, workers’ compensation laws, and unemployment insurance, programs that had important and enduring impacts on the U.S. economy.

TRACK THE ISSUE



What is the proper balance between free enterprise and government regulation of the economy?

In theory, a free-enterprise system should function with little government interference. In practice, though, our government often plays a strong economic role. How much government regulation of the economy is appropriate? Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1890 Sherman Antitrust Act
Congress tries to curb the power of monopolies.

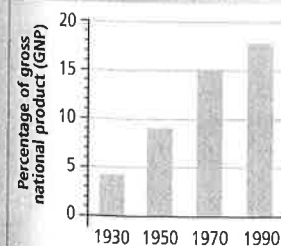
1906 Pure Food and Drug Act
Progressive law regulates the safety of food and medicine.

1913 Federal Reserve Act
Federal Reserve system is established to control the money supply.

1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act
New Deal law pays farmers to reduce production, causing higher crop prices and farm profits.

2001 Tax Cuts
Government lowers taxes in an effort to promote economic growth.

Federal Social Welfare Spending



SOURCES: Historical Statistics of the United States; Social Security Bulletin; Statistical Abstract of the United States

Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

11 Special Needs Students 12 Less Proficient Readers

To help students understand the extent of U.S. government growth during the Great Depression, have each student create a three-column chart summarizing the New Deal programs. Tell students to write the names of each New Deal program in the first column. In the second column, have students note the reason why each program was enacted.

Point out that programs designed to help businesses and the economy are economic programs. Also, explain that programs designed to give aid directly to people, such as Social Security, were social programs. In the third column, ask students to categorize each program as either economic or social.

History Background

Agricultural Adjustment office, many farmers were in distress. The Agricultural Adjustment Act passed in May 1933, had the aim of increasing the value of hogs, and crops such as corn. Farmers were paid government amounts of their crop. A smaller supply of crops would rise, thus gradually increasing the income of hog farmers, the aim was to decrease the supply. Therefore

The New Deal had a great impact on rural Americans. Regional public-works projects, such as the TVA and Bonneville Dam, reduced flooding and provided water for irrigation. Along with the Rural Electrification Administration, these dams brought electricity to farmers in the Southeast and the Northwest. Rose Dudley Searce of Shelby, Kentucky, recalled what the REA meant to her farm family:

Primary Source “The first benefit we received from the REA was light, and aren’t lights grand? My little boy expressed my sentiments when he said, ‘Mother, I didn’t realize how dark our house was until we got electric lights.’ . . . Like the rest of the people, we changed our storage-battery radio into an electric radio. . . . Next we bought an electric refrigerator. . . . The next benefit we received from the current was our electric stove. . . . Now with a vacuum cleaner, I can even dust the furniture before I clean the carpet, the carpet gets clean, and I stay in good humor.”

—Rose Dudley Searce, “What the REA Service Means to Our Farm House”

Creating a Welfare State “We is left out,” Franklin Roosevelt once enacted to realize this goal led to a government that assumes responsibility for the poor, elderly, sick, disabled, and the unemployed. The creation of the American welfare state policy. With the exception of military and veterans’ benefits, private charities, and family support, the New Deal provided for needy Americans. True, the New Deal was not a “welfare state” in which no one is left out,” because Social Security and other programs. Still, the federal government was responsible for the latter half of the twentieth century. The welfare state grew greatly.

