

Who Made the New Deal?

A role play explores the impact of popular movements on FDR's policies

By ADAM SANCHEZ

MOST HISTORIANS, and many textbooks, divide the New Deal into two phases: the first New Deal, the flurry of legislation during Franklin D. Roosevelt's first 100 days, and the second New Deal, the more sweeping and long-lasting legislation passed in 1935. They describe this as an era when the government experimented with new and different programs aimed at the same

goal: economic recovery. In Roosevelt's words: "It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something."¹ Unfortunately, mainstream histories ignore the social forces pressing for more radical New Deal legislation and fail to explain how the dynamics of power shifted in response to a growing struggle from below.



Police use tear gas against participants in San Francisco's 1934 general strike.

San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

After exploring the causes of the Great Depression (see [“What Caused the Great Depression? The Widget Boom Game”](#)), my 10th-grade U.S. History class at Madison High School in Portland, Oregon, read about the emergence throughout the country of Unemployed Councils. These councils instigated mass protests demanding jobless relief and used direct action to help tens of thousands of people facing foreclosure move back into their homes. We also read about the Bonus Army’s 1932 occupation of Washington, D.C. This encampment of World War I veterans and their families — at its peak more than 20,000 strong — demanded payment of the bonus promised to soldiers who fought in the Great War. Together, these stories make a compelling case that the decisive blow ending the Hoover presidency was not Roosevelt’s charismatic speeches on the campaign trail, but the militant actions of ordinary people whose lives were devastated by the crisis. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA), one of the first major laws of the New Deal, which allocated \$3 billion for unemployment relief, didn’t spring from the social conscience of Roosevelt, who as late as 1934 called relief “repugnant to American ideals of self-reliance.” Instead, it was the result of pressure from these on-the-ground movements.²

In fact, Roosevelt’s election in 1932 and the legislation that followed did not signal an immediate victory for workers and the poor. Roosevelt differed from Hoover primarily in his willingness to consider greater government intervention into the private market in order to save capitalism. He told his wealthy critics that he was “the best friend the profit system ever had.”³

To help students grapple with the legislation of the early New Deal, I developed the Economic Recovery Conference Role Play (see Resources). I began by seating students in groups of five and introduced myself as President Roosevelt. I explained that I had invited them to the White House to discuss ways the government could

aid economic recovery. I told each group which of five economic and social sectors they would be representing: Unemployed, Trade Unionists, Corporate Executives, Wealthy Southern Landowners, and Black Activists. “I promised a ‘New Deal’ to the American people,” I continued, “and you will help advise me on what should and should not be included in the first major law of that New Deal.”

The goal of the role play was to help students understand who among the public supported this early legislation and why. For example, today most people consider the large public works programs implemented under

the New Deal among the most radical legacies of the Roosevelt presidency. In the current political atmosphere, a federal jobs program of such scale seems impossible. But this was one of the least controversial aspects of the National Industrial Recovery

Act (NIRA). Although the business community vocally opposed programs in which the government directly employed workers, they did not oppose public works appropriations in the early New Deal, which gave grants primarily to private contractors. As the Corporate Executive role explains:

You support a massive “public works” program to put people back to work building roads, bridges, and electrical grids. Creating better infrastructure will allow you to more easily transport goods. Bringing electrical power to communities that don’t have it will allow the people in those communities to buy new appliances and consumer goods they otherwise couldn’t use.

Like capitalists today, the business community supported government spending when it helped increase their business’ profits, but not as a policy to curb unemployment.

I also wanted students to imagine the early New Deal within the context of other economic

As late as 1934, Roosevelt called relief “repugnant to American ideals of self-reliance.”

solutions on offer at the time. The guarantee in the NIRA of labor’s right to bargain collectively, for example, has been promoted by the labor movement as one of the most important labor reforms of the century. But, as historian Richard Hofstadter explains, “The NIRA itself had been rushed into shape partly to head off the strong pro-labor provisions of the Black-Connery Bill,” which would have established a 30-hour work-week in the hopes of spreading jobs and increasing the purchasing power of workers.⁴ In fact, William Green, the president of the AFL at the time, threatened general strikes if Black-Connery wasn’t passed.⁵ I incorporated much of this history into the Trade Union role.

The Economic Recovery Conference Role Play

I distributed an “Economic Recovery Conference: Crucial Issues” handout to every student. Together, we went over the questions they would be debating:

1. Should the federal government distribute direct relief (money for food, clothing, shelter) to the unemployed? If not, what is your alternative?
2. Should the federal government directly employ people for the purpose of building “public works”— roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, parks, public squares, dams, electrical grids — construction that benefits the communities of the United States? If not, what is your alternative?
3. To help raise agricultural prices should the government pay farm owners not to plant on part of their land and to destroy crops and farm animals? If not, what is your alternative?
4. Should the government strengthen anti-trust laws and more heavily regulate industry? Or should the government suspend anti-trust laws to allow businesses to regulate themselves by getting together in “trade associations” and writing codes of fair competition?

5. Should the federal government set a national minimum wage and maximum hours for all workers?
6. Should the government guarantee workers the right to join a labor union and bargain collectively?
7. Should “company unions” (a workers’ organization that is dominated or influenced by an employer) be banned?

I clarified terms like company union and anti-trust law, and tied questions 3 and 4 to previous lessons on crises of overproduction and underconsumption. (See [What Caused the Great Depression? The Widget Boom Game](#)) After ensuring that students had a strong grasp of the issues up for discussion, I distributed roles to the groups and encouraged them to highlight and underline important sections as they read. I asked students to decide as a group what stand they would take on the crucial issues. I encouraged them to write their answers in the form of resolutions that could be proposed at the Economic Recovery Conference, and to asterisk the resolutions that were most important to their group. I pointed out that they wouldn’t find answers to every question in their roles — some issues weren’t a main concern for their social group. They could answer those questions later based on the alliances they would make with other groups, or by thinking through where someone in their social position would likely stand on the issue.

When I teach this role play again, I will have students write interior monologues about their hopes and fears for the upcoming conference, to help them connect with their roles before jumping into the questions. Unfortunately, I was in a rush to finish the role play before winter break, so I skipped that step.

