



Mohamed Khider University of Biskra
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of English

MASTER THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Master

In English Language

Option/ Civilization and Literature

Discrimination and Neglect: African Americans in "the New Deal" After the Great Depression

Supervised by:

Djaalal Meriem

Submitted and Defended by:

Logbi Meryem

Board of Examiners:

Mrs. Zerigui Naima As an examiners University of Biskra

Mrs. Amri-Chenini Boutheina As chair person University of Biskra

Mrs. Djaalal Meriem As supervisor University of Biskra

Academic Year: 2023/2024

Dedications

"Beauty was not simply something to behold; it was something one could do."

-Toni Morrison-

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. To my parents, thank you for your love and support throughout my life. Especially to my dear mother, whom I hoped would see me graduate but

Allah has another plan...

I also dedicate my dissertation to my loving sisters and brothers. To Hiba and Douaa, who never left my side and pushed me throughout the process.

To my husband, "Lamin", you have been a major supporter and motivator who gave me strength and encouragement throughout my journey. Thank you for enduring the stress and late nights. I feel grateful to have you in my life. And I dedicate this work to the apple of my heart, my son, "Gaith". I want you to know that all things are possible. Never be afraid to pursue your dreams and goals. I love you without measure.

I give special thanks to my mother-in-law, father-in-law, and Hind for helping me complete this degree.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to all my friends for their support and help. This journey is sweeter with all of you around. Thank you.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I thank Allah for the ability and strength to complete this journey and hopefully start another one after getting my master degree.

I give special thanks to my supervisor, Mrs. Djaalal Meriem, for her patience, advice, and guidance throughout this dissertation.

I wish to thank my committee members, who were generous with their expertise and precious time. Thank you, Mrs. Amri-Chenini Boutheina and Mrs. Zerigui Naima, for agreeing to serve on my committee.

I would like to acknowledge and thank all my teachers and the English department at Mohamed Khider University of Biskra for their assistance with this project.

Abstract

The progressive policies initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to address economic challenges, racial discrimination, and marginalization persisted within the federal programs and initiatives of the era. African Americans were systemically excluded from many New Deal benefits due to discriminatory practices and policies that favored white Americans. Moreover, during the period of World War II, African Americans encountered further challenges in military service, access to employment opportunities, and social integration, exacerbating the existing inequalities. Based on historical records, scholarly literature, and primary and secondary sources, this study aims to highlight the enduring legacy of racial discrimination within New Deal policies and World War II efforts. It explores the impact of systemic racism on African American communities by emphasizing the disparities in relief programs, employment opportunities, and military service. This study employs racial and economic differences to shed light on these injustices. Through the merging of critical race theory and Marxist theory, it underscores the need to understand the historical context of the New Deal and how class struggle influenced the distribution of its resources and job opportunities. The findings of these implementations will reveal the need for socioeconomic changes and the revival of black newspapers and civil rights organizations for racial equality in the United States.

Key Words: African American, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the New Deal policies, the Great Depression, Racial inequality, World War II, Discrimination.

List of Acronyms

(AAA)	Agricultural Adjustment Act
(AGCT)	Army General Classification Test
(BSCP)	Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
(CCC)	Civilian Conservation Corps
(CES)	Committee on Economic Security
(CL)	Consumer's League
(EBA)	Emergency Banking Act
(EC)	Engineer Corps
(EFMA)	Emergency Farm Mortgage Act
(EO)	Executive Order
(ER)	Eleanor Roosevelt
(FAP)	Federal Art Project
(FDIC)	Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
(FDR)	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
(FERA)	Federal Emergency Relief Administration
(FHA)	Federal Housing Administration
(FLSA)	Fair Labor Standards Act
(FPA)	Foreign Policy Association
(GDP)	Gross Domestic Product
(HOLA)	Home Owners' Loan Act
(HOLC)	Home Owners' Loan Corporation
(LWV)	League Women Votes

