

13. Excessively high wages for labor in the 1920s helped cause the stock market crash in 1929.
14. Herbert Hoover's philosophy was "industrial democracy."
15. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation loaned money to banks, railroads, and life insurance companies but not directly to individuals in need.

### Essay Questions

1. What reform efforts continued into the 1920s from the Progressive Era and what new reforms appeared in the decade after World War I?
2. Why was consumption so necessary in the 1920s? Explain its connection to labor, production, farmers, and government policies.
3. How were Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover friendly to and supportive of American business in the 1920s?
4. What were the key ingredients in the new consumer culture of the 1920s?
5. Which of the three Republican presidents in the 1920s was the most successful in achieving his goals and which was the least effective? Explain.
6. Describe the health of U.S. agriculture in the 1920s and evaluate the efforts to help farmers.
7. What factors contributed to the collapse of the U.S. economy at the end of the 1920s?
8. How did Hoover's ideas of "rugged individualism" and "associationalism" affect his policies to deal with the collapse of the economy?

### ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE-CHOICE AND TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

#### Multiple-Choice Questions

1-B, 2-D, 3-C, 4-A, 5-B, 6-B, 7-D, 8-B, 9-D, 10-A, 11-D, 12-A, 13-C, 14-C, 15-B

#### True-False Questions

1-F, 2-F, 3-T, 4-T, 5-F, 6-F, 7-F, 8-T, 9-F, 10-T, 11-T, 12-F, 13-F, 14-F, 15-T

# 28

## NEW DEAL AMERICA

### CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

*After you finish reading and studying this chapter, you should be able to*

1. Depict the character and appeal of FDR.
2. Characterize the sources for New Deal legislation.
3. Explain the New Deal approaches to the problems of recovery in industry and agriculture.
4. Delineate the criticisms made of the New Deal by the left and the right.
5. Describe New Deal efforts to deal with unemployment and welfare.
6. Assess the changes in the United States wrought by the New Deal.
7. Appreciate the cultural changes of the thirties.

### CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. Election of 1932
  - A. Country's plight in 1932–1933
  - B. Republicans renominated Hoover
  - C. Democrats nominated Roosevelt
    1. Calls for New Deal
    2. FDR's background
  - D. Campaign
    1. FDR's proposals
    2. FDR–Hoover contrasts
  - E. Results

- II. The early New Deal
    - A. Inauguration
    - B. Influences on New Deal policies
      - 1. Wartime experience
      - 2. Social work background
    - C. General policies
      - 1. Problems
        - a. The economy
        - b. Human misery
        - c. Agriculture
      - 2. Competing proposals
        - a. Antitrust laws
        - b. Collaboration with big business
        - c. Expanded welfare and government spending
      - 3. FDR's opinions
        - a. Inconsistent
        - b. Christian and democrat
        - c. Pragmatist
      - 4. Strategy
        - a. Financial crisis and emergency relief
        - b. Industrial recovery
          - i. Federal spending
          - ii. Cooperative agreements
        - c. Raise commodity prices
    - D. Initial efforts
      - 1. Banking and the economy
        - a. Bank holiday
        - b. Emergency Banking Act
        - c. Economy Act
      - d. Refinancing farm and home mortgages
      - e. Reform of banking and stock markets
        - i. Creation of FDIC
        - ii. Regulation of stocks and bonds
      - f. Abandonment of gold standard
    - 2. Relief measures
      - a. Civilian Conservation Corps
      - b. Federal Emergency Relief Administration
      - c. Civil Works Administration
      - d. Works Progress Administration
        - i. Federal Art and Writers' Projects
        - ii. National Youth Administration
- III. Recovery through regulation
  - A. Ideas of brain trust
  - B. Aid for agriculture
- IV. Human cost of the depression
  - A. Hardships in personal lives
    - 1. Unemployment
    - 2. Marriage and birthrates
  - B. Dust bowl migrants
    - 1. Origins
    - 2. Destinations
    - 3. Okie subculture
  - C. Minorities
    - 1. Programs for whites only
    - 2. Effects of crop reductions on tenants
    - 3. Mexican Americans
      - a. Lack of citizenship
      - b. Calls for deportation
    - 4. Native Americans
      - a. John Collier
      - b. Indian Reorganization Act
- V. Culture in the 1930s