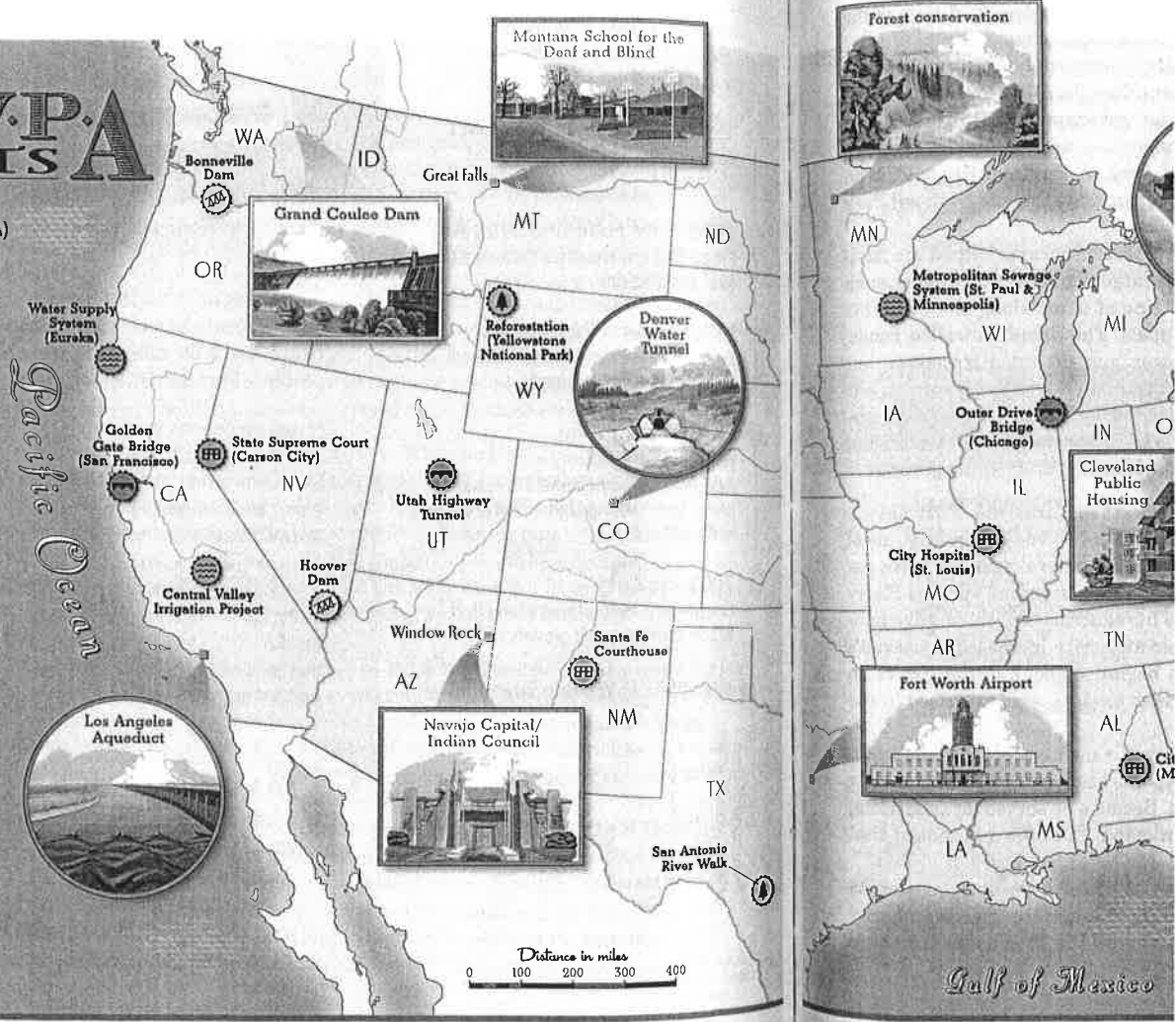
INFOGRAPHIC
P.W.A. and W.P.A. PROJECTS

The Public Works Administration (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) were New Deal government agencies that provided work relief for people who had lost their jobs during the depression.

Both agencies focused on large public-works projects that benefited local communities across the nation. Their combined efforts produced thousands of schools, hospitals, parks, bridges, dams, housing developments, libraries, and other public buildings. They also built or improved thousands of miles of roads and highways, installed sewer systems, and conducted environmental-conservation projects.

Thinking Critically

Analyze Besides giving jobs to the unemployed, describe other ways that PWA and WPA projects might have helped local economies.



Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- 1 Special Needs Students
- 2 English Language Learners
- 3 Less Proficient Readers

Have students look at the map on these pages. Ask them to work in pairs and list the types of projects shown on the map. Ask **What type of project is most common on the map?** (structures such as government buildings, museums, public housing, airports) **What other type of public works project**

was common? (dams, bridges, forest projects) Have students discuss reasons why these types of projects were common. (They were expensive projects that local governments could not afford; they would benefit many people; and they would employ many people for a long time.)

Differentiated Instruction

- 1 Special Needs Student

This section covered several topics. To integrate the section, organize students into groups of three. Then, assign each group a portion of text to read carefully and study.