(MOWM)	March on Washington Movement
(NAACP)	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
(NCNW)	National Council of Negro Women
(NHA)	National Housing Administration
(NIRA)	National Industrial Recovery Act
(NLRA)	National Labor Relations Act
(NYA)	National Youth Administration
(PhD)	Doctor of Philosophy
(PWA)	Public Work Administration
(QC)	Quartermaster Corps
(SEC)	Securities and Exchange Commission
(SSA)	Social Security Act
(SSTF)	Social Security Trust Fund
(TRV)	Tennessee River Valley
(TVA)	Tennessee Valley Authority
(US)	United States
(WA)	Wagner Act
(WHA)	Wages and Hours Act
(WPA)	Work Progress Administration
(WTUL)	Women's Trade Union League

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgments.....	II
Abstract.....	III
List of Acronyms.....	IV
Table of Content.....	VI
List of Illustrations.....	VIII
General Introduction.....	2
Chapter One: Historical Background From The Great Depression to "the New Deal"	
Introduction.....	8
1.1. What is the New Deal.....	8
1.2. The Great Depression Before the New Deal.....	12
1.3. Roosevelt’s Election and the Appearance of the New Deal as a Solution to Recession...16	
1.4. The Impact of New Deal’s Policies on the American Union.....	20
Conclusion.....	22.
Chapter Two: The Racial Biases in the Army Forces	
Introduction.....	25
2.1. Americans in the Second World War.....	25
2.2. Racial Segregation in the American Army.....	28
2.3. Eleanor Roosevelt and the Black Cabinet.....	32

2.4. Philip Randolph and the March on Washington Movement.....	37
Conclusion.....	41
Chapter Three: Critical Analysis of "the New Deal"	
Introduction.....	43
3.1. Applying Critical Race Theory on the Discrimination of African Americans in the New Deal.....	44
3.1.1. Historical Context of the New Deal.....	44
3.1.2. Historical Factors Contribute to Racial Inequality.....	46
3.1.3. Study of the Political Programs	48
3.2. Applying Marxist Theory on the Neglect of African Americans.....	49
3.2.1. Labor Exploitation.....	49
3.2.2. Housing and Redlining	51
3.2.3. Social Security Act.....	53
3.2.4. Trade Unions.....	55
3.3. The Reaction of Outcomes of the New Deal on African Americans.....	56
Conclusion.....	57
General Conclusion.....	60
Works Cited.....	62
المخلص.....	75

List of Illustrations

Figures

- 1.2. Hooverizing to Victory or Food: A Weapon of War, p 15
- 1.3. Cartoonic picture of "Roosevelt's Brains Trust," p 19
2. 3. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune and others at the opening of Midway Hall, p 34
- 2.3. A letter from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt to Addie Frizelle, May 13, 1944, p 36
- 2.4. Philip Randolph Notification on "Why We Should March?" 1941, p 38
- 3.1.1. Unemployment Rate during the New Deal 1926-1947, p 45
- 3.2.2. A Home Owners Loan Corporation map from 1937, p 52
- 3.2.3. At the Time of the Louisville Flood (1937)" By Margret Bourke-White, p 54

General Introduction

Background

African Americans faced widespread discrimination and segregation during the Great Depression. Racial inequalities and prejudice were deeply enrooted in American society, resulting in significant disparities in the African American community in many fields—political, social, and economy—including the Army Forces, which denied them access to social programs and equal job opportunities.

This period of economic turmoil not only exposed the vulnerabilities faced by African Americans but also highlighted the urgent need for social and economic reforms to address the systemic barriers that perpetuated racial discrimination and economic injustice. The New Deal, appeared as a solution to the economic and social problems by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, aimed to alleviate the effects of the Great Depression and stimulate economic recovery. However, black Americans faced major obstructions in accessing the benefits of these programs. Many New Deal projects were administered at local levels, allowing racial discrimination in the unequal distribution of relief and employment opportunities. For instance, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) provided employment opportunities, but African Americans often faced workforces and lower wages compared to their white counterparts. In addition, blacks encounter difficulties in obtaining relief and housing assistance due to discriminatory practices and unequal treatment. African Americans were often the first to be laid off from industrial jobs, exacerbating existing inequalities in employment chances. The combination of systemic discrimination and economic hardship pushed many African Americans deeper into poverty and limited their ability to provide for their families during this challenging period.