As students-in-character filled out their responses to the questions, I circled around the room, helping groups that were having difficulties and pointing out answers that were inconsistent with their roles. I also tried to highlight information from their role that was particularly significant, and encouraged them to share it with the larger group when the conference began.

When groups finished developing answers and resolutions to present at the conference, I explained that they would now have an opportunity to meet with other groups to build alliances. I encouraged them to meet with groups most likely to agree with them on the resolutions they marked with an asterisk. For example, the unemployed might support banning company unions in exchange for the workers supporting unemployment relief. But I also told students not to shun groups they disagreed with; hearing their arguments might help them better defend their own ideas.

When students had made a few alliances and had some sense of where other groups stood on the crucial issues, I asked them to return to their seats and write an introductory speech for the conference. “Don’t just list where you stand on the crucial issues,” I told them. “Root your position in your role. Each group has crucial information that other groups don’t have about what life was like for you during the Great Depression. The goal of the speeches is to explain where you stand on the issues, and also to share information from your role that others don’t have.”

The Conference Begins

When students returned for the next class, I sat them in a circle and began: “Welcome, everyone, to the 1933 Economic Recovery Conference. I am your new president, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.”

“Booooo!” Hoang yelled in his role as a Black Activist; two-thirds of African Americans voted for Hoover out of fear that FDR’s Democratic Party might extend segregation.

Taken off guard, I laughed and moved on. “As you know, our country is in crisis and I want to hear your views on how we should move forward.” Then we moved into the introductory speeches. “People see us as the bad guys,” Andre began, speaking for the CEOs. “They accuse us of crashing the economy, but we’re victims too. We’re being forced by this crisis to close factories and lay off workers, not because we want to, but because we have to. About 2,000 businesses fail every month. We don’t want minimum wages.

We don’t want to be told by the government how much to pay our workers, but that is because we are already struggling.”

Speaking for the Wealthy Southern Landowners, Sarah succinctly explained their proposal for the overproduction of agricultural commodities: “Right now the South is the region hardest hit by the Depression. Most of us are farmers, but there is a surplus of crops and nobody is buying them. This means that we don’t have any income. We think that the government should pay farmers to destroy crops and not plant on as much land to even out demand with supply. Farmers are roughly one-fourth of the American workforce, so getting farmers back on their feet would build economic stability.”

Miguel and Jessie explained why this proposal would be devastating for African Americans: “Unemployment for Black people in the United States is more than 50 percent. Most Black people in the South are tenant farmers and sharecroppers. We rent our land. If the government pays farm owners to not plant on part of their land, they might choose our land to stop planting on. So this proposal will only increase unemployment for African Americans. And it’s crazy to pay farmers to destroy food while people all around the country are going hungry. The government should buy the food and distribute it to the people who need it.”

In their presentation for the Trade Unionists, Marta and Brian laid out a plan for expanding workers’ rights and increasing living standards: “As trade unionists we want other workers to have the right to join a trade union. Right now, if workers try to organize a union, businesses can just fire and replace those workers with no penalty. . . . We want company unions banned, and the government to guarantee and enforce workers’ right to organize. We also want the federal government to set a livable minimum wage so no one who is working will struggle to get by.”

Jack, representing the Unemployed, explained: “Most of us here have been unemployed for a year or two and we are having trouble simply providing food for our family. We now make up 25 percent

of the population, when only a few years ago it was a mere 3 percent. A lot of people blame us for being unemployed. They say we're lazy, but how do so many people all of a sudden sit back and say, 'I don't want to work?' We're struggling to pay the bills and this is not our fault. Many of us have joined Unemployed Councils that help us keep our houses and our utilities on. But we don't want to have to keep living like this. We want the New Deal to provide relief, not just immediately but in the long term. There is still going to be unemployment in the best of times. It's unavoidable. But no one should have to starve because they were laid off or can't find a job. Also, the government should help us get back to work. Give us jobs repairing roads, and building new schools or other community buildings."

After each group had presented, I opened the floor for proposals and debate on the first question: providing aid to the unemployed.

Leon's hand shot up. Representing the Unemployed, he said, "We believe that the federal government should provide permanent federal unemployment insurance that is distributed by the federal government to ensure no discrimination."

Lisa, as a CEO, disagreed. "Why should people just get money for not doing any work?"

Erica, another member of the Unemployed group, responded: "We didn't choose to be unemployed. We lost our jobs and can't find work. We're starving and we need relief just to get by."

Michael, as a Wealthy Southern Landowner, put forward an alternate proposal: "In the South we pay workers much less than they do in the North. So relief should also be less. It's unfair to those who are working if you are paying people a wage that is more than the average worker makes. We think that unemployment relief should be distributed by the states."

Speaking as a Black Activist, Miguel declared: "In the South the government is controlled by racists. White people get more relief than Black people do. If the state governments distribute relief, this will continue. But we also don't trust the federal government because Congress is now run by racist Democrats from the South. So we propose that the federal government fund the Unemployed

Councils and the councils can distribute relief to those who need it."

Although their role didn't explicitly discuss relief, the Trade Unionists in most of my classes sided with the unemployed. However, in one class, they were swayed by CEO arguments against relief. As Brian said: "We agree with the CEOs that if the unemployed get relief they should only get food — not money or shelter. If people have everything they need to get by they are not motivated to get off their butts and look for jobs."

Although I didn't anticipate this alliance, it was actually analogous to the real history. As Danny Lucia explains in an article on the unemployed movement, "At the beginning of the 1930s, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the largest workers' organization in the country, did not even support unemployment insurance. The AFL, which was composed mainly of skilled workers' unions (many of them segregated), did not see itself as the representative for all American workers. . . . Many AFL leaders were only too willing to accept the stereotype of the unemployable worker—unskilled, often African American, or a recent immigrant — to contrast with their own members' respectability."⁶ This narrow view of workers ended up splitting the AFL in the latter half of the decade when John Lewis and other labor leaders left to form the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Since these two currents existed side by side inside the AFL at the beginning of the Depression, I didn't include information on unemployment relief or racism within unions in the Trade Union role.

In real life, the biggest influences on the early New Deal were wealthy Southern landowners and corporate executives. Because in most of my classes the Trade Unionists formed alliances with the Unemployed and Black Activists — seeing their interests as intertwined — the students typically ended the conference with proposals that were more progressive than what happened in reality.

The First New Deal: Who Really Won?

In the following class, I asked students to look at excerpts from legislation passed during the

first New Deal — the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA), the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA). (The role play included aspects of all three pieces of legislation.) With the Economic Recovery Conference Role Play as background, students were ready to delve into the difficult language of these laws and analyze parts of them in their social context. As we compared the results of our role play with the actual legislation, I asked students to think and eventually write about which social groups benefited and which ones suffered from the early New Deal. Of course, not all corporate executives opposed unemployment relief and not all unemployed people wanted relief, but the lens of race and class that frames the role play did shape the way people wanted the government to respond to the Great Depression.

As Lejay explained: “Though in class, workers, the unemployed, and Black activists got their way in almost every aspect of the discussion, quite the contrary happened in America during the 1930s. The biggest winners in actual politics were the corporate executives of large companies. Company unions were not banned in the NIRA; instead, the government suspended anti-trust laws and allowed the CEOs to create codes of fair competition that gave businesses control over minimum wages and maximum hours. This allowed them to pay workers less while making them work more.” Here Lejay echoes historian Howard Zinn, who wrote in *A People’s History of the United States*, “From the first, the NIRA was dominated by big business and served their interests.”⁷

Nigel said: “The wealthy Southern landowners were the clear winners of the early New Deal and it was also clear that African Americans were the losers. The AAA paid wealthy Southern landowners not to plant and to destroy their crops so they could sell their product at a profit again, while Blacks would get kicked off their land.”

Erica added that the wealthy Southern landowners “wanted the states to distribute direct relief to the unemployed so they could pay Black people less. They could do this because, according to FERA, ‘the administrator is authorized to make grants to the several states to aid in meeting the costs of furnishing relief.’”

One of Roosevelt’s fiercest Black critics, John P. Davis, wrote similarly in 1935: “The AAA has used cruder methods in enforcing poverty on the Negro farm population. It has made violations of the rights of tenants under crop reduction contracts easy; it has rendered enforcement of these rights impossible. . . . Farm laborers are now jobless by the hundreds of thousands. . . . The larger portion of these are unskilled Negro agricultural workers — now without income and unable to secure work or relief.”⁸

Students also disagreed about whether trade unionists benefited from the early New Deal. As Andre noted, “Just as in our class, the NIRA guaranteed workers the rights to organize unions, but only fined employers \$500 for violating that right.” In fact, Sharon Smith writes in *Subterranean Fire: A History of Working-Class Radicalism in the United States*: “It soon became clear that Roosevelt had only grudgingly consented to grant workers the right to unionize, and he deliberately wrote Section 7(a) of the NIRA so vaguely that it could easily be interpreted as ensuring the ‘rights’ of employers to form company unions. Many employers found it convenient to interpret the NIRA in just this way in order to crush genuine union drives. Soon, many workers were referring to the NIRA as the ‘National Run Around.’”⁹ (The NRA — National Recovery Administration — was created by NIRA to promote compliance with the act.)

My aim here was not to get students to be critical of Roosevelt, but to help them look at these reforms in their social context, and

“The National Industrial Recovery Act was dominated by big business and served their interests.”

—Howard Zinn

to better understand the political system at a time of serious social change. It is impossible to evaluate the significance of a reform without understanding the social and historical context. For example, raising the federal minimum wage to \$12 an hour would be a significant reform today — one that would help millions of low-wage workers. But if this minimum wage hike were passed while workers across the country were striking and occupying their workplaces demanding a \$20 minimum wage, many would consider it a conservative compromise. The power dynamics influencing reforms shifted dramatically between the first and second New Deal, particularly as workers demanding change shut down multiple American cities in 1934.

The New Deal Is Pushed to the Left

I followed up the Economic Recovery Conference Role Play with lessons on the four major strikes of 1934: the Southern textile strike, the Minneapolis teamsters strike, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, and the [West Coast longshore strike](#), which led to a general strike in San Francisco. I explained that workers across the country were paying attention to these strikes and learning lessons from them. As Sharon Smith writes: “Every week, newsreels ran in movie theaters across the country with footage of the strikes as they unfolded. Working-class audiences cheered for the strikers, just as they would cheer for their team in a sports match.”¹⁰

Workers learned that mass picketing, self-defense against police and scabs, and active involvement of the rank and file were key to winning strikes. And they learned not to trust politicians, liberal or otherwise, who often called in the National Guard to protect strikebreakers; instead, they placed their trust in radical rank-and-file leaders. The three strikes that ended in victory were led by organized and politically savvy socialists and communists. Indeed, the radicalization of working-class militants

threatened the two-party system, as workers increasingly looked outside the mainstream political parties to address their concerns.

Just as the actions of the Unemployed Councils and the occupation of Washington, D.C., by the Bonus Army preceded the early New Deal, the much more threatening strikes of 1934 preceded the significant and long-lasting legislation passed in 1935. Hoping to secure the working-class vote, Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration and secured the passage of the Social Security Act, the

National Labor Relations Act, and the Wealth Tax of 1935. Howard Zinn sums up this result succinctly in the film *The People Speak*:

“Soon, many workers were referring to the NRA as the ‘National Run Around.’”

—Sharon Smith

What we learn in the schools is that when Franklin Roosevelt was elected, the New Deal came into being and saved the

country from total collapse. In fact, Roosevelt’s New Deal did take bold steps to alleviate the situation through Social Security, unemployment insurance, hiring millions of people to do useful work and a minimum wage. But what is often overlooked in the history of this period is that Roosevelt was pushed and pressured into the New Deal reforms by a nation in rebellion. There were strikes all over the country demanding change. As has happened again and again in the nation’s history, the government was only moved to reform by the actions of organized citizens.

This is a crucial lesson for students and teachers. Like Obama’s “change you can believe in,” Roosevelt’s New Deal promises rang hollow during his first few years in office. The New Deal became what we remember it for only when ordinary people demanded a New Deal that benefited them — not just the wealthy. Unions, Unemployed Councils, and other organizations of ordinary people made history through protests, strikes, and factory occupations that ensured that their demands for a more authentic

democracy could not be ignored.

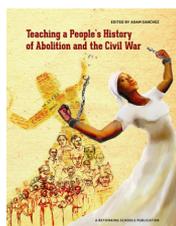
Resources

These handouts are included on the following pages.

- Economic Recovery Conference—Crucial Issues
- Economic Recovery Conference Roles
- Economic Recovery Conference: Crucial Issues Graphic Organizer
- Economic Recovery Conference—Who Really Won? Questions and Sources

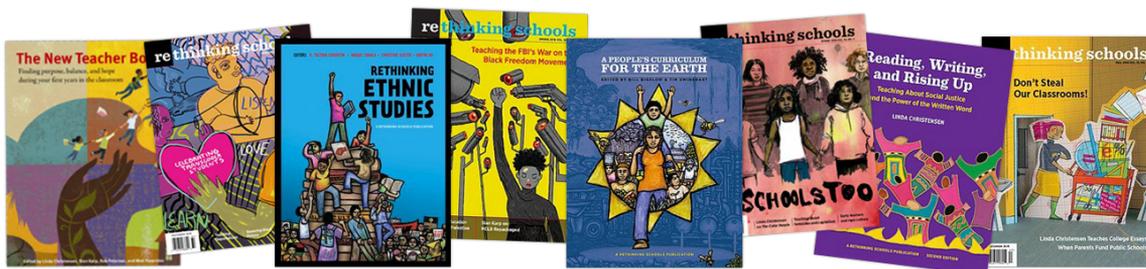
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Economic Recovery Conference

Crucial Issues

PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT has called a conference in Washington, D.C., to discuss ways the government can help the economy recover from the Great Depression. Representatives from different sectors of the economy have been invited to the White House. The president has promised Americans a “New Deal,” but it is unclear what exactly that means. You will help advise the president on what should and should not be included in his National Recovery Act — the first major law of the “New Deal.” For each issue you *must* have a position. Some issues you will feel strongly about. Put an asterisk (*) next to each of these. Other issues you will not feel as strongly about. In the “dealing” session, these will be the issues to give and take on.

Here are the issues you must have a position on for the Economic Recovery Conference:

1. Aiding the unemployed. In 1933, the unemployment rate reached 25 percent. There are now 15 million people unemployed.
 - a. Should the federal government distribute direct relief (money for food, clothing, shelter) to the unemployed? If not, what is your alternative?

 - b. Should the federal government directly employ people for the purpose of building “public works”—roads, bridges, schools, hospitals, parks, public squares, dams, electrical grids — construction that benefits the communities of the United States? If not, what is your alternative?

2. Fixing our food system. The Depression has hit farmers and agricultural businesses particularly hard because food and farm prices have been in decline since the Great War (World War I). For more than a decade now, farms have been producing more than they can sell.

To help raise agricultural prices should the government pay farm owners not to plant on part of their land and to destroy crops and farm animals? If not, what is your alternative?

Unemployed Person

YOU'VE BEEN UNEMPLOYED for nearly two years, but no matter how hard you look you can't seem to find any jobs. You are married and have kids and you're increasingly worried about your family's well-being. Your children have outgrown their clothes and you don't have enough money to buy them anything new. Sometimes you and your wife will even skip a meal to ensure there's enough food for the children. You need immediate relief — money to clothe and feed your family, but what you'd really like is a steady job that pays well.

At first you blamed yourself for being unemployed, but over time, you realized you weren't alone. In fact, 15 million people — 25 percent of the country — are unemployed right now. Many people accuse the unemployed of being lazy, but only a few years ago the unemployment rate was a mere 3 percent. How can millions of people suddenly get lazy?

When the Depression began, Herbert Hoover was president. Hoover relied on charitable and religious organizations to provide relief for the unemployed, but these private organizations were in no way prepared to meet the massive needs unleashed by the Depression.

So the unemployed began to organize. On March 6, 1930, 500,000 people in 25 cities demonstrated for government relief. Unemployed Councils began forming all over the country. The councils are kind of like a union of unemployed people. These councils work to keep people's water, gas, and electricity turned on, even when they can't pay their bills.

You've joined the councils to help your family and other unemployed people in your community. The councils believe that unemployed people have to stick together with working people and to support each other.

You are hopeful now that President Roosevelt has been elected. He promised a "New Deal" and you hope that means relief.

But you also want more than just immediate temporary relief. This crisis has made it clear that unemployment is a permanent part of the economic system — even in good times there are still plenty of people looking for work who can't find it. You think the government should tax employers and the wealthy to set up a permanent system of unemployment insurance and guarantee that no one goes hungry or loses their home simply because they are laid off and can't find a job.

The government also needs to help put people back to work. Since private businesses aren't providing jobs for people, you think the government should. Why not put people to work building roads, schools, hospitals, parks — construction that benefits everyone?

While you're encouraged by the election of Roosevelt, you're also worried because big business is pushing to suspend anti-trust laws. The whole reason anti-trust laws were first put in place was to prevent monopolies — when one or a few businesses have so much control over an industry that they can charge high prices for whatever they're selling.

And wealthy landowners who can't make a profit selling food are asking the government to pay them not to plant on part of their land or to destroy their "excess" crops and farm animals. They think this will raise the price of food by shrinking the supply and will help their farms become profitable again. But there are millions of people like you who are going hungry every night and can't even afford the food at the price it's at now. You sympathize with the poorer farmers, who like you are struggling to get by. But why can't the government just buy the food from these farmers and give it to those in need? It's crazy to destroy food as millions go hungry.

If big business and wealthy farmers are able to get their way, the "New Deal" will be just like the "Old Deal" — a government that helps the rich and leaves the rest of us to rot.

Black Activist

YOU ARE A BLACK ACTIVIST. You work with a number of organizations to promote civil rights and a better standard of living for Black people. While the Depression has hurt everyone, it has hit the African American community the worst.

The heaviest toll has come in the South where more than half the Black population lives. Two million Blacks in the South are tenant farmers, who rent their land, or “sharecroppers”— people who use others’ land in exchange for part of their crop. Since 1929, cotton prices have fallen by more than 50 percent. More than two-thirds of Black cotton farmers are receiving no profits from their crop. With little or no rural relief, Blacks have to grow what they can, hunt, scavenge and even beg to stay alive.

Those who migrated into the Southern cities are no better off. Blacks always had to take the hardest, lowest-paying jobs in the South — street cleaning, garbage collecting, domestic service — but now even these “Negro jobs” are being reserved for whites. Furthermore, Southern states give out the lowest unemployment benefits in the country. And to qualify for relief, cities and states in the South set harsher standards for Blacks than whites, and pay African Americans less per month than whites.

The more than 2 million Blacks living outside the South may face less discrimination in the administration of relief — but they face an equally grim employment situation. Black unemployment in the North is just as bad as in the South — 50 percent or more in most cities. Blacks are first to receive wage cuts and layoff notices. Moreover, like in the Southern cities, Blacks constituted the bulk of domestic workers, whose employment depended on the prosperity of others in the community.

Unfortunately, you do not have much hope that the situation for Blacks will change with Franklin Delano Roosevelt now in office. The Democrats, formerly the party of slavery, are now the party of Jim Crow. Though Roosevelt is a Northern Democrat,

his party is dominated by racist white Southerners. During the 1932 presidential campaign, Roosevelt was silent on the rights of African Americans. Even though Hoover’s economic policies were disastrous, two-thirds of African Americans voted for Hoover as the lesser evil — thinking that a vote for FDR would extend segregation.

For all these reasons, you are skeptical. Although there is great hope that Roosevelt will put people back to work through jobs programs and provide more relief for the unemployed, the Southern Democrats want jobs and relief distributed by racist state governments that have always prioritized the interests of whites.

You are particularly worried about what the administration will do concerning the cotton and agriculture industry. There are rumors that to bring up the prices of food and cotton the government might pay farm owners to not plant on part of their land and to destroy crops and farm animals. But what about those who rent the land they farm on? What if the farm owner decides that it’s *your* land he wants to not plant on? That it’s *your* crops he wants to destroy? Will he kick you off the land? What will prevent farm owners from cheating tenants and sharecroppers out of their fair share of payment benefits?

You’ve also heard that the administration is thinking about suspending anti-trust laws to allow businesses in an industry to get together in “trade associations” and collaborate to write codes of “fair” competition. Will those “fair” codes continue to allow employers to pay Black workers less than white workers? You’ve also heard that wealthy Southerners are even pushing for agricultural and domestic labor — *the two areas of industry where most Blacks are employed* — to be exempt from the codes.

Unfortunately, it seems likely that Roosevelt’s “National Recovery Act” might be more aptly named “Negroes Ruined Again.”

Trade Unionist

YOU ARE A MEMBER of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), the largest labor union in the country, representing about 3 million workers.

The Depression has hit working people hard. Millions of workers have been laid off. Factory employment has fallen by 64 percent, and those like you who are lucky enough to still be employed are working under increasingly bad conditions. Most factory workers work 50 hours a week and you now make little more than one-third of what you made just three years ago!

But because there are so many unemployed workers, it is easy for employers to fire workers who complain. The only way to make employers listen is to join together and form a labor union so you can negotiate collectively. If the employer doesn't listen to you, you can strike. But most workers are too scared to strike these days for fear of being fired. Knowing this, employers refuse to bargain with any union, and use the economic crisis as an excuse to slash wages.

When there is a unionizing drive in a workplace, the employer does everything he can to stop it. Some employers organize "company unions" that are financed and dominated by management. Employers might offer workers some benefits if they join the company union instead of the real labor union. Employers often launch a huge propaganda campaign to discredit the union and they might even hire spies to find out who the union organizers are so they can fire them.

The government needs to recognize and protect workers' rights. Company unions should be banned. The employers want an "open shop" where any worker can "choose" to be represented by a company union or a real labor union. This allows them to split the workforce by getting some workers to join the company union. Instead, you think it's important that the "closed shop" becomes the law of the land. The concept behind

the "closed shop" is simple — majority rule. If a majority of workers in a workplace vote to be represented by a particular union, that union should represent all workers in that workplace.

It is crucial that the "New Deal" extend democracy to the workplace. As workers, you have no say on the job. The employers have all the power. But when workers come together in a labor union they can bargain together for better wages, benefits, and working conditions.

Furthermore, you believe that it was the lack of government intervention and economic planning that caused the crisis in the first place. Businesses were allowed to become too big and powerful. They increased production by making workers work harder, and simultaneously cut wages. Before the crash, the gap between the rich and the poor was wider than it had ever been. Companies were making more and more products but there were fewer and fewer people who could afford them.

The solution to the economic crisis is to pay workers more, and shorten the workweek to increase the number of jobs available. But hiring more workers and paying higher wages will cut into a company's profits, so they won't do it unless the government forces them to.

Senator Hugo Black has introduced a "30-hour bill" in Congress that would reduce the workweek by setting a national minimum wage and maximum hours. AFL President William Green has threatened "general strikes" if the bill doesn't pass.

Through their votes, workers gave Roosevelt a clear victory and the Democrats a majority in the House and the Senate because we were inspired by his call for a "New Deal." In campaign speeches Roosevelt has acknowledged "the need for a redistribution of wealth." It's time to fulfill that promise.

Corporate Executive

YOU ARE AN EXECUTIVE with a large and prosperous corporation. In the 1920s your business was booming, but all that changed in 1929 when the stock market crashed. As more and more businesses laid off workers, there were fewer and fewer people out there who could afford your products.

At first you thought it was just a normal downturn in the business cycle. You figured since you owned one of the largest companies in the industry you could wait it out. But by 1932 it became clear that this was no normal crisis. About 2,000 businesses failed every month! You were forced to lay off thousands of workers and even close a few factories.

You and other businessmen began to formulate various plans to stabilize the economy. You think businesses in an industry should get together in trade associations. These associations could then coordinate to ensure that the industry didn't produce more than it could sell and agree on a price for your product that benefited everyone.

Unfortunately, there is one problem: "anti-trust" laws prevent businesses from getting too large. The trade associations that you are proposing are likely in violation of these laws. So you and your fellow executives have been lobbying Congress and the president to suspend anti-trust laws. President Hoover refused to listen to your proposals — immediately labeling them unconstitutional, or more ridiculous, socialism! So when Hoover ran for re-election, you supported Roosevelt. You donated large sums to his campaign, and you expect him to listen to you because of it.