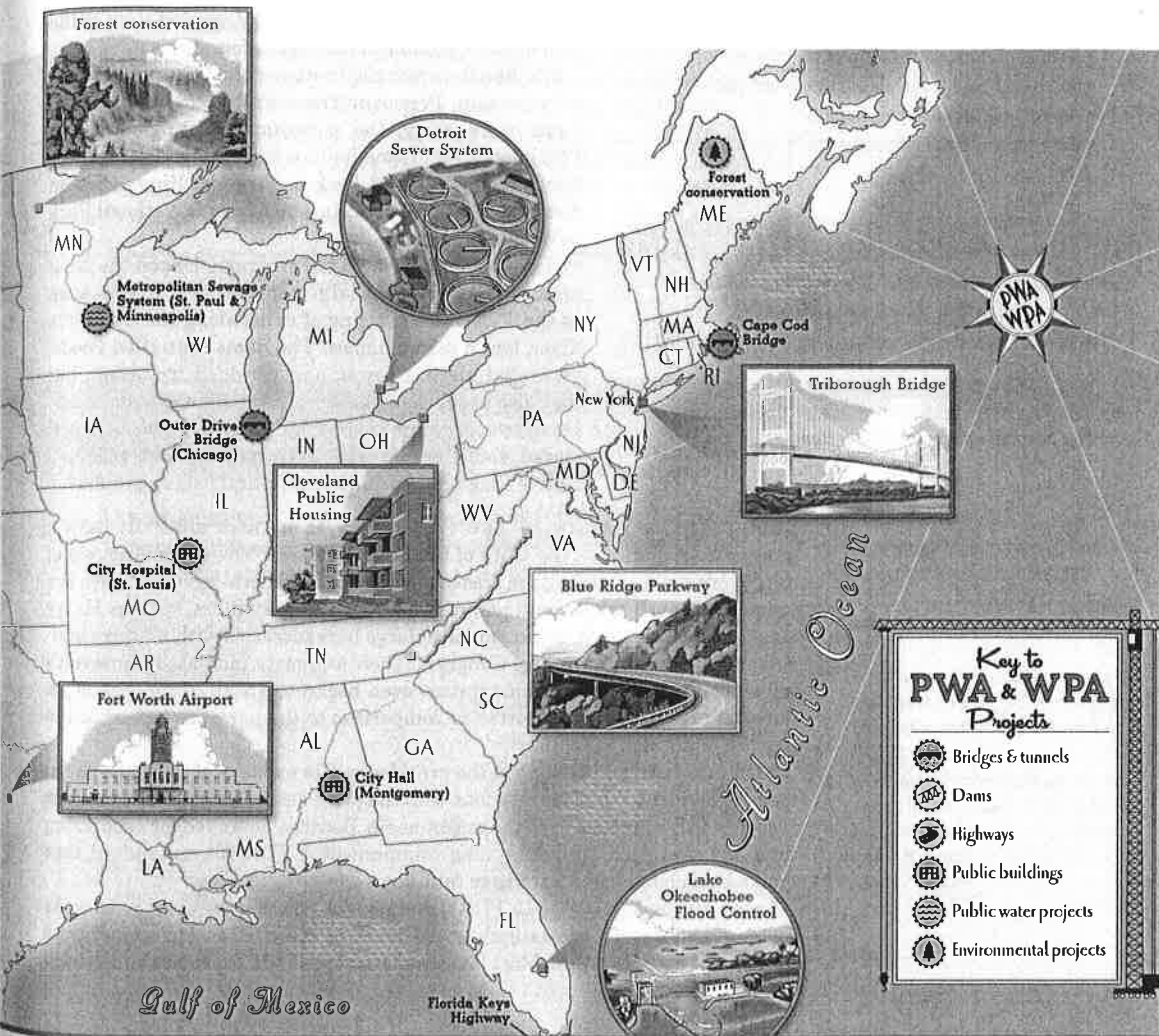
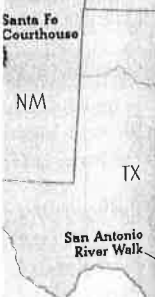
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arm House"

Creating a Welfare State "We are going to make a country in which no one is left out," Franklin Roosevelt once told Frances Perkins. The many programs he enacted to realize this goal led to the rise of a **welfare state** in the United States, a government that assumes responsibility for providing for the welfare of children and the poor, elderly, sick, disabled, and unemployed.