Even though, black Americans are willing to serve their country by fighting for democracy overseas and to escape the unfairness of the prejudicial system, they encounter

deep-rooted racism and inequality within the armed forces. The U.S. military was racially segregated during this period, with African American soldiers serving in separate units from white soldiers. They were often relegated to support roles and denied the opportunity to fight on the front lines. In fact, black soldiers were frequently denied promotions and leadership roles, no matter their skill or experience. They were generally excluded from officer training programs and confined to non-combat positions.

The inferior living conditions, inadequate training, and substandard equipment faced by black soldiers compared to white soldiers, as well as the fact that they were paid less for the same work, made them question American democracy that did not keep them from participating in the war, but their suffering did not end with the war victory. The discrimination continued on the way back home. Despite their contributions and sacrifices, the achievements of black soldiers were frequently overlooked or not properly acknowledged, both during the war and in historical accounts thereafter.

Statement of the problem

After the Great Depression, American economy faced a high level of unemployment, declining industrial production, and a significant reduction in global trade. However, black Americans experience more severe conditions than any other group, like discrimination and racism, compared to their white counterparts, which makes them face even greater difficulty in finding employment and securing basic necessities.

The New Deal aimed to provide relief, reform, and recovery for the American people. On the other hand, African Americans had challenges accessing New Deal programs due to racial discrimination and segregation. The economic hardship and racial injustices during this time fueled the growth of the civil rights movement. African Americans sought to address systemic discrimination and fight for equal rights and opportunities. The Great

Depression and the New Deal exposed the neglect faced by African Americans. These historical events give understanding to the urgent need for social and economic reforms to address racial inequalities and create a more just and equitable society.

After the election of President Roosevelt, African Americans had high hopes for these types of programs. But in the light of Jim Crow laws and discrimination, many Africans were deprived of their rights, even in New Deal.

This research tackles the following primary research question:

- How is the New Deal neglecting African Americans after the Great Depression?

This question shall be investigated through the following sub-questions

- What is the New Deal? Who coined this program and how?
- How is the New Deal discriminating between whites and blacks in the economy, society, and army forces?
- What are the effects of racial and social differences on African Americans?

Research Aims

This research aims to analyze the racial inequality implemented by the New Deal as well as the economic disparity that African Americans faced after this program.

This study attempts to use two different theories to provide historical and economic background on the New Deal. The first theory is going to be the Critical Race Theory, which deals with historical factors that contribute to racial inequality and clarifies that racism is not a result of individual actions but is perpetuated by systemic structures. Also, it studies the policies and programs implemented during the Great Depression. The second theory is the Marxist Theory, which examines the economic and social dynamics during this time within capitalist society. For example, Labor exploitation and the Social Security Act, led to the exclusion of African Americans, contributed to the ongoing economic disparities.

Significance of the Research

Understanding the discrimination faced by black Americans during these periods provides essential historical context for contemporary racial inequalities and injustices. It helps to trace the roots of systemic racism and the impact of discriminatory policies on communities of color. Studying the discriminatory practices within New Deal programs and wartime efforts highlights the ways in which government policies have perpetuated racial disparities in access to economic opportunities, social services, and political representation. This research can inform present-day policy discussions on addressing systemic racism and promoting equity. By examining the discrimination faced by African Americans in the New Deal era and during World War II, researchers can amplify marginalized voices, validate historical experiences, and advocate for social justice initiatives that address past injustices and promote racial equality. The complexities of American history help counteract historical erasures and foster critical thinking about race, power dynamics, and social change.