You also want to protect your business from labor unions. A while back your workers tried to organize a union to demand higher wages. Of course you would love to pay your workers more, but you know that if you did that you would have to charge more for your product. You care about your workers, but you also care about your

customers. Luckily, with the help of your management team, you were able to form your own workers' organization that helped to educate workers on why a union would be bad for everyone.

But now representatives from organized labor want the government to ban these kinds of workers' organizations as "company unions." You're not asking anyone to ban anything. You want workers to have the right to choose.

You are also concerned about a bill going through Congress that would mandate a 30-hour workweek and a minimum wage. This "one-size-fits-all" scheme would be an economic disaster. At a time when businesses are struggling to survive, it's ridiculous for the government to tell them what they must pay their workers or how long their workers should work. If you have to set minimum wages and maximum hours, you think that should be done in the trade associations you are proposing. Businesses know what's best for their industry.

Some may say that you are callous toward the plight of workers and the unemployed, but this is simply not true. What they don't understand is that what's good for the economy is not just good for business owners, but for workers too. In fact, you support a massive "public works" program to put people back to work building roads, bridges, and electrical grids. Creating better infrastructure will allow you to more easily transport goods. Bringing electrical power to communities that don't have it will allow the people in those communities to buy new appliances and consumer goods they otherwise couldn't use.

You were encouraged that in his first two weeks in office FDR balanced the federal budget by cutting the salaries of government employees. What this country needs is a president willing to make those tough decisions to help the economy recover.

Wealthy Southern Landowner

YOU OWN LARGE AMOUNTS of farmland in the Southern United States. It's too big to farm by yourself so you rent much of it to tenants and sharecroppers. Agriculture has been the industry hardest hit by the Depression. While some of your income comes from rent, most of it comes from selling cotton. You can still sell cotton — but it's almost worthless. Just a few years ago you were making 20 cents for every barrel of cotton you sold and now it's only worth 5 cents!

Luckily you're wealthy enough that you've been able to survive. And now that the Democrats — a majority Southern party — are in power, you're hopeful that help for the South is coming. Democrats haven't had this much power since before the Civil War. Southerners control more than half the committees and a majority of the leadership positions in Congress.

Priority No. 1 for you is reviving the agricultural industry. Farmers are roughly one-fourth of the nation's workforce and agriculture is vital to the nation's economy. During his campaign, Roosevelt endorsed a plan to help raise agricultural prices by having the government pay farm owners to stop planting on part of their land and destroy crops and farm animals. With less agricultural goods on the market, the prices of these goods would be raised back up and farmers like you can begin making profits again. Some people argue that the government should buy the crops you can't sell and give them to the hungry. But that wouldn't fix the root of the problem — there are too many agricultural goods being produced.

With a large majority in both houses of Congress, you're confident the Democrats will side with you. But there are other proposals that you're worried about. Currently there is a bill in Congress that proposes a 30-hour workweek and a national minimum wage. This would be particularly disastrous in the South, where the standard of living is

much lower than the rest of the country. There are rumors that Congress will set the minimum wage at 40 cents an hour — more than what most white workers make in the South!

Even the proposal being put forth by corporate executives — that businesses in an industry get together in trade associations to set minimum wages and maximum hours — worries you for it's one-size-fits-all approach. The Southern economy depends on low-paid Black workers in the agricultural and domestic industries. Any laws or codes that didn't exempt these industries would have a disastrous effect on the Southern economy — the region hardest hit by the Depression.

You are also worried that trade unionists want the government to guarantee the right of workers to join a labor union. The thing is, there aren't many unions in the South and you'd like to see it stay that way.

Lastly, you recognize that there are a lot of unemployed people who need relief and jobs. But it's important that the federal government take into account the different economic circumstances in different states. For example, if the government is giving a relief check to an unemployed person that is more than a worker makes in the South, what is the incentive to work? Everyone would just stop working and live off the federal government. It's best to leave it up to the states to decide how they distribute aid to the unemployed.

You feel similarly about public works projects. The South, probably more than any other region in the country, could use improvements to its infrastructure — roads, bridges, electrical grids, and so forth. But local governments, not the federal government, should decide where this money goes. The federal government should help states recover from the economic crisis — but they shouldn't try to do everything for them. What works in California or New York is not going to work in Mississippi.

Economic Recovery Conference: Crucial Issues

Group Name	1. Aiding the Unemployed	2. Fixing the Food System	3. Fixing the Economy	4. Workers' Rights
	a.		a.	a.
	b.		b.	b.
	a.		a.	a.
	b.		b.	b.

Group Name	1. Aiding the Unemployed		2. Fixing the Food System		3. Fixing the Economy		4. Workers' Rights	
	a.	b.			a.	b.	a.	b.
	a.	b.			a.	b.	a.	b.

Economic Recovery Conference Role Play

Who *Really* Won? Sources

Excerpt from the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) Approved, May 12, 1933

AN ACT to provide for cooperation by the Federal Government with the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress hereby declares that the present economic depression has created a serious emergency, due to widespread unemployment and increasing inadequacy of State and local relief funds, resulting in the existing or threatened deprivation of a considerable number of families and individuals of the necessities of life, and making it imperative that the Federal Government cooperate more effectively with the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia in furnishing relief to their needy and distressed people.

Sec. 2. (a) The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized and directed to make available out of the funds of the Corporation not to exceed \$500,000,000...for expenditure under the provisions of this Act. . . .

Sec. 3. (a) There is hereby created a Federal Emergency Relief Administration, all the powers of which shall be exercised by a Federal Emergency Relief Administrator to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. . . . The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the office of Federal Emergency Relief Administrator shall cease to exist upon the expiration of two years after the date of enactment of this Act, and the unexpended balance on

such date of any funds made available under the provisions of this Act shall be disposed of as the Congress may by law provide. . . .

Sec. 4. (a) Out of the funds of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation made available by this Act, the Administrator is authorized to make grants to the several States to aid in meeting the costs of furnishing relief and work relief and in relieving the hardship and suffering caused by unemployment in the form of money, service, materials, and/or commodities to provide the necessities of life to persons in need as a result of the present emergency, and/or to their dependents, whether resident, transient, or homeless.

(b) Of the amounts made available by this Act not to exceed \$250,000,000 shall be granted to the several States applying therefore, in the following manner: Each State shall be entitled to receive grants equal to one-third of the amount expended by such State, including the civil subdivisions thereof, out of public moneys from all sources for the purposes set forth in subsection (a) of this section; and such grants shall be made quarterly, beginning with the second quarter in the calendar year 1933, and shall be made during any quarter upon the basis of such expenditures certified by the States to have been made during the preceding quarter.

Sec. 5. Any State desiring to obtain funds under this Act shall through its Governor make application therefore from time to time to the Administrator...

Excerpt from the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) Approved, May 12, 1933

AN ACT to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power, to raise revenue for extraordinary expenses incurred by reason of such emergency, to provide emergency relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint-stock land banks, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I — AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY

That the present acute economic emergency being in part the consequence of a severe and increasing disparity between the prices of agricultural and other commodities, which disparity has largely destroyed the purchasing power of farmers for industrial products, has broken down the orderly exchange of commodities, and has seriously impaired the agricultural assets supporting the national credit structure, it is hereby declared that these conditions in the basic industry of agriculture have affected transactions in agricultural commodities with a national public interest, have burdened and obstructed the normal currents of commerce in such commodities, and render imperative the immediate enactment of title I of this Act.

DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress —

(1) To establish and maintain such balance between the production and consumption of agricultural commodities, and such marketing conditions therefore, as will reestablish prices to farmers at a level that will give agricultural

commodities a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy. . . .

PART 2 — COMMODITY BENEFITS GENERAL POWERS

SEC. 8. In order to effectuate the declared policy, the Secretary of Agriculture shall have power — (1) To provide for reduction in the acreage or reduction in the production for market, or both, of any basic agricultural commodity, through ‘agreements with producers or by other voluntary methods, and to provide for rental or benefit payments in connection therewith or upon that part of the production of any basic agricultural commodity required for domestic consumption, in such amounts as the Secretary deems fair and reasonable, to be paid out of any moneys available for such payments. Under regulations of the Secretary of Agriculture requiring adequate facilities for the storage of any non-perishable agricultural commodity on the farm, inspection and measurement of any such commodity so stored, and the locking and sealing thereof, and such other regulations as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Agriculture for the protection of such commodity and for the marketing thereof, a reasonable percentage of any benefit payment may be advanced on any such commodity so stored. In any such case, such deduction may be made from the amount of the benefit payment as the Secretary of Agriculture determines will reasonably compensate for the cost of inspection and sealing, but no deduction may be made for interest.

COMMODITIES

SEC. 11. As used in this title, the term “basic agricultural commodity” means wheat, cotton, field corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and milk and its products, and any regional or market classification, type, or grade thereof; . . .

Excerpt from the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) Approved, June 16, 1933

AN ACT to encourage national industrial recovery, to foster fair competition, and to provide for the construction of certain useful public works, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I — INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 1. A national emergency productive of widespread unemployment and disorganization of industry, which burdens interstate and foreign commerce, affects the public welfare, and undermines the standards of living of the American people, is hereby declared to exist. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress to remove obstructions to the free flow of interstate and foreign commerce that tend to diminish the amount thereof; and to provide for the general welfare by promoting the organization of industry for the purpose of cooperative action among trade groups, to induce and maintain united action of labor and management under adequate governmental sanctions and supervision, to eliminate unfair competitive practices, to promote the fullest possible utilization of the present productive capacity of industries, to avoid undue restriction of production, to increase the consumption of Industrial and agricultural products by increasing purchasing power, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor, and otherwise to rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources.

CODES OF FAIR COMPETITION

SEC. 3. (a) Upon the application to the President by one or more trade or industrial associations or groups the President may approve a code or codes of fair competition for the trade or industry or subdivision thereof, represented by the applicant or

applicants. . . . The President may, as a condition of his approval of any such code, impose such conditions for the protection of consumers, competitors, employees, and others, and in furtherance of the public interest, and may provide such exceptions to and exemptions from the provisions of such code, as the President in his discretion deems necessary to effectuate the policy herein declared. . . .

(f) When a code of fair competition has been approved or prescribed by the President under this title, any violation of any provision thereof in any transaction in or affecting interstate, or foreign commerce shall be a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof an offender shall be fined not more than \$500 [adjusted for inflation this would be about \$9,215 in 2017 dollars] for each offense and each day such violation continues shall be deemed a separate offense. . . .

SEC. 5. While this title is in effect and for 60 days thereafter, any code, agreement, or license approved, prescribed, or issued and in effect under this title, and any action complying with the provisions thereof taken during such period, shall be exempt from the provisions of the anti-trust laws of the United States.

LIMITATIONS UPON APPLICATION OF TITLE

SEC. 7. (a) Every code of fair competition, agreement, and license approved, prescribed, or issued under this title shall contain the following conditions: (1) That employees shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; (2) that no employee and no one seeking employment

shall be required as a condition of employment to join any company union or to refrain from joining, organizing, or assisting a labor organization of his own choosing; and (3) that employers shall comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and other conditions of employment, approved or prescribed by the President.

(b) The President shall, so far as practicable, afford every opportunity to employers and employees in any trade or industry or subdivision thereof with respect to which the conditions referred to in clauses (1) and (2) of subsection (a) prevail, to establish by mutual agreement, the standards as to the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay, and such other conditions of employment as may be necessary in such trade or industry or subdivision thereof to effectuate the policy of this title; and the standards established in such agreements, when approved by the President, shall have the same effect as a code of fair competition, approved by the President under subsection (a) of section 3.

APPLICATION OF AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT

SEC. 8. (a) This title shall not be construed to repeal or modify any of the provisions of title I of the... “Agricultural Adjustment Act.”

(b) The President may, in his discretion, in order to avoid conflicts in the administration of the Agricultural Adjustment Act and this title, delegate any of his functions and powers under this title with respect to trades, industries, or subdivisions thereof that are engaged in the handling of any agricultural commodity or product thereof, or of any competing commodity or product thereof, to the Secretary of Agriculture.

TITLE II — PUBLIC WORKS AND CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS FEDERAL EMERGENCY ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC WORKS

SECTION 201. (a) To effectuate the purposes of this title, the President is hereby authorized to cre-

ate a Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, all the powers of which shall be exercised by a Federal Emergency Administrator of Public Works . . .

SEC. 202. The Administrator, under the direction of the President, shall prepare a comprehensive program of public works, which shall include among other things the following: (a) Construction, repair, and improvement of public highways and parkways, public buildings, and any publicly owned instrumentalities and facilities; (b) conservation and development of natural resources, including control, utilization, and purification of waters, prevention of soil or coastal erosion, development of water power, transmission of electrical energy, and construction of river and harbor improvements and flood control . . .

SEC. 203. (a) With a view to increasing employment quickly the President is authorized and empowered, through the Administrator or through such other agencies as he may designate or create, (1) to construct, finance, or aid in the construction or financing of any public works project included in the program prepared pursuant to section 202; (2) upon such terms as the President shall prescribe, to make grants to States, municipalities, or other public bodies for the construction, repair, or improvement of any such project, but no such grant shall be in excess of 30 per centum of the cost of the labor and materials employed upon such project . . .

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 220. For the purposes of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$3,300,000,000. The President is authorized to allocate so much of said sum, not in excess of \$100,000,000, as he may determine to be necessary for expenditures in carrying out the Agricultural Adjustment Act and the purposes, powers, and functions heretofore and hereafter conferred upon the Farm Credit Administration.

Excerpt from the Proceedings of Meeting No. 9 of the Special Industrial Recovery Board

August 14, 1933

THE SPECIAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY BOARD was appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to oversee the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act. In this excerpt from one of their meetings the head administrator, Hugh Johnson, clarifies his interpretation of section 7a.

“General Johnson: We have made these clear statements over and over again that this Administration is not concerned with union organizations. What has happened is that some of these aggressive labor unions have misrepresented the plan and some of the industrial units have misrepresented it. . . . The labor unions said the only way to get the benefits of the recovery plan was to join a particular labor union; and the companies have stated that it was absolutely necessary for the men to join the company union. It just left us in the position of saying that both statements were untrue. The President has said practically that. It is true that this is an embarrassment. . . . It is not a condition that a person shall belong, or shall not belong, to a union. This law should bring about open shops — shops where a man will be employed regardless of whether he belongs to any union or not.”

Excerpt from *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* by Harvard Sitkoff

“The consequences of Negro powerlessness revealed themselves most starkly in the treatment of Blacks in the initial agricultural and industrial recovery programs. African Americans could do nothing to counter the control over the early New Deal exercised by Southern congressmen in alliance with well-financed industrial associations . . . the AAA Cotton Section did nothing to prevent landowners from cheating Black tenants and sharecroppers out of their fair share of payment benefits. The AAA led to a mass eviction of the Black peasantry. Civil rights spokesmen denounced the AAA and estimated the number of Blacks driven out of cotton production by the 40 percent reduction in crop acreage ran as high as half a million, one-third of the total number of African Americans engaged in agriculture in 1933. . . . The AAA was no New Deal for Blacks; it was a continuation of the same old raw deal.”

Excerpt from *Put to Work: The WPA and Public Employment in the Great Depression* by Nancy E. Rose

“The NIRA also established the Public Works Administration (PWA), which was designed to “prime the pump” of economic recovery by stimulating the construction industry and therefore providing jobs for unemployed men. Projects were contracted out to private sector firms, which in turn hired workers. Under the leadership of “Honest Harold” Ickes, the PWA was slow to authorize funds, and it remained a fraction of the size of the other relief programs. . . . By the fall of 1934 it had become clear that the New Deal programs were not substantially increasing either production or employment. . . . Unemployment hovered at approximately 22 percent of the total labor force — 33 percent of the industrial labor force.”

Economic Recovery Role Play

Who *Really* Won?

HOW DID THE ROOSEVELT ADMINISTRATION and Congress decide on the issues you debated in class? Find the actual outcome of these questions by looking at the “Economic Recovery Conference Role Play: Who Really Won? Sources” Handout. *For each question below, indicate: 1) How the question was answered in real life; and 2) In reality, what social groups “won” — i.e., got what they wanted.* The parentheses after each question indicate at least one place you can look that will help you find an answer.

1a. Did the federal government set aside money for direct relief to the unemployed? (Federal Emergency Relief Act, Section 2a and 3a) Was it distributed by the state or federal government? (FERA, Section 4) Digging deeper: Was this relief temporary or permanent? (FERA, Section 3a)

1b. Did the government set aside money for the purpose of building “public works”? (National Industrial Recovery Act, Title II) Was the money distributed by the state or federal governments? (NIRA, Title II, Sec. 203a-2) Digging deeper: How much did this money help the unemployed? (Excerpt from *Put to Work* by Nancy E. Rose)

2. Did the government pay farm owners not to plant on part of their land and to destroy crops and farm animals? (Agricultural Adjustment Act, Part 2, Section 8) Digging Deeper: What effect did the government policy have on African Americans? (Excerpt from *A New Deal for Blacks* by Harvard Sitkoff)

3a. Did the government strengthen anti-trust laws and more heavily regulate industry? Or did the government suspend anti-trust laws to allow businesses to regulate themselves by getting together in “trade associations” and collaborate to write codes of fair competition? (National Industrial Recovery Act, Title I, Section 3a, Section 5)

3b. Did the federal government set a national minimum wage and maximum hours or did they leave that up to each industry to decide for themselves? (NIRA, Title I, Section 7b)

4a. Did the government guarantee workers the right to join a labor union and bargain collectively? (National Industrial Recovery Act, Title I, Section 7a) Digging deeper: What penalties were put on employers who tried to prevent workers from joining a labor union? How do you think employers will respond to these penalties? (National Industrial Recovery Act, Title I, Section 3f)

4b. Did the government ban company unions? (National Industrial Recovery Act, Title I, Section 7a — *read language on company unions closely*, and Excerpt from the Proceedings of Meeting No. 9 of the Special Industrial Recovery Board)

5. On a separate piece of paper, answer the following question and staple to the back of this handout: In your opinion, what social group or groups benefited and what social group or groups suffered from the early New Deal? Who won and who lost? Explain your answer with at least three pieces of evidence from above.