The creation of the American welfare state was a major change in government policy. With the exception of military veterans, most Americans had never received any direct benefits from the federal government. State and local governments, private charities, and families had long served as the safety net for needy Americans. True, the New Deal did not achieve FDR's goal of "a country in which no one is left out," because it exempted many Americans from Social Security and other programs. Still, the New Deal established the principle that the federal government was responsible for the welfare of all Americans. In the latter half of the twentieth century, the reach of government programs would grow greatly.



Have student on this spread of PWA and WPA. **How did New Deal help the environment?** (Yes; the large displaced some natural habitat life.) **How did the nature of the growth in government, the agency also in the imperial said FDR had those of past? What law was presidential Roosevelt's second Amendment, which two consecutive some people needed? (Roosevelt terms, unlike who had served people believed they stayed in office too much power)**

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Differentiated Instruction Solutions for All Learners

- Special Needs Students**
- Less Proficient Readers**

This section covered several topics. To help students integrate the section, organize students in groups of three. Then, assign each group one blue head of the text to read carefully and study. Tell groups that they

must become "experts" on their assigned blue head text. Have each group take a turn in front of the class, while members of other groups ask them questions about their blue-head sections.

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framework for the federal government in organized liberals who for the federal government. Indeed, this very

earned in New York, Franklin Roosevelt, FDR also loved outdoors, such as the CCC, serving the environment. degraded state of the

the conservation work Roosevelt. Although set aside about national parks, including

rams helped the environmental projects, such as along the Columbia dams controlled floods, provided irrigation, but

area did FDR have a The expanding role of federal agencies, gave the

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the Twenty-second President for as many

FDR's Effect on the Presidency Quick Study

- Increased power of the President and the executive branch
- Made mass media, such as radio, an essential tool in advertising and promoting policies
- Expanded role of the President in managing the economy
- Expanded role of the President in developing social policy
- Won third and fourth terms, leading to passage of Twenty-second Amendment, which limited Presidents to two consecutive terms



authority as a necessary condition of wartime. But after the war, they sought to protect the delicate balance between the different branches of government and between the federal and state governments.

One way that Americans sought to guard against the growing power of the President was by amending the Constitution. When Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented third term in 1940, he knew that he had broken an unwritten rule, established by George Washington, that Presidents should serve only two terms. He won that election and then ran and won again in 1944. But after Roosevelt's death in 1945, there was a growing call for limiting a President's term in office. In 1951, the Twenty-second Amendment was ratified, limiting the President to two consecutive terms.

Checkpoint In what ways did the role of the federal government grow during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency?

The Presidency After Roosevelt

Franklin Roosevelt had a dramatic impact on the role of the presidency. Was FDR's impact positive or negative?

SECTION 3 **Assessment**

Progress Monitoring Online
For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
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Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** What is the relationship between each of the following terms or people and the enduring significance of the New Deal?
- Black Cabinet
 - Mary McLeod Bethune
 - Indian New Deal
 - New Deal coalition
 - welfare state

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Identify Main Ideas Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the New Deal change the social, economic, and political landscape of the United States for future generations?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Draw Conclusions** After comparing information from different sources, the next step in synthesizing is to draw conclusions. Compare the photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt with the primary source on the section's opening page. Write a paragraph that describes Mrs. Roosevelt's personality.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Cause and Effect** Why do you think African Americans suffered more extensive discrimination during the depression than during more prosperous times?
- 5. Determine Relevance** Has the New Deal coalition affected politics in your community today? Explain your answer.
- 6. Synthesize Information** Did the growth in the powers of the federal government during the New Deal benefit the nation? Explain your answer.

Section 3 Assessment

1. Answers should demonstrate students' understanding of the relationship between each term and person and the enduring significance of the New Deal.
2. The New Deal expanded the role of government; increased the power of the presidency; put government in control of the economy as never before; gave rise to the welfare state; created a coalition of groups that strengthened the Democratic Party; had a great impact on rural America through public works projects, electri-

- fication, and subsidies to farmers; and affected groups such as Native Americans.
3. Responses should demonstrate students' abilities to analyze photos and text.
 4. African Americans were often first to lose their jobs when unemployment increased, so their unemployment rates grew during the Depression. During difficult times, conflict between groups competing for limited resources also increases, causing heightened discrimination against less powerful groups.
 5. Students might say that their community has a history of voting Democratic

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For additional **Progress M**
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