Research Methodology

This study is going to merge two methods by applying Marxist and Critical Race theories to examine the neglect African Americans experienced during the New Deal. That provides valuable insights into the structural and racial systems that played after the Great Depression. This critical analysis will explore the patterns of racial discrimination as well as a deeper understanding of the historical context and structural factors that contributed to the omission of African American rights.

Marxist analysis would give an extensive database of how capitalism and class struggle influence the distribution of resources and opportunities. It would examine how New Deal policies often favored white workers and reinforced existing power structures, leaving African Americans marginalized and disadvantaged. Additionally, it can help reveal the

economic motivations behind the exclusion of African Americans from equal access to relief programs and employment opportunities.

Through Critical Race Theory (CRT), this study will attempt to analyze the racial biases and discrimination embedded within the policies and practices of the era. It would examine how racial hierarchies and stereotypes influence decision-making and resource distribution. Despite New Deal's intentions to address economic disparities, it neglected the racial inequalities through segregation and limited access to relief programs, as well as, the nature of racism and its negative outcomes for African Americans.

Chapter One

Historical Background

**from the Great Depression to "The
New Deal"**

Introduction

The socioeconomic conditions after the Great Depression were a major turning point in American history. After the stock market crash of October 1929, thousands of banks collapsed, and the unemployment rate rose to nearly a quarter of the workforce being unemployed. There was an urgent need for reconstruction that led the American economy out of depression. The New Deal was a social program given by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt after the presidential election against President Herbert Hoover on November 8, 1932. FDR and New Dealers implemented a number of new social and economic reforms as a respond to a wide range of problems facing the country, including stabilizing the banks, stimulating the economy, creating jobs and raising wages, investing in public works, modernizing lagging regions, and giving ordinary Americans a new sense of security and hope. Although there was a positive side to the New Deal, in these programs, some groups were neglected or not included based on race and color; among them were African Americans.

Before understanding what the discriminatory policies are in the New Deal, this chapter define the necessary terms, to understand the historical back ground of the following events, terms like the New Deal and the Great Depression, the political and economic circumstances of the appearance of these policies, and their effect on American society, unions, different races, and ethnicities gives foresighted about the American history and heritage.

1.1 What is the New Deal?

The New Deal was a comprehensive and broad set of government-directed projects introduced by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt as an attempt to help the United States economy emerge from the Great Depression. It launched in the early 1930s and was designed

to bolster the United States economy, reduce unemployment, provide a social safety net, and instill confidence in the government's ability to protect its citizens. On the contrary, during Hoover's administration, Roosevelt encouraged government spending because it could end the depression by stimulating customer demand. Roosevelt was against the lack of political involvement to reduce the economic and social problems; he said, "Hear nothing, see nothing, do nothing government" in his campaign speech while describing Hoover's government due to the reduction of government interference in the American economy and waiting for self-recovery, which made the depression worse (Amadeo).

The New Deal consists of the three R's, which are relief, recovery, and reform. Each one of those acts supports a series of measures to reduce the effects of the Great Depression. The relief goal is to provide immediate assistance to the suffering and unemployed Americans. For instance, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which built more than 650,000 miles of roads 150,000 schools, parks, and other public projects to provide jobs and decrease unemployment, as well as the Social Security Act, which provides financial security to retirees, people with disabilities, and dependent mothers with children. By giving them temporary relief called unemployment insurance for involuntary unemployed Americans and families seeking new jobs (Colasanti et Ference).

On the other hand, recovery aims to help economic revival and stability through creating jobs, stimulating production, and boosting consumer spending. Programs like the Works Progress Administration (WPA) fund public works projects such as the construction of roads, bridges, public buildings, and airports to create long-term employment opportunities, stimulate economic activity, and improve the nation's infrastructure (Amadeo). And the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), which aims to address the challenges faced by the agricultural industry during the Great Depression. The purpose of

this act is to stabilize farm incomes, control production, and promote price stability by establishing a framework for the federal government's involvement in agricultural policy (Colasanti et Ference).