1. Wide variety of options within AAA

2. Immediate action to prevent surpluses

3. Establishment of marketing quotas for cotton and tobacco

4. General effects on farm income

5. Dust bowl migrants

a. From cotton-belt communities

b. To California

c. Okie subculture

6. Second AAA

a. Supreme Court overturns first AAA

b. Soil Conservation Act

C. Efforts for the recovery of industry

1. National Industrial Recovery Act

2. Title II: the Public Works Administration (PWA)

3. The National Recovery Administration (NRA)

a. Two primary aims

b. Nature of the NRA operation

c. Development of the "blanket code"

d. Objections to the NRA codes

e. Enduring impact of the NRA

D. Regional planning: Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)

1. Historical basis for the concept

2. The legislation

3. Impact of the TVA

4. Creation of the Rural Electrification Association (REA)

IV. Human cost of the depression

A. Hardships in personal lives

1. Unemployment

2. Marriage and birthrates

B. Dust bowl migrants

1. Origins

2. Destinations

3. Okie subculture

C. Minorities

1. Programs for whites only

2. Effects of crop reductions on tenants

3. Mexican Americans

a. Lack of citizenship

b. Calls for deportation

4. Native Americans

a. John Collier

b. Indian Reorganization Act

5. Supreme Court and blacks

V. Culture in the 1930s

- A. Literature and the depression
    - 1. Effects of depression
      - a. Social activism
      - b. Communism
    - 2. Novelists of social significance
      - a. John Steinbeck
      - b. Richard Wright
  - B. Popular culture
    - 1. Radio
      - a. Entertainment
      - b. Fireside chats
    - 2. Movies
      - a. Gangsters
      - b. Musicals
      - c. Comedies
- VI. The Second New Deal
- A. Eleanor Roosevelt
    - 1. Background
    - 2. Relationship with FDR
    - 3. First lady
      - a. Presidential adviser
      - b. Advocate for blacks
      - c. Liaison for liberals
  - B. Criticism of the New Deal
    - 1. American Liberty League
    - 2. Critics on the left
      - a. Huey P. Long
      - b. Francis E. Townsend
      - c. Charles E. Coughlin
    - 3. Supreme Court
  - C. Legislative achievements
    - 1. Wagner Act
    - 2. Social Security Act
      - a. Pension fund
      - b. Unemployment insurance
      - c. Aid to unemployed
      - d. Limitations
    - 3. Revenue Act of 1935
- VII. FDR's second term
- A. Election of 1936
    - 1. Alfred M. Landon
    - 2. Union Party
    - 3. FDR's coalition
    - 4. Outcome

- B. Court-packing plan
    - 1. Enlarge the court
    - 2. Opposition
    - 3. Changes in the court
    - 4. Effects of the fight
  - C. Stirrings among labor
    - 1. Impetus to unionization
    - 2. Rise of industrial unions
    - 3. Intense conflict with management
      - a. Techniques used by management
      - b. Action by autoworkers
        - i. Sit-down strike
        - ii. Walter Reuther
        - iii. United Auto Workers
      - c. CIO victories
      - d. Growing power for organized labor
  - D. Reaction to a new depression
    - 1. Course of the 1937 slump
    - 2. Administration's reaction
    - 3. The battle over spending
      - a. Fear of the unbalanced budget
      - b. Keynesian theory
    - 4. Roosevelt's call for spending
    - 5. Reforms of 1937
      - a. Housing legislation
      - b. Assistance for rural poverty
        - i. Farm Tenant Act
        - ii. Work of the Farm Security Administration
    - 6. The legislation of 1938
      - a. Second AAA
      - b. Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act
      - c. Fair Labor Standards Act
  - E. Setbacks to the New Deal
    - 1. Emergence of an opposition
      - a. Defection of the southerners
      - b. Victories of the opposition in 1938
    - 2. Roosevelt's 1938 purge
    - 3. Results of the 1938 elections
    - 4. Limited legislation in 1939
- VIII. Legacy of the New Deal: halfway revolution
- A. Enlarged government
  - B. Restoration of hope
  - C. Increased government responsibility
  - D. Revolutionary and conservative

**KEY ITEMS OF CHRONOLOGY**

Scottsboro case	1931
Roosevelt defeated Hoover	November 1932
Twentieth Amendment ratified	February 1933
Roosevelt inaugurated	March 4, 1933
Hundred Days	March 9 to June 16, 1933
Emergency Banking Relief Act	March 9, 1933
CCC established	March 31, 1933
United States abandoned the gold standard	April 19, 1933
First Agricultural Adjustment Act	May 12, 1933
Tennessee Valley Act	May 18, 1933
Federal Securities Act	May 27, 1933
National Industrial Act	June 16, 1933
Glass-Steagall Banking Act	June 16, 1933
Twenty-First Amendment ratified	December 1933
NIRA ruled unconstitutional	May 1935
Wagner Act or National Labor Relations Act	1935
Social Security Act	1935
Revenue Act or Wealth Tax Act	1935
Huey Long assassinated	1935
AFL expelled the CIO	1936
<i>U.S. v. Butler</i>	January 1936
FDR reelected	November 1936
Court-packing controversy	1937
Recession	1937
Fair Labor Standards Act	1938
Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act	1938
Second Agricultural Adjustment Act	1938
Wagner-Steagall National Housing Act	1938
<i>Gone with the Wind</i>	1939
<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	1939
<i>Native Son</i>	1940

**TERMS TO MASTER**

Listed below are some important people or terms with which you should be familiar after your study of this chapter. Identify each name or term.

1. welfare capitalism
2. totalitarianism
3. New Deal
4. Twentieth Amendment
5. Frances Perkins
6. brain trust

7. fireside chat
8. Twenty-First Amendment
9. Hundred Days
10. Emergency Banking Relief Act
11. Federal Art Project
12. National Youth Administration
13. parity
14. dust bowl
15. *U.S. v. Butler*
16. National Industrial Recovery Act
17. blanket code
18. section 7a
19. Tennessee Valley Authority
20. Okies
21. John Collier
22. Scottsboro case
23. *Norris v. Alabama*
24. black cabinet
25. John Steinbeck
26. Richard Wright
27. Eleanor Roosevelt
28. American Liberty League
29. Huey P. Long
30. Share Our Wealth
31. Frances E. Townsend
32. Charles E. Coughlin
33. Wagner Act
34. Social Security Act
35. Wealth Tax Act
36. Alfred M. Landon
37. court-packing plan
38. industrial union
39. craft union
40. Committee for Industrial Organizations
41. Walter Reuther
42. sit-down strike
43. John L. Lewis
44. broker state

**VOCABULARY BUILDING**

Listed below are some words or phrases used in this chapter. Look in the dictionary for the meaning of each term you do not know.

prong	assimilate
patrician	lobby (v.)
penchant	impel
luminous	subliminate
supercilious	maudlin
pedestrian (adj.)	exude
vacillate	liaison
pragmatic	carp (v.)
ideologue	galvanize
nominal	indigent
analogue	veneration
privation	decimate
poignant	grandiloquent
proviso	mandate
tonic (adj.)	plebiscite

## EXERCISES FOR UNDERSTANDING

*When you have finished reading the chapter, answer each of the following questions. If you have difficulty, go back and reread the section of the chapter related to the question.*

