

- I. First New Deal (the "Hundred Days")
 - A. Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and election of 1932
 - 1. Roosevelt background
 - 2. "New deal" promise
 - a. Vagueness
 - b. Popular reception
 - 3. Outcome
 - a. FDR landslide victory over Herbert Hoover
 - b. Strong Democratic gains in Congress
 - B. Initial approach to economic crisis
 - 1. New Deal as alternative to socialist, Nazi, and laissez-faire solutions
 - 2. Lack of initial blueprint
 - 3. Circle of advisors
 - a. Leading figures
 - b. Outlooks
 - i. Roots in Progressive reform
 - ii. Dominant preference for regulated "bigness"
 - C. FDR inaugural
 - D. The banking crisis
 - 1. Initiatives
 - a. "Bank holiday"
 - b. Emergency Banking Act
 - c. Glass-Steagall Act
 - d. Removal of United States from gold standard
 - 2. Aim: reversal of banking crisis
 - 3. Outcome: rescue of financial system
 - E. National Recovery Administration (NRA)
 - 1. Elements
 - a. Business-government cooperation
 - b. Industry codes for output, prices, working conditions
 - c. Recognition of labor's right to organize
 - d. Blue Eagle campaign
 - 2. Aims
 - a. Restoration of economic vitality, stability
 - b. Labor-management peace
 - 3. Outcomes
 - a. Ebbing of public enthusiasm; growth of controversy
 - b. Corporate domination
 - c. Weak enforcement
 - d. Minimal effectiveness
 - F. Relief and government jobs
 - 1. Initiatives
 - a. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA)
 - b. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
 - c. Public Works Administration (PWA)
 - d. Civil Works Administration (CWA)
 - e. Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)
 - 2. Aims
 - a. Direct relief for needy (FERA)
 - b. Public employment (CCC, PWA, CWA, TVA)
 - c. Improvement of nation's infrastructure (CCC, PWA, CWA, TVA)

- d. Expansion of electric power (TVA)
 - 3. Outcomes
 - a. Mass participation
 - b. Widespread relief
 - c. Emerging opposition
 - d. Long-term effects
- G. New Deal and Agriculture—Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
 - 1. Elements
 - a. Production quotas
 - b. Subsidies for removal of land from cultivation
 - c. Destruction of crops, livestock
 - 2. Aims: revival of farm prices and incomes
 - 3. Outcomes
 - a. Revival of farm prices and incomes
 - b. Uneven impact on farmers
 - i. Gains for landowning farmers
 - ii. Exclusion and displacement of tenants, sharecroppers
 - 4. Worsening of rural hardship
 - a. Dust Bowl and mass displacement of farmers
 - b. John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*
- H. New Deal and housing
 - 1. Initiatives
 - a. Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC)
 - b. Federal Housing Administration (FHA)
 - c. Federal construction of low-rent housing
 - 2. Aims
 - a. Protection of homeowners from foreclosure
 - b. Expanded access to home ownership
 - c. Inexpensive rental housing
 - d. New construction
 - 3. Outcomes
 - a. Preservation or attainment of home ownership for millions
 - b. Affirmation of "security of the home" as fundamental right
- I. Further initiatives
 - 1. Repeal of Prohibition
 - 2. Federal Communications Commission
 - 3. Securities and Exchange Commission
- J. Overall impact
 - 1. Transformation of role of federal government
 - 2. Scale of relief, public projects
 - 3. Failure to end Depression
- K. The Supreme Court and the New Deal
 - 1. Invalidation of NRA; Schechter Poultry case
 - 2. Invalidation of AAA; *United States v. Butler*
- II. Grassroots revolt
 - A. Labor's great upheaval—reawakening the labor movement
 - 1. Preconditions
 - a. Encouraging signals from federal government
 - i. Election of FDR
 - ii. Section 7a of National Industrial Recovery Act
 - iii. Wagner Act
 - b. Receding of ethnic differences
 - c. Militant leadership
 - 2. Aspirations
 - a. Better wages