Additionally, The New Deal advocates for reform to prevent future economic crises by targeting the causes of depression. For example, the FDIC (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) is a piece of legislation passed by Roosevelt and Congress to close all of the nation's banks in order to strengthened them (Colasanti et Ference). Also, to restore confidence in the banking system, they have to insure the people about losing their savings again. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) of 1934, which is an independent agency of the U.S. federal government that enforces federal securities laws, oversees stock exchanges and other securities markets, and facilitates the disclosure of financial information by companies and investors (Colasanti et Ference).

FDR launches a set of domestic policies in the New Deal era that is divided into two phases that are often referred as "First New Deal" (1933-1935) and "Second New Deal" (1935-1938). After Roosevelt took office in 1933, he pushed Congress to pass 15 new agencies and laws of his first "The Hundred Days" in the White House from March 9 to June 16, 1933. During this period, a significant number of legislative, executive, and initiative actions were implemented to provide relief to the American people as well as to uplift the suffering of as high number of unemployed workers. In "The Hundred Days" The Roosevelt administration declared a four-day nationwide bank holiday from March 6th to March 10th, 1933. This allowed the government to improve and stabilize the banking system, and it also decreased people's panic about losing their savings (Lotha). When The Emergency Banking Act (EBA) provided bank examination and reopening by federal inspectors on March 15, about 90% of banks reopened after finding them to be financially secure. Above all, the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) (May 18, 1933) and the Civilian Conservation Corps

(CCC) on March 31, 1933, hired three million workers in temporary job opportunities for the unemployed young men in planting forests, building flood barriers, and maintaining roads and trails. On the other side, TVA provides electricity, flood control, and economic development to the Tennessee River Valley (Amadeo).

Furthermore, Southerners were given access to the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of May 12, 1933, as part of the First New Deal. By lowering agricultural output, this legislation seeks to raise crop prices and stabilize farm incomes. However, loans were made available to keep them from going into foreclosure under the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act and the Home Owners' Loan Act. New Dealers believed that boosting farm incomes would help not only rural Americans but also the entire U.S. economy (Wall).

The second round of the New Deal from 1935 to 1938 offered further legislative reforms and laid the groundwork for the modern American social welfare system and worker protections. In this case, the federal government focuses on funding public works projects and employing artists, writers, and musicians through the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Arthur M. Schlesinger wrote in his book "The Coming of the New Deal": "The federal government was at last charged with the obligation to provide its citizens with a measure of protection from the hazards and vicissitudes of life". That supports radical change through welfare reform. And FDR passed the Social Security Act to provide income to the disabled, the blind, and the elderly through the Social Security Trust Fund (Wall).

The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), known as the Wagner Act in 1935, supports and safeguards the rights of employees to collective and individual bargaining. Also establish the Fair Labor Standards Act, which is called the Wages and Hours Act; as FDR said in his speech, "The Forgotten Men" to regulate wages and hours of work by the federal

government into forty hours of work in a week, set an hourly minimum wage, and child labor restrictions (Gaur).

To help restore confidence and trust in the government, FDR began delivering radio broadcasts. Known as "fireside chats," he explains his policies directly to the American people. Roosevelt "Chats" addressed the public from 1933 to 1944 in informal language, which helped people understand and calm down during the bank closure. "These "Fireside Chats" [...] were planned as conversations rather than stiff public speeches. And as such, they were widely listened to [...] and became an important element in White House communications for more than a decade." (Sterling) After Roosevelt, all presidents used the radio to address the nation.

1.2. The Great Depression before the New Deal

The production of the New Deal is an outcome of the Great Depression, the Dust Bowl, and the lack of recovery during Hoover's period, which created major problems such as Hooverville, which is named after President Hoover. The worldwide economic collapse by the U.S. stock market during the Great Depression occurred on Black Thursday, October 24, 1929. When President Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933, the banking system had collapsed, nearly 25 percent of the workforce was unemployed, and prices and productivity had fallen to one-third of their 1929 levels (Duiganan).