### Multiple-Choice Questions

*Select the letter of the choice that best completes the statement.*

- Conservative southern Democrats influenced Roosevelt because they
  - controlled Congress.
  - had opposed his election.
  - supported massive spending to aid the unemployed.
  - all of the above
- The term "Hundred Days" refers to the
  - period between FDR's election and his inauguration.
  - first three months of FDR's first term.
  - length of the bank holiday in 1933.
  - term of service by men in the CCC.
- The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933
  - wanted farmers to increase production.
  - sought parity for farm prices.
  - helped tenants keep their jobs.
  - all of the above
- The National Industrial Recovery Act provided for
  - \$3.3 billion in spending through the PWA.
  - codes of fair practice for industries.
  - the right of workers to form unions.
  - all of the above
- Ralph Ellison, John Cheever, and Saul Bellow worked for
  - the black cabinet.
  - the National Youth Administration.
  - Charles E. Coughlin.
  - the Federal Writers' Project.
- Section 7a of the NIRA was important for
  - farmers.
  - industrialists.
  - labor.
  - the unemployed.
- All of the following were part of the first New Deal *except*
  - the Tennessee Valley Authority.
  - Social Security.
  - the NIRA.
  - creation of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
- The New Deal's "cornerstone" and "supreme achievement," according to FDR, was
  - Social Security.
  - the Wagner Labor Relations Act.
  - the Tennessee Valley Authority.
  - the PWA and WPA.
- Reductions in agricultural production especially hurt
  - consumers.
  - larger farmers.
  - black and Chicano farm workers.
  - manufacturers of farm equipment.
- Under John Collier, the New Deal program for Native Americans sought to
  - extend the Dawes Act's Americanization of Indians.
  - convert Indians to Christianity.
  - restore their cultural traditions.
  - eliminate the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- Eleanor Roosevelt helped the president by
  - shielding him from labor and women activists.
  - providing a happy and serene home life.
  - taking political risks he could not take.
  - all of the above
- The Supreme Court packing plan was defeated in part because of
  - Democratic losses in 1936.
  - its violation of the Constitution.
  - a change in the Court's direction in rulings on key measures.
  - all of the above
- The CIO led the campaign to organize workers in
  - mass-production industries.
  - agriculture.
  - the skilled trades.
  - federal work-relief programs.
- Walter Reuther was a leader in
  - the early motion picture industry.
  - organizing automobile workers.
  - the Federal Writers' Project.
  - opposing FDR's court-packing plan.

15. The Fair Labor Standards Act provided for all of the following *except*
- a minimum wage.
  - the prohibition of child labor.
  - a maximum work week of forty hours.
  - the right of workers to form unions.

### True-False Questions

Indicate whether each statement is true or false.

- At the end of the Hoover administration, four out of every five American banks were closed.
- In his attitudes toward government and business, FDR was ideologically committed to enforcing antitrust laws.
- A first step toward direct relief for the unemployed was the CCC.
- An early New Deal program called for slaughtering six million pigs.
- Codes of fair competitive practice were established by the NRA.
- The "Blue Eagle" was a symbol for the AAA.
- The Grapes of Wrath* depicted dust bowl immigrants to California.
- In 1939, seventeen percent of the nation's labor force was still out of work.
- Only the New Deal agricultural programs did not discriminate against blacks.
- Deportation of Mexican American workers was popular because they were involved in labor union activities.
- The Scottsboro case in 1931 involved efforts to organize workers in the steel industry.
- The most popular form of entertainment in the 1930s was radio.
- Perhaps the most enduring voting change brought by FDR was the shift of the farm vote to the Democratic party.
- Keynesianism involves reducing government spending in times of severe unemployment.
- The leading black novelist in the depression was Richard Wright.

### A Match of New Deal Agencies

The New Deal period witnessed the creation of a plethora of new government agencies which became known as the alphabet agencies because they were referred to by their initials. To help you focus on major agencies and to test your grasp of the material, match the description or statement in the right column with the agencies or act in the left. Some of the agencies or acts may match with more than one description. Answers are at the end of this chapter.

Agency or Act	Description
1. FDIC	a. created a regional rehabilitation of a river basin
2. FERA	b. investigated the concentration of economic power in the United States
3. Economy Act	c. set minimum wages and maximum hours for certain industries in interstate commerce
4. First AAA	d. provided a variety of methods for increasing farm income
5. Civilian Conservation Corps	e. provided insurance for bank deposits
6. PWA	f. \$3.3 billion for jobs on major building projects
7. TVA	g. a stopgap plan for aiding the unemployed in 1933–1935
8. NRA	h. loans to rural cooperatives to run electrical lines to remote farms
9. REA	i. a plan to cut wages of veterans and federal employees
10. Wagner Act	j. jobs for young men in the nation's parks
11. Social Security Act	k. an agency to regulate the sale of stocks and bonds
12. Wealth Tax Act	l. allowed industries to collaborate together to limit production of goods and raise wages
13. SEC	m. provided farmers payments to conserve soil by not planting crops
14. TNEC	n. created a committee to oversee elections for unions
15. Farm Security Administration	o. established the welfare system for mothers and dependent children
16. Soil Conservation Act	p. greatly increased income taxes
17. Fair Labor Standards Act	q. provided a tax on incomes to ensure retirement benefits
18. WPA	r. placed a tax on farm products when first processed for market
	s. provided loans to help farm tenants buy their land
	t. a long-term federal program to provide jobs, including symphony, artistic, and theater projects
	u. provided states aid for work projects as well as a dole
	v. built dams to produce and sell electricity
	w. a counterpart to NRA, this agency provided jobs on major construction projects

**Essay Questions**

1. Which of the three competing solutions presented by FDR's advisers for easing depression had the greatest effects on the American economy?
2. What role did the Supreme Court play in the 1930s?
3. Compare and contrast the New Deal's policies toward labor and industry.
4. How did the Great Depression affect the lives of ordinary U.S. citizens?
5. Who were the main critics of the New Deal and what effects did their criticisms have?
6. How did the "first" and "second" New Deals differ? How were they alike? Which was the more effective?
7. What were the major accomplishments of FDR and the New Deal?
8. What was the impact of the depression on U.S. writers?
9. What changes occurred in American popular culture in the thirties despite the depression?
10. What were the long-term effects or legacies of the New Deal?

**ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE-CHOICE, TRUE-FALSE, AND MATCHING QUESTIONS****Multiple-Choice Questions**

1-A, 2-B, 3-B, 4-D, 5-D, 6-C, 7-B, 8-A, 9-C, 10-C, 11-C, 12-C, 13-A, 14-B, 15-D

**True-False Questions**

1-T, 2-F, 3-T, 4-T, 5-T, 6-F, 7-T, 8-T, 9-F, 10-T, 11-F, 12-F, 13-F, 14-F, 15-T

**Matching Questions**

1-c, 2-q, u, 3-i, 4-d, r, 5-j, 6-f, w, 7-a, v, 8-l, 9-h, 10-n, 11-o, q, 12-p, 13-k, 14-b, 15-s, 16-m, 17-c, 18-t

# 29



## FROM ISOLATION TO GLOBAL WAR

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**CHAPTER OBJECTIVES**

*After you finish reading and studying this chapter, you should be able to*

1. Recount the foreign policy pursued by the United States in the interwar period.
2. Outline the aggressions of Japan, Italy, and Germany in the decade of the 1930s.
3. Account for U.S. efforts at neutrality in the face of aggression and assess its effectiveness in preventing war.
4. Describe the election of 1940.
5. Tell why and how the United States supported Britain and Russia prior to its entry into the war.
6. Explain the effectiveness of the attack on Pearl Harbor.

**CHAPTER OUTLINE**

- I. Postwar isolationism
  - A. Evidences of isolationist sentiment
  - B. Counteractions of world involvement
  - C. Relations with the League
  - D. War-debt tangle
    1. Level of Allied war debts
    2. Problems with repayment of debt
    3. Linkage of debts to reparations
    4. Depression and debt cancellation
- E. Efforts toward disarmament
  1. Substitute for League membership