- b. Check on employer power
 - c. Labor rights
 - d. Union recognition
 - 3. Labor upheaval of 1934
 - a. Nationwide wave of strikes
 - b. Major strikes
 - i. Toledo auto workers
 - ii. Minneapolis truck drivers
 - iii. San Francisco dockworkers
 - iv. Textile workers (New England to Deep South)
 - B. Rise of Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)
 - 1. Origins
 - a. Split within American Federation of Labor (AFL)
 - b. Walkout of insurgent AFL leaders; John L. Lewis
 - 2. Agenda
 - a. Organization of industrial bastions
 - b. "Economic freedom and industrial democracy"
 - 3. Landmark struggles
 - a. United Auto Workers sit-down strikes (Cleveland, Flint)
 - i. Spirit of militancy, unity
 - ii. Victory, recognition by General Motors
 - b. Steel Workers Organizing Committee
 - i. Recognition by U.S. Steel
 - ii. Continued resistance from small firms; Republic strike bloodshed
 - 4. Overall progress
 - a. Explosion of union membership
 - b. Achievement of workplace power, dignity
 - c. Impact on politics
 - 5. Political vision
 - a. Activist federal government
 - b. Economic and social security
 - c. Redistribution of wealth
 - C. Voices of protest—other crusaders for economic justice
 - 1. Upton Sinclair; End Poverty in California movement
 - 2. Huey Long; Share-Our-Wealth movement
 - 3. Father Charles E. Coughlin
 - 4. Dr. Francis Townsend; Townsend Clubs
- III. Second New Deal
 - A. Triggering factors
 - 1. Persistence of Depression
 - 2. Popular unrest
 - 3. Democratic gains of 1934
 - B. Underlying aims
 - 1. Economic security
 - 2. Redistribution of income; broadening of purchasing power
 - C. Central initiatives
 - 1. Tax on wealth, corporate profits
 - 2. Rural Electrification Agency
 - a. Electric power to farmers
 - b. Soil conservation
 - c. Minimal benefits for non-landholders
 - 3. Works Projects Administration (WPA)
 - a. Mass participation
 - b. Impact on national life

- c. Infrastructure
 - d. The arts
 - 4. Wagner Act (National Labor Relations Act)
 - a. Provisions
 - b. Rights to organize, union representation, collective bargaining
 - c. Federal enforcement; National Labor Relations Board
 - d. Democratization of workplace; "Labor's Magna Carta"
 - 5. The American welfare state—Social Security Act
 - a. Provisions
 - i. Unemployment insurance
 - ii. Old-age pensions
 - iii. Aid to disabled, elderly poor, and families with dependent children
 - b. Key features
 - i. System of taxes on employers and workers
 - ii. Mix of national and local funding, control, and eligibility standards
 - c. Significance: launching of American welfare state
 - d. In comparison with European versions
- IV. Reckoning with liberty
 - A. FDR and the idea of freedom—contested meanings
 - 1. New Deal version
 - a. Expanded power of national state
 - b. Social and industrial freedom
 - c. Economic security over liberty of contract
 - d. FDR and modern liberalism
 - 2. Anti-New Deal version
 - a. Freedom from government regulation, fiscal responsibility
 - b. Individual freedom
 - c. American Liberty League
 - d. Hoover's *The Challenge to Liberty*
 - B. Election of 1936
 - 1. FDR vs. Republican Alfred Landon
 - 2. Sharp divisions between classes, conceptions of freedom
 - 3. Outcome: Roosevelt landslide
 - 4. Significance
 - a. Seeds of anti-government conservatism
 - b. "New Deal coalition"
 - 5. FDR's second inaugural
 - C. The court fight—the court-packing plan
 - 1. Motivations
 - 2. Widespread alarm over
 - 3. Ultimate success
 - a. New receptiveness of Supreme Court to New Deal regulation
 - b. Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes conversion
 - D. Winding down of Second New Deal
 - 1. Last major New Deal measures
 - a. United States Housing Act
 - b. Fair Labor Standards Act
 - 2. 1937 economic downturn
 - 3. Shift in New Deal approach to economic crisis
 - a. Adoption of Keynesian, public spending tool
 - b. Discontinuation of economic planning, redistribution
- V. Limits of change
 - A. New Deal and American women

1. Expanded presence of women in federal government
2. Political decline of feminism
3. Depression-era resistance to women's employment
 - a. From government
 - b. From labor movement
4. Uneven access to New Deal benefits
- B. Exclusion of blacks from key entitlements of welfare state
 1. The southern veto, southern Democrats' power
 2. Confinement to public assistance portion of Social Security Act
 - a. Dismal provisions
 - b. Stigma of welfare dependency
- C. "Indian New Deal"
 1. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier
 2. Transformation of Indian policy
 - a. Shift from forced assimilation to cultural autonomy
 - b. Indian Reorganization Act
 3. Limits of progress
 - a. Legal
 - b. Material
- D. Mexican-Americans and the New Deal
 1. Meager opportunity for work
 2. Mass departure for Mexico (voluntary and forced)
 3. Situation of California farmworkers
 - a. Grim conditions
 - b. Exclusion from Social Security and Wagner Acts
 - c. Suppression of unionism
- E. Hardships for African-Americans
 1. "Last hired and first fired"
 2. Disproportionate rates of unemployment
 3. Growing black focus on economic survival
- F. New Deal for blacks
 1. Egalitarian current in New Deal
 2. Shift of black voters to Democratic party
 3. Preservation/reinforcement of racial order by New Deal
 - a. FDR failure to support federal antilynching law
 - b. Discriminatory aspects of New Deal
- VI. New conception of America
 - A. Absorption of new immigrants into public mainstream
 1. Prominence among framers and supporters of New Deal
 2. "Little New Deals"; Fiorello LaGuardia
 3. Cultural assimilation
 4. Americanization via labor and political activism
 - B. Ascendancy of American left
 1. Elements
 - a. Communists—Heyday of American communism
 - b. Socialists
 - c. Labor radicals, CIO
 - d. New Deal liberals
 2. Growth
 - a. In numbers
 - b. In impact on political culture, conceptions of freedom
 3. Activities and appeal of Communist Party
 - a. Range of causes
 - i. The unemployed
 - ii. Industrial unionism; CIO

- iii. Civil rights; Scottsboro case
 - iv. Civil liberties
 - b. Popular Front vision
 - i. Coalition with wider left
 - ii. Broadening and energizing of New Deal liberalism
 - iii. Promotion of social and economic radicalism, ethnic and racial diversity, unionism and social citizenship
 - c. Growing size, respectability
 - 4. Breadth of Popular Front vision
 - a. FDR and the "common man"
 - b. Manifestations in the arts
 - c. Militant, inclusive unionism of CIO
 - d. Spreading condemnations of racial, ethnic, religious intolerance
 - e. Widening commitment to civil liberties, labor rights
 - i. American Civil Liberties Union
 - ii. Robert M. La Follette, Jr. committee exposés
 - iii. Department of Justice's Civil Liberties Unit
 - iv. Supreme Court decisions
- C. End of New Deal
- 1. Mounting opposition of southern Democrats
 - a. Reasons: alarm over specters of unionization, racial equality, radicalism
 - b. Key provocations
 - i. "Report on Economic Conditions in the South"
 - ii. Southern Conference for Human Welfare
 - iii. FDR's crusade to liberalize southern Democratic party
 - 2. Consolidation of southern Democrat-northern Republican coalition
 - 3. Exhaustion of New Deal momentum
 - 4. Shifting focus from domestic to foreign affairs
- D. Historical significance of New Deal
- 1. Limits of
 - 2. Extent of