Falling prices and lower output have led to lower income in the form of wages, rents, dividends, and profits across the economy. Factories closed, farms and homes were lost to foreclosure, factories and mines were abandoned, and people starved. No one could identify why the depression happened, who was responsible, or why it could not be resolved (Duiganan). Although the U.S. economy experienced rapid expansion between 1920 and 1929 by a period called "the Roaring Twenties," which also known as the Jazz Age, it is during a

period of cultural and economic changes and modernization like women's rights, the rise of jazz music, and economic growth (Ladenburg 6-7). But this catastrophe could not be predicted by Wall Street speculators, bankers, or even Hoover's administration, which made the public go on hunger marches and riots in 1932.

For the most part, the lack of federal government intervention made the American public unsatisfied by President Herbert Hoover's policies. As well, instilling people's confidence in the misguided banking practices before the depression. After the First World War, Americans began to invest in the stock markets by borrowing money from banks to purchase stocks, buying "buying on margin". For example, if someone is going to invest, 10% is from his own money, whereas the other 90% is borrowed from banks. The main idea of buying in at a margin gives primary investors the opportunity to invest in the stock market without having a large amount of money. But after the stock market crashed in 1929, their purchased shares were worthless, and they owed thousands of dollars to collapsed banks; even people who did not invest went in panic for their savings and started to take their money out from banks, which made the depression even worse (Brinkman). On the other hand, more direct government intervention was required. To reassure Americans about the Hoover economic system, he said: "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the strength of business in the United States is foolish," but the help of Hoover was too little and highly specific, a small percentage could get charities to those in need. This lack of people's confidence is result of lack of effective economic and political government actions (Swift 3).

The creation of "Hooverville" was a result of a social crisis and dramatic migration during the Great Depression. Across the edges of the American states were loaded by shanty towns for homeless and unemployed American young men, who are between the ages of 18 to 50, they made abandoned cars, boxes, and wood their home. "Hooverville" illustrated by its Mayor Jesse Jackson in the Vanguard's news as : "[...] we can see that the creation of

Seattle's Hoovervelt was due to an ineffective social system and the inability of local politicians to address the Depression's social crisis (Demirel)." Many local governments fail to address the social issues, specifically, some issues that could uplift this recession such as poverty, unemployment, ghettos, and diseases. When there was segregation and discrimination, even during this hardship, Hooverville did not fall under this prejudiced system. The unofficial and self-declared mayor Jesse Jackson wrote about his own experience while living in Seattle; although they faced horrible conditions, they included different races within the committee to address their problems together (Jackson).

Throughout history, the unemployment rate has decreased during times of economic prosperity and increased during recessions. There are roughly one thousand shacks, inhabited by about fifteen hundred men who have discovered how to survive without money.

Unemployment is the first essential problem because there was a clear shift in wealth and individual income from 1920 to 1940. Unlike most western European countries, the United States does not have a federal government for unemployment insurance; there was cooperation between state governments and private charities, such as the Red Cross and the Community Chest, which take care of unemployment relief. According to Kimberly Amadeo's online Article on 2022, which displays a table of unemployment rate, GDP (Gross domestic product) growth, and inflation through economic changes by years, the high unemployment rate was in 1933, which reached 24.9% at the peak over the depression (Damirel).

Throughout the 1920s, agriculture was facing more difficulties than any other sector in the American economy, not only because of the depression but also because of environmental catastrophes like the Dust Bowl. According to the "American National Archives", The Dust Bowl was a human-caused environmental disaster. The Great Plains experienced a drought in the early and mid-1930s, resulting in disaster. The winds that swept

across the plains began carrying away the dry, depleted soil in massive "dust storms." These storms were dramatic and frightening, turning day into night and destroying farms (Sparrow Par. 2). In 1918, Hoover was responsible for the U.S. Food Administration (Fig: 1), which provided food needs to the Allied countries during the First World War. Overconsuming land by producing more food to send to war made it infected by the Great Plain. Many farmers thought they could at least grow their own crops during the depression, but the Plains made them lose their land and homes. Unlike factory workers, farmers lost their livelihoods and their jobs. Due to federal government farming policies in WWI, which pushed them to bad actions such as mortgaging their land and borrowing money from local banks to expand their production, this dust storm destroyed natural topsoil and created a new illness known as "dust pneumonia (Swift 2-3)."



Figure 1: "Hooverizing to Victory or Food: A Weapon of War." *Hooverizing to Victory OR Food: A Weapon of War*, mthistoryrevealed.blogspot.com/2018/02/food-weapon-of-war.html. Accessed 25 May 2024.

1.3. Roosevelt's Election and the Appearance of the New Deal as a Solution to the Recession

Roosevelt was the Thirty-second President of the United States from 1933 until 1945, who led the nation through the Great Depression and World War II. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born on January 30, 1882, in Hyde Park, New York, to James and Sara Roosevelt. Following his fifth cousin, President Theodore Roosevelt, who was inspirational to FDR to come into politics, as well as, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, his distant cousin who became his life companion on March 17, 1905 (Leuchtenburg). They had six children between 1906 and 1916, but one died as an infant. Franklin was homeschooled until 14 years old, when his first serious schooling outside was in the Groton School (Groton was an exclusive private school that educated the sons of some of the most wealthy and powerful American families). His years were difficult at school. However, he developed an admiration for politics, especially for his distant cousin Theodore Roosevelt of the Republican Party. After graduation from Groton, FDR went to Harvard in 1900. In 1903, he became an editor of Harvard's student newspaper "the Crimson," where he declared himself supporter and member of the Democratic Party (Leuchtenburg). Then he began law school at Columbia University for two years and passed the bar. Although he had never graduated or had a passion for the law, he worked at the New York City law firm of Carter, Ledyard, and Milburn for few years. While some Democrats asked him to run for political office in 1910, he welcomed this idea (Leuchtenbrg).

At the time of Republican domination of the New York political region, Roosevelt runs for the state senate at the age of 29 years from Dutchess County, which he won by over a thousand votes. Whereas, he was a strong advocator for farmers who were mostly Republicans in his district, such as, the Tammany Hall political machine which is run by Irish-American and became the main local political machine of the Democratic Party and

played a major role in controlling New York City and New York State politics (Golway 9), to establish a fair and equitable society by political and economic power. In 1912, it was the campaign of New Jersey's governor, Woodrow Wilson, for presidency, that Roosevelt had help took in which Wilson took notice and appointed him to the secretary of the Navy as an assistant secretary of the Navy in the first Mckinley administration. The young Democratic advocated for boosting the United States military power that supported the U.S. entering the conflict in 1917. With his reputation preceding him, he was nominated as vice president in 1920, but he lost to a Republican candidate. Roosevelt became a vice president of Fidelity and Deposit Company, a financial firm in the private sector (Leuchtenburg). In the summer of 1921, FDR felt indispose after a swim in the cold waters and a hike to his second home on the Canadian Atlantic coast at Campobello Island, he had poliomyelitis (Polio), a viral inflammation of the spinal column, which left him partly paralyzed from stomach down and spend some time in wheelchair and painful rehabilitation. The courage and positive attitude of FDR, as well as, the support of his wife Eleanor, who became involved in New York's Democratic Party in the progressive causes, and his friend and assistant, who helped the Navy, Louis Howe, helped him though his recovery and made him stay active in politics (Leuchtenburg).

While Roosevelt was supporting the presidential nominee Alfred Smith, in consideration of FDR's popularity, Smith asked him to run for the state's governorship to raise Democratic support in the state against the Republican dominance, but it did not work because Smith lost to Hoover. As governor of New York, a former vice presidential candidate, and a descendant of former President Theodore Roosevelt, his FDR qualifications and efforts to limit the effects of the depression in his state make him a contender for the 1932 presidential nomination in the Democratic Party (Ladenburg 39).

The Great Depression was a great opportunity for FