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Was the New Deal a Good Deal?

EXPLORING AMERICA'S HISTORY THROUGH COMPELLING QUESTIONS

S U P P O R T I N G Q U E S T I O N S

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D E V E L O P E D A N D C O M P I L E D B Y
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Was the New Deal a Good Deal?

Throughout our history, the United States has experienced a cycle of economic booms and busts. The recent Great Recession of the 2010s is just the latest example. The worst was the Great Depression of the 1930s. Following on the heels of the Roaring 20s, the hardships of the 1930s had long-lasting impacts. Globally, the economic downturn led to the rise of Fascism in Europe, and militarism in Asia. In the United States, at the worst point, one in every four workers was out of a job. Tens of thousands of teenagers roamed the nation by train looking for work and food.

After blaming President Hoover and electing Franklin Roosevelt, Americans embarked on a struggle to overcome the problems by radically expanding the role and size of the federal government. Roosevelt's set of proposals, called the New Deal, changed the way people think about and interact with their government. For the first time, people looked to the President and Congress to take care of their basic wellbeing. The government provided jobs, loans, and the money to restart the struggling economy. Ultimately, the New Deal was so expansive that it remade the landscape, and left behind the beloved, but expensive, program of Social Security.

Was this a good for America? Certainly, at the time some prominent Americans disagreed with Roosevelt's plans. For a variety of reasons, some on the political left and right rejected the New Deal. Perhaps the greatest critique of the New Deal is that it did not actually end the Depression. It was not until World War II started that high rates of unemployment disappeared. Despite that, we are left with many of the programs Roosevelt and his team created. And most of all, we are left with a different idea about the role of government in our lives.

What do you think? Was the New Deal a good deal?

纵观我们的历史，美国经历了经济繁荣和萧条的循环。最近的 2010 年大萧条只是最新的例子。最糟糕的是 20 世纪 30 年代的大萧条。紧接着咆哮的 20 年代，20 世纪 30 年代的艰辛经历了长期的影响。在全球范围内，经济衰退导致欧洲法西斯主义的兴起和亚洲的军国主义。在美国，在最糟糕的时候，每四名工人中就有一名失业。成千上万的青少年乘火车去寻找工作和食物。

在指责胡佛总统并选举富兰克林罗斯福之后，美国人开始通过从根本上扩大联邦政府的角色和规模来克服这些问题。罗斯福的一系列提案称为新政，改变了人们思考和与政府互动的方式。人们第一次看到总统和国会照顾他们的基本福祉。政府提供了就业机会，贷款和资金来重启陷入困境的经济。最终，新政是如此广阔，以至于它重塑了风景，并留下了心爱的但昂贵的社会保障计划。

这对美国有好处吗？当然，当时一些著名的美国人不同意罗斯福的计划。出于各种原因，一些政治左翼和右翼拒绝了新政。也许对新政的最大批评是它实际上并没有结束大萧条。直到第二次世界大战开始，高失业率才消失。尽管如此，我们还是留下了很多罗斯福和他的团队创建的项目。最重要的是，我们对政府在生活中作用留下了不同的看法。

你怎么看？新政是否很划算？

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F I R S T Q U E S T I O N TO WHAT EXTENT DOES MONEY CONTROL OUR LIVES?



INTRODUCTION

We live in a complicated world, and things that we use every day work only because thousands of other people make them possible. Consider for a moment your cell phone. Companies make money providing services that make your web surfing possible. People built towers, designed equipment, and maintain software. An entirely different group of people make sure our electric grid continues humming. It would be inconceivable for any one person to make a cell phone function entirely on his or her own.

Our financial systems are equally complicated, and although the Great Depression began nearly a century ago, America's financial system was complex even then. Everyday Americans went about their daily lives of school, work, family, friendship and fun in a world that relied on bankers, businesses, telegraph operators, and thousands of others to keep the system going.

But things fell apart at the end of the 1920s. Beginning in 1929, the stock market failed, and then banks, farmers, and eventually stores, factories, and then even schools and churches as well. It was as if the entire system was like a house of cards, or perhaps a tower of Jenga bricks that simply could not stand without every other piece being in its exact correct place.

With this analogy in mind, consider what happened at the outset of the Great Depression and consider your own connectedness in the present world. This is perhaps a frightening mental exercise as it might leave you feeling terribly vulnerable and powerless to control your future, but hopefully it will also help you understand the important role each individual plays in make the wheels of modern society turn in harmony.

介绍

我们生活在一个复杂的世界里，我们每天使用的东西只是因为成千上万的人使它们成为可能。考虑一下你的手机。公司赚钱提供使您的网上冲浪成为可能的服务。人们建造塔楼，设计设备和维护软件。一群完全不同的人确保我们的电网继续嗡嗡作响。任何一个人完全靠自己制作手机功能是不可想象的。

我们的金融体系同样复杂，尽管大萧条在近一个世纪前开始，但美国的金融体系即使在那时也很复杂。在一个依赖银行家，企业，电报运营商和成千上万的人来维持系统运转的世界里，每天都有美国人开始他们的学校，工作，家庭，友谊和乐趣的日常生活。

但事情在 20 世纪 20 年代末崩溃了。从 1929 年开始，股市失败，然后银行，农民，最终商店，工厂，甚至学校和教堂也是如此。就好像整个系统就像一个纸牌屋，或者也许是一座 Jenga 砖塔，如果没有其他任何一块在其正确的位置，它就无法忍受。

考虑到这个比喻，考虑一下大萧条开始时发生的事情，并考虑你自己在当今世界的联系。这可能是一项令人恐惧的心理练习，因为它可能会让你感到非常脆弱，无法控制你的未来，但希望它也能帮助你理解每个人在使现代社会的轮子变得和谐方面发挥的重要作用。

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PRESIDENT HOOVER

Few presidents were as loved as Herbert Hoover, and few were as despised as Herbert Hoover. Before running for president, Hoover had coordinated relief efforts for foreign nationals trapped in China during the Boxer Rebellion. At the outset of World War I, he led the food relief effort in Europe, specifically helping millions of Belgians who faced German forces. President Woodrow Wilson subsequently appointed him head of the U.S. Food Administration to coordinate rationing efforts in America as well as to secure essential food items for the Allied forces and citizens in Europe. As an administrator of complex systems, he was unmatched, and as a beloved hero who had saved the lives of countless people, he was renowned.

Hoover's first months in office hinted at the reformist, humanitarian spirit that he had displayed throughout his career. He continued the civil service reform of the early 20th Century by expanding opportunities for employment throughout the federal government. As the summer of 1929 came to a close, Hoover remained a popular successor to Calvin "Silent Cal" Coolidge, and all signs pointed to a highly successful administration. However, history now counts Hoover among the worst presidents, and his bid for reelection was a total failure.

THE CRASH

The promise of the Hoover administration was cut short when the stock market lost almost one-half its value in the fall of 1929, plunging many Americans into financial ruin. However, as a singular event, the stock market crash itself did not cause the Great Depression that followed. In fact, only approximately 10% of American households held stock investments and speculated in the market. Yet nearly a third would lose their lifelong savings and jobs in the depression that followed. The connection between the crash and the subsequent decade of hardship was complex, involving underlying weaknesses in the economy that many policymakers had long ignored.

Although the 1920s were marked by growth in stock values, the last four years saw an explosion in the market. In an article titled "Everyone Ought to Be Rich," wealthy financier John J. Raskob advised Americans to invest just \$15 dollars a month in the market. After twenty years, he claimed, the venture would be worth \$80,000. Stock fever swept the nation, or at least those that had the means to invest. In 1925, the total value of the New York Stock Exchange was \$27 billion, but by September 1929, that figure skyrocketed to \$87 billion.

总统胡佛

很少有总统像赫伯特·胡佛一样受到喜爱，很少有像赫伯特·胡佛那样被人鄙视。在竞选总统之前，胡佛曾在在义和团运动期间被困在中国的外国人进行救援工作。在第一次世界大战开始时，他领导了欧洲的粮食救济工作，专门帮助面对德国军队的数百万比利时人。伍德罗威尔逊总统随后任命他为美国食品管理局局长，负责协调美国的配给工作，并为盟军和欧洲公民提供必需的食品。作为复杂系统的管理员，他是无与伦比的，作为一个拯救了无数人生命的心爱的英雄，他很有名。

胡佛上任的头几个月暗示了他在整个职业生涯中所表现出的改良主义，人道主义精神。他通过扩大联邦政府的就业机会，继续了 20 世纪初的公务员制度改革。随着 1929 年的夏天即将结束，胡佛仍然是加尔文“沉默的卡尔”柯立芝的流行接班人，并且所有迹象都表明政府非常成功。然而，历史现在使胡佛成为最糟糕的总统之一，他竞选连任是完全失败的。

碰撞

当股票市场在 1929 年秋天损失了近一半的价值时，胡佛政府的承诺被缩短，使许多美国人陷入财务危机。然而，作为一个单一的事件，股市崩盘本身并没有导致随之而来的大萧条。事实上，只有大约 10% 的美国家庭持有股票投资并在市场上进行投机。然而，接下来的萧条中，将近三分之一的人将失去终身储蓄和就业机会。崩溃与随后的艰难困境十年之间的联系是复杂的，涉及许多政策制定者长期忽视的经济潜在弱点。

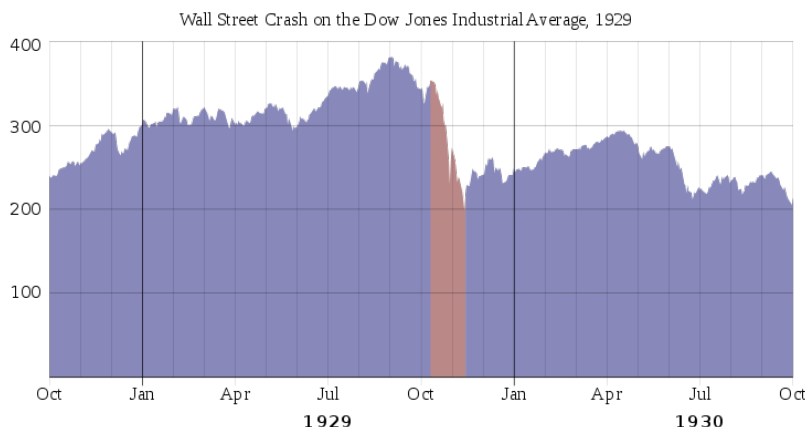
虽然 20 世纪 20 年代的特点是股票价值的增长，但过去四年市场出现了爆炸式增长。富豪金融家约翰·拉斯科布 (John J. Raskob) 在一篇题为“每个人都应富裕起来”的文章中建议美国人每月仅在市场上投资 15 美元。他说，二十年后，合资企业的价值将达到 80,000 美元。股票热潮席卷全国，或者至少是那些有投资手段的股票。1925 年，纽约证券交易所的总价值为 270 亿美元，但到 1929 年 9 月，这一数字飙升至 870 亿美元。这意味着平均股

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This meant that the average stockholder more than tripled the value of the stock portfolio he or she was lucky enough to possess.

Fueling the rapid expansion was the risky practice of buying stock on margin. A margin purchase allowed an investor to borrow money, typically as much as 75% of the purchase price, to buy a greater amount of stock. Stockbrokers and even banks funded the reckless speculation. Borrowers were often willing to pay 20% interest rates on loans, certain as they were that the rewards when the stock increased in value would make the risk worthwhile. Both borrowers and lenders were so certain that the market would rise that such transactions became commonplace, despite warnings by the Federal Reserve Board against the practice. Clearly, there had to be a limit to how high the market could reach before everyone realized that the stocks were simply not worth the prices they were selling for.



What causes stock prices to fall? Although the workings of the New York Stock Exchange can be quite complex, one simple principle governs the price of stock. When investors believe a stock is a good value they are willing to pay more for a share and its value rises. When traders believe the value of a security will fall, they cannot sell it at as high of a price. Generally, this principle guides day-to-day buying and selling and the market works well. However, if all investors realized all at once that the entire market is overvalued and try to sell all their shares in all their stocks at once and no one is willing to buy, the value of the entire market shrinks.

On October 24, 1929, a day now remembered as **Black Thursday**, this massive sell-a-thon began.

Sensing a crash underway, J.P. Morgan gathered the leading financiers of Wall Street, twisted arms and they pooled their resources to begin to buy stocks in the hopes of reversing the trend. But the bottom fell

东将他或她有幸拥有的股票投资组合的价值增加了两倍多。

推动快速扩张是以保证金购买股票的风险做法。保证金购买允许投资者借入资金，通常高达购买价格的 75%，以购买更多的股票。股票经纪人甚至银行都资助了鲁莽的猜测。借款人通常愿意为贷款支付 20% 的利率，并确保随着股票价值的增加风险值得奖励。尽管联邦储备委员会反对这种做法的警告，但借款人和贷款人都非常肯定市场会因为这种交易变得司空见惯而上涨。显然，在每个人都意识到股票根本不值得他们卖出的价格之前，必须限制市场有多高。

Secondary Source: Chart

The crash in the stock market is clearly visible in this chart showing the value of the Dow Jones Industrial Average, the average price of major American companies, in the year before and after the crash.

是什么导致股价下跌？虽然纽约证券交易所的运作非常复杂，但一个简单的原则就是管理股票的价格。当投资者认为股票是一个很好的价值时，他们愿意为股票支付更高的价格并且其价值上升。当交易员认为证券的价值会下跌时，他们不能以高价出售。一般来说，这个原则指导日常买卖，市场运作良好。然而，如果所有投资者立刻意识到整个市场被高估并试图立即出售所有股票并且没有人愿意购买，那么整个市场的价值就会缩小。

1929 年 10 月 24 日，现在被记为黑色星期四的一天，这个巨大的卖点开始了。

正在感受到正在发生的崩溃，J.P. 摩根集中华尔街的主要金融家，绞尽脑汁，他们汇集资源开始购买股票，希望扭转这一趋势。但是，在 10 月 29 日

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out of the market on Tuesday, October 29. A record 16 million shares were exchanged for smaller and smaller values as the day progressed. For some stocks, no buyers could be found at any price. By the end of the day, panic had erupted, and the next few weeks continued the downward spiral. In a matter of ten short weeks the value of the entire market was cut in half.

For investors who had purchased stocks on margin, the crash was even worse. After stock prices fell, banks called in their loans, and when the investors sold back their stocks at a loss, they were left with both the cost of the loan to repay, plus enormous interest payments. Instead of enormous profits they had expected, these investors were left with enormous debts. Suicide and despair swept the investing classes of America.

FARMERS

The 1920s have the nickname the Roaring Twenties and this tends to give the impression that the economy was charging along on all cylinders right up until the onset of the Great Depression, but this is not actually the case. In the later half of the decade the economy began to cool. Fewer jobs were being created and factories were turning out fewer goods.

Most importantly, the largesse of the decade did not extend to America's farmers. During World War I, American farmers saved Europe from starving. To feed the struggling people who had lost everything during the war, and to feed America's own army, farmers had borrowed money to purchase new equipment and put more land into cultivation. However, as Europeans went back to their farms after the war and began feeding themselves, and as the government cut back on food purchases, farmers found themselves hard hit. No one was willing to pay for all the extra food they were growing.

The basic elements of supply and demand kicked in. The demand for farm products fell as the supply soared. Farmers were obligated to pay back their loans but found themselves unable to pay. While their city-dwelling neighbors were buying new refrigerators and dancing at speakeasies, farmers were literally losing their farms to **foreclosure** as banks took the only thing of value the farmers had left.

The problem receives little attention in a study of the 1920s because automobiles, gangsters, and jazz clubs are so much more interesting, but knowing that the economy had been operating with a broken leg, so to speak, helps explain what happened next.

周二，底部跌出市场。随着时间的推移，创纪录的1600万股股票被换成了越来越小的价值。对于一些股票，没有任何买家可以找到任何价格。到那天结束时，恐慌已经爆发，接下来的几周继续下滑。在短短十周内，整个市场的价值减半。

对于以保证金购买股票的投资者来说，崩盘更加严重。在股票价格下跌之后，银行打电话给他们的贷款，当投资者以亏损的方式卖回他们的股票时，他们留下了重播贷款的成本，以及巨额的利息支付。这些投资者留下了巨额债务，而不是他们预期的巨额利润。自杀和绝望席卷了美国的投资阶层。

农民

20世纪20年代的绰号是咆哮的二十年代，这往往给人的印象是经济在大萧条开始前一直在所有气瓶上充电，但事实并非如此。在这十年的后半段，经济开始降温。创造的就业机会减少，工厂的商品减少。

最重要的是，这十年中的大部分时间并未扩展到美国的农民。在第一次世界大战期间，美国农民使欧洲免于挨饿。为了养活在战争期间失去一切的挣扎的人民，并养活美国自己的军队，农民借钱购买新设备，并投入更多土地耕种。然而，随着欧洲人在战争结束后回到自己的农场并开始自食其力，随着政府减少食品采购，农民们发现自己受到了严重打击。没有人愿意支付他们种植的所有额外食物。

供需基本要素受到启动。随着供应量的增加，对农产品的需求下降。农民有义务偿还贷款，但发现自己无力支付。虽然他们的城市邻居正在购买新的冰箱并在娱乐场所跳舞，但农民们实际上正在失去他们的农场以取消抵押品赎回权，因为银行只取得了农民们留下的唯一有价值的东西。

在20世纪20年代的一项研究中，这个问题很少得到关注，因为汽车，流氓和爵士乐俱乐部更加有趣，但是知道经济已经断腿了，可以说，有助于解释接下来发生的事情。

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BANK FAILURES

By itself, the crash in the stock market and a slowdown in the economy did not cause the entire system to fail. Many stock market crashes have occurred that have not led to economic depressions. 1929 was different, however. In addition to the stock market, the Depression was initiated by the closure of thousands of banks across the country.

Banks make money by taking in deposits and turning around and loaning that money back out. Borrowers pay interest on their loans, which earns the bank a profit. Depositors trust the bank to hold their money and give them what they need as they need it. If depositors lose trust in the bank, they will stop giving the bank their money, or worse, demand to withdraw all of their money. Since most of the money has already been loaned out, a bank simply does not have the cash necessary to give everyone all their money at once. When rumors spread that a bank was weakening, people would literally run to their bank in order to withdraw their money when the bank still had some cash left before the other depositors got there. This was a run on the bank, and numerous banks were destroyed by **bank runs**.



In response to the pressure to show that their institutions were sound, bankers looked for ways to increase their cash supply. One way was to demand the people who had taken out loans pay back those loans early. For stock market investors who had borrowed on margin and

银行失败

就其本身而言，股市崩盘和经济放缓并未导致整个系统失败。许多股市崩盘已经发生，并没有导致经济萧条。然而，1929 年是不同的。除股票市场外，大萧条还是由全国数千家银行关闭引发的。

银行通过收取存款并转身并将这笔钱退回来赚钱。借款人支付贷款利息，从而使银行获利。存款人信任银行持有他们的钱，并在需要时给他们所需的东西。如果存款人失去对银行的信任，他们将停止向银行提供资金，或者更糟糕的是，要求提取所有资金。由于大部分资金已经被借出，银行根本没有必要的现金来立即给予每个人所有的钱。当谣言传播说银行正在走弱时，人们会真正跑到他们的银行，以便在银行在其他存款人到达之前还有一些现金的情况下提取资金。这是银行挤兑，许多银行被银行破产摧毁。

Primary Source: Photograph

A run on the American Union Bank. Depositors lined up outside the bank waiting to withdraw all of their savings. Runs like this became common in 1929 as the economy collapsed.

为了应对表明其机构健全的压力，银行家寻求增加现金供应的方法。一种方法是要求提供贷款的人尽早偿还贷款。对于以保证金借入并因崩溃而被烧毁

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had been burned by the crash, this proved impossible. Many other Americans were not able to pay back their loans early.

In November 1930, the first major banking crisis began and over 800 banks closed their doors by the end of the year. By the end of 1931, over 2,100 banks were out of business. The economy as a whole experienced a massive reduction in banking as more than 9,000 closed by 1933.

WHAT CAUSED THE DEPRESSION?

Economists are not all in agreement as to the exact reason the overall economy finally failed. Certainly the stock market had crashed and banks were closing, but the economy is complex, and there are differing explanations that try to make sense of the catastrophe that we call the Great Depression. The most common explanations are based on the work of **Milton Friedman**, **Anna J. Schwartz**, and British economist **John Maynard Keynes**.

In his great book “The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money,” Keynes focused on demand in the economy. The consensus among demand-driven theories is that a large-scale loss of confidence led to a sudden reduction in consumption and investment spending. Once panic set in, people believed they could avoid further losses by staying out of business. It was safer to hold on to any cash, rather than risk putting it in bank, spending it, or buying stock. Holding money became profitable as prices dropped lower and a given amount of money bought ever more goods, exacerbating the drop in demand. As people held on to their money, the total amount of money flowing through the economy shrank. Although the total number of dollars out in the world had not changed, the total number available had fallen. Friedman and Schwartz called this the Great Contraction and viewed it as the primary cause of the Great Depression. Economists believe that the Great Depression started as an ordinary recession, but the shrinking of the money supply greatly exacerbated the economic situation, causing a recession to descend into the Great Depression.

After an earlier economic crisis, Congress had created the **Federal Reserve Board (Fed)**, an independent branch of the government that serves as a bank for banks. In theory, when times are tough, the Federal Reserve can loan money to banks to prevent them from failing. However, as the country was slipping into the Depression, the Federal Reserve did not deal with the real problem. They saw that the total amount of money had not changed, and assumed that the economy was still sound. In reality, they focused on the wrong factor. It

the stock market investors said, it proved impossible. Many other Americans were not able to pay back their loans early.

In November 1930, the first major banking crisis began, and by the end of 1931, over 2,100 banks were out of business. The economy as a whole experienced a massive reduction in banking as more than 9,000 closed by 1933.

导致抑郁症的原因是什么？

Economists are not all in agreement as to the exact reason the overall economy finally failed. Certainly the stock market had crashed and banks were closing, but the economy is complex, and there are differing explanations that try to make sense of the catastrophe that we call the Great Depression. The most common explanations are based on the work of **Milton Friedman**, **Anna J. Schwartz**, and British economist **John Maynard Keynes**.

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1 TO WHAT EXTENT DOES MONEY CONTROL OUR LIVES?



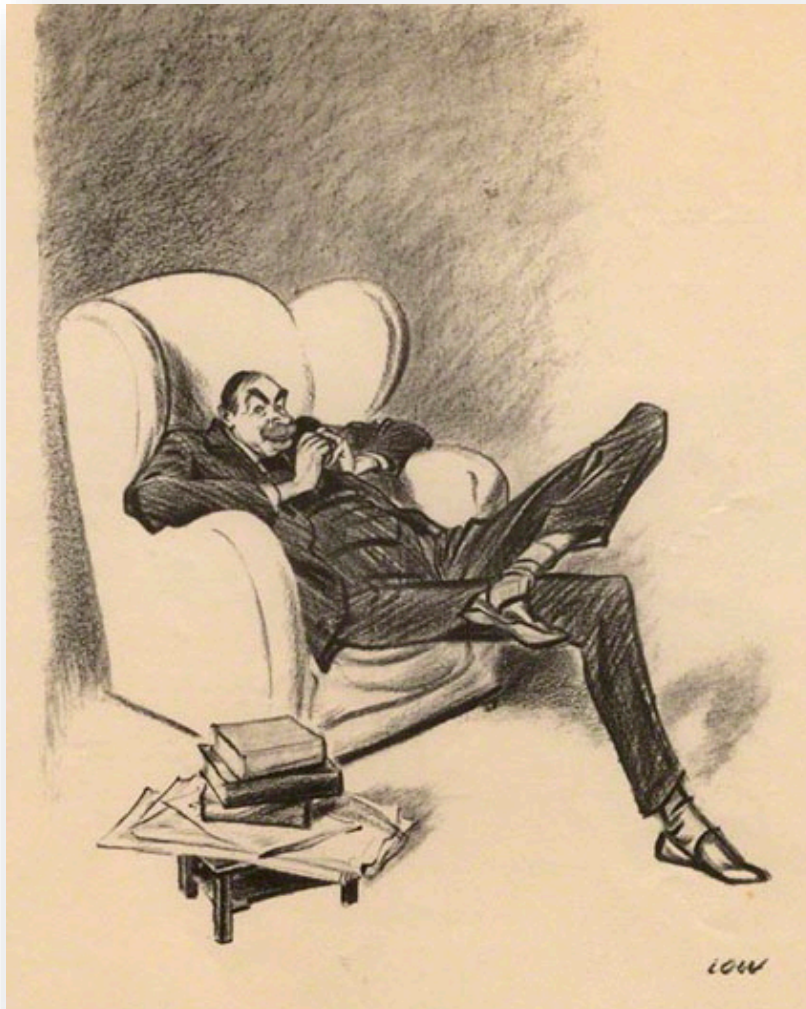
mattered little how much money existed, if so little of it was flowing through the economy.

There is consensus that the Federal Reserve should have prevented banking collapse by printing and injecting more money into the economy. If they had done this, the economic downturn would have been far less severe and much shorter.

人们一致认为，美联储应该通过印刷和向经济注入更多资金来防止银行倒闭。如果他们这样做了，那么经济衰退就会严重得多，也就短得多。

Primary Source: Drawing

A caricature of John Maynard Keynes by Dennis Low. Highly respected for his ideas and understanding of the economy, Keynes was also criticized as being a promoter of dangerous ideas that might lead to government take-over.



THE SOLUTIONS

Keynes' basic idea was simple: to keep people fully employed, governments have to borrow money when the economy is slowing. When the private sector cannot invest enough to keep production at the normal level and bring the economy out of recession, it is

解决方案

凯恩斯的基本想法很简单：为了让人们充分就业，政府必须在经济放缓时借钱。当私营部门无法进行足够的投资以使生产保持在正常水平并使经济摆脱衰退时，政府的角色就是摆脱困境。随着大萧条的

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government's role to pick up the slack. As the Depression wore on, President Franklin D. Roosevelt embraced Keynes's ideas and tried to cure the problem through enormous public spending, including construction projects, payments to farmers, and other devices to restart the economy. According to the Keynesians, this improved the economy, but Roosevelt never spent enough to bring the economy out of recession until the start of World War II.

Milton Friedman, Anna J. Schwartz and their followers are called Monetarists. They argued that the solution lied in the banking crisis. If the Fed had lowered interest rates and allowed banks to borrow enough money to stop the disastrous bank runs, the financial system would have survived and recovered. By not lowering interest rates, by not increasing the monetary base and by not injecting liquidity into the banking system to prevent it from crumbling, the Federal Reserve passively watched the transformation of a normal recession into the Great Depression. Instead, the Federal Reserve allowed some large public bank failures, particularly that of the New York Bank of United States, which produced panic, and the Federal Reserve sat idly by while banks collapsed.

It is worth noting that the explanation for the Great Depression and both solutions have little to do with the stock market itself, although the Black Thursday Crash of the market made flashy headlines and is best remembered. As usual, history is complicated and defies easy explanation.

For everyday Americans, the explanation mattered little. Life was hard no matter what precisely was causing their pain. For us today, we can appreciate the hard work that talented economists such as Keynes, Friedman and Schwartz have done to understand the crisis, and hope that future generations of American politicians and economic leader will learn from the mistakes of the past so that we will never have to live through another Great Depression.

CONCLUSION

Farmers took out loans to pay for equipment and land to grow food the government needed. Then as the government cut back on purchasing farmers found themselves unable to pay back the loans. Banks found themselves in a position of needing cash, but farmers, and then in 1929 stock speculators who had purchased on margin, had no cash to pay.

Banks failed because depositors lost trust, not just one-by-one, but en masse. No banker, no matter how talented, could overcome the

到来, 富兰克林·罗斯福总统接受了凯恩斯的想法, 并试图通过巨额公共支出解决问题, 包括建设项目, 向农民支付以及重启经济的其他设备。根据凯恩斯主义者的说法, 这改善了经济, 但罗斯福在第二次世界大战开始前从未花费足够的经济来摆脱经济衰退。

米尔顿弗里德曼, 安娜 J.施瓦茨及其追随者被称为货币主义者。他们认为解决方案在银行危机中撒谎。如果美联储降低利率并允许银行借入足够的资金来阻止灾难性的银行挤兑, 那么金融体系将会幸存并恢复。通过不降低利率, 不增加货币基础, 不向银行体系注入流动性以防止其崩溃, 美联储被动地观察了正常衰退转变为大萧条。相反, 美联储允许一些大型公共银行倒闭, 特别是美国纽约银行的失败, 导致恐慌, 美联储在银行倒闭时袖手旁观。

值得注意的是, 对大萧条和这两种解决方案的解释与股市本身没什么关系, 尽管市场的黑色星期四崩盘成为浮华的头条新闻并且最为人所记。像往常一样, 历史很复杂, 无法轻易解释。

对于日常的美国人来说, 这个解释很少。无论究竟是什么导致了他们的痛苦, 生活都很艰难。对我们今天来说, 我们可以欣赏凯恩斯, 弗里德曼和施瓦茨等有才华的经济学家为了解危机所做的辛勤工作, 并希望未来的美国政治家和经济领袖能够从过去的错误中吸取教训, 以便我们能够永远不必经历另一次大萧条。

结论

农民拿出贷款来支付设备和土地, 以种植政府所需的粮食。然后, 随着政府削减购买农民发现自己无法偿还贷款。银行发现自己处于需要现金的境地, 但农民, 然后在 1929 年以保证金购买的股票投机者没有现金支付。

银行倒闭是因为存款人失去了信任, 而不仅仅是一个接一个, 而是集体失去信任。没有银行家, 无论

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crush of a bank run. Then, as banks failed, the businesses that relied on those banks for daily operations also crumbled. Workers found that their favorite stores were closing, and then the workers who had just lost their jobs stopped shopping, leading to a cascade of bad news.

Looking back at the start of the Great Depression, and at other economic crisis that have followed, we can see how insignificant any one person is in this great web of cause and effect. We feel a bit like one grain of sand on a beach pounded by the waves. Certainly, the beach could not exist without sand, but no one grain seems to make any particular difference on its own.

So, we can appreciate how the choices of others, especially when multiplied together, can have an enormous impact on our own lives. And we should consider how our own choices, insignificant though they may seem in isolation, can combine with the actions of millions of others to create massive changes in the world.

多么有才能，都无法克服银行挤兑的危机。然后，随着银行倒闭，依赖这些银行进行日常运营的企业也崩溃了。工人们发现他们最喜欢的商店正在关闭，然后刚刚失去工作的工人停止购物，导致一连串的坏消息。

回顾大萧条的开始，以及随之而来的其他经济危机，我们可以看到任何一个人在这个伟大的因果网中是多么微不足道。我们觉得有点像海浪拍打的沙滩上的一粒沙子。当然，如果没有沙子，海滩就不可能存在，但没有任何一种谷物本身可以产生任何特殊的差异。

因此，我们可以理解其他人的选择，特别是在成倍增加时，会对我们自己的生活产生巨大影响。我们应该考虑我们自己的选择，尽管它们看起来可能是孤立的，但它们与数百万其他人的行为相结合，可以在世界上创造巨大的变化。

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SUMMARY

President Hoover had been a popular public servant during the 1920s. He was the third Republican president during the 1920s and it seemed like he would be popular as president as well.

When the stock market was doing well in the 1920s, people thought that prices would only go up. To cash in on the opportunity to make money, some investors borrowed money to buy stocks, thinking that they could pay back the money later when the stock price went up. Eventually stock prices fell and these investors lost all their money. Although participation in the stock market increased during the 1920s, only 10% of all Americans had purchased stock. The failure of the stock market in 1929 made the Great Depression worse, but did not cause the Great Depression.

The 1920s was not a good decade for farmers. They had taken out loans to buy new equipment and open up new land for farming during World War I, and when demand fell after the war, they could not pay back their loans.

Some banks began to fail. They made loans that borrowers could not pay. Sensing that a bank was in trouble, people who had depositors ran to a bank to withdraw all their savings. This sort of bank run ruined both well-run and poorly-run banks. When bank failures spread to New York City, the economy failed.

The real cause of the disaster was a failure of the Federal Reserve to respond to the crisis. Instead of supplying banks with funds to continue operation, the Fed held back and the nation fell into the Great Depression.

摘要

在 20 世纪 20 年代，胡佛总统一直是一位受欢迎的公务员。他是 20 世纪 20 年代的第三位共和党总统，看起来他也会成为总统。

当股票市场在 20 世纪 20 年代表现良好时，人们认为价格只会上涨。为了赚钱赚钱的机会，一些投资者借钱购买股票，认为他们可以在股价上涨时偿还资金。最终股价下跌，这些投资者全部亏损。虽然在 20 世纪 20 年代参与股市的情况有所增加，但只有 10% 的美国人购买了股票。1929 年股市的失败使大萧条恶化，但并没有引起大萧条。

20 世纪 20 年代对农民来说不是一个好十年。在第一次世界大战期间，他们已经购买了新设备并开辟了用于农业的新土地，当战后需求下降时，他们无法偿还贷款。

一些银行开始倒闭。他们提供了借款人无法偿还的贷款。知道有一家银行有麻烦的人，有存款的人跑到一家银行提取所有存款。这种银行挤兑破坏了经营良好和经营不善的银行。当银行倒闭蔓延到纽约市时，经济就倒闭了。

造成这场灾难的真正原因是美联储未能应对危机。美联储不再为银行提供资金继续运营，而是让美国陷入大萧条。



KEY CONCEPTS

Foreclosure: When a bank takes back property such as a house or farm if the owner is unable to repay a loan.

Bank Run: When depositors run to a bank to withdraw all their savings because of a rumor that the bank is failing. The result is that the bank fails since it does not have cash to cover all the withdrawals.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Milton Friedman: Economist who studied the Great Depression along with Anna Schwartz.

Anna J. Schwartz: Economist who studied the Great Depression along with Milton Friedman.

John Maynard Keynes: British economist who proposed the idea that in times of economic recession or depression the government must borrow and spend in order to jump start economic activity. His ideas formed the justification for the New Deal and later government programs such as President Obama's stimulus.

Federal Reserve Board (Fed): Independent government agency that is responsible for managing the overall economy by serving as the lender of last resort for the nation's banks.



EVENTS

Black Thursday: October 24, 1929, the day the stock market crashed and a traditional starting date for the Great Depression although the crash did not start the depression by itself.

2

S E C O N D Q U E S T I O N DID PRESIDENT HOOVER DESERVE TO LOSE HIS BID FOR REELECTION?



INTRODUCTION

The characters of Warner Brothers' cartoon Anamaniacs once sang a song listing the presidents including the line "and then in 1929 the market crashes and we find, it's Herbert Hoover's big debut. He gets the blame and loses too!"

Poor President Hoover is the butt of so many jokes, and certainly was the source of much derision during his own four years in the White House. We tend to think of him as the president who saw the economy fail, and Franklin Roosevelt who defeated him in the election of 1932 as the one who guided the economy back to health. Like many things, this is an oversimplification. As historians, we can make closer inspection of what happened when the Depression was at its worst and form a more informed judgement of the 31st president and his legacy.

Does he deserve the mounds of criticism that have been heaped upon him? Did he create the Depression? Did he really fail to address the problem? Did he not care? Did he deserve to lose his bid for reelection?

What do you think?

介绍

华纳兄弟的动画片“Anamaniacs”的角色曾经唱过一首歌，列出了包括“1929 年市场崩溃在内的行列”，然后我们发现，这是 Herbert Hoover 的首次亮相。他得到了责任并且输了！”

可怜的胡佛总统是这么多笑话的屁股，当然是他在白宫四年来嘲笑根源。我们倾向于认为他是看到经济衰退的总统，富兰克林罗斯福在 1932 年的大选中击败了他，指导经济恢复健康。像许多事情一样，这是过于简单化。作为历史学家，我们可以仔细检查大萧条最严重时发生的事情，并对第 31 任总统及其遗产形成更明智的判断。

他是否应得到堆积如山的批评？他创造了大萧条吗？他真的没能解决这个问题吗？他不在乎吗？他是否应该失去竞选连任？

你怎么看？

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A NEW REALITY

For most Americans, the crash affected daily life in myriad ways. In the immediate aftermath, there was a run on the banks, where citizens took their money out, if they could get it, and hid their savings under mattresses, in bookshelves, or anywhere else they felt was safe. Some went so far as to exchange their dollars for gold and ship it out of the country. A number of banks failed outright, and others, in their attempts to stay solvent, called in loans that people could not afford to repay. Working-class Americans saw their wages drop. Even Henry Ford, the champion of a high minimum wage, began lowering wages by as much as a dollar a day. Southern cotton planters paid workers only twenty cents for every one hundred pounds of cotton picked, meaning that the strongest picker might earn sixty cents for a fourteen-hour day of work. Governments struggled as well. When fewer citizens were earning money and paying taxes, elected leaders made hard decisions about how to spend the reduced tax revenues and laid off teachers and police officers.

The new hardships that people faced were not always immediately apparent. Many communities felt the changes but could not necessarily look out their windows and see anything different. Men who lost their jobs did not stand on street corners begging. They might be found keeping warm by a trashcan bonfire or picking through garbage at dawn, but mostly, they stayed out of public view. As the effects of the crash continued, however, the results became more evident. Those living in cities grew accustomed to seeing long breadlines of unemployed men waiting for a meal. Companies fired workers and tore down employee housing to avoid paying property taxes. The landscape of the country changed.

EFFECTS ON FAMILIES

The hardships of the Great Depression threw family life into disarray. Both marriage and birth rates declined in the 1930s. The most vulnerable members of society—children, women, minorities, and the working class—struggled the most. Parents often sent children out to beg for food at restaurants and stores to save themselves from the disgrace of begging. Many children dropped out of school, and even fewer went to college. In some cases, the schools and colleges themselves went bankrupt and closed. Childhood, as it had existed in the prosperous 20s, was over.

Families adapted by growing more in gardens, canning, and preserving, wasting little food if any. Home-sewn clothing became the norm as the decade progressed, as did creative methods of shoe repair

一个新的现实

对于大多数美国人来说，撞车事故以各种方式影响着日常生活。在紧接着之后，银行出现了一场惨淡的行动，公民们把钱拿出来，如果他们能拿得到的话，把他们的积蓄藏在床垫，书架或其他任何他们觉得安全的地方。有些甚至将他们的美元换成黄金并将其运出国外。一些银行彻底失败了，其他银行在试图保持偿付能力的过程中被称为贷款，人们无力偿还贷款。工薪阶层的美国人看到他们的工资下降。即使是最高工资的冠军亨利·福特也开始每天降低工资一美元。南方棉花种植者每工作一百磅棉花只给工人 20 美分，这意味着最强的采摘者可能会在每天工作 14 小时时赚取 60 美分。政府也在努力。当较少的公民赚钱和纳税时，民选领导人就如何减少税收收入和解雇教师和警察做出了艰难的决定。

人们面临的新困难并不总是显而易见的。许多社区都感受到了变化，但不一定能看到他们的窗户，看到任何不同的东西。失业的男人没有站在街角乞讨。他们可能会被发现在垃圾桶里篝火或在黎明时通过垃圾收集温暖，但大多数情况下，他们都不在公众面前。然而，随着坠机的影响持续，结果变得更加明显。那些生活在城市的人越来越习惯于看到等待用餐的失业男子的长队。公司解雇工人并拆除员工住房以避免缴纳房产税。这个国家的景观发生了变化。

对家庭的影响

大萧条的艰辛使家庭生活变得混乱。20 世纪 30 年代，婚姻和出生率都有所下降。最脆弱的社会成员 - 儿童，妇女，少数民族和工人阶级 - 最为挣扎。父母经常派孩子去餐馆和商店乞讨食物，以避免乞讨的耻辱。许多孩子辍学，更少上大学。在某些情况下，学校和学院本身破产并关闭。童年，正如它在繁荣的 20 年代所存在的那样，已经结束了。

家庭通过在花园，罐头和保存中增长更多来适应，如果有的话浪费很少的食物。随着十年的发展，家居缝制的服装成为常态，用纸板鞋底修鞋的创新方

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with cardboard soles. Yet, one always knew of stories of the “other” families who suffered more, including those living in cardboard boxes or caves. By one estimate, as many as 200,000 children moved about the country as vagrants due to familial disintegration.

Women’s lives, too, were profoundly affected. Some wives and mothers sought employment to make ends meet, an undertaking that was often met with strong resistance from husbands and potential employers. Many men derided and criticized women who worked, feeling that jobs should go to unemployed men. Some campaigned to keep companies from hiring married women, and an increasing number of school districts expanded the long-held practice of banning the hiring of married female teachers. Despite the pushback, women entered the workforce in increasing numbers, from ten million at the start of the Depression to nearly thirteen million by the end of the 1930s. This increase took place in spite of the twenty-six states that passed a variety of laws to prohibit the employment of married women. Several women found employment in the emerging pink collar occupations, viewed as traditional women’s work, including jobs as telephone operators, social workers, and secretaries. Others took jobs as maids and housecleaners, working for those fortunate few who had maintained their wealth.

FARMERS

From the turn of the century through much of World War I, farmers in the Great Plains experienced prosperity due to unusually good growing conditions, high commodity prices, and generous government farming policies that led to a rush for land. As the federal government continued to purchase all excess produce for the war effort, farmers and ranchers fell into several bad practices, including mortgaging their farms and borrowing money against future production in order to expand. However, after the war, prosperity rapidly dwindled, particularly during the recession of 1921. Seeking to recoup their losses through economies of scale in which they would expand their production even further to take full advantage of their available land and machinery, farmers plowed under native grasses to plant acre after acre of wheat, with little regard for the long-term repercussions to the soil. Regardless of these misguided efforts, commodity prices continued to drop, finally plummeting in 1929, when the price of wheat dropped from two dollars to forty cents per bushel.

法也是如此。然而，人们总是知道遭受更多痛苦的“其他”家庭的故事，包括生活在纸板箱或洞穴中的人。据估计，由于家庭解体，多达 20 万儿童作为流浪者在全国各地移居。

妇女的生活也受到严重影响。一些妻子和母亲寻求就业以维持生计，这项工作经常遭到丈夫和潜在雇主的强烈抵制。许多男人嘲笑和批评有工作的女性，她们认为就业应该给失业的男性。一些人竞选阻止公司雇用已婚妇女，越来越多的学区扩大了长期禁止雇用已婚女教师的做法。尽管受到了阻力，但女性进入劳动力市场的人数越来越多，从大萧条开始时的一千万人到二十世纪三十年代末的近一千三百万人。尽管有二十六个州通过各种法律禁止已婚妇女就业，但这种增加仍在发生。一些妇女在新兴的粉红色工作中找到了工作，被视为传统妇女的工作，包括电话接线员，社会工作者和秘书等工作。其他人则从事女佣和清洁工的工作，为那些保持财富的少数幸运者工作。

农民

从世纪之交到第一次世界大战的大部分时间，大平原地区的农民由于异常良好的生长条件，高商品价格以及慷慨的政府农业政策导致土地匆忙而经历了繁荣。由于联邦政府继续购买战争所需的所有多余产品，农民和牧场主陷入了几种不良行为，包括抵押他们的农场和为未来的生产借钱以扩大。然而，战争结束后，繁荣迅速减少，特别是在 1921 年的经济衰退期间。为了通过规模经济来弥补损失，他们将进一步扩大生产以充分利用现有的土地和机器，农民们在土着人民中耕种一亩小麦后种草一亩，很少考虑对土壤的长期影响。无论这些误导的努力如何，大宗商品价格继续下跌，最终在 1929 年暴跌，当时小麦价格从每蒲式耳 2 美元降至 40 美分。

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While factory workers may have lost their jobs and savings in the crash, many farmers also lost their homes, due to the thousands of farm foreclosures sought by desperate bankers. Between 1930 and 1935, nearly 750,000 family farms disappeared through foreclosure or bankruptcy. Even for those who managed to keep their farms, there was little market for their crops. Unemployed workers had less money to spend on food, and when they did purchase goods, the market excess had driven prices so low that farmers could barely piece together a living. A now-famous example of the farmer's plight is that, when the price of coal began to exceed that of corn, farmers would simply burn corn to stay warm in the winter.

THE DUST BOWL

Exacerbating the problem was a massive drought that began in 1931 and lasted for eight terrible years. Dust storms roiled through the Great Plains, creating huge, choking clouds that piled up in doorways and filtered into homes through closed windows. Even more quickly than it had boomed, the land of agricultural opportunity went bust, due to widespread overproduction and overuse of the land, as well as to the harsh weather conditions that followed, resulting in the creation of the **Dust Bowl**.



Livestock died, or had to be sold, as there was no money for feed. Crops intended to feed the family withered and died in the drought. Terrifying dust storms became more and more frequent, as black blizzards of dirt blew across the landscape and created a new illness known as dust pneumonia. In 1935 alone, over 850 million tons of

虽然工厂工人可能在事故中失去了工作和储蓄，但许多农民也失去了家园，因为绝望的银行家们寻求成千上万的农场丧失抵押品赎回权。1930年至1935年间，近750,000个家庭农场因丧失抵押品赎回权或破产而失踪。即使对于那些设法保留农场的人来说，他们的农作物市场也很少。失业工人用于购买食品的钱较少，而当他们购买商品时，市场过剩导致价格过低，农民几乎无法生活。一个现在著名的农民困境的例子是，当煤炭的价格开始超过玉米的价格时，农民只会在冬季燃烧玉米以保持温暖。

尘土飞扬

加剧这一问题的是一场始于1931年的大规模干旱，持续了八年。沙尘暴席卷大平原，造成巨大的窒息云层堆积在门口，通过封闭的窗户过滤到家中。由于广泛的生产过剩和土地的过度使用以及随后的恶劣天气条件，农业机会的土地变得更加迅速，导致了沙尘暴的形成。

Primary Source: Photograph

A great dust cloud rolls toward a farm. Storms of dust that were blown up in the Dust Bowl buried crops, equipment, animals, and even buildings. They were the result of poor farming practices and the resulting economic and ecological disaster drove thousands of farmers out of Oklahoma and the surrounding states.

牲畜死了，或者不得不卖掉，因为没有钱喂养。旨在养家糊口的农作物在干旱中枯萎死亡。可怕的沙尘暴变得越来越频繁，因为黑色暴风雪的污垢席卷整个景观并造成一种新的疾病，即尘埃肺炎。仅在1935年，就有超过8.5亿吨的表土被吹走了。为了

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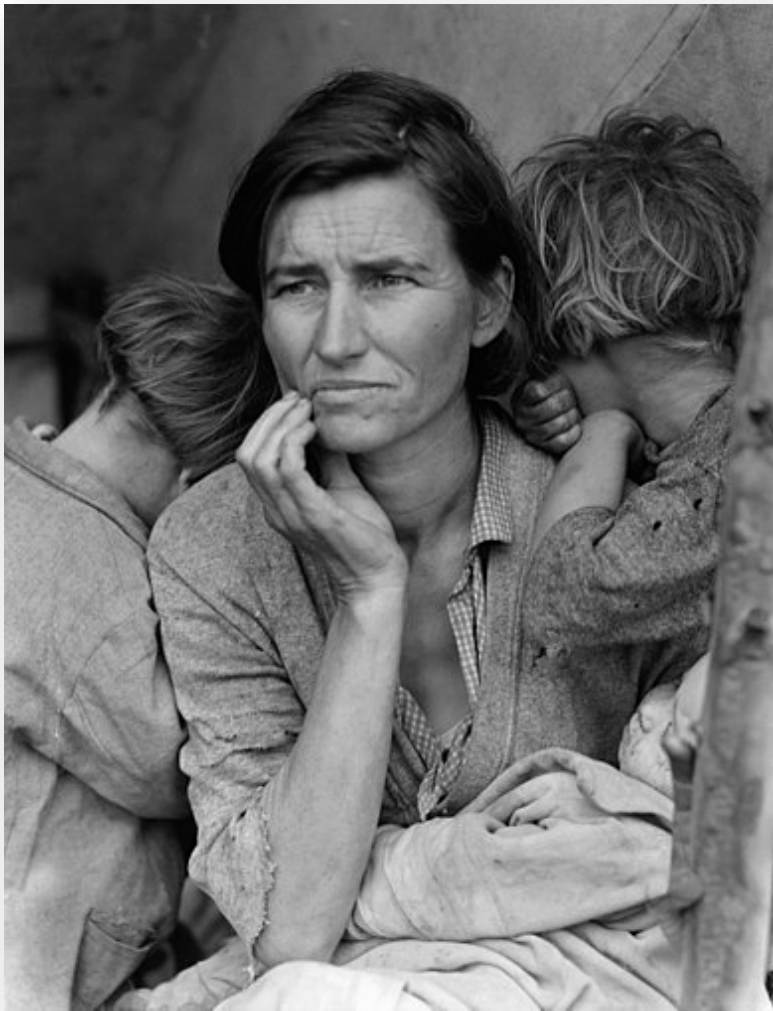


topsoil blew away. To put this number in perspective, geologists estimate that it takes the earth five hundred years to naturally regenerate one inch of topsoil. Yet, just one significant dust storm could destroy a similar amount. In their desperation to get more from the land, farmers had stripped it of the delicate balance that kept it healthy. Unaware of the consequences, they had moved away from beneficial techniques such as **crop rotation** in which different plants are grown on a field each year in order to avoid depleting nutrients. And worse of all, farmers had tried to maximize output by abandoning the practice of allowing land to regain its strength by permitting it to **lie fallow** between plantings, working the land to death.

正确看待这个数字，地质学家估计地球需要五百年才能自然地再生一英寸的表土。然而，只有一场重大的沙尘暴可能会摧毁相似的数量。农民们绝望地从土地上获取更多东西，剥夺了它保持健康的微妙平衡。由于没有意识到后果，他们已经摆脱了有利的技术，例如作物轮作，每年在田地上种植不同的植物，以避免营养物质的消耗。更糟糕的是，农民们试图通过放弃允许土地在种植之间休耕，让土地处于死亡状态来重新获得力量的做法来最大限度地提高产量。

Primary Source: Photograph

The great photographer Dorothea Lange captured this image of an Okie mother and her children during the Great Depression. It has become one of the enduring images of the era.



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For farmers, the results were catastrophic. Unlike most factory workers in the cities, in most cases, farmers lost their homes when they lost their livelihood. Most farms and ranches were originally mortgaged to small country banks that understood the dynamics of farming, but as these banks failed, they often sold rural mortgages to larger banks in the cities that were less concerned with the specifics of farm life. With the effects of the drought and low commodity prices, farmers could not pay their local banks, which in turn lacked funds to pay the large urban banks. Ultimately, the large banks foreclosed on the farms, swallowing up the small country banks in the process. It is worth noting that of the 5,000 banks that closed between 1930 and 1932, over 75% were country banks in locations with populations under 2,500. Given this dynamic, it is easy to see why farmers in the Great Plains remain wary of big city bankers even today.

Even for farmers who survived the initial crash and avoided the devastation of the dust storms the situation continued to decline. Prices continued to fall, and as farmers tried to stay afloat, they produced still more crops, which increased the supply of food in the nation and with fewer consumers able to purchase an increasing supply, food prices collapsed. Farms failed at an astounding rate, and farmers sold out at rock-bottom prices. One farm in Shelby, Nebraska was mortgaged at \$4,100 and sold for \$49.50. One-fourth of the entire state of Mississippi was auctioned off in a single day at a foreclosure auction in April 1932.

Not all farmers tried to keep their land. Many, especially those who had arrived only recently, in an attempt to capitalize on the earlier prosperity, simply walked away. In hard-hit Oklahoma, thousands of farmers packed up what they could and walked or drove away from the land they thought would be their future. They, along with other displaced farmers from throughout the Great Plains, became known as **Okies**. Okies were an emblem of the failure of the American breadbasket to deliver on its promise, and their story was made famous in **John Steinbeck's** novel, **The Grapes of Wrath**.

Many of the Okies drove to California along the famous Route 66. Once there, they worked on large farms for minimal pay and lived on the edges of the farms, and the edges of society, in shanty houses and camps without plumbing. Due to the lack of sanitation in the migrant camps, disease ran rampant.

AFRICAN AMERICANS

Most African Americans did not participate in the land boom and stock market speculation that preceded the crash, but that did not stop the

对于农民来说, 结果是灾难性的。与城市中的大多数工厂工人不同, 在大多数情况下, 农民在失去生计时失去了家园。大多数农场和牧场最初抵押给了了解农业动态的小国家银行, 但由于这些银行倒闭, 他们经常将农村抵押贷款出售给那些不太关心农场生活细节的城市的大型银行。由于干旱和商品价格低的影响, 农民无法支付当地银行的费用, 而这些银行又缺乏资金支付大型城市银行。最终, 大型银行取消了对农场的抵押, 在此过程中吞噬了小型国家银行。值得注意的是, 在 1930 年至 1932 年期间关闭的 5,000 家银行中, 超过 75% 的银行是人口不足 2,500 的国家银行。鉴于这种动态, 很容易理解为什么大平原地区的农民即使在今天仍然对大城市银行家保持警惕。

即使对于在最初的崩溃中幸存下来并避免沙尘暴造成破坏的农民来说, 情况仍在继续下降。价格持续下跌, 由于农民试图维持生计, 他们生产了更多的农作物, 这增加了全国的粮食供应, 而且消费者能够购买增加的供应, 食品价格崩溃。农场以惊人的速度失败, 农民以最低价出售。内布拉斯加州谢尔比的一个农场抵押贷款为 4,100 美元, 售价为 49.50 美元。整个密西西比州的四分之一在 1932 年 4 月的止赎拍卖会上被拍卖了一天。

并非所有农民都试图保留他们的土地。许多人, 特别是那些最近刚到过的人, 试图利用早先的繁荣, 只是走开了。在受到严重打击的俄克拉荷马州, 成千上万的农民收拾他们所能做的事情, 走路或开车离开他们认为将来的土地。他们以及整个大平原的其他流离失所的农民被称为 **Okies**。好的是美国粮仓未能实现其承诺的象征, 他们的故事在约翰斯坦贝克的小说“愤怒的葡萄”中成名。

许多 **Okies** 沿着著名的 66 号公路开往加利福尼亚。在那里, 他们在大农场工作, 收入最低, 生活在农场边缘, 社会边缘, 棚屋和没有管道的营地。由于移民营地缺乏卫生设施, 疾病猖獗。

非洲裔美国人

大多数非洲裔美国人没有参与崩盘之前的土地繁荣和股市炒作, 但这并没有阻止大萧条的影响特别严

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effects of the Great Depression from hitting them particularly hard. Subject to continuing racial discrimination, African Americans nationwide fared even worse than their hard-hit White counterparts. As the prices for cotton and other agricultural products in the South plummeted, farm owners paid workers less or simply laid them off. Property owners evicted sharecroppers, and even those who owned their land outright had to abandon it when there was no way to earn any income.

In cities, African Americans fared no better. Unemployment was rampant, and many Whites felt that any available jobs belonged to Whites first. In some Northern cities, Whites would conspire to have African American workers fired to allow White workers access to their jobs. Even jobs traditionally held by African Americans, such as household servants or janitors, were given to Whites. By 1932, approximately one-half of all African Americans were unemployed.

重。受持续的种族歧视影响，全国的非裔美国人比遭受重创的白人同行更糟糕。随着南方棉花和其他农产品的价格暴跌，农场主减少了工人的工资，或者简单地将他们解雇了。财产所有者驱逐了佃农，即使那些拥有土地的人也无法在没有任何收入的情况下放弃它。

在城市，非洲裔美国人的表现并不好。失业率猖獗，许多白人认为任何可用的工作都属于白人。在一些北方城市，白人会密谋让非洲裔美国工人解雇，让白人工人能够找到工作。甚至传统上由非洲裔美国人持有的工作，例如家庭佣人或看门人，也被送给白人。到 1932 年，大约一半的非洲裔美国人失业。



Primary Source: Photograph

The Scottsboro Boys meet with one of their lawyers while in prison.

Racial violence also began to rise. In the South, lynching became more common again, with 28 documented lynchings in 1933, compared to eight in 1932. Since communities were preoccupied with their own hardships, and organizing civil rights efforts was a long, difficult process, many resigned themselves to, or even ignored, this culture of

种族暴力也开始上升。在南方，私刑再次变得更加普遍，1933 年有 28 个有记录的私刑，而 1932 年有 8 个。由于社区全神贯注于自己的艰辛，组织民权工作是一个漫长而艰难的过程，许多人已经辞职，或者甚至忽视了这种种族主义和暴力文化。然

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racism and violence. Occasionally, however, an incident was notorious enough to gain national attention.

One such incident was the case of the **Scottsboro Boys**. In 1931, nine Black boys were arrested for vagrancy and disorderly conduct after an altercation with some White travelers on the train. Two young White women, who had been dressed as boys and traveling with a group of White boys, came forward and said that the Black boys had raped them. The case, which was tried in Scottsboro, Alabama, illuminated decades of racial hatred and illustrated the injustice of the court system. Despite evidence that the women had not been raped at all, along with one of the women subsequently recanting her testimony, the all-White jury convicted the boys and sentenced all but one of them to death.

The verdict broke through the veil of indifference toward the plight of African Americans, and protests erupted among newspaper editors, academics, and social reformers in the North. The Communist Party of the United States offered to handle the case and sought retrial and the NAACP later joined in this effort. In all, the case was tried three separate times. The series of trials and retrials, appeals, and overturned convictions shone a spotlight on a justice system that provided poor legal counsel and relied on all-White juries. In 1932, the Supreme Court ruled in the case **Powell v. Alabama** that the defendants had been denied adequate legal representation at the original trial, and in 1935 in **Patterson v. Alabama** that due process as provided by the Fourteenth Amendment had been denied as a result of the exclusion of any potential Black jurors. Eventually, most of the accused received lengthy prison terms and subsequent parole, but avoided the death penalty. The Scottsboro case ultimately laid some of the early groundwork for the modern American civil rights movement. Alabama granted posthumous pardons to all defendants in 2013.

ORGANIZED LABOR

In 1932, a major strike at the Ford Motor Company factory near Detroit resulted in over sixty injuries and four deaths. Often referred to as the **Ford Hunger March**, the event unfolded as a planned demonstration among unemployed Ford workers who, to protest their desperate situation, marched nine miles from Detroit to the company's River Rouge plant in Dearborn. At the Dearborn city limits, local police launched tear gas at the roughly 3,000 protestors, who responded by throwing stones and clods of dirt. When they finally reached the gates of the plant, protestors faced more police and firemen, as well as private security guards. As the firemen turned

而, 有时候, 一个事件已经臭名昭着, 足以引起全国的关注。

一个这样的事件是 Scottsboro 男孩的情况。1931 年, 九名黑人男孩在火车上与一些白人旅行者发生争执后因流浪和行为不检而被捕。两名年轻的白人妇女, 他们一直打扮成男孩, 和一群白人男孩一起旅行, 他们说, 黑人男孩强奸了他们。该案件在阿拉巴马州的斯科茨伯勒进行了审理, 揭露了数十年的种族仇恨, 并说明了法院系统的不公正。尽管有证据表明妇女根本没有遭到强奸, 其中一名妇女随后放弃了她的证词, 但全白陪审团判定这些男孩并判处其中一人死刑。

该判决突破了对非裔美国人困境的漠不关心的面纱, 并在北方的报纸编辑, 学者和社会改革者中爆发了抗议活动。美国共产党提出处理此案并寻求重审, 后来全国有色人种协进会加入了这一努力。总之, 案件分三次尝试。一系列的审判和再审, 上诉和被推翻的定罪引起了司法系统的关注, 该司法系统提供了不良的法律咨询并依赖于全白陪审团。1932 年, 最高法院在鲍威尔诉阿拉巴马案中裁定, 被告在原审时被剥夺了足够的法律代理权, 而在 1935 年在帕特森诉阿拉巴马州, 第十四修正案规定的正当程序被拒绝作为排除任何潜在的 Back 陪审员的结果。最终, 大多数被告获得了长期监禁和随后的假释, 但避免了死刑。斯科茨伯勒案最终奠定了现代美国民权运动的一些早期基础。2013 年, 阿拉巴马州对所有被告给予了死后赦免。

有组织的劳动力

1932 年, 底特律附近的福特汽车公司工厂发生重大罢工, 造成 60 多人受伤, 4 人死亡。通常被称为福特饥饿三月, 该事件作为失业的福特工人的计划示范展开, 为了抗议他们绝望的情况, 他们从底特律前往公司位于迪尔伯恩的 River Rouge 工厂 9 英里。在迪尔伯恩 (Dearborn) 的城市范围内, 当地警方向大约 3,000 名抗议者发射催泪弹, 他们通过投掷石块和泥土来应对。当他们最终到达工厂的大门时, 抗议者面对更多的警察和消防员, 以及

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hoses on the protestors, the police and security guards opened fire. In addition to those killed and injured, police arrested 50 protestors. One week later, 60,000 mourners attended the public funerals of the four victims of what many protesters labeled police brutality. The event set the tone for worsening labor relations in the nation.

THE BONUS ARMY

Demonstrations grew in the nation's capital as well, as Americans grew increasingly weary with President Hoover's perceived inaction. The demonstration that drew the most national attention was the **Bonus Army** March of 1932.

In 1924, Congress rewarded veterans of World War I with certificates redeemable in 1945 for \$1,000 each. By 1932, many of these former servicemen had lost their jobs and fortunes in the early days of the Depression. They asked Congress to redeem their bonus certificates early. Led by Walter Waters of Oregon, the so-called Bonus Expeditionary Force set out for the nation's capital. Hitching rides, hopping trains, and hiking finally brought the Bonus Army, 15,000 strong, into the capital in June 1932 where President Hoover refused to meet them. Despite Hoover's rejection of their demand, a debate began in the Congress over whether to fund the bonuses early.

As deliberation continued on Capitol Hill, the Bonus Army built a shantytown across the Potomac River in Anacostia Flats. When the Senate rejected their demands, most of the veterans dejectedly returned home. But several thousand remained in the capital with their families. Many had nowhere else to go. The Bonus Army conducted itself with decorum and spent their vigil unarmed. However, many believed them a threat to national security. On July 28, Washington police began to clear the demonstrators out of the capital. Two men were killed as tear gas and bayonets assailed the Bonus Marchers. Fearing rising disorder, Hoover ordered an army regiment into the city, under the leadership of General **Douglas MacArthur**. The army, complete with infantry, cavalry, and tanks, rolled into Anacostia Flats forcing the Bonus Army to flee. MacArthur then ordered the shanty settlements burned.

私人保安。当消防员向抗议者转动软管时，警察和保安开了枪。除了那些伤亡者外，警方还逮捕了 50 名抗议者。一周后，60,000 名哀悼者参加了许多抗议者将警察暴行标记为警方的四名受害者的公共葬礼。该事件为国家劳动关系恶化奠定了基调。

奖金军队

随着胡佛总统认为不作为，美国人越来越厌倦，美国首都的示威活动也在增长。引起全国最多关注的示威活动是 1932 年的奖金军队。

1924 年，国会奖励第一次世界大战的退伍军人，并在 1945 年以每张 1000 美元的价格兑换。到 1932 年，许多这些前军人在大萧条初期失去了工作和财富。他们要求国会尽早兑换奖金。在俄勒冈州沃尔特沃特斯的带领下，所谓的 Bonus Expeditionary Force 开往国家首都。1932 年 6 月，胡希总统拒绝与他们见面，搭便车，跳火车和徒步旅行最终将 15,000 强的奖金军队带入首都。尽管胡佛拒绝了他们的要求，国会仍在就是否尽早为奖金提供资金进行辩论。

随着国会山的审议，奖金军队在阿纳卡斯蒂亚公寓的波托马克河上建造了一个棚户区。当参议院拒绝他们的要求时，大多数退伍军人沮丧地回到家中。但是有数千人他们的家人留在首都。许多人无处可去。奖金军用礼仪进行了自己的守夜活动。但是，许多人认为它们对国家安全构成威胁。7 月 28 日，华盛顿警方开始将示威者清除出首都。两名男子因催泪弹和刺刀袭击了 Bonus Marchers 而被杀。在道格拉斯麦克阿瑟将军的领导下，由于担心情况日益严重，胡佛命令一支军团进入该市。军队，包括步兵，骑兵和坦克，进入 Anacostia Flats，迫使红军逃跑。麦克阿瑟然后下令烧毁棚户区。

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Many Americans were outraged. How could the army treat veterans of the Great War with such disrespect? Hoover maintained that political agitators, anarchists, and communists dominated the mob. But facts contradict his claims. Nine out of ten Bonus Marchers were indeed veterans, and 20% were disabled. Despite the fact that the Bonus Army was the largest march on Washington up to that point in history, Hoover and MacArthur clearly overestimated the threat posed to national security. As Hoover campaigned for reelection that summer, the image of the president ordering the army to fight veterans haunted him.



许多美国人感到愤怒。如此不尊重军队怎么能对待伟大战争的退伍军人呢？胡佛坚持认为政治鼓动者，无政府主义者和共产主义者统治了暴徒。但事实与他的主张相矛盾。十分之九的奖金游行者确实是退伍军人，20%的人是残疾人。尽管奖金军是华盛顿历史上最大规模的游行，但胡佛和麦克阿瑟显然高估了对国家安全构成的威胁。由于胡佛在那个夏天竞选连任，总统命令军队与退伍军人作战的形象困扰着他。

Primary Source: Photograph

Part of the camp built by the Bonus Army marchers in Washington, DC. The camp was later cleared violently and burned by the army. The perceived callousness toward the veterans on the part of President Hoover helped destroy his chances for reelection.

THE HOMELESS

Millions of Americans were made homeless by the Great Depression. Of these, many wandered the country looking for work, often travelling by hopping on freight trains. These travelers were known as **hobos**. It is unclear exactly when hobos first appeared on the American railroading scene. With the end of the American Civil War in the 1860s, many discharged veterans returning home began hopping freight trains. Others looking for work on the American frontier followed the railways west aboard freight trains in the late 1800s. In any case, **riding the rails** was a well-established practice by

无家可归的人

数百万美国人在大萧条时期无家可归。其中许多人在全国各地寻找工作，经常乘坐货运列车。这些旅行者被称为流浪汉。目前尚不清楚流浪汉何时首次出现在美国铁路现场。随着 19 世纪 60 年代美国内战的结束，许多退伍的退伍军人开始跳楼货运列车。其他寻找美国边境工作的人在 19 世纪后期沿着货运列车向西行驶。无论如何，在大萧条开始时，乘坐铁轨是一种行之有效的做法。最令人恐惧的是，大萧条时期的 25 万名流浪汉是青少年。

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the time the Great Depression started. Most frighteningly, 250,000 of the hobos during the Depression were teenagers.

Life as a hobo was dangerous. In addition to the problems of being itinerant, poor, and far from home and support, plus the hostility of many train crews, they faced the railroads' security staff, nicknamed bulls, who had a reputation for violence. Moreover, riding on a freight train was dangerous in and of itself. It was easy to be trapped between cars, fall, choke on smoke from the engines, overhead in summer or freeze in winter. At least 6,500 hobos died each year, either in conflicts with bulls or from accident.



作为流浪汉的生活是危险的。除了流动，贫困，远离家园和支持的问题，加上许多火车工作人员的敌意，他们还面临铁路的安全人员，绰号公牛，他们以暴力闻名。而且，乘坐货运列车本身就很危险。很容易被困在汽车之间，摔倒，发动机冒烟，夏天开头或冬天冻结。每年至少有 6,500 个 hobos 死亡，无论是与公牛的冲突还是因为事故。

Primary Source: Photograph

A young boy runs to climb aboard a freight train as it pulls out of the yard

CRIME

The Great Depression brought a rapid rise in the crime rate as many unemployed workers resorted to petty theft to put food on the table. Suicide rates rose, as did reported cases of malnutrition. Prostitution was on the rise as was well. Alcoholism increased with Americans seeking outlets for escape, compounded by the repeal of prohibition in 1933. Cigar smoking became too expensive, so many Americans switched to cheaper cigarettes. In general, health care was not a priority for many Americans, as visiting the doctor was reserved for only the direst of circumstances.

HOOVER'S RESPONSE

In the immediate aftermath of Black Tuesday, Hoover sought to reassure Americans that all was well and reading his words after the fact, it is easy to laugh at how wrong he turned out to have been. In

犯罪

大萧条导致犯罪率迅速上升，因为许多失业工人使用小偷小摸将食物放在桌面上。与报告的营养不良病例一样，自杀率上升。卖淫也在增加。1933 年废除禁令使得美国寻求逃跑的机会增加了酒精中毒。雪茄吸烟变得过于昂贵，因此许多美国人转向更便宜的卷烟。一般来说，医疗保健并不是许多美国人的首要任务，因为只有在最严峻的情况下才会去看医生。

我们的回应

在黑色星期二之后，胡佛试图向美国人保证，一切都很顺利并在事后阅读他的话，很容易嘲笑他的错

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1929 he said, “Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the strength of business in the United States is foolish.” In 1930, he stated, “The worst is behind us,” and in 1931, he pledged to provide federal aid should he ever witness starvation in the country.

Hoover was neither intentionally blind nor unsympathetic. He simply held fast to a belief system about the economy and the role of government that did not change as the realities of the Great Depression set in.

Hoover believed strongly in the ethos of American individualism: that hard work brought its own rewards. His life story testified to that belief. Hoover had been born into poverty, made his way through college at Stanford University, and eventually made his fortune as an engineer. This experience, as well as his extensive travels in China and throughout Europe, shaped his fundamental conviction that the very existence of American civilization depended upon the moral fiber of its citizens, as evidenced by their ability to overcome all hardships through individual effort and resolve. The idea of government directly intervening to help individual Americans was repellant to him. Whereas Europeans might need assistance, such as his hunger relief work in Belgium during and after World War I, he believed the American character to be different. In a 1931 radio address, he said, “The spread of government destroys initiative and thus destroys character.”

Likewise, Hoover was not completely unaware of the potential harm that wild stock speculation might create if left unchecked. As Secretary of Commerce, Hoover had repeatedly warned President Coolidge of the dangers that such speculation engendered. In the weeks before his inauguration, he offered many interviews to newspapers and magazines, urging Americans to curtail their rampant stock investments, and even encouraged the Federal Reserve to raise the discount rate to make it more costly for local banks to lend money to potential speculators. However, fearful of creating a panic, Hoover never issued a stern warning to discourage Americans from such investments. Neither Hoover, nor any other politician of that day, ever gave serious thought to using the power of government to regulate of the stock market. Staying out of other people’s business was a core belief that pervaded his work in government and his personal life as well. Hoover often lamented poor stock advice he had once offered to a friend. When the stock nose-dived, Hoover bought the shares from his friend to assuage his guilt, vowing never again to advise anyone on matters of investment.

误。他在 1929 年说：“对美国经济前景或商业力量缺乏信心是愚蠢的。”1930 年，他说，“最坏的情况已经过去了”，并于 1931 年，他承诺提供联邦政府他是否应该见证这个国家的饥饿。

胡佛既没有故意盲目也没有同情心。他只是紧紧抓住一个关于经济和政府角色的信念体系，这个体系并没有随着大萧条的现实而改变。

胡佛坚信美国个人主义的精神：努力工作带来了自己的回报。他的人生故事证明了这一信念。胡佛出生于贫困，在斯坦福大学完成了大学学业，并最终工程师的身份获得了财富。这种经历，以及他在中国和整个欧洲的广泛旅行，形成了他的基本信念，即美国文明的存在取决于其公民的道德观，正如他们通过个人的努力和决心克服一切困难的能力所证明的那样。政府直接介入帮助个别美国人的想法对他有所驱逐。虽然欧洲人可能需要援助，例如他在第一次世界大战期间和之后在比利时的饥饿救济工作，但他认为美国人的性格是不同的。他在 1931 年的广播讲话中说：“政府的扩散破坏了主动权，从而摧毁了人格。”

同样地，胡佛并没有完全没有意识到如果不加以控制，野生股票投机可能造成的潜在危害。作为商务部长，胡佛曾多次警告柯立芝总统这种猜测所带来的危险。在就职前几周，他向报纸和杂志提出了许多采访，敦促美国人减少他们猖獗的股票投资，甚至鼓励美联储提高贴现率，使当地银行向潜在的投机者提供贷款的成本更高。。然而，由于害怕引起恐慌，胡佛从未发出严厉的警告，以阻止美国人进行此类投资。胡佛当时或当时的任何其他政治家都没有认真考虑利用政府权力来规范股市。远离其他人的业务是一个核心信念，它贯穿于他在政府和个人生活中的工作。胡佛经常感叹他曾经向朋友提供的糟糕的股票建议。当股票下跌时，胡佛从他的朋友那里购买股票以减轻他的内疚，发誓再也不会就投资问题向任何人提供建议。

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Primary Source: Photograph

Hungry men line up for free food. President Hoover preferred that charitable organizations address the problems of the Great Depression rather than spending government money.

In keeping with these principles, Hoover's response to the crash focused on two very common American traditions. First, he asked individuals to tighten their belts and work harder, and second, he asked the business community to help sustain the economy by voluntarily retaining workers and continuing production. He summoned a conference of leading industrialists to meet in Washington, DC, urging them to maintain their current wages while America rode out this brief economic panic. The crash, he assured business leaders, was not part of a greater downturn and they had nothing to worry about. Similar meetings with utility companies and railroad executives elicited promises for billions of dollars in new construction projects, while labor leaders agreed to withhold demands for wage increases and workers continued to labor. Hoover also persuaded Congress to pass a \$160 million tax cut to bolster American incomes, leading many to conclude that the president was doing all he could to stem the tide of panic. In April 1930, the New York Times editorial board concluded that, "No one in his place could have done more." It turned out that he could have done much more, since mostly he relied on a **volunteerism** in which he asked others to volunteer to make choices that would benefit the nation, rather than using the power of government, which he did lead.

Despite his best intentions, these modest steps were not enough. By late 1931, when it became clear that the economy would not improve on its own, Hoover recognized the need for some government

为了遵守这些原则，胡佛对坠机事件的回应主要集中在两个非常普遍的美国传统上。首先，他要求个人勒紧裤腰，努力工作；其次，他要求商界通过自愿留住工人和继续生产来帮助维持经济。他召集了一个主要的工业家会议，在华盛顿特区举行会议，敦促他们维持目前的工资，同时美国避开这场短暂的经济恐慌。他向业务负责人保证，这次崩溃不是经济衰退的一部分，他们没有什么可担心的。与公用事业公司和铁路管理人员的类似会议引发了数十亿美元的新建筑项目的承诺，而劳工领袖同意拒绝提高工资的要求，工人继续劳动。胡佛还说服国会通过 1.6 亿美元减税以增加美国人的收入，导致许多人得出结论，总统正尽其所能阻止恐慌的潮流。1930 年 4 月，“纽约时报”编辑委员会得出结论：“没有人可以做得更多。”事实证明他可以做得更多，因为他主要是依靠志愿服务，他要求其他人做志愿者做出有利于国家的选择，而不是利用他所领导的政府权力。

尽管他的意图很好，但这些适度的步骤还不够。到 1931 年末，当经济明显不能自行改善时，胡佛认识到需要政府进行一些干预。他创建了总统失业救济

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intervention. He created the President's Organization of Unemployment Relief (POUR). In keeping with Hoover's distaste of what he viewed as handouts, this organization did not provide direct federal relief to people in need. Instead, it assisted state and private relief agencies, such as the Red Cross, Salvation Army, YMCA, and Community Chest. Hoover also strongly urged people with wealth to donate funds to help the poor, and he himself gave significant private donations to worthy causes.

Congress pushed for a more direct government response but Hoover refused to support any measure that gave direct relief. The president's adamant opposition to direct-relief federal government programs should not be viewed as one of indifference or uncaring toward the suffering American people. His personal sympathy for those in need was boundless. Hoover was one of only two presidents to reject his salary for the office he held. Throughout the Great Depression, he donated an average of \$25,000 annually to various relief organizations to assist in their efforts. Furthermore, he helped to raise \$500,000 in private funds to support the White House Conference on Child Health and Welfare in 1930. Rather than indifference or heartlessness, Hoover's steadfast adherence to a philosophy of individualism as the path toward long-term American recovery explained many of his policy decisions. "A voluntary deed," he repeatedly commented, "is infinitely more precious to our national ideal and spirit than a thousand-fold poured from the Treasury."

Unable to receive aid from the government, Americans thus turned to private charities such as churches, synagogues, and other religious organizations as well as aid from state governments. But these organizations were not prepared to deal with the scope of the problem. Private aid organizations were suffering along with everyone else. Since they relied on donations to fund their work and their donors were struggling as well, they did not have the funds to carry out the regular operations they had done during the good times of the 1920s, let alone increase their services to provide for the enormous needs of the Depression.

Likewise, state governments were particularly ill-equipped. City governments had equally little to offer. In New York City in 1932, family welfare allowances were \$2.39 per week, and only one-half of the families who qualified actually received them. In Detroit, allowances fell to fifteen cents a day per person, and eventually ran out completely as the city ran out of tax revenue to fund the program. In most cases, relief was only in the form of food and fuel. Charitable organizations provided nothing in the way of rent, shelter, medical care, clothing, or other necessities. There was no infrastructure to

组织 (POUR)。为了保持胡佛对他所看作的讲议的厌恶, 该组织没有向有需要的人提供直接的联邦救济。相反, 它协助州和私人救济机构, 如红十字会, 救世军, 基督教青年会和公益金。胡佛还强烈敦促有钱财的人捐款帮助穷人, 他本人也为有价值的事业捐赠了大量的私人捐款。

国会推动政府采取更直接的回应, 但胡佛拒绝支持任何直接减轻措施。总统坚决反对直接救济联邦政府计划不应被视为对受苦受难的美国人民漠不关心或漠不关心。他对那些有需要的人的个人同情是无限的。胡佛是仅有的两位总统拒绝为他担任的办公室工资的人之一。在整个大萧条期间, 他每年平均向各救济组织捐赠 25,000 美元, 以协助他们的努力。此外, 他帮助筹集了 50 万美元的私人资金, 用于支持 1930 年白宫儿童健康和福利会议。胡佛坚定不移地坚持个人主义哲学作为美国长期复苏的道路, 解释了许多他的政策决定。"一份自愿的行为," 他反复评论说, "对于我们的民族理想和精神来说, 无比财政部的千倍投入更为宝贵。"

由于无法获得政府的援助, 美国人因此转向私人慈善机构, 如教堂, 犹太教堂和其他宗教组织, 以及州政府的援助。但是这些组织并没有准备好处理问题的范围。私人援助组织与其他所有人一起受苦。由于他们依靠捐款为他们的工作提供资金, 他们的捐助者也在苦苦挣扎, 他们没有足够的资金来执行他们在 20 世纪 20 年代的经历中所做的常规操作, 让他们增加他们的服务来提供巨额资金。大萧条的需要。

同样, 州政府特别缺乏能力。市政府同样没什么可提供的。在 1932 年的纽约市, 家庭福利津贴每周为 2.39 美元, 只有一半的家庭实际接受了这些津贴。在底特律, 每人每天的补贴降至每天 15 美分, 并且最终完全耗尽, 因为该市用尽税收来资助该计划。在大多数情况下, 救济只是以食物和燃料的形式出现。慈善组织在租金, 住所, 医疗, 衣服或其他必需品方面没有提供任何帮助。没有基础设施来支持最脆弱的老年人, 这些人口在很大程度上

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support the elderly, who were the most vulnerable, and this population largely depended on their adult children to support them, adding to families' burdens.

During this time, local community groups, such as police and teachers, worked to help the neediest. New York City police, for example, began contributing 1% of their salaries to start a food fund that was intended to help those found starving on the streets. In 1932, New York City schoolteachers also joined forces to try to help. They contributed as much as \$250,000 per month from their own salaries to help needy children. Chicago teachers did the same, feeding some 11,000 students out of their own pockets in 1931, despite the fact that many of them had not been paid a salary in months. These noble efforts, however, were scattered rather than comprehensive and failed to fully address the level of desperation that Americans everywhere were facing.

As conditions worsened, Hoover finally began to see the need for government action and formed the **Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC)** in 1932. Although not a form of direct relief to the American people in greatest need, the RFC was much larger in scope than any preceding effort, setting aside \$2 billion in taxpayer money to rescue banks, credit unions, and insurance companies. The goal was to boost confidence in the nation's financial institutions by ensuring that they were on solid footing. This model was flawed on a number of levels. First, the program only lent money to banks with sufficient collateral, which meant that most of the aid went to large banks. In fact, of the first \$61 million loaned, \$41 million went to just three banks. Small town and rural banks got almost nothing. Furthermore, at this time, confidence in financial institutions was not the primary concern of most Americans. They needed food and jobs. Many had no money to put into the banks, no matter how confident they were that the banks were safe.

ESCAPE TO THE MOVIES

In the decades before the Great Depression, and particularly in the 1920s, American culture largely reflected the values of individualism, self-reliance, and material success through competition. Novels like F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* and Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt* portrayed wealth and the self-made man in America. The rags-to-riches fable that Americans so loved was also a key feature in silent movies such as Charlie Chaplin's *The Gold Rush*. It would seem that with so little money to spend, Americans were skip the added expense of the movies, but this turned out not to be the case. While box office sales briefly declined at the beginning of the Depression, they

依赖于他们的成年子女来支持他们，增加了家庭的负担。

在此期间，当地社区团体，如警察和教师，努力帮助最需要帮助的人。例如，纽约市警察开始提供 1% 的工资，用于启动一项旨在帮助那些在街头挨饿的人提供的食品基金。1932 年，纽约市的教师也联手试图提供帮助。他们每月从自己的工资中捐出 25 万美元来帮助贫困儿童。芝加哥的老师也做了同样的事情，1931 年他们自己掏腰包喂养了大约 11,000 名学生，尽管他们中的许多人几个月没有领到薪水。然而，这些崇高的努力是分散而非全面的，未能充分解决世界各地美国人所面临的绝望程度。

随着条件的恶化，胡佛最终开始看到政府采取行动的必要性，并于 1932 年成立了重建金融公司（RFC）。虽然不是对最需要的美国人民的直接救济，但 RFC 的范围远大于任何此前的努力，拨出 20 亿美元的纳税人资金来救助银行，信用合作社和保险公司。目标是通过确保他们稳固的基础来提高对国家金融机构的信心。这种模式在许多层面都存在缺陷。首先，该计划只向有足够抵押品的银行提供贷款，这意味着大部分援助都流向大型银行。实际上，在第一批 6100 万美元贷款中，4100 万美元仅用于三家银行。小镇和农村银行几乎什么都没有。此外，此时，对金融机构的信心并不是大多数美国人的主要关注点。他们需要食物和工作。许多人没有资金投入银行，无论他们多么自信银行是安全的。

逃离电影

在大萧条之前的几十年，特别是在 20 世纪 20 年代，美国文化在很大程度上反映了个人主义，自力更生和通过竞争取得物质成功的价值观。像 F. Scott Fitzgerald 的 *The Great Gatsby* 和 Sinclair Lewis 的 *Babbitt* 这样的小说描绘了美国的财富和白手起家的人。美国人如此喜爱的破烂不堪的寓言也是查理卓别林的淘金热等无声电影中的一个关键特征。似乎只有这么少的钱花，美国人就不会花费更多的电影费用，但事实证明并非如此。虽然大萧条开始时票房收入短暂下降，但它们反弹。电影为美

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rebounded. Movies offered a way for Americans to think of better times, and people were willing to pay twenty-five cents for a chance to escape, at least for a few hours. And, with the shift in fortunes, came a shift in values. During the Great Depression, movies revealed an emphasis on the welfare of the whole and the importance of community in preserving family life.

国人提供了一种思考更好时代的方式，人们愿意花 25 美分来逃避，至少几个小时。而且，随着财富的转变，价值观发生了变化。在大萧条时期，电影显示出强调整体的福利以及社区在保护家庭生活中的重要性。



Even the songs found in films reminded many viewers of the bygone days of prosperity and happiness, from Al Dubin and Henry Warren's hit "We're in the Money" to the popular "Happy Days are Here Again." The latter eventually became the theme song of Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign. People wanted to forget their worries and enjoy the madcap antics of the **Marx Brothers**, the youthful charm

即使是在电影中发现的歌曲也让许多观众想起过去繁荣和快乐的日子，从阿尔杜宾和亨利沃伦的热门歌曲“我们在金钱中”到流行的“快乐的日子再来一次。”后者最终成为主题富兰克林罗斯福 1932 年总统竞选的歌曲。人们想要忘记他们的烦恼，享受马

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of **Shirley Temple**, the dazzling dances of **Fred Astaire** and **Ginger Rogers**, or the comforting morals of the **Andy Hardy** series. The **Hardy** series—nine films in all, produced by MGM from 1936 to 1940—starred **Judy Garland** and **Mickey Rooney**, and all followed the adventures of a small-town judge and his son. No matter what the challenge, it was never so big that it could not be solved with a musical production put on by the neighborhood kids, bringing together friends and family members in a warm display of community values.

All of these movies reinforced traditional American values, which suffered during these hard times, in part due to declining marriage and birth rates, and increased domestic violence. At the same time, however, they reflected an increased interest in sex and sexuality. While the birth rate was dropping, surveys in *Fortune* magazine in 1936–1937 found that two-thirds of college students favored birth control, and that 50% of men and 25% of women admitted to premarital sex, continuing a trend among younger Americans that had begun to emerge in the 1920s.

THE ELECTION OF 1932

Undoubtedly, the fault of the Great Depression was not Hoover's. But as the years of his Presidency passed and the country slipped deeper and deeper into its quagmire, he would receive great blame. Urban shantytowns were dubbed **Hoovervilles**. Newspapers used by the destitute as bundling for warmth became known as Hoover blankets. Pockets turned inside out were called Hoover flags. Somebody had to be blamed, and many Americans blamed their President. Running for President under the slogan "Rugged Individualism" made it difficult for Hoover to promote massive government intervention in the economy.

In 1930, succumbing to pressure from American industrialists, Hoover signed the **Hawley-Smoot Tariff** which was designed to protect American industry from overseas competition by adding a tax to imported goods. The theory was that the tax would make foreign-made products more expensive and people would then buy things made in America. Passed against the advice of nearly every prominent economist of the time, it was the largest tariff in American history. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff proved to be a disaster. Instead of helping American manufacturers, it hurt them when other nations responded with tariffs of their own. As foreign markets for American-made products dried up, the entire world suffered from a slowdown in global trade.

克思兄弟的疯狂滑稽动作，雪莉寺的年轻魅力，弗雷德阿斯泰尔和姜罗杰斯的炫目舞蹈，或安迪哈迪系列的令人安慰的道德。总共有九部电影，由米高梅于1936年至1940年出演，由朱迪加兰和米奇鲁尼主演，并伴随着一位小镇法官及其儿子的冒险经历。无论面临什么样的挑战，它都从未如此庞大，以至于无法通过邻居小孩的音乐制作来解决，将朋友和家人聚集在一起，热烈地展示社区价值观。

所有这些电影都强化了传统的美国价值观，这些价值观在这些艰难时期遭受了损失，部分原因是婚姻和出生率下降以及家庭暴力增加。然而，与此同时，他们反映出对性和性的兴趣增加。虽然出生率正在下降，但1936年至1937年“财富”杂志的调查发现，三分之二的大学生偏爱生育控制，50%的男性和25%的女性承认婚前性行为，这仍然是年轻美国人的一种趋势。在20世纪20年代开始出现。

1932 年的选举

毫无疑问，大萧条的错误不是胡佛的错。但随着他担任总统的几年过去了，这个国家越来越陷入泥潭，他将受到极大的指责。城市棚户区被称为 Hoovervilles。贫困人士用作捆绑保暖的报纸被称为胡佛毯子。翻过来的口袋叫做胡佛旗。有人不得不要受到指责，许多美国人指责他们的总统。以“坚如磐石的个人主义”为口号竞选总统使胡佛难以促进政府对经济的大规模干预。

1930年，胡佛屈服于美国工业家的压力，签署了 Hawley-Smoot 关税，旨在通过增加对进口商品的税收来保护美国工业免受海外竞争。该理论认为，税收会使外国制造的产品变得更加昂贵，人们会购买美国制造的产品。它违背了当时几乎所有著名经济学家的建议，是美国历史上最大的关税。Hawley-Smoot 关税被证明是一场灾难。当其他国家以自己的关税回应时，它不会帮助美国制造商。随着美国制造产品的国外市场枯竭，整个世界都受到全球贸易放缓的影响。

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Nearly anyone could have beaten Hoover in the 1932 presidential election. New York Governor **Franklin Delano Roosevelt** won the Democratic nomination promising “a new deal for the American people” that included a repeal of prohibition. The Republicans renominated Hoover, perhaps because there were few other interested GOP candidates.

Roosevelt was born in 1882 to a wealthy New York industrialist. The fifth cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, FDR became involved in politics at a young age. A strong supporter of Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations, Roosevelt was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Vice-President in 1920. The following year he contracted polio, and although he survived the deadly illness, like many other Americans who suffered from the dreaded disease, he could never walk without crutches again.

Election day brought a landslide for the Democrats, as Roosevelt earned 58% of the popular vote and 89% of the electoral vote, handing the Republicans their second-worst defeat in their history. Bands across America struck up Roosevelt’s theme song “Happy Days Are Here Again” as millions of Americans looked with hope toward their new leader.

CONCLUSION

The Great Depression was certainly terrible, but it was also not the fault of any one person, so it is unfair to blame the president who happened to be sitting in the Oval Office at the time for creating the problem.

It is altogether appropriate, however, to consider his performance in office in terms of the way he addressed the problem. Every president deals with unexpected problems, and although Hoover probably found himself in one of the worst positions of any president, it was still his responsibility to help guide the nation back to health. Did he do this? Was his approach correct? Did it work? Did he fail to care, or care enough?

In 1932, voters resoundingly rejected his leadership and looked to Roosevelt for something different. Looking back from the distance of nearly a century, what do you think? Did Hoover deserve the electoral drumming he endured? Did he deserve to lose?

在 1932 年的总统大选中，几乎任何人都可以击败胡佛。纽约州州长富兰克林·德拉诺·罗斯福（Franklin Delano Roosevelt）赢得民主党提名，承诺“为美国人民制定新协议”，其中包括废除禁令。共和党人提名胡佛，也许是因为很少有其他感兴趣的共和党候选人。

罗斯福于 1882 年出生于一位富有的纽约实业家。作为西奥多·罗斯福的第五代堂兄，罗斯福在很小的时候就参与了政治活动。罗斯福是伍德罗·威尔逊和国际联盟的坚定支持者，是 1920 年民主党副总统候选人的失败者。第二年，他接受了小儿麻痹症治疗，尽管他在致命疾病中幸存下来，就像其他许多患有这种可怕疾病的美国人一样，他再也不能没有拐杖走路了。

选举日为民主党人带来了压倒性优势，因为罗斯福赢得了 58% 的民众投票和 89% 的选举投票，使共和党人在历史上遭遇了第二次最糟糕的失败。随着数百万美国人对他们的新领导人抱有希望，美国各地的乐队敲响了罗斯福的主题曲“Happy Days Are Here Again”。

结论

大萧条当然是可怕的，但这也不是任何一个人的过错，所以责怪当时正好坐在椭圆形办公室的总统造成问题是不公平的。

然而，考虑到他在解决问题的方式上的表现，这是完全合适的。每个总统都会处理意想不到的问题，虽然胡佛可能发现自己处于任何总统最糟糕的位置之一，但他仍然有责任帮助引导国家恢复健康。他这样做了吗？他的方法是否正确？它有用吗？他没关心，还是不够关心？

1932 年，选民们彻底拒绝了他的领导，并向罗斯福寻求不同的看法。回顾近一个世纪的距离，你怎么看？胡佛应该得到他所忍受的选举击鼓吗？他应该输吗？

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SUMMARY

The Great Depression affected everyone. Even people who did not lose their jobs usually had their pay lowered. Hungry, jobless, homeless people became a common sight on the streets of American cities. Even government struggled. With fewer people working, fewer people were paying taxes, and politicians struggled with hard decisions about how to solve the crisis.

Farmers who had bad loans from the 1920s lost their farms as banks foreclosed. In the middle of the country, a drought and poor farming techniques combined to form the Dust Bowl. People whose farms had been ruined by the dust fled to California and elsewhere looking for a chance to start over.

The Depression was especially hard for African Americans. The few jobs that were available were given to Whites first. In some places, anger and frustration boiled over and African Americans were targeted. Lynching increased. In one famous case, the Scottsboro Boys were tried for a crime that never happened. The experience of surviving the Great Depression inspired African Americans to begin the community organizing necessary for the later Civil Rights Movement.

Organized labor suffered during the Depression. In Detroit, hungry workers marched to a Ford factory and clashed violently with police.

Millions of Americans were left homeless. Many rode the rails looking for work. Among these, tens of thousands were teenagers. It was a dangerous life.

Families were hit especially hard. Divorce and separation increased. Birth rates fell. More women began looking for work in order to support their families. Many children dropped out of school.

During the Depression, Americans loved going to the movies. It was a chance to escape the hardships of daily life.

President Hoover tried to address the crisis by encouraging businesses not to raise prices or lower wages. In order to help the millions who were suffering, he encouraged churches and other civil groups to operate shelters and soup kitchens. This failed to solve the problem, simply because the problem was so large.

摘要

大萧条影响了每个人。即使没有失业的人通常也会降低工资。饥肠辘辘，失业，无家可归的人成为美国城市街头的常见景象。甚至政府都在挣扎。由于工作的人越来越少，缴税的人越来越少，政客们在如何解决危机的艰难决定中苦苦挣扎。

银行取消抵押品赎回权后，从 1920 年代开始有不良贷款的农民失去了农场。在该国中部，干旱和恶劣的耕作技术共同形成了“沙尘碗”。被尘土破坏了农场的人们逃到了加利福尼亚和其他地方，寻找机会重新开始。

大萧条对非裔美国人尤其困难。少数可用的工作首先交给了白人。在某些地方，愤怒和挫败感沸腾了，非洲裔美国人成为袭击目标。机密增加。在一个著名的案例中，斯科茨伯勒男孩被判犯有从未发生的罪行。幸免于大萧条的经历激发了非洲裔美国人开始为以后的民权运动所必需的社区组织。

大萧条期间遭受有组织的劳动。在底特律，饥饿的工人游行前往福特工厂，与警察发生激烈冲突。

数百万美国人无家可归。许多人骑着铁轨寻找工作。其中，成千上万是青少年。这是一个危险的生活。

家庭受到特别严重的打击。离婚和分居增加了。出生率下降。越来越多的女性开始寻找工作来养家糊口。许多孩子辍学了。

在大萧条时期，美国人喜欢看电影。这是逃避日常生活艰辛的机会。

胡佛总统试图通过鼓励企业不提高价格或降低工资来解决危机。为了帮助数百万受苦的人，他鼓励教堂和其他民间团体经营庇护所和厨房。这无法解决问题，仅仅是因为问题太大了。

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In Washington, DC, an army of World War I veterans gathered to demand early payment of a bonus. President Hoover ordered their camp cleared. It was a decision that cemented his unpopularity.

在华盛顿特区，一战退伍军人聚集在一起，要求及早支付奖金。胡佛总统下令清理营地。这是一个决定，使他不受欢迎。

In 1932, Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidential election. He promised voters a new deal.

1932 年，民主党人富兰克林·罗斯福赢得了总统选举。他向选民们承诺了一项新协议。



KEY CONCEPTS

Crop Rotation: A farming practice in which fields are planted with different plants each season in order to prevent total loss of needed nutrients.

Lie Fallow: A farming practice in which a field is allowed to go unused during a season in order for nutrients to be replenished.

Riding the Rails: Illegally hitching a ride of a freight train. This common practice during the Great Depression.



LOCATIONS

Dust Bowl: Area around Oklahoma in the early-1930s that suffered a devastating drought. The effects were exacerbated by poor farming practices that resulted in a catastrophic loss of topsoil and the exodus of many farm families.

Hooverville: Nickname for the homeless camps that developed in many large cities during the Great Depression.



POLICIES & LAWS

Volunteerism: President Hoover's plan to deal with the Great Depression. He wanted private companies and organizations to provide help to the needy and continue to employ workers on their own.

Hawley-Smoot Tariff: Tariff law passed during the Hoover Administration during the Great Depression. It raised taxes on imports in an effort to help American manufactures. In retaliation, other nations also raised tariffs and American exporters suffered leading to a worsening of the Depression.



PEOPLE & GROUPS

Okies: Families of farmers who fled the Dust Bowl during the Great Depression. Many went to California.

John Steinbeck: Author of *The Grapes of Wrath* which chronicled the plight of Okies during the Great Depression.

Scottsboro Boys: Group of nine African Americans who were accused of rape during the Great Depression. They were convicted but a series of appeals brought attention to injustices in the southern court system.

Bonus Army: Group of World War I veterans who travelled to Washington, DC during the Great Depression where they set up a temporary camp. They were demanding early payment of a bonus promised to them by congress, but were eventually evicted forcibly by the army.

Douglas MacArthur: American general who led the clearing of the Bonus Army camp during the Great Depression and went on to be a celebrated commander in the Pacific Theater during World War Two.

Hobos: Homeless people who rode freight trains during the Great Depression.

Marx Brothers: Comedians during the Great Depression.

Shirley Temple: Child movie star during the Great Depression. Her curly hair and cheery demeanor made her popular with people looking for an escape from their troubles.

Fred Astaire: Movie star and dancer during the Great Depression. He is famous for his routines with Ginger Rogers.

Ginger Rogers: Movie star and dancer during the Great Depression. She is famous for her routines with Fred Astaire.

Judy Garland: Movie star during the Great Depression. She is famous for playing Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*.

Mickey Rooney: Movie star during the Great Depression. His career stretched over many decades beginning in the silent film era.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt: American president first elected during the Great Depression. He promised a New Deal and went on to be elected a total of four times. He led the nation through most of World War II.



EVENTS

Ford Hunger March: 1932 strike and march in Detroit by Ford workers that resulted in a confrontation with police and the deaths of four marchers.



COURT CASES

Powell v. Alabama: A Supreme Court case in which the Scottsboro Boys argued that they had received inadequate legal representation in their trial.

Patterson v. Alabama: An Supreme Court case in which the Scottsboro Boys argued that their trial was unjust because all African American jurors had been excluded.



GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC): Government agency set up under the Hoover Administration that provided funding to support troubled banks in an effort to prevent bank failures.



TEXTS

The Grapes of Wrath: Book by John Steinbeck which chronicled the plight of Okies during the Great Depression.

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T H I R D Q U E S T I O N SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WELFARE OF EVERYONE?



INTRODUCTION

Our federal government is expansive and integrated into much of our everyday lives. We receive the mail, pay taxes, drive on federally funded highways, store our food in refrigerators that comply with federal-mandates for efficiency, are paid a federal minimum wage, put on seat belts required by law and plan to pay for college in part with government scholarships.

This was not always the case. In fact, when the nation was founded the only interaction most Americans had with their federal government at any point in their entire lives was when they sent or received the mail. Over time, the government took on more and more responsibility, but at the dawn of the 1930s, few Americans paid federal taxes, and there was little regulation of banking or business. All that changed with the new president's New Deal. For Hoover, the primary responsibility of caring for people fell to the people themselves. For Roosevelt, that responsibility rested with the government.

This is a radical idea that has become less radical in the ensuing decades. Today we take for granted the idea that the government exists to watch out for us. We know that our government will protect us from dangerous foods, dangerous drivers, shady business practices, and support us when we lose our jobs and suffer through natural disasters. But, is this the right role of government? Should we expect our government to take care of us, or are we our own personal responsibility?

What do you think? Should the government be responsible for the welfare of everyone?

介绍

我们的联邦政府是广泛的，并融入我们的日常生活中。我们收到邮件，纳税，在联邦政府资助的高速公路上开车，存放符合联邦政府授权要求的食品冰箱，支付联邦最低工资，安装法律规定的安全带，并计划支付部分学费政府奖学金。

情况并非总是如此。事实上，当国家成立时，大多数美国人在其一生中的任何时候与联邦政府的唯一互动就是他们发送或接收邮件。随着时间的推移，政府承担了越来越多的责任，但在 20 世纪 30 年代初期，很少有美国人缴纳联邦税，而且几乎没有银行或商业监管。所有这一切都随着新总统的新政而改变。对于胡佛来说，照顾人的主要责任落在了人们自己身上。对于罗斯福来说，这个责任在于政府。

这是一个激进的想法，在随后的几十年里变得不那么激进。今天，我们理所当然地认为政府存在是为了关注我们。我们知道，当我们失去工作并遭受自然灾害时，我们的政府将保护我们免受危险食品，危险的司机，阴暗的商业行为以及对我们的支持。但是，这是政府的正确角色吗？我们是否应该期望我们的政府照顾我们，还是我们自己的个人责任？

你怎么看？政府应该为每个人的福利负责吗？



THE ONLY THING WE HAVE TO FEAR

March 4, 1933, dawned gray and rainy. Roosevelt rode in an open car along with outgoing president Hoover, facing the public, as he made his way to the Capitol Building. Hoover's mood was somber, still personally angry over his defeat in the general election the previous November. He refused to crack a smile at all during the ride among the crowd, despite Roosevelt's urging to the contrary. At the ceremony, Roosevelt rose with the aid of leg braces equipped under his specially tailored trousers and placed his hand on a Dutch family Bible as he took his solemn oath. At that very moment, the rain stopped and the sun began to shine directly on the platform, and those present would later claim that it was as though God himself was shining down on Roosevelt and the American people.

Bathed in the sunlight, Roosevelt delivered one of the most famous and oft-quoted inaugural addresses in history. He encouraged Americans to work with him to find solutions to the nation's problems and not to be paralyzed by fear. Roosevelt called upon all Americans to assemble and fight an essential battle against the forces of economic depression. He famously stated, **"The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."** Upon hearing his inaugural address, one observer in the crowd later commented, "Any man who can talk like that in times like these is worth every ounce of support a true American has." Foregoing the traditional inaugural parties, the new president immediately returned to the White House to begin his work to save the nation.

BANK RELIEF

In days past, depositing money in a savings account carried a degree of risk. If a bank made bad investments and was forced to close, individuals who did not withdraw their money fast enough found themselves out of luck. Sometimes a simple rumor could force a bank to close. When depositors feared a bank was unsound and began removing their funds, the news would often spread to other customers. This often caused a panic, leading people to leave their homes and workplaces to get their money before it was too late.

These runs on banks were widespread during the early days of the Great Depression. In 1929 alone, 659 banks closed their doors. By 1932, an additional 5,102 banks went out of business. Families lost their life savings overnight. Thirty-eight states had adopted restrictions on withdrawals in an effort to forestall the panic. Bank failures increased in 1933, and Franklin Roosevelt deemed remedying these failing financial institutions his first priority after being inaugurated.

我们唯一要害怕的事情

1933年3月4日，灰蒙蒙的雨天。当罗斯福前往国会大厦时，罗斯福乘坐开放式汽车和即将离任的总统胡佛一同面对公众。胡佛的情绪变得阴沉，仍然对他在去年11月的大选中失败感到愤怒。尽管罗斯福敦促相反，但在人群中骑行时，他总是拒绝露出笑容。在仪式上，罗斯福在他专门定制的裤子下配备了腿部支撑，并在他庄严宣誓时将手放在荷兰家庭圣经上。就在那一刻，雨停了，太阳开始直接照在平台上，而在场的人后来声称，好像上帝自己正在照耀着罗斯福和美国人民。

罗斯福沐浴在阳光下，是历史上最著名，最常被引用的就职演说之一。他鼓励美国人与他一起努力寻找国家问题的解决方案，而不是因恐惧而瘫痪。罗斯福呼吁所有美国人聚集起来，共同对抗经济萧条的力量。他着名地说，“我们唯一要担心的是恐惧本身。”听到他的就职演说后，人群中的一位观察者后来评论说：“任何能在这样的時候都能这样说话的人都值得每一分钟的支持。真正的美国人。”在传统的就职派对上，新总统立即回到白宫开始拯救国家的工作。

银行救济

在过去的几天里，将钱存入储蓄账户会带来一定程度的风险。如果一家银行进行了不良投资并被迫关闭，那些没有足够快地提款的人发现自己运气不好。有时，一个简单的谣言可能迫使银行关闭。当存款人担心银行不健全并开始取消资金时，这些消息往往会传播给其他客户。这经常引起恐慌，导致人们离开家和工作场所以便在为时已晚之前获得资金。

在大萧条初期，银行的这些运行很普遍。仅在1929年，就有659家银行关门。到1932年，另有5,102家银行倒闭。家人一夜之间失去了生命储蓄。为了防止恐慌，有38个州对取款采取了限制措施。1933年银行倒闭增加，富兰克林罗斯福认为，这些失败的金融机构在落成后首先将其作为补救措施。



Within 48 hours of his inauguration, Roosevelt proclaimed an official bank holiday and called Congress into a special session to address the crisis. The resulting **Emergency Banking Act of 1933** was signed into law on March 9, 1933, a scant eight hours after Congress first saw it. The law officially took the country off the gold standard, a restrictive practice that, although conservative and traditionally viewed as safe, severely limited the circulation of paper money. Those who held gold were told to sell it to the U.S. Treasury for a discounted rate of a little over \$20 per ounce. Furthermore, dollar bills were no longer redeemable in gold. The law also gave the comptroller of currency the power to reorganize all national banks faced with insolvency, a level of federal oversight seldom seen prior to the Great Depression. Between March 11 and March 14, auditors from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Treasury Department, and other federal agencies swept through the country, examining each bank. By March 15, 70% of the banks were declared solvent and allowed to reopen.

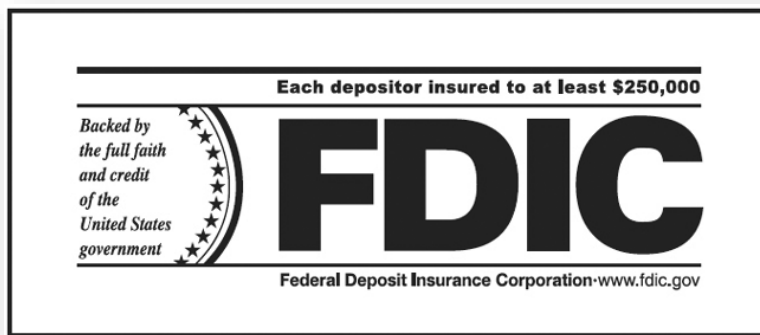
On March 12, the day before the banks were set to reopen, Roosevelt demonstrated his mastery of America's new form of communication and gave his first radio address to the American people, explaining what the bank examiners had been doing over the previous week. He assured people that any bank open the next day had the federal government's stamp of approval. The combination of his reassuring manner and the promise that the government was addressing the problems worked wonders in changing the popular mindset. Just as the culture of panic had contributed to the country's downward spiral after the crash, so did this confidence-inducing move help to build it back up. Consumer confidence returned, and within weeks, close to \$1 billion in cash and gold had been brought out from under mattresses and hidden bookshelves, and re-deposited in the nation's banks. The immediate crisis had been quelled, and the public was ready to believe in their new president.

在他就职后的 48 小时内，罗斯福宣布正式的银行假期，并召集国会召开特别会议，以应对危机。由此产生的 1933 年“紧急银行法”于 1933 年 3 月 9 日签署成为法律，距离国会第一次看到它仅仅 8 小时。该法律正式使该国脱离了黄金标准，这是一种限制性做法，虽然保守且传统上被认为是安全的，但严重限制了纸币的流通。那些持有黄金的人被告知以每盎司 20 美元以上的折扣价将其出售给美国财政部。此外，美元钞票不再以黄金兑现。法律还赋予货币审计员重组所有面临破产的国家银行的权力，这是大萧条之前很少见到的联邦监督水平。3 月 11 日至 3 月 14 日期间，重建金融公司，财政部和其他联邦机构的审计员席卷全国，审查每家银行。到 3 月 15 日，70% 的银行被宣布为有偿，并允许重新开业。

3 月 12 日，在银行重新开业的前一天，罗斯福展示了他对美国新形式的沟通的掌握，并向美国人民发表了他的第一个广播讲话，解释了银行审查员上周所做的事情。他向人们保证，第二天开设的任何银行都有联邦政府的批准印章。他令人放心的态度和政府解决问题的承诺相结合，改变了民众的思维方式。正如恐慌文化导致该国在事故发生后螺旋式下降一样，这种引发信心的举动也有助于建立它。消费者信心恢复，并在几周内，接近 10 亿美元的现金，黄金从床垫和隐藏的书架中取出，并重新存入国家银行。当前的危机已经平息，公众已经准备好相信他们的新总统了。

Primary Source: Government Document

The official plaque placed in banks announcing that they participate in the FDIC and that a depositor's money is guaranteed by the US government. The FDIC was an essential part of the New Deal and helped prevent future bank runs.



3 SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WELFARE OF EVERYONE?



In June 1933, Roosevelt replaced the Emergency Banking Act with the more permanent **Glass-Steagall Act**. This law prohibited commercial banks from engaging in investment banking, therefore stopping the practice of banks speculating in the stock market with deposits. This law also created the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, or FDIC**, which insured personal bank deposits up to \$2,500. With FDIC protection, Americans knew that if their bank failed, the government would reimburse them. The effect was an end of bank runs. The amount insured has since been increased.

Other measures designed to boost confidence in the overall economy beyond the banking system included passage of the Economy Act, which fulfilled Roosevelt's campaign pledge to reduce government spending by reducing salaries, including his own and those of the Congress. He also signed into law the Securities Act, which required full disclosure to the federal government from all corporations and investment banks that wanted to market stocks and bonds. Roosevelt also sought new revenue through the Beer Tax. As the Twenty-First Amendment, which would repeal the Eighteenth Amendment establishing Prohibition, moved towards ratification, this law authorized the manufacture of 3.2% beer and levied a tax on it.

HOMEOWNERS

The final element of Roosevelt's efforts to provide relief to those in desperate straits was the Home Owners' Refinancing Act. Created by the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), the program rescued homeowners from foreclosure by refinancing their mortgages. Not only did this save the homes of countless homeowners, but it also saved many of the small banks who owned the original mortgages by relieving them of the refinancing responsibility. Later New Deal legislation created the **Federal Housing Authority (FHA)**, which eventually standardized the 30 mortgage and promoted the housing boom of the post-World War II era. A similar program, created through the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act and Farm Credit Act, provided the same service for farm mortgages. The FHA remains an important government agency in today's housing market – one of the legacies of the New Deal.

JOBS

Out of work Americans needed jobs. To the unemployed, many of whom had no money left in the banks, a decent job that put food on the dinner table was a matter of survival. Unlike Herbert Hoover, who refused to offer direct assistance to individuals, Franklin Roosevelt knew that the nation's unemployed could last only so long. Like his

1933 年 6 月，罗斯福用更加永久的“格拉斯 - 斯蒂格尔银行法案”取代了“紧急银行法”。该法律禁止商业银行从事投资银行业务，因此停止银行在存款市场投机的做法。该法还设立了联邦存款保险公司 (FDIC)，该公司为个人银行存款提供高达 2,500 美元的保险。通过 FDIC 保护，美国人知道，如果他们的银行倒闭，政府将偿还他们。效果是银行运行结束。

旨在提高银行系统以外整体经济信心的其他措施包括通过“经济法”，该法履行了罗斯福的竞选承诺，通过降低工资来减少政府支出，包括他自己和国会的工资。他还签署了“证券法”的法律，该法要求所有希望营销股票和债券的公司和投资银行向联邦政府全面披露。罗斯福还通过啤酒税寻求新的收入。由于第二十一条修正案废除了第十八条修正案，禁止批准，该法律授权生产 3.2% 的啤酒并对其征税。

房主

罗斯福努力为陷入绝望困境的人提供救济的最后因素是“业主再融资法案”。该项目由房屋所有者贷款公司 (HOLC) 创建，旨在通过再融资抵押来解除房屋所有者的丧失抵押品赎回权。这不仅挽救了无数房主的家园，而且还通过减轻他们的再融资责任，挽救了许多拥有原始抵押贷款的小银行。后来的新政立法创建了联邦住房管理局 (FHA)，最终标准化 30 抵押贷款并促进了二战后时代的房地产繁荣。通过“紧急农场抵押法”和“农场信贷法”制定的类似计划为农场抵押提供了相同的服务。FHA 仍然是当今房地产市场的重要政府机构 - 新政的遗产之一。

工作

失业的美国人需要工作。对于失业者来说，许多人没有留在银行里的钱，一份把食物放在餐桌上的体面工作是生存问题。与拒绝向个人提供直接援助的赫伯特胡佛不同，富兰克林罗斯福知道这个国家的失业人员可能只能持续这么长时间。像

3 SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WELFARE OF EVERYONE?



banking legislation, aid would be immediate. Roosevelt adopted a strategy known as **pump priming**. To start a dry pump, a farmer often has to pour a little water into the pump to generate a heavy flow. Likewise, Roosevelt believed the national government could jump-start a dry economy by pouring in a little federal money. The first major help to large numbers of jobless Americans was the **Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA)**. This law gave \$3 billion to state and local governments for direct relief payments. Under the direction of **Harry Hopkins**, FERA assisted millions of Americans in need. While Hopkins and Roosevelt believed this was necessary, they were reticent to continue this type of aid. Direct payments were important in preventing starvation and homelessness, but simply giving away money could stifle the initiative of Americans seeking paying jobs. Although FERA lasted two years, efforts were soon shifted to work-relief programs that would pay individuals to perform jobs, rather than provide handouts.



他的银行立法一样，援助将是即时的。罗斯福采用了一种称为泵启动的策略。为了启动干泵，农民经常需要向泵中倒入少量水以产生大量流动。同样，罗斯福认为，国家政府可以通过增加一点联邦资金来启动干旱经济。对大量失业美国人的第一个重要帮助是联邦紧急救济法案（FERA）。该法律为州和地方政府提供了 30 亿美元的直接救济金。在哈里·霍普金斯的指导下，口交协助数百名有需要的美国人。虽然霍普金斯和罗斯福认为这是必要的，但他们仍然不愿继续这种援助。直接支付对于防止饥饿和无家可归非常重要，但仅仅放弃资金可能会扼杀美国人寻求工作的积极性。尽管口交持续了两年，但很快就转向了工作救济计划，这些计划可以支付个人从事工作，而不是提供讲议。

Primary Source: Photograph

A CCC work team stopped to eat lunch while on a job in Virginia. Hundreds of parks were improved during the 1930s as part of this innovative program.

The first such initiative began in March 1933. Called the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, this program was aimed at over two million unemployed unmarried men between the ages of 17 and 25. CCC participants left their homes and lived in camps in the countryside. Subject to military-style discipline, the men built reservoirs and bridges, and cut fire lanes through forests. They planted trees, dug ponds, and cleared lands for camping. They earned \$30 dollars per month, most of which was sent directly to their families. The CCC was extremely

第一个这样的倡议始于 1933 年 3 月。该计划名为平民保护团（CCC），针对年龄在 17 岁至 25 岁之间的 200 多万失业未婚男子。CCC 参与者离开家园，住在农村的营地。根据军事纪律，这些人建造了水库和桥梁，并通过森林切断了火道。他们种植树木，挖了池塘，并清理了露营的土地。他们每月赚 30 美元，其中大部分直接寄给家人。



popular. Listless youths were removed from the streets and given paying jobs and provided with room and shelter. Many of the nation's parks and trails were built or improved by the men of the CCC.

There were plenty of other opportunities for the unemployed in the New Deal. In the fall of 1933, Roosevelt authorized the Civil Works Administration. Also headed by Hopkins, this program employed 2.5 million in a month's time, and eventually grew to a multitudinous 4 million at its peak. Earning \$15 per week, CWA workers tutored the illiterate, built parks, repaired schools, and constructed athletic fields and swimming pools. Some were even paid to rake leaves. Hopkins put about three thousand writers and artists on the payroll as well. There were plenty of jobs to be done, and while many scoffed that the government was simply inventing busy work as an excuse to give away money, it provided vital relief during trying times.

The largest relief program of all was the **Works Progress Administration (WPA)**. When the CWA expired, Roosevelt appointed Hopkins to head the WPA, which employed nearly 9 million Americans before its expiration. Americans of all skill levels were given jobs to match their talents. Most of the resources were spent on public works programs such as roads and bridges, but WPA projects spread to artistic projects too.

The Federal Theater Project hired actors to perform plays across the land. Artists such as Ben Shahn beautified cities by painting larger-than-life murals. Even such noteworthy authors as John Steinbeck and Richard Wright were hired to write regional histories. WPA workers took traveling libraries to rural areas. Some were assigned the task of transcribing documents from colonial history while others were assigned to assist the blind.

Critics called the WPA "We Piddle Around" or "We Poke Along," labeling it the worst waste of taxpayer money in American history. But most every county in America received some service by the newly employed, and although the average monthly salary was barely above subsistence level, millions of Americans earned desperately needed cash, skills, and self-respect.

Another government program designed to provide jobs was the **Public Works Administration (PWA)**. The PWA set aside \$3.3 billion to build public projects such as highways, federal buildings, and military bases. Although this program suffered from political squabbles over appropriations for projects in various congressional districts, as well as

CCC 非常受欢迎。无精打采的年轻人被赶出街头，获得了有偿工作，并获得了房间和住所。许多国家的公园和小径都是由 CCC 的人建造或改进的。

在新政中，失业者还有很多其他机会。1933 年秋天，罗斯福授权土木工程管理局。同样由霍普金斯领导的这个项目在一个月的时间里就雇佣了 250 万人，最终在最高峰时增长到 400 万人。CWA 工作人员每周收入 15 美元，为文盲，建造公园，修复学校以及建造运动场和游泳池提供辅导。有些甚至付钱给耙叶。霍普金斯也在工资单上放置了大约三千名作家和艺术家。有很多工作要做，虽然许多人嘲笑政府只是将繁忙的工作作为借钱放弃的借口，但它在艰难时期提供了重要的救济。

最大的救济计划是工作进展管理局（WPA）。当 CWA 到期时，罗斯福任命霍普金斯领导 WPA，WPA 在其到期前雇用了近 900 万美国人。所有技能水平的美国人都获得了与其才能相匹配的工作。大部分资源都用于道路和桥梁等公共工程项目，但 WPA 项目也传播到艺术项目。

联邦剧院项目聘请演员在全国各地演出。像本·沙恩这样的艺术家通过绘制比生命更大的壁画来美化城市。甚至像 John Steinbeck 和 Richard Wright 这样值得注意的作家也被聘请撰写区域历史。WPA 工作人员将旅游图书馆带到农村地区。一些人被分配了从殖民历史中抄录文件的任务，而其他人则被指派协助盲人。

批评者称 WPA 为“我们蠢蠢欲动”或“我们捅”，将其标记为美国历史上纳税人资金的最大浪费。但是，美国大多数县都接受了新雇员的一些服务，虽然平均月薪几乎高于维持生计水平，但仍有数百万美国人获得了迫切需要的现金，技能和自尊。

另一个旨在提供就业机会的政府计划是公共工程管理局（PWA）。PWA 拨出 33 亿美元用于建设公路项目，如高速公路，联邦建筑和军事基地。尽管该计划遭受了各个国会地区项目拨款的政治争吵，以及公共住房项目的重大资金不足，但它



significant underfunding of public housing projects, it ultimately offered some of the most lasting benefits of the NIRA. Secretary of the Interior **Harold Ickes** ran the program, which completed over thirty-four thousand projects, including the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco and the Queens-Midtown Tunnel in New York. Between 1933 and 1939, the PWA accounted for the construction of over one-third of all new hospitals and 70% of all new public schools in the country.

FARMERS

While most Americans enjoyed relative prosperity for most of the 1920s, the Great Depression for the American farmer really began after World War I. Much of the 1920s was a continual cycle of debt for the American farmer, stemming from falling farm prices and the need to purchase expensive machinery. When the stock market crashed in 1929 sending prices in an even more downward cycle, many American farmers wondered if their hardscrabble lives would ever improve.

The first major New Deal initiative aimed to help farmers attempted to raise farm prices was the **Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA)**. One method of driving up prices of a commodity is to create artificial scarcity. Simply put, if farmers produced less, the prices of their crops and livestock would increase. The AAA identified seven basic farm products: wheat, cotton, corn, tobacco, rice, pigs, and milk. Farmers who produced these goods would be paid by the AAA to reduce the amount of acres in cultivation or the amount of livestock raised. In other words, farmers were paid to farm less!

The press and the public immediately cried foul. To meet the demands set by the AAA, farmers plowed under millions of acres of already planted crops. Six million young pigs were slaughtered to meet the subsidy guidelines. In a time when many were out of work and tens of thousands starved, this wasteful carnage was considered blasphemous and downright wrong.

But farm income did increase under the AAA. Cotton, wheat, and corn prices doubled in three years. Despite having misgivings about receiving government subsidies, farmers overwhelmingly approved of the program. Unfortunately, the bounty did not trickle down to the lowest economic levels. Tenant farmers and sharecroppers did not receive government aid; the subsidy went to the landlord. The owners often bought better machinery with the money, which further reduced the need for farm labor. In fact, the Great Depression and the AAA brought a virtual end to the practice of sharecropping in America.

最终提供了 NIRA 的一些最持久的好处。内政部长哈罗德·伊克斯 (Harold Ickes) 负责该计划, 完成了超过 34,000 个项目, 包括旧金山的金门大桥和纽约的皇后区中城隧道。在 1933 年至 1939 年间, PWA 占全国新医院的三分之一以及全国 70% 的新公立学校。

农民

虽然大多数美国人在 20 世纪 20 年代的大部分时间都享有相对的繁荣, 但美国农民的大萧条确实是在第一次世界大战后开始的。20 世纪 20 年代的大部分时间都是美国农民的债务持续循环, 原因是农产品价格下跌以及需要购买昂贵的机器。当股票市场在 1929 年崩溃时, 价格处于更加下行的周期, 许多美国农民怀疑他们的生活难以改善。

旨在帮助农民提高农产品价格的第一个重大新政计划是农业调整管理局 (AAA)。提高商品价格的一种方法是制造人为稀缺。简而言之, 如果农民减产, 他们的农作物和牲畜的价格就会上涨。AAA 确定了七种基本农产品: 小麦, 棉花, 玉米, 烟草, 大米, 猪和牛奶。生产这些产品的农民将由 AAA 支付, 以减少种植面积或饲养的牲畜数量。换句话说, 农民的收入低于农场!

媒体和公众立即大声疾呼。为了满足 AAA 的要求, 农民们在数百万英亩已经种植的作物下耕作。屠宰了 600 万头小猪以符合补贴准则。在许多人失业, 成千上万人挨饿的时候, 这种浪费的屠杀被认为是亵渎神灵和彻头彻尾的错误。

但 AAA 下的农业收入确实增加了。棉花, 小麦和玉米价格在三年内翻了一番。尽管对接受政府补贴存有疑虑, 但农民绝大多数都赞同该计划。不幸的是, 赏金没有降到最低的经济水平。佃农和佃农没有得到政府援助; 补贴转给了房东。业主经常用钱购买更好的机器, 这进一步减少了对农业劳动力的需求。事实上, 大萧条和 AAA 为美国佃农的实践带来了虚拟的终结。



The Supreme Court put an end to the AAA in 1936 by declaring it unconstitutional. By this time the Roosevelt administration decided to repackage the agricultural subsidies as incentives to save the environment as a response to the Dust Bowl. The Soil Conservation And Domestic Allotment Act paid farmers to plant clover and alfalfa instead of wheat and corn. These crops return nutrients to the soil. At the same time, the government achieved its goal of reducing crop acreage of the key commodities.

Another major problem faced by American farmers was mortgage foreclosure. Unable to make the monthly payments, many farmers were losing their property to their banks. Across the Corn Belt of the Midwest, the situation grew desperate. Farmers pooled resources to bail out needy friends. Minnesota and North Dakota passed laws restricting farm foreclosures. Vigilante groups formed to intimidate bill collectors. In Le Mars, Iowa, an angry mob beat a foreclosing judge to the brink of death in April 1933.

FDR intended to stop the madness. The Farm Credit Act, passed in March 1933 refinanced many mortgages in danger of going unpaid. The Frazier-Lemke Farm Bankruptcy Act allowed any farmer to buy back a lost farm at a low price over six years at only 1% interest. Despite being declared unconstitutional, most of the provisions of Frazier-Lemke were retained in subsequent legislation.

In 1933, only about one out of every ten American farms was powered by electricity. The **Rural Electrification Authority** addressed this pressing problem. The government embarked on a mission of getting electricity to the nation's farms. Faced with government competition, private utility companies sprang into action and by sending power lines to rural areas with a speed previously unknown. By 1950, nine out of every ten farms enjoyed the benefits of electric power.

COMMUNICATION

Roosevelt believed that his administration's success depended upon good communication with voters and the best way for him to do so was through radio. Roosevelt's opponents had control of most newspapers in the 1930s which meant that his messages were filtered before the public read them. Historian Betty Houchin Winfield wrote, "He and his advisers worried that newspapers' biases would affect the news columns and rightly so." Historian Douglas B. Craig wrote that by using radio, Roosevelt "offered voters a chance to receive information unadulterated by newspaper proprietors' bias..."

最高法院在 1936 年通过宣布违反宪法来终止 AAA。到了这个时候，罗斯福政府决定重新包装农业补贴作为拯救环境的激励措施，作为对尘土碗的回应。“土壤保持和国内分配法”要求农民种植三叶草和苜蓿，而不是小麦和玉米。这些作物将营养物质返回土壤。与此同时，政府实现了减少主要商品种植面积的目标。

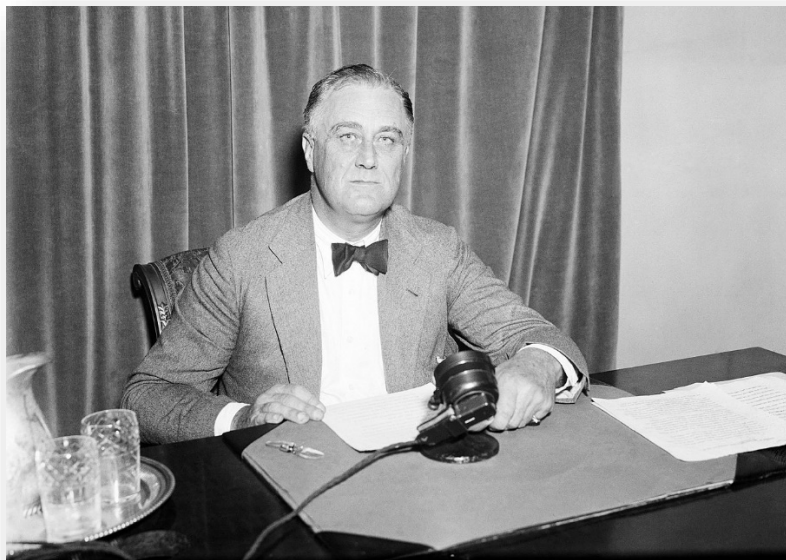
美国农民面临的另一个主要问题是抵押贷款止赎。由于无法按月付款，许多农民正在失去他们的财产。在中西部的玉米带，情况变得绝望。农民集中资源救助有需要的朋友。明尼苏达州和北达科他州通过了限制农场丧失抵押品赎回权的法律。Vigilante 团体成立以恐吓票据收藏家。1933 年 4 月，在爱荷华州的勒马斯，一群愤怒的暴徒在死亡边缘击败了一名止赎法官。

罗斯福旨在制止疯狂。1933 年 3 月通过的“农场信贷法”为许多抵押贷款再融资，这些抵押贷款有可能无法偿还。Frazier-Lemke 农场破产法允许任何农民以 6% 的法定价格以 1% 的利息回购失去的农场。尽管被宣布违宪，但 Frazier-Lemke 的大部分条款仍保留在随后的立法中。

1933 年，每 10 个美国农场中只有大约一个由电力驱动。农村电气化管理局解决了这个紧迫问题。政府开始向国家农场供电。面对政府竞争，私营公用事业公司开始采取行动，并以前所未有的速度向农村地区输送电力线。到 1950 年，每十个农场中就有九个享受到电力的好处。

通讯

罗斯福认为，他的政府的成功取决于与选民的良好沟通，而他这样做的最佳途径是通过无线电。20 世纪 30 年代，罗斯福的反对者控制了大多数报纸，这意味着他的信息在公众阅读之前就被过滤了。历史学家 Betty Houchin Winfield 写道：“他和他的顾问们担心报纸的偏见会影响新闻专栏，这是正确的。”历史学家道格拉斯·B·克雷格写道，通过使用广播，罗斯福“为选民提供了一个机会，可以接收报纸所有者无耻的信息。‘偏见……’”



Primary Source: Photograph

FDR sitting down for one of his fireside chats. Appearances mattered little during these speeches since they were heard on the radio. Their effect was tremendous since the president's soothing tone put many voters' concerns to rest.

Roosevelt offered his messages in the form of simple conversations he imagined friends might have sitting by the fireside in the evening after dinner. These **fireside chats** eventually numbered 30 between 1933 and 1944. Roosevelt spoke about New Deal initiatives, and later the course of World War II. On radio, he was able to quell rumors and explain his policies. His tone and demeanor communicated self-assurance during times of despair and uncertainty. Roosevelt was regarded as an effective communicator on radio, and the fireside chats kept him in high public regard throughout his presidency. He is remembered as a master of communication, both for the content of his messages and for his ability to effectively make use of the new medium.

罗斯福以简单的谈话形式提供了他的信息，他想象朋友们可能在晚餐后坐在炉边。这些炉边聊天最终在1933年至1944年期间编号为30年。罗斯福谈到了新政的倡议，后来又谈到了第二次世界大战的进程。在广播中，他能够平息谣言并解释他的政策。他的语气和举止在绝望和不确定时期传达了自信。罗斯福被认为是一个有效的广播传播者，在他担任总统期间，他在场边的聊天使他受到了公众的高度关注。无论是对于他的信息内容还是他有效利用新媒体的能力，他都被铭记为沟通大师。

EVALUATING THE FIRST NEW DEAL

It would be a mistake to give the president solo credit for all of the good things that the New Deal accomplished, just as it is unfair to blame Hoover for all of the ills of the Depression. Roosevelt certainly did not do everything himself. It was the hard work of his advisors – the so-called **Brain Trust** of scholars and thinkers from leading universities he tapped to help plan and implement that New Deal – as well as Congress and the American public who helped the New Deal succeed as well as it did. Ironically, it was the American people's volunteer spirit, so extolled by Hoover, which Roosevelt was able to harness.

The **first hundred days** of his administration was not a master plan that Roosevelt dreamed up and executed on his own. In fact, it was not a

评估第一个新的交易

将总统单独归功于新政所完成的所有好事都是错误的，正如将胡佛归咎于大萧条的所有弊病一样是不公平的。罗斯福当然不会做自己的一切。这是他的顾问的辛勤工作 - 所谓的大脑信托，来自他帮助计划和实施新政的一流大学的学者和思想家 - 以及帮助新政成功的国会和美国公众以及它做了。具有讽刺意味的是，正是罗斯福能够驾驭的美国人民的志愿者精神，被胡佛所颂扬。

他执政的头一百天并不是罗斯福梦寐以求的独立计划。事实上，它根本不是一个总体规划，而是

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master plan at all, but rather a series of, at times, disjointed efforts made from different assumptions. But after taking office and analyzing the crisis, Roosevelt and his advisors felt that they had a larger sense of what had caused the Great Depression and thus attempted a variety of solutions to fix it. They believed that it was caused by abuses on the part of a small group of bankers and businessmen, aided by Republican policies that built wealth for a few at the expense of many.



一系列有时根据不同假设而脱节的努力。但在上任和分析危机后，罗斯福和他的顾问们感到他们对导致大萧条的原因有了更大的认识，因此尝试了各种解决方案来解决这个问题。他们认为这是由于一小部分银行家和商人的滥用造成的，这得益于共和党的政策，这些政策为少数人牺牲了许多人的财富。

Primary Source: Photograph

FDR signs a bill surrounded by members of his cabinet and other advisors and supporters. The new president's team were nicknamed the Brain Trust since many of them had come from academia.

The answer, they felt, was to root out these abuses through banking reform, as well as adjust production and consumption of both farm and industrial goods. This adjustment would come about by increasing the purchasing power of everyday people, as well as through regulatory policies like the NRA and AAA. While it may seem counterintuitive to raise crop prices and set prices on industrial goods, Roosevelt's advisors sought to halt the deflationary spiral and economic uncertainty that had prevented businesses from committing to investments and consumers from parting with their money.

Many Americans were pleased with the president's bold plans. Roosevelt had reversed the economy's long slide, put new capital into ailing banks, rescued homeowners and farmers from foreclosure and helped people keep their homes. The New Deal offered some direct relief to the unemployed poor but more importantly, it gave new incentives to farmers and industry alike, and put people back to work.

他们认为，答案是通过银行改革来消除这些滥用行为，以及调整农产品和工业产品的生产和消费。这种调整将通过提高日常人员的购买力以及通过 NRA 和 AAA 等监管政策来实现。虽然提高农作物价格和制定工业品价格似乎违反直觉，但罗斯福的顾问试图阻止通缩螺旋和经济不确定性，这些不确定性阻碍了企业投资和消费者与他们的资金分离。

许多美国人对总统的大胆计划感到高兴。罗斯福已经扭转了经济的长期下滑，为陷入困境的银行注入新资金，救助房主和农民取消抵押贷款赎回权，并帮助人们保住房屋。新政为失业的穷人提供了一些直接的救济，但更重要的是，它为农民和工业界提供了新的激励措施，并让人们重新开



The total number of working Americans rose from 24 to 27 million between 1933 and 1935. Perhaps most importantly, Roosevelt's first term New Deal programs had changed the pervasive pessimism that had held the country in its grip since the end of 1929. For the first time in years, people had hope.

CONCLUSION

During the first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration the role government played in the lives of everyday Americans radically shifted. People had always entrusted their leaders with the responsibility of protecting them from outside attack and preserving peace within their borders, but had not viewed their government as being responsible for protecting them from hardship. The idea that the government would help you find a job, or make sure you were paid a living wage, was entirely novel. And, it has been a responsibility the government has never given back. If anything, we have become more accustomed to the idea that our leaders owe us protection from unemployment, or protection when we cannot pay our mortgage.

Is this a good thing? Should we live in a nation in which we expect our government to behave as a sort of mother hen, watching carefully over her flock of citizens? Is this power we never should have given away? Or, is it a just and wise expansion of government?

What do you think? Should the government be responsible for the welfare of everyone?

始工作。1933 年至 1935 年间，美国工薪阶层的总人数从 24 人增加到 2700 万人。也许最重要的是，罗斯福的第一个任期“新政”计划改变了自 1929 年底以来一直保持着这个国家的普遍悲观情绪。这是第一次多年来，人们都有希望。

结论

在罗斯福政府的前 100 天里，政府在日常生活中扮演的角色发生了翻天覆地的变化。人们总是委托他们的领导人有责任保护他们免受外界攻击并维护他们境内的和平，但他们并没有认为他们的政府有责任保护他们免受困难。政府会帮你找工作，或者确保你获得工资的想法，这完全是新颖的。而且，这是政府从未给予回应的责任。如果有的话，我们已经越来越习惯于我们的领导人欠我们保护免受失业或保护我们无法支付抵押贷款。

这是一件好事吗？我们是否应该生活在一个我们希望政府像母鸡一样行事的国家，仔细观察她的一群公民？我们永远不应该放弃这种力量吗？或者，这是政府的公正和明智的扩张吗？

你怎么看？政府应该为每个人的福利负责吗？



SUMMARY

President Franklin Roosevelt told Americans the only thing they had to fear was fear itself. He implemented many new programs to try to solve the problem. Most involved spending large amounts of government money to jumpstart the economy.

His programs became known as the New Deal. In the first 100 days of his presidency, FDR implemented programs to help solve the banking crisis, to give people jobs, and to support farmers. Many of the New Deal programs are known by their acronyms. (FDIC, FHA, CCC, WPA, AAA, etc.)

FDR was an excellent communicator. He was known for his speeches on the radio in which he explained his ideas in simple terms that regular Americans could understand.

Part of the New Deal were laws to fix the banking system. One program gives insurance to people who deposit money in banks so they will not lose it if their bank fails. This program prevents bank runs. Other financial programs provided regulation for the stock market.

New government programs helped people get loans to buy houses.

To help people find jobs, FDR created programs building roads, bridges, dams, parks, trails, painting murals, writing, acting, and much more.

For farmers, FDR signed laws paying farmers to grow less. This stabilized food prices. The New Deal also included programs to provide electricity to rural areas.

摘要

富兰克林罗斯福总统告诉美国人，他们唯一不得不担心的是恐惧本身。他实施了许多新计划来试图解决这个问题。大多数人都花费大量政府资金来推动经济发展。

他的计划被称为“新政”。在总统任职的头 100 天，罗斯福执行了一些计划，以帮助解决银行业危机，给人们提供工作和支持农民。许多“新政”计划均以其缩写词闻名。（FDIC，FHA，CCC，WPA，AAA 等）

罗斯福是一位出色的传播者。他以在广播中的讲话而闻名，他在讲话中用普通美国人可以理解的简单术语解释了自己的想法。

新政的一部分是修复银行系统的法律。一个程序为在银行存款的人提供保险，这样如果他们的银行破产，他们就不会失去保险。该计划可防止银行挤兑。其他金融计划为股票市场提供监管。

新的政府计划帮助人们获得贷款购买房屋。

为了帮助人们找到工作，罗斯福创建了一些项目，包括修建道路，桥梁，水坝，公园，小径，绘画壁画，写作，表演等等。

对于农民来说，罗斯福签署了法律，要求农民减少收入。这稳定了食品价格。新政还包括向农村地区提供电力的计划。



KEY CONCEPTS

Pump Priming: Idea that the government should spend during an economic downturn, thus putting money into the economy which will in turn be spent by individuals and private businesses. Without the government's initial investment, recovery would not have been possible.

First Hundred Days: The nickname for the first few months of Franklin Roosevelt's presidency in which he was able to work with Congress to pass numerous laws that established the beginning of the New Deal.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

Harry Hopkins: Secretary of Commerce and one of Franklin Roosevelt's closest advisors. He was one of the architects of the New Deal.

Harold Ickes: Secretary of the Interior who ran the Public Works Administration and was an important advisor to Franklin Roosevelt.

Brain Trust: Nickname for the group of advisors Franklin Roosevelt assembled to help solve the Great Depression. Many had come from universities, thus giving rise to the nickname.



SPEECHES

FDR's First Inaugural Address: Famous speech given on March 4, 1933 in which incoming President Franklin D. Roosevelt said "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

Fireside Chat: Nickname for President Franklin Roosevelt's radio speeches in which he tried to use plain language to explain his ideas.



LAWS

Emergency Banking Act of 1933: One of the first pieces of New Deal legislation. It took the country off the gold standard and helped stabilize the banking system.

Glass-Steagall Act: Replacement for the Emergency Banking Act of 1933. This law prohibited commercial banks from engaging in investment banking and created the FDIC.

Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA): New Deal legislation that gave \$3 billion to state and local governments for direct payments to needy Americans. It provided help to prevent people from losing their homes or starving, but did not provide work.



GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC): Government agency that provides insurance for individual depositors at commercial banks, thus preventing bank runs.

Federal Housing Authority (FHA): Government agency that provides backing for home loans and helped stabilize the housing market during the Great Depression, as well as spur the housing boom in the post-WWII era.

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC): New Deal program that provided jobs to young men building parks, trails, reservoirs, bridges and fire lanes.

Works Progress Administration (WPA): Major New Deal program that provided jobs to 9 million Americans building major infrastructural projects such as bridges, and roads, but also writing and painting murals as well.

Public Works Administration (PWA): New Deal program that provided jobs building highways, federal buildings and military bases. Among the programs projects were the Golden Gate Bridge and Queens-Midtown Tunnel. Over 1/3 of all hospitals and 70% of all new schools built in the 1930s were completed by workers in this program.

Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA): New Deal agency that provided payments to farmers to lower agricultural production. The program broke a cycle in which farmers increased output in an effort to increase returns. In reality, excessive output drove up supply and drove down prices.

Rural Electrification Authority: New Deal agency that worked to provide electricity to rural areas.

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F O U R T H Q U E S T I O N WAS PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT LIBERAL?



INTRODUCTION

In politics, the terms liberal and conservative are opposites. Conservatives usually prefer less change. They want government to be limited and do only what citizens cannot on their own. Liberals see change as a positive and like the idea of using the government to leverage the nations' collective resources. When conservatives would see government action as infringing on individual liberty, a liberal would view government as an instrument of good making possible things that only can happen with coordinated action.

In modern times, our Republican Party is the party of conservative thinkers, and the Democrats are the party of our liberals. Franklin Roosevelt was a Democrat, and the New Deal certainly was an unprecedented application of governmental power to do things individuals could not have done on their own. But in many ways, Roosevelt stopped short of implementing the dreams of the most liberal leaders. Most notably, he did not force the rich to give up their wealth and give it to the poor. And, he did very little to promote equality between genders and races.

So, was FDR a liberal?

介绍

在政治上，自由派和保守派都是对立的。保守派通常更喜欢变化。他们希望政府受到限制，只做公民自己无法做到的事情。自由主义者认为变革是积极的，就像利用政府来利用国家的集体资源一样。当保守派认为政府行为侵犯个人自由时，自由主义者会认为政府是一种良好的制造工具，只有通过协调行动才能实现。

在现代，我们的共和党是保守派思想家的党，民主党是我们自由派的党。富兰克林罗斯福是民主党人，新政当然是政府权力的前所未有的应用，可以做出个人无法做到的事情。但在许多方面，罗斯福没有实现最自由派领导人的梦想。最值得注意的是，他并没有强迫富人放弃自己的财富并将其交给穷人。而且，他在促进性别和种族之间的平等方面做得很少。

那么，罗斯福是自由派吗？

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THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

Many of the New Deal projects focused on regional concerns and the most famous of these projects was the **Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**. The TVA was a new federal agency tasked with the job of planning and developing the area around the Tennessee River through flood control, reforestation, and hydroelectric power. Employing several thousand Americans on a project that Roosevelt envisioned as a template for future regional redevelopment, the TVA revitalized a river valley that landowners had badly over-farmed, leaving behind eroded soil that lacked essential nutrients for future farming. Under the direction of David Lilienthal, the TVA workers erected a series of dams to harness the Tennessee River in the creation of much-needed hydroelectric power. The arrival of both electric lighting and machinery to the region eased the lives of the people who lived there, as well as encouraged industrial growth. The TVA also included an educational component, teaching farmers important lessons about crop rotation, soil replenishment, fertilizing, and reforestation.



田纳西州的山谷管理局

许多新政项目都集中在区域问题上，其中最著名的项目是田纳西河流域管理局（TVA）。TVA 是一个新的联邦机构，负责通过防洪，重新造林和水力发电规划和开发田纳西河周边地区。在一个罗斯福设想作为未来区域重建模板的项目中雇佣了数千名美国人，TVA 重振了一个河谷，土地所有者严重过度耕种，留下了侵蚀土壤，缺乏未来农业的必需营养素。在 David Lilienthal 的指导下，TVA 工作人员竖立了一系列水坝，以利用田纳西河创造急需的水力发电。电气照明和机械设备的到来缓解了居住在那里人们的生活，并促进了工业的发展。TVA 还包括一个教育部分，教授农民关于作物轮作，土壤补给，施肥和重新造林的重要课程。

Primary Source: Photograph

The Hiwassee Dam is one of many that are part of the TVA.

The TVA was not without its critics. Most notably were the 15,000 families who were displaced due to the massive construction projects. Although eventually the project benefited farmers with the introduction of new farming and fertilizing techniques, as well as the added benefit of electric power, many local citizens were initially mistrustful of the TVA and the federal government's agenda. Likewise, as with several other New Deal programs, women did not directly benefit from these employment opportunities, as they were explicitly excluded for the

TVA 并非没有批评者。最值得注意的是 15,000 个因大规模建设项目而流离失所的家庭。虽然该项目最终使农民受益于引进新的农业和施肥技术，以及电力的额外好处，但许多当地公民最初不信任 TVA 和联邦政府的议程。同样，与其他几项新政计划一样，女性并没有直接受益于这些就业机会，因为她们被明确排除在外，

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benefit of men who most Americans still considered the family's primary breadwinner. However, with the arrival of electricity came new industrial ventures, including several textile mills up and down the valley, several of which offered employment to women. Throughout his presidency, Roosevelt frequently pointed to the TVA as one of the glowing accomplishments of the New Deal and its ability to bring together the machinery of the federal government along with private interests to revitalize a regional economy. Just months before his death in 1945, he continued to speak of the possibility of creating other regional authorities throughout the country that might replicate the TVA's work.

MANUFACTURING AND LABOR UNIONS

For generations, labor unions had struggled to protect their members. Throughout the 1800s and early 1900s most labor strikes had ended when the government intervened on the side of owners. The New Deal marked a major shift in the relationship between owners and their workers. For the first time in America's history, the government passed laws designed specifically to protect and support labor unions.

The **National Recovery Administration (NRA)** was central to this plan. It mandated that businesses accept a code that included minimum wages and maximum work hours. In order to protect workers from potentially unfair agreements among factory owners, every industry had its own "code of fair practice" that included workers' rights to organize and use collective bargaining to ensure that wages rose with prices. Headed by General Hugh S. Johnson, the NRA worked to create over five hundred different codes for different industries. The administration of such a complex plan naturally created its own problems. While codes for key industries such as automotive and steel made sense, Johnson pushed to create similar codes for dog food manufacturers, those who made shoulder pads for women's clothing, and even entertainment (such as regulating the number of dancers in any one show).

Another unintended consequence of the NRA was that the provision granting workers the right to organize appeared to some as a mandate. In industries that had never seen labor unions, such as oil or rubber, workers sought help from groups that would assist in creating unions, bolstered by the encouragement they now felt from the government. The Communist Party took advantage of the opportunity to assist in the hope of creating widespread support for their cause. The number of strikes nationwide doubled between 1932 and 1934, with over 1.5 million workers going on strike in 1934 alone, often in protests that culminated in bloodshed. A strike at the Auto-Lite plant in Toledo, Ohio, that summer resulted in 10,000 workers from other factories joining in sympathy with

大多数美国人仍然认为这是家庭的主要养家糊口的人。然而，随着电力的到来，新的工业企业，包括在山谷上下的几家纺织厂，其中一些为女性提供就业机会。在他担任总统期间，罗斯福经常指出，TVA 是新政的辉煌成就之一，也是将联邦政府的机制与私人利益结合起来振兴地区经济的能力。在他 1945 年去世前几个月，他继续谈到在全国范围内建立可能复制 TVA 工作的其他地区当局的可能性。

制造业和劳动力联盟

几代人以来，工会一直在努力保护自己的成员。在整个 19 世纪和 20 世纪初，当政府干预业主时，大多数劳工罢工已经结束。新政标志着业主与工人之间关系的重大转变。在美国历史上，政府首次通过了专门为保护和支​​持工会而制定的法律。

国家恢复局（NRA）是该计划的核心。它要求企业接受包含最低工资和最长工时的代码。为了保护工人免受工厂所有者之间潜在的不公平协议的影响，每个行业都有自己的“公平行为准则”，其中包括工人组织和使用集体谈判的权利，以确保工资随着价格上涨。在由休·约翰逊将军率领的情况下，NRA 致力于为不同的行业创建五百多种不同的代码。管理这样一个复杂的计划自然会产生自己的问题。虽然汽车和钢铁等关键行业的代码是有道理的，但约翰逊推动为狗食制造商制造类似的代码，为女性服装制作垫肩，甚至娱乐（例如调节任何一个节目中的舞者数量）。

全国步枪协会的另一个意外后果是，赋予工人组织权的规定在某些方面似乎是一项授权。在从未见过工会的行业中，例如石油或橡胶，工人寻求帮助创建工会的团体的帮助，这得益于他们现在从政府那里得到的鼓励。共产党利用这个机会协助希望为他们的事业创造广泛的支持。全国罢工次数在 1932 年至 1934 年间翻了一番，仅在 1934 年就有超过 150 万工人罢工，通常是在流血事件中达到高潮的抗议活动。去年夏天在俄亥俄州托莱多的 Auto-Lite 工厂罢工，导致其他工厂的 10,000 名工人加入同情他

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their fellow workers to attack potential strike-breakers with stones and bricks. Simultaneously in Minneapolis, a teamsters strike resulted in frequent, bloody confrontations between workers and police, leading the governor to contemplate declaring martial law before the companies agreed to negotiate better wages and conditions for the workers. Finally, a San Francisco strike among 14,000 dockworkers closed the city's waterfront and eventually led to a citywide general strike of over 130,000 workers, essentially paralyzing the city. Clashes between workers, and police and National Guardsmen left many strikers bloodied, and at least two dead.



们的同事用石头和砖块袭击潜在的罢工破坏者。同时在明尼阿波利斯，一次团队罢工导致工人和警察频繁，血腥的对抗，导致州长考虑在公司同意为工人谈判更好的工资和条件之前宣布戒严。最后，旧金山罢工使 14,000 名码头工人关闭了该市的海滨，最终导致全市超过 13 万名工人罢工，基本上使该市瘫痪。工人，警察和国民警卫队之间的冲突使许多罢工者流血，至少两人死亡。

Primary Source: Photograph

John L. Lewis was the leader of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Wagner Act was a tremendous boon for organized labor and Lewis took advantage of the opportunity presented by FDR's pro-labor policies to strengthen his union.

Although Roosevelt's relief efforts provided jobs to many and benefitted communities with the construction of several essential building projects, the violence that erupted amid clashes between organized labor and factories backed by police and the authorities exposed a fundamental flaw in the president's approach. Immediate relief did not address long-existing, inherent class inequities that left workers exposed to poor working conditions, low wages, long hours, and little protection. For many workers, life on the job was not much better than life as an unemployed American. Employment programs may have put men back to work and provided much needed relief, but the fundamental flaws in

虽然罗斯福的救援工作为许多受益社区提供了几个基本建筑项目的工作，但在有组织的劳工和由警察和当局支持的工厂之间的冲突中爆发的暴力暴露了总统方法的根本缺陷。立即救济没有解决长期存在的固有阶级不公平问题，这些问题使工人们面临工作条件恶劣，工资低，工作时间长，保护不足的问题。对于许多工人来说，工作中的生活并不比失业的美国人好。就业计划可能会让男性重新开始工作并提供急

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the system required additional attention that Roosevelt was unable to pay in the early days of the New Deal.

To the benefit of industrial workers, Roosevelt signed into law the **Wagner Act**, also known as the **National Labor Relations Act**. The act created the **National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)**, which permanently protected American workers' right to unionize and bargain collectively, as well as to provide a federal vehicle for labor grievances to be heard. Although roundly criticized by the Republican Party and factory owners, the Wagner Act withstood several challenges and eventually received constitutional sanction by the Supreme Court in 1937. The law received the strong support of **John L. Lewis** and the **Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)** who had long sought government protection of industrial unionism, from the time they split from the American Federation of Labor in 1935 over disputes on whether to organize workers along craft or industrial lines. Following passage of the law, Lewis began a widespread publicity campaign urging industrial workers to join "the president's union." The relationship was mutually beneficial to Roosevelt, who subsequently received the endorsement of Lewis's United Mine Workers union in the 1936 presidential election, along with a sizeable \$500,000 campaign contribution. Passage of the Wagner Act marked the beginning of organized labor's longstanding political support for the Democratic Party.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Since the dawn of the industrial era in the early 1800s when Americans began working for others, the question of retirement had become a part of everyday life. Who should pay retired workers? At what age was retirement reasonable? In the beginning, individuals were expected to save a little of each paycheck for the day they would at last retire. The idea of a **pension**, money paid by companies to retired workers, was rare. Unfortunately, the majority of working Americans, lived check to check, with little or nothing extra to be saved for the future and many became a drag on the working members of their families upon retirement. The Social Security Act of 1935 aimed to improve this predicament.

Many nations in Europe had already experimented with pension plans and Britain and Germany had found exceptional success. Roosevelt decided that the American plan, called **Social Security** would be a "contract between generations." The current generation of workers would pay into a fund while the retirees would take in a monthly stipend. Upon reaching the age of 65, individuals would start receiving payments based upon the amount contributed over the years. In this way, Social Security works as a form of wealth redistribution, taking from working

需的救济, 但该制度的根本缺陷需要罗斯福在新政早期无法支付额外的关注。

为了工业工人的利益, 罗斯福签署了瓦格纳法案, 也被称为“国家劳动关系法”。该法案创建了国家劳工关系委员会 (NLRB), 该委员会永久保护美国工人的工会和集体谈判权利, 并提供联邦工具, 以便听取劳工申诉。虽然受到共和党 and 工厂所有者的严厉批评, 但瓦格纳法案经受住了一些挑战, 并最终在 1937 年获得了最高法院的宪法制裁。法律得到了约翰·L·路易斯和工业组织大会 (CIO) 的大力支持。长期以来, 他们一直寻求政府对工业工会的保护, 从他们在 1935 年从美国劳工联合会分裂出来, 就是否组织工人或工业界的工人问题进行争论。法律通过后, 刘易斯开始了广泛的宣传活动, 敦促产业工人加入“总统工会”。这种关系对罗斯福来说是互惠互利的, 罗斯福后来在 1936 年的总统大选中获得了刘易斯的联合煤矿工人工会的支持, 以及相当于 50 万美元的竞选捐款。瓦格纳法案的通过标志着有组织的劳工长期以来对民主党的政治支持的开始。

社会保障

自 19 世纪初美国人开始为其他人工作以来的工业时代开始以来, 退休问题已经成为日常生活的一部分。谁应该支付退休工人? 什么年龄退休合理? 最初, 个人应该在他们最后退休的那一天节省一点薪水。养老金的想法, 公司向退休工人支付的钱, 很少见。不幸的是, 大多数工作的美国人经常检查检查, 很少或根本没有额外的东西可以为将来得救, 许多人在退休后成为他们家庭工作成员的拖累。1935 年的“社会保障法”旨在改善这种困境。

欧洲许多国家已经尝试过养老金计划, 英国和德国也取得了非凡的成功。罗斯福决定将美国的社会保障计划称为“世代之间的契约”。当前一代工人将支付基金, 而退休人员将获得每月津贴。在年满 65 岁时, 个人将根据多年来的捐款金额开始接受付款。通过这种方式, 社会保障可以作为财富再分配的一种形式, 从工作的美国人那里获取并给予老年人, 而不是作为

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Americans and giving to the elderly, rather than as a savings account in which the money a worker puts in is waiting years later upon retirement.

Roosevelt knew that once Social Security became law, it would be a permanent feature of American life. He guessed that once workers had paid into a system for decades, they would expect to receive their checks. Woe to the politician who tried to end the system once it was in place! He was correct. Social Security remains one of the most popular, and most expensive, things the federal government does for its citizens.

一个储蓄账户，其中工人投入的资金在退休后等待多年。

罗斯福知道，一旦社会保障成为法律，它将成为美国生活的永久特征。他猜测，一旦工人付了几十年的工资，他们就会收到他们的支票。一旦它到位就试图结束系统的政客有祸了！他是对的。社会保障仍然是联邦政府为其公民所做的最受欢迎，也是最昂贵的事情之一。

Primary Source: Magazine Cover

Frances Perkins was featured on the cover of Time Magazine in 1933. She was the first female member of the president's cabinet and was critical to the passage and implementation of Social Security.



A committee of staffers led by Secretary of Labor **Frances Perkins**, the first female ever to hold a Cabinet position, penned the Social Security Act. In addition to providing for retirees, the legislation created a safety

由劳工部长弗朗西斯·帕金斯领导的工作人员委员会是第一位担任内阁职务的女性，她负责制定“社会保障法”。除了为退休人员提供服务

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net for other Americans in distress. Unemployment insurance was part of the plan and the federal government offered to match state funds for the blind and for job training for the physically disabled. Unmarried women with dependent children also received funds under the Social Security Act. However, by far the largest group of beneficiaries of the law are America's retirees.

Roosevelt and his advisers knew that the Social Security Act was not perfect. Like other experiments, he hoped the law would set the groundwork for a system that could be refined over time. Social Security differed from European plans in that it made no effort to provide universal health insurance. The pensions that retirees received were extremely modest — below poverty level standards in most cases. Still, Roosevelt knew the plan was revolutionary. For the first time, the federal government accepted permanent responsibility for assisting people in need. It paved the way for future legislation that would redefine the relationship between the American people and their government.

OPPOSITION TO THE NEW DEAL

While many people supported Roosevelt, especially in the first few years of his presidency, the New Deal did receive significant criticism, both from conservatives who felt that it was a radical agenda to ruin the country's model of free enterprise, and from liberals who felt that it did not provide enough help to those who needed it most.

Industrialists and wealthy Americans led the conservative criticism against the president. Whether attacking his character or simply stating that he was moving away from American values toward fascism and socialism, they sought to undermine his power and popularity. Most notably, the American Liberty League, comprised largely of conservative Democrats who lamented the excesses of several of Roosevelt's New Deal programs, labeled the AAA as fascist and proclaimed later New Deal programs to be key threats to the very nature of democracy. Additional criticism came from the National Association of Manufacturers, which urged businessmen to outright ignore portions of the NRA that promoted collective bargaining, as well as subsequent labor protection legislation.

The most articulate of the conservative voices against the New Deal was Senator **Robert Taft**, son of former President William Howard Taft, who criticized what he believed was the inefficiency and waste of many New Deal programs. Taft, like Hoover, believed that the government needed to let private businesses restore the nation's economy instead of relying

外，该立法还为其他陷入困境的美国人建立了一个安全网。失业保险是该计划的一部分，联邦政府提出将国家资金用于盲人和残疾人的就业培训。根据“社会保障法”，有受抚养子女的未婚妇女也获得了资金。然而，到目前为止，法律的最大受益者群体是美国的退休人员。

罗斯福和他的顾问都知道“社会保障法”并不完美。与其他实验一样，他希望法律能够为一个可以随着时间的推移而改进的系统奠定基础。社会保障与欧洲计划的不同之处在于它没有努力提供全民医疗保险。退休人员领取的退休金非常适度 - 大多数情况下低于贫困线标准。不过，罗斯福知道这个计划是革命性的。联邦政府第一次承担了援助有需要的人的永久责任。它为未来立法铺平了道路，重新定义了美国人民与政府之间的关系。

反对新的交易

虽然很多人支持罗斯福，特别是在他担任总统职位的头几年里，新政确实受到了极大的批评，无论是保守派都认为这是破坏国家自由企业模式的激进议程，还是自由主义者认为它没有为那些最需要它的人提供足够的帮助。

工业家和富有的美国人引发了对总统的保守批评。无论是攻击他的角色，还是只是说他正在从美国的价值观转向法西斯主义和社会主义，他们试图破坏他的权力和人气。最值得注意的是，美国自由联盟主要由保守的民主党人组成，他们对罗斯福的几项新政计划的过激行为感到遗憾，他们称 AAA 为法西斯主义者，并宣称后来的新政计划是对民主本质的主要威胁。另外一些批评来自全国制造商协会，该协会敦促商人彻底忽视推动集体谈判的全国步枪协会的部分内容，以及随后的劳工保护立法。

反对新政的保守派声音最明确的是参议员罗伯特塔夫脱，他是前总统威廉霍华德塔夫脱的儿子，批评他认为是许多新政计划的低效率和浪费。与胡佛一样，塔夫脱相信政府需要让私营企业恢复国家经济，而不是依靠政府计划来结

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upon government programs to end the Great Depression. He condemned the New Deal as socialist and attacked deficit spending, high farm subsidies, governmental bureaucracy, the National Labor Relations Board, and nationalized health insurance. Taft never won his argument, but went on to serve in the Senate for many years as an articulate, thoughtful voice for conservative principles of government and is remembered as one of the greatest senators of the 20th Century.



Primary Source: Photograph

Senator Robert Taft was a vocal, conservative critic of FDR and the New Deal. He feared that the expansion of government authority would weaken individual responsibility and lead to bloated and wasteful government.

Meanwhile, others felt that Roosevelt had not done enough. Dr. Francis E. Townsend of California was one who felt that Roosevelt had failed to adequately address the country's tremendous problems. Townsend, who was a retired dentist, proposed an expansive pension plan for the elderly. The **Townsend Plan**, as it was known, gained a great deal of popularity. It recommended paying every citizen over 60 who retired from work the sum of \$200 per month, provided they spend it in 30 days. Townsend and his followers thought that the money would help boost the economy.

Another figure who gained national attention was Father **Charles Coughlin**. He was a "radio priest" from Michigan who, although he

与此同时，其他人认为罗斯福做得不够。加利福尼亚州的 Francis E. Townsend 博士认为，罗斯福未能充分解决该国的巨大问题。汤森是一名退休牙医，他提出了一项针对老年人的扩展养老金计划。众所周知，汤森计划获得了极大的欢迎。它建议每个 60 岁以上退休的公民每月支付 200 美元，如果他们在 30 天内消费的话。汤森和他的追随者认为这笔钱有助于推动经济发展。

另一位引起全国关注的人物是查尔斯考夫林神父。他是来自密歇根州的“无线电牧师”，虽然他

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initially supported the New Deal, subsequently argued that Roosevelt stopped short in his defense of labor, monetary reform, and the nationalization of key industries. The president's plan, he proclaimed, was inadequate. He created the National Union for Social Justice and used his weekly radio show to gain followers. In the end, Coughlin lost his audience when he began espousing anti-Semitic ideas and argued that America should support the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany.

The biggest threat to the president, however, came from corrupt but beloved Louisiana Senator Huey “Kingfish” Long. His disapproval of Roosevelt came in part from his own ambitions for higher office. Long stated that the president was not doing enough to help people and proposed his own **Share Our Wealth** program. Under this plan, Long recommended the liquidation of all large personal fortunes in order to fund direct payments to less fortunate Americans. He foresaw giving \$5,000 to every family, \$2,500 to every worker, as well as a series of elderly pensions and education funds. Long was an outstanding orator and, like the president, was able to articulate complicated ideas in easy-to-understand language. In one speech he said, “We do not propose to say that there shall be no rich men. We do not ask to divide the wealth. We only propose that, when one man gets more than he and his children and children's children can spend or use in their lifetimes, that then we shall say that such person has his share. That means that a few million dollars is the limit to what any one man can own.” Despite his questionable math, which numerous economists quickly pointed out rendered his program unworkable, Long had a significant following. If he had not been assassinated by the son-in-law of a local political rival, he may well have been a contender against Roosevelt for the 1936 presidential nomination.

COURT PACKING

In 1935, the Supreme Court dealt the most crushing blow to Roosevelt's vision in a series of cases. In a series of decisions including **United States v. Butler**, **Carter v. Carter Coal Company**, **Morehead v. New York**, and **Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States**, the justices declared key pieces of the New Deal unconstitutional, including the AAA, WPA, NRA and both federal and state minimum wage laws. In the opinion of the Court, Roosevelt and the New Dealers had gone too far. The Constitution, the Court found, did not give the federal government the power to regulate prices or dictate how much workers should be paid. The Court's ruling frustrated Roosevelt greatly.

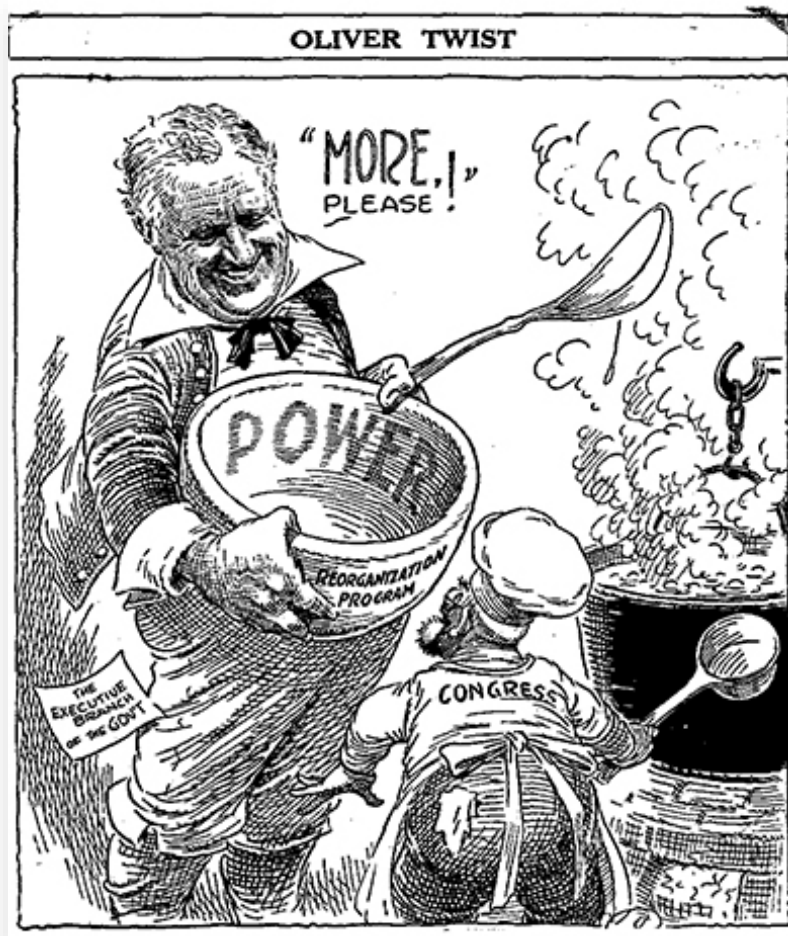
最初支持新政，但他后来认为，罗斯福在保护劳工，货币改革和关键行业国有化方面做得不够。他宣称，总统的计划不够充分。他创建了全国社会正义联盟，并利用他的每周广播节目获得追随者。最后，考夫林在开始支持反犹太主义思想时失去了观众，并认为美国应该支持阿道夫希特勒在德国的崛起。

然而，总统面临的最大威胁来自腐败但心爱的路易斯安那州参议员休伊“金鱼”龙。他对罗斯福的反对部分来自于他自己的上任雄心。长期以来，总统在帮助人们方面做得不够，并提出了自己的“分享财富”计划。根据这一计划，龙建议清算所有大笔个人财富，以资助直接支付给不幸的美国人。他预见每个家庭可获得 5,000 美元，每名工人可获得 2,500 美元，还有一系列老年养老金和教育基金。朗是一位杰出的演说家，像总统一样，能够以易于理解的语言表达复杂的想法。他在一次演讲中说：“我们打算说没有富人。我们不要求分割财富。我们只建议，当一个人得到的比他和他的孩子和孩子的孩子一辈子都可以消费或使用时，我们就会说这个人有他的份额。这意味着几百万美元是任何一个人可以拥有的限制。”尽管他的数学问题令人质疑，但许多经济学家很快指出这些数字使得他的课程变得不可行，但是龙有一个重要的追随者。如果他没有被当地政治对手的女婿暗杀，他很可能成为反对罗斯福在 1936 年总统候选人提名中的竞争者。

法院包装

1935 年，最高法院在一系列案件中对罗斯福的愿景进行了最沉重的打击。在一系列决定中，包括美国诉巴特勒，卡特诉卡特煤炭公司，莫尔黑德诉纽约案，以及 Schechter Poultry Corp. 诉美国案，大法官宣布新政的关键部分违宪，包括 AAA，WPA，NRA 以及联邦和州最低工资法。在法院看来，罗斯福和新经销商走得太远了。法院认为，宪法没有赋予联邦政府监管价格或决定应支付多少工人的权力。法院的裁决极大地挫败了罗斯福。

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Primary Source: Photograph

This cartoonist pointed out the common criticism of FDR as a power-hungry executive who got accustomed to asking Congress to pass legislation that would give him more and more power.

Despite criticism of his ideas and setbacks in court, Roosevelt entered the 1936 presidential election the next year on a wave of popularity, and he beat his Republican opponent Alf Landon by a nearly unanimous Electoral College vote of 523 to 8. Believing it to be his moment of strongest public support, Roosevelt chose to exact a measure of revenge against the Supreme Court for challenging his programs and to pressure them against challenging his more recent Second New Deal provisions. To this end, Roosevelt created the informally named “Supreme **Court Packing Plan**” and tried to change the makeup of the court by expanding the number of justices and adding new ones who supported his views. His plan was to add one justice for every current justice over the age of seventy who refused to step down. This would have allowed him to add six more justices, expanding the bench from nine justices to fifteen. Since the Constitution does not specify the size of the Supreme Court, this was technically legal, but President Roosevelt was playing a

尽管罗斯福在法庭上对他的想法和挫折提出了批评，但他还是在第二年进入了 1936 年的总统大选，并以一波近乎一致的选举团投票 523 比 8 击败了他的共和党对手阿尔兰登。相信它是他的在公众支持最强烈的时刻，罗斯福选择对最高法院进行报复，以挑战他的计划，并迫使他们反对挑战他最近的第二次新政规定。为此，罗斯福创建了非正式命名的“最高法院包装计划”，并试图通过扩大法官的数量和增加支持他的观点的新法官来改变法院的构成。他的计划是为 70 岁以上拒绝下台的现任司法人员增加一个正义。这将使他能够增加六名法官，将法官从九名法官扩大到十五名。由于宪法没有规定最高法院的规模，这在技术上是合法的，但罗

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dangerously political game. The Court has always served as an independent branch of government, checking the power of both Congress and the President. If Roosevelt could manipulate the membership of the court, he could effectively control their decisions.

Opposition was quick and thorough from both the Supreme Court and Congress, including from within his own party and Roosevelt's idea was never implemented. The retirement of Justice Van Devanter, as well as the sudden death of Senator Joe T. Robinson who had championed Roosevelt's plan in the Senate effectively put a stop to court packing. In the end, Roosevelt appeared to succeed in politically intimidating the justices into supporting his newer programs, and they upheld both the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act. Never again during his presidency would the Supreme Court strike down any significant elements of his New Deal. However, Roosevelt suffered politically in that Americans became more suspicious of his ideas and more cautious about extending power over their lives to any president.

MINORITIES AND THE NEW DEAL

Critics point out that not all Americans benefited from the New Deal. African Americans in particular were left out, with overt discrimination in hiring practices within the federal job programs, such as the CCC, CWA, and WPA. The NRA was oftentimes criticized as the "Negroes Ruined Again" program. As well, the AAA left tenant farmers and sharecroppers, many of whom were African American, with no support. Even Social Security originally excluded domestic workers, a primary source of employment for African American women. Facing such criticism early in his administration, Roosevelt undertook some efforts to ensure a measure of equality in hiring practices for the relief agencies, and opportunities began to present themselves by 1935. The WPA eventually employed 350,000 African Americans annually, accounting for nearly 15% of its workforce. By the close of the CCC in 1938, the program had employed over 300,000 African Americans, increasing the black percentage of its workforce from 3% at the outset to nearly 11% at its close. Likewise, in 1934, the PWA began to require that all government projects under its purview hire African Americans using a quota that reflected their percentage of the local population. Additionally, among several important WPA projects, the Federal One Project included a literacy program that eventually reached over one million African American children, helping them learn to read and write.

On the issue of race relations themselves, Roosevelt has a mixed legacy. Within his White House, Roosevelt had a number of African American

studies. Roosevelt was playing a dangerous political game. The court has always served as an independent branch of government, checking the power of both Congress and the President. If Roosevelt could manipulate the membership of the court, he could effectively control their decisions.

The Supreme Court and Congress both quickly and thoroughly opposed, including from within his own party and Roosevelt's idea was never implemented. Van Devanter's retirement, as well as the sudden death of Senator Joe T. Robinson who had championed Roosevelt's plan in the Senate effectively put a stop to court packing. In the end, Roosevelt appeared to succeed in politically intimidating the justices into supporting his newer programs, and they upheld both the Wagner Act and the Social Security Act. Never again during his presidency would the Supreme Court strike down any significant elements of his New Deal. However, Roosevelt suffered politically in that Americans became more suspicious of his ideas and more cautious about extending power over their lives to any president.

少数民族和新的交易

然而，总统面临的最大威胁来自腐败但心爱的路易斯安那州参议员休伊“金鱼”龙。他对罗斯福的反对部分来自于他自己的上任雄心。长期以来，总统在帮助人们方面做得不够，并提出了自己的“分享财富”计划。根据这一计划，龙建议清算所有大笔个人财富，以资助直接支付给不幸的美国人。他预见每个家庭可获得 5,000 美元，每名工人可获得 2,500 美元，还有一系列老年养老金和教育基金。朗是一位杰出的演说家，像总统一样，能够以易于理解的语言表达复杂的想法。他在一次演讲中说：“我们不打算说没有富人。我们不要求分割财富。我们只建议，当一个人得到的比他和他的孩子和孩子的孩子一辈子都可以消费或使用时，我们就会说这个人有他的份额。这意味着几百万美元是任何一个人都可以拥有的限制。”尽管他的数学问题令人质疑，但许多经济学家很快指出这些数字使得他的课程变得不可行，但是龙有一个重要的追随者。如果他没有被当地政治对手的女婿暗杀，他很可能成为反对罗斯福在 1936 年总统候选人提名中的竞争者。

关于种族关系本身的问题，罗斯福有着复杂的遗产。在他的白宫内，罗斯福有一些非裔美国

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appointees, although most were in minor positions. Unofficially, Roosevelt relied upon advice from the Federal Council on Negro Affairs, better known by its nickname: the **Black Cabinet**. This group included a young Harvard economist, Dr. Robert Weaver, who later became the nation's first African American cabinet secretary in 1966, as President Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. One key member of the Black Cabinet was **Mary McLeod Bethune**, a prominent African American educator who had helped found Bethune-Cookman University, a historically black college in Florida. Bethune had been a spokesperson and an educator for years. With this role, she became one of the president's foremost African American advisors. During his time in office, Roosevelt was the first president to appoint an African American federal judge, as well as the first commander-in-chief to promote an African American to brigadier general. Most notably, he became the first president to speak out publicly against lynching as a "vile form of collective murder."



Despite these efforts, Roosevelt also understood the precariousness of his political position. In order to maintain a coalition of Democrats to support his larger relief and recovery efforts, Roosevelt could not afford to alienate White Southern Democrats who might easily bolt should he

人的任命，尽管大多数人都处于次要地位。非正式地，罗斯福依赖于联邦委员会关于黑人事务的建议，该委员会的绰号是黑人内阁。这个小组包括一位年轻的哈佛经济学家罗伯特·韦弗博士，他后来成为 1966 年美国第一位非洲裔美国内阁官员，担任林登·约翰逊总统住房和城市发展部长。黑人内阁的一个关键成员是玛丽·麦克劳德·白求恩，她是一位著名的非洲裔美国教育家，曾帮助建立了白求恩-库克曼大学，这是佛罗里达州一所历史悠久的黑人大学。白求恩多年来一直是发言人和教育家。凭借这一角色，她成为总统最重要的非洲裔美国顾问之一。在他担任总统期间，罗斯福成为第一个任命非洲裔美国联邦法官的人，也是第一位任命非洲裔美国人为准将的总司令。最值得注意的是，他成为第一位公开反对私刑作为“卑鄙的集体谋杀形式”的总统。

Primary Source: Photograph

Mary McLeod Bethune was a prominent educator and member of FDR's unofficial group of African American advisors known as the Black Cabinet.

尽管做了这些努力，罗斯福还明白了他的政治立场的不稳定性。为了维持民主党联盟以支持他更大规模的救济和恢复努力，罗斯福无法疏远白人南方民主党人，如果他公开倡导公民权

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openly advocate for civil rights. While he spoke about the importance of anti-lynching legislation, he never formally pushed Congress to propose such a law. He did publicly support the abolition of the poll tax, which Congress eventually accomplished in 1941. Likewise, although agency directors adopted changes to ensure job opportunities for African Americans at the federal level, at the local level, few advancements were made, and African Americans remained at the back of the employment lines. Despite these limited advancements, Roosevelt deserves credit for acknowledging the importance of race relations and civil rights. At the federal level, more than any of his predecessors since the Civil War, Roosevelt remained aware of the role that the federal government can play in initiating important discussions about civil rights, as well as encouraging the development of a new cadre of civil rights leaders.

Although unable to bring about sweeping civil rights reforms for African Americans in the early stages of his administration, Roosevelt was able to work with Congress to significantly improve the lives of Native Americans. In 1934, he signed into law the Indian Reorganization Act, which is better known as the **Indian New Deal**. This law formally abandoned the assimilationist policies set forth in the Dawes Act of 1887. Rather than forcing Native Americans to adapt to White culture, the new program encouraged them to develop local self-government, as well as to preserve their artifacts and heritage. John Collier, the Commissioner on Indian Bureau Affairs from 1933 to 1945, championed this legislation and saw it as an opportunity to correct past injustices that land allotment and assimilation had wrought upon Native Americans. Although the re-establishment of communal tribal lands would prove to be difficult, Collier used this law to convince federal officials to return nearly two million acres of government-held land to various tribes in order to move the process along. Although subsequent legislation later circumscribed the degree to which tribes were allowed to self-govern on reservations, Collier's work is still viewed as a significant step in improving race relations and preserving Native American heritage.

WOMEN AND THE NEW DEAL

For women, Roosevelt's policies and practices had a similarly mixed effect. Wage discrimination in federal jobs programs was rampant, and relief policies encouraged women to remain home and leave jobs open for men. This belief was well in line with the gender norms of the day. Several federal relief programs specifically forbade husbands and wives' both taking jobs or receiving relief payments from the same agency.

利，他们可能会轻易抨击。虽然他谈到反私刑立法的重要性，但他从未正式推动国会提出这样的法律。他公开支持废除人口税，国会最终于 1941 年完成了这项税收。同样，虽然机构董事采取了改革措施，以确保非洲裔美国人在联邦一级的就业机会，但在地方一级，几乎没有取得进展，而非洲裔美国人也是如此。留在就业线的后面。尽管进展有限，但罗斯福承认种族关系和公民权利的重要性值得赞扬。在联邦一级，罗斯福比内战以来的任何前任都更加了解联邦政府在启动关于公民权利的重要讨论中可以发挥的作用，以及鼓励发展新的民权领袖干部。

虽然罗斯福在执政的早期阶段无法为非洲裔美国人带来彻底的民权改革，但却能够与国会合作，大大改善美洲原住民的生活。1934 年，他签署了印度重组法案，该法案更为人所知的是印度新政。该法正式放弃了 1887 年道斯法案中规定的同化政策。新计划不是强迫美国原住民适应白人文化，而是鼓励他们发展地方自治，以及保护他们的文物和遗产。1933 年至 1945 年印度局事务专员约翰科利尔 (John Collier) 支持这项立法，认为这是一个纠正土地分配和同化对美洲原住民造成的不公的机会。尽管重建公共部落土地将证明是困难的，但科利尔利用这项法律说服联邦官员将近 200 万英亩的政府土地归还各个部落，以便推动这一进程。虽然后来的立法后来限制了部落被允许在保留上自治的程度，但科利尔的工作仍被视为改善种族关系和保护美洲原住民遗产的重要一步。

妇女和新的交易

对于女性来说，罗斯福的政策和做法也有类似的混合效应。联邦就业计划中的工资歧视猖獗，救济政策鼓励妇女留在家中，为男性留下工作机会。这种信念完全符合当时的性别规范。一些联邦救济计划专门禁止丈夫和妻子从同一机构获得工作或领取救济金。

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The WPA became the first specific New Deal agency to openly hire women, although the opportunities were limited to widows, single women, and the wives of disabled husbands. While they did not take part in construction projects, women did undertake sewing projects to provide blankets and clothing to hospitals and relief agencies. Likewise, several women took part in various art projects. Despite the obvious gender limitations, many women strongly supported Roosevelt's New Deal, as much for its direct relief handouts for women as for its employment opportunities for men. One such woman was Mary (Molly) Dewson. A longtime activist in the women's suffrage movement, Dewson worked for women's rights and ultimately rose to be the Director of the Women's Division of the Democratic Party. Dewson and Mary McLeod Bethune, understood the limitations of the New Deal, but also the opportunities for advancement it presented during very trying times. Rather than lamenting what Roosevelt could not or would not do, they felt, and perhaps rightly so, that Roosevelt would do more than most to help women and African Americans achieve a piece of the new America he was building.

Among the few, but notable, women who directly impacted Roosevelt's policies was Frances Perkins, who as Secretary of Labor was the first female member of any presidential cabinet, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a strong and public advocate for social causes. Perkins, one of only two original cabinet members to stay with Roosevelt for his entire presidency, was directly involved in the administration of the CCC, PWA, NRA, and the Social Security Act. Among several important measures, she took greatest pleasure in championing minimum wage statutes as well as the penultimate piece of New Deal legislation, the Fair Labor Standards Act. Roosevelt came to trust Perkins' advice with few questions or concerns, and steadfastly supported her work through the end of his life.

However, **Eleanor Roosevelt**, more so than any other individual, came to represent the strongest influence upon the president, and she used her unique position to champion several causes for women, African Americans, and the rural poor. A strong supporter of her husband's political ambitions, Eleanor campaigned by his side through the failed vice-presidential bid in 1920 and on his behalf after he was diagnosed with polio in 1921. When she discovered letters of her husband's affair with her social secretary, Lucy Mercer, the marriage became less one of romance and more one of a political partnership that would continue, strained at times, until the president's death in 1945.

WPA 成为第一个公开聘用女性的特定新政机构，尽管机会仅限于寡妇，单身女性和残疾丈夫的妻子。虽然他们没有参与建筑项目，但妇女确实承担了缝纫项目，为医院和救援机构提供毯子和衣服。同样，有几位妇女参加了各种艺术项目。尽管存在明显的性别限制，但许多女性强烈支持罗斯福的新政，同样也为她的女性直接救济援助和男性就业机会提供了支持。其中一位女士是玛丽 (Molly) Dewson。作为女性选举权运动的长期积极分子，Dewson 为妇女权利工作，并最终成为民主党妇女事务部主任。Dewson 和 Mary McLeod Bethune 了解新政的局限性，以及在艰难时期提出的进步机会。罗斯福并没有感叹罗斯福不能做什么或不做什么，而是感觉到，或许是正确的，罗斯福会比大多数人做得更多，以帮助女性和非洲裔美国人成为他正在建设的新美国的一部分。

少数但值得注意的是，直接影响罗斯福政策的女性是弗朗西斯帕金斯，她是劳工部长，是任何总统内阁的第一位女性成员，还有第一夫人埃莉诺罗斯福，他是社会事业的强大和公共倡导者。帕金斯是罗斯福总统任期内仅有的两位原内阁成员之一，他直接参与了 CCC, PWA, NRA 和社会保障法的管理工作。在几项重要措施中，她非常高兴地支持最低工资法规以及倒数第二条新政立法，即“公平劳工标准法”。罗斯福开始相信帕金斯的建议，几乎没有任何问题或疑虑，并坚定不移地支持她的工作。

然而，埃莉诺·罗斯福 (Eleanor Roosevelt) 比任何其他人都更能代表对总统的最强烈影响，她利用自己独特的地位为女性，非洲裔美国人和农村贫困人士争取了几个原因。作为丈夫政治抱负的坚定支持者，埃莉诺在 1920 年因为小儿麻痹症被诊断出患有小儿麻痹症后于 1920 年以失败的副总统竞选方式竞选。当她发现她丈夫与她的社会秘书露西有关的信件时，露西美世，婚姻变得不那么浪漫，而且更多的政治伙伴关系将继续，有时紧张，直到 1945 年总统去世。

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Historians agree that the first lady used her presence in the White House, in addition to the leverage of her failed marriage and knowledge of her husband's infidelities, to her advantage. She promoted several causes that the president himself would have had difficulty championing at the time. From newspaper and magazine articles she authored, to a busy travel schedule that saw her regularly cross the country, the first lady sought to remind Americans that their plight was foremost on the minds of all working in the White House.

历史学家一致认为，第一夫人利用她在白宫的存在，除了利用她失败的婚姻和对丈夫不忠的了解，以及她的优势。她提出了总统本人当时难以支持的几个原因。从她撰写的报纸和杂志文章，到她经常穿越全国的繁忙旅行日程，第一位女士试图提醒美国人，他们的困境最重要的是在白宫工作的所有人的心中。

Primary Source: Photograph

Marian Anderson performed in front of the Lincoln Memorial after the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow her to perform in their hall. Eleanor Roosevelt was critical to arranging this famous performance.



Exposed to issues of racial segregation in her work, Eleanor supported many civil rights causes through her husband's presidency. When it further became clear that racial discrimination was rampant in the administration of virtually all New Deal job programs, especially in the

埃莉诺在其工作中暴露于种族隔离问题，通过其丈夫的总统职位支持了许多民权事业。当进一步明确种族歧视在几乎所有新政工作计划的管理中猖獗时，特别是在南部各州，她向丈夫

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southern states, she pressed her husband for remedies. In 1934, she openly lobbied for passage of the federal anti-lynching bill that the president privately supported but could not politically endorse. Despite the failure of the Senate to pass such legislation, Eleanor succeeded in arranging a meeting between her husband and then-NAACP president Walter White to discuss anti-lynching and other pertinent calls for civil rights legislation.

White was only one of Eleanor's African American guests to the White House. Breaking with precedent, and much to the disdain of many White House officials, the first lady routinely invited prominent African Americans to dine with her and the president. Most notably, when the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) refused to permit internationally renowned black opera contralto **Marian Anderson** to sing in Constitution Hall, Eleanor resigned her membership in the DAR and arranged for Anderson to sing at a public concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, followed by her appearance at a state dinner at the White House in honor of the king and queen of England. With regard to race relations in particular, Eleanor Roosevelt was able to accomplish what her husband, for delicate political reasons, could not and she became the administration's face for civil rights.

A FINAL ANALYSIS

No evaluation of the New Deal is complete without an analysis of Roosevelt himself. As a leader, his skills were unparalleled. Desperate times called for desperate measures, and FDR responded with a bold program of experimentation that arguably saved the capitalist system and perhaps the American democracy. Certainly, other nations in Europe turned to fascism, communism, dictatorship, and ultimately disaster. As sweeping as his objectives were, they still fundamentally preserved the free-market economy. There was no nationalization of industry, and the social safety net created by Social Security was much weaker than its European cousins. Observers noted that his plan went far enough to silence the "lunatic fringe," but not far enough to jeopardize capitalism or democracy.

FDR's confidence was contagious as millions turned to him for guidance during their darkest hours. His mastery of the radio paved the way for the media-driven presidency we know today. On the other side of the coin, his critics charged that he abused his power and set the trend for an imperial Presidency that would ultimately endanger the office in future decades.

提出补救措施。在 1934 年，她公开游说通过联邦反私刑法案，总统私下支持，但政治上不支持。尽管参议院未能通过这样的立法，埃莉诺成功地安排了她的丈夫和当时的全国有色人种协进会主席沃尔特怀特之间的会议，讨论反私刑和其他相关的民权立法呼吁。

怀特只是埃莉诺在白宫的非洲裔美国客人之一。第一夫人打破了先例，并且对许多白宫官员不屑一顾，经常邀请著名的非洲裔美国人与她和总统共进晚餐。最值得注意的是，当美国革命的女儿们（DAR）拒绝允许国际著名的黑人歌剧牧师玛丽安德森在宪法大厅唱歌时，埃莉诺辞去了她在 DAR 的会员资格并安排安德森在公开演唱会上演唱。林肯纪念堂，随后她出席了在白宫举行的国宴，以纪念英国国王和王后。特别是在种族关系方面，埃莉诺·罗斯福（Eleanor Roosevelt）能够实现她的丈夫出于微妙的政治原因而不能成为政府对公民权利的看法。

最终分析

没有罗斯福本人的分析，对新政的评估是不完整的。作为领导者，他的技能是无与伦比的。绝望的时代需要采取绝望的措施，而罗斯福以一种大胆的实验方案作出回应，这种实验可以说是拯救了资本主义制度，也许还有美国的民主制度。当然，欧洲其他国家转向法西斯主义，共产主义，独裁统治，最终导致灾难。尽管他的目标一如既往，但他们仍然从根本上保留了自由市场经济。没有工业国有化，社会保障创造的社会安全网比其欧洲表兄弟弱得多。观察人士指出，他的计划足以使“疯子边缘”沉寂，但不足以危害资本主义或民主。

罗斯福的信心很强，因为数百万人在最黑暗的时刻向他寻求指导。他对收音机的掌握为我们今天所知的媒体驱动总统职位铺平了道路。在硬币的另一面，他的批评者指责他滥用权力并设定一个帝国总统的趋势，最终将在未来几十年内危及办公室。

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Primary Source: Editorial Cartoon

This cartoon criticizes FDR as a president who answered every economic question with the same answer: create a program to spend government money. The expansion of government and the waste that was part of the New Deal were both criticisms of FDR's program both then and now.

The New Deal itself created millions of jobs and sponsored public works projects that reached most every county in the nation. Federal protection of bank deposits ended the dangerous trend of bank runs. Abuse of the stock market was more clearly defined and monitored to prevent collapses in the future. The Social Security system was modified and expanded to remain one of the most popular government programs for the remainder of the century. For the first time in peacetime history the federal government assumed responsibility for managing the economy and protecting the basic welfare of its citizens.

Laborers benefited from protections and new and more powerful unions emerged, but not everyone benefited. FDR was not fully committed to either civil or women's rights and both groups received only limited benefits.

However comprehensive the New Deal seemed, it failed to achieve its main goal: ending the Depression. In 1939, the unemployment rate was still 19%, and not until 1943 did it reach its pre-Depression levels. The massive spending brought by the American entry to the Second World

war itself created millions of jobs, and assisted in covering most of the nation's public works projects. Federal bank deposit protection ended the dangerous trend of bank runs. Abuse of the stock market was more clearly defined and monitored to prevent collapses in the future. The Social Security system was modified and expanded to remain one of the most popular government programs for the remainder of the century. For the first time in peacetime history the federal government assumed responsibility for managing the economy and protecting the basic welfare of its citizens.

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War ultimately cured the nation's economic woes, not Roosevelt's New Deal.

Conservatives bemoaned a bloated governmental bureaucracy that was nearly a million workers strong, up from just over 600,000 in 1932. They complained that Roosevelt more than doubled the national debt in eight short years, a good deal of which had been lost through waste. Liberals pointed out that the gap between rich and poor was barely dented by the end of the decade.

Regardless of its shortcomings, Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal helped America muddle through the dark times strong enough to tackle the even greater task that lay ahead: defeating Hitler's Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan.

CONCLUSION

The New Deal is remembered fondly by many liberals today as the zenith of their time in power and a sort of utopia of liberal government. But a closer inspection can temper this rosy view of the past. FDR himself was able to make little progress in advancing minority rights and the New Deal programs were designed to repair the broken economy, not radically reform it the way Huey Long or Europeans envisioned.

So, what do you think? Was FDR a liberal? Or do we just remember it that way now?

加入第二次世界大战带来的巨额开支最终扼杀了国家的经济困境，而不是罗斯福的新政。

保守派对一个臃肿的政府官僚机构感到惋惜，这个官僚机构近百万工人强大，而 1932 年刚刚超过 60 万。他们抱怨罗斯福在短短八年内将国债增加了一倍以上，其中大部分已经因浪费而损失。自由党人指出，到本世纪末，贫富差距几乎没有减弱。

无论其缺点如何，富兰克林罗斯福和新政都帮助美国在艰难的黑暗时期蒙混过关，以应对未来的更大任务：击败希特勒的纳粹德国和日本帝国。

结论

今天许多自由主义者深情地记得新政作为他们掌权时代的顶峰和自由政府的一种乌托邦。但仔细观察可以缓和这种对过去的美好看法。罗斯福本人在推进少数民族权利方面取得的进展甚微，新政计划旨在修复破碎的经济，而不是像 Huey Long 或欧洲人所设想的那样彻底改革。

所以你怎么看？罗斯福是自由派吗？或者我们现在就这样记住它？

4 WAS PRESIDENT FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT LIBERAL?



SUMMARY

The TVA was a major project that gave people jobs building dams along the rivers around Tennessee. The dams also held water that could be used for irrigation and produced hydroelectric power for the farms in the surrounding rural areas.

FDR supported unions. The Wagner Act guaranteed the right of unions to organize. It was the first time that government firmly sided with workers in their struggle with company owners. The 1930s was a time of growth for labor union membership and power.

Social Security is the most important program to come out of the New Deal. It provides benefits for retired Americans. The money is taken from working younger people and redistributed to the elderly.

Not everyone liked the New Deal. Some liberals thought that it did not do enough to redistribute wealth down to the lower classes. Republicans thought that too much government intervention in the economy and in people's lives would stifle entrepreneurship, innovation, and self-reliance.

The Supreme Court ruled that many of the New Deal programs were unconstitutional because the Constitution did not give the government the authority to intervene in the economy by dictating prices, wages, etc. FDR tried to add justices to the Court, but was blocked by Congress, which correctly saw it as an attempt by one branch of government to inappropriately influence another.

Native Americans and African Americans were helped by the New Deal. FDR had a group of African American advisors, and the Indian New Deal ended a policy of assimilation that was destroying Native American culture and communities.

Women also benefited from the New Deal. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt especially championed civil rights and women's rights while her husband was in office.

Ultimately, the New Deal did not end the Great Depression, but it helped. It also gave the federal government more power, and gave Americans the idea that it is the job of their government to look out for the people and protect them from economic hardship.

摘要

TVA 是一个重大项目，为人们提供了在田纳西州沿河建造水坝的工作。这些大坝还保存着可用于灌溉的水，并为周围农村地区的农场生产了水力发电。

罗斯福支持工会。《瓦格纳法》保证了工会的组织权。在与公司所有者的斗争中，政府第一次坚定地支持工人。1930年代是工会会员和权力增长的时期。

社会保障是新政中最重要的计划。它为退休的美国人提供福利。这些钱来自年轻人，并重新分配给老年人。

不是每个人都喜欢新政。一些自由主义者认为，它没有做到足以将财富重新分配给下层阶级。共和党人认为，过多的政府干预经济和人民的生活会扼杀创业，创新和自力更生。

最高法院裁定，许多新政方案违宪，因为宪法没有赋予政府授权通过规定价格，工资等干预经济的权利。罗斯福试图向法院增添正义，但遭到国会的阻挠。这正确地将其视为一个政府部门试图不适当地影响另一个政府部门的尝试。

美国原住民和非裔美国人得到了新政的帮助。罗斯福有一群非洲裔美国顾问，而印度新政则结束了同化政策，这种政策正在摧毁美洲原住民的文化和社区。

妇女也受益于新政。第一夫人埃莉诺罗斯福在丈夫上任期间特别支持公民权利和妇女权利。

最终，新政并没有结束大萧条，但它有所帮助。它还赋予联邦政府更多权力，并让美国人认识到政府的职责是关注人民并保护他们免受经济困难。



KEY CONCEPTS

Pension: Payment received during retirement from a person's employer. The amount received each month is usually determined by a person's salary and time worked at the business.



LAWS & PROPOSALS

Wagner Act / National Labor Relations Act: New Deal law that guaranteed labor unions the right to collective bargaining. It was a major victory for labor and strengthened labor unions for many decades.

Townsend Plan: Plan proposed by a retired dentist during the New Deal to pay \$200 to everyone over the age of 60 so long as they spent it within 30 days. It was rejected by Roosevelt.

Share Our Wealth: Program proposed by Huey Long during the Great Depression. He wanted to take money from the rich to redistribute to the poor.

Court Packing: Nickname for President Franklin Roosevelt's unsuccessful plan to appoint additional members to the Supreme Court in order to create a majority favorable to his views. The affair was widely seen as an attempt by the Executive Branch to dominate the Judicial Branch and was rejected. Politically, the affair harmed President Roosevelt.

Indian New Deal: Nickname for the Indian Reorganization Act which was passed in 1934 and ended the policies of assimilation that were created by the Dawes Act of 1887. Native Americans were no longer forced to send their children to be educated in boarding schools or adapt to White culture.



COURT CASES

United States v. Butler, Carter v. Carter Coal Company, Morehead v. New York, and Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States: A collection of Supreme Court Cases in the 1930s in which the Court struck down major New Deal programs including the AAA, WPA and NRA as unconstitutional. In response, President Roosevelt attempted to add members to the Court in order to create a majority favorable to his ideas.



PEOPLE AND GROUPS

John L. Lewis: President of the CIO during the 1930s. He took advantage of the pro-labor sentiment in government at the time to strengthen his union.

Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO): Labor union formed in 1935 by John Lewis. It incorporated the United Mine Workers with other non-skilled laborers who were not able to join the American Federation of Labor.

Frances Perkins: Secretary of Labor during the New Deal. She was the first woman to hold a cabinet position and was responsible for creating and implementing Social Security.

Robert Taft: Republican Senator during the 1930s who opposed the New Deal. He believed the New Deal was giving too much power to the government and programs designed to help the needy would eventually lead to a reduction in people's work ethic and entrepreneurial spirit.

Charles Coughlin: Catholic priest who had a popular radio show during the 1930s. He criticized Roosevelt's New Deal because he thought the government should talk over major industries. He later lost popularity because of his anti-Semitic ideas.

Huey "Kingfish" Long: Senator from Louisiana during the 1930s who argued that the government should take money from the rich to redistribute to the poor. He called his idea Share Our Wealth. He may have run against Roosevelt for president except that he was assassinated in 1935.

Black Cabinet: Nickname for a group of African American advisors to President Franklin Roosevelt. They included Dr. Robert Weaver and Mary McLeod Bethune.

Mary McLeod Bethune: African American educator who cofounded a university and was an important advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt as a member of the Black Cabinet.

Eleanor Roosevelt: Wife of President Franklin Roosevelt. She was an important spokesperson for his ideas and was often able to make people feel that she personally cared about them. She championed the concerns of women, minorities and the poor. Later in life she worked to promote human rights with the United Nations.

Marian Anderson: African American opera singer who performed on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in 1939 after the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to let her sing in their theater. The concert was arranged by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt.



GOVERNMENT AGENCIES & PROGRAMS

Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA): New Deal program that provided jobs to thousands of workers in the Tennessee area building dams along rivers that provided hydroelectric power and regulated flooding.

National Recovery Administration (NRA): New Deal agency that set minimum wages, working hours, abolished child labor, and set minimum prices. It was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1935 because the Constitution does not give the federal government the power to regulate private industry in the way the law was written.

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB): Government agency created by the Wagner Act during the New Deal that is responsible for protecting the right of unions to collective bargaining and protect workers against unfair labor practices.

Social Security: Government program created in 1935 to provide monthly payments to retired Americans. The money is taken from the paychecks of working Americans and redistributed to those eligible to receive benefits.

Was the New Deal a Good Deal?

Evaluating the impact of the Great Depression and the New Deal means looking at them from a variety of perspectives. Economically, the Great Depression was devastating in its time, but the nation has long since recovered. Economically, the New Deal helped ease, but did not end the Depression. From a social perspective, the Depression hurt all Americans, especially minorities, and the New Deal helped many, and after initially leaving many minorities out, ultimately helped life women and ethnic minorities. In the realm of social justices, perhaps most significantly the New Deal ended the culturally destructive policy of assimilation forced upon Native Americans.

So, was the New Deal a good deal? If we measure it against its ultimate goal – ended the Depression – than it failed. Perhaps Hoover and Taft was right. Perhaps Americans would have eventually pulled themselves out of the Depression without government help. Few economists would be willing to argue this today, however.

If we try to answer our question by looking at the lasting impact, the New Deal comes out looking more successful. Programs like the National Labor Relations Board, FDIC, and Social Security remain important protections event today. Some of the New Deal projects like the Golden Gate Bridge or TVA continue to make an impact and serve as useful reminders that government can have a positive impact on daily life.

Of course, some at the time believed the New Deal did not go far enough, Senator Long being the most prominent. What if Roosevelt and his New Dealers had implemented a system of universal healthcare along with Social Security? What if they had gone ahead and raised taxes on the rich to levels that would have created a more equal society? Would that have been better than the New Deal Roosevelt was ultimately able to enact?

What do you think? Was the New Deal a good deal?

评估大萧条和新政的影响意味着从各种角度来对待它们。在经济上，大萧条在当时是毁灭性的，但这个国家早已恢复。经济上，新政有助于缓解，但并没有结束大萧条。从社会角度来看，大萧条伤害了所有美国人，特别是少数民族，新政帮助了许多人，并且在最初离开许多少数民族之后，最终帮助了生活妇女和少数民族。在社会法官领域，也许最重要的是新政结束了强迫美洲原住民同化的文化破坏性政策。

那么，新政是否很划算？如果我们衡量它的最终目标 – 结束大萧条 – 而不是失败。也许胡佛和塔夫脱是对的。也许美国人最终会在没有政府帮助的情况下将自己从大萧条中拉出来。然而，很少有经济学家愿意在今天争辩这一点。

如果我们试着通过观察持久影响回答我们的问题，新政出来看起来更成功。国家劳工关系委员会，FDIC 和社会保障等计划今天仍然是重要的保护活动。金门大桥或 TVA 等一些新政项目继续产生影响，并提醒政府可以对日常生活产生积极影响。

当然，当时有些人认为新政还不够，龙参议员最为突出。如果罗斯福和他的新经销商实施了全民医疗保健制度以及社会保障制度会怎样？如果他们继续前进并将富人的税收提高到能够创造更平等社会的水平呢？这会不会比罗斯福新政最终能够颁布的新政更好？

你怎么看？新政是否很划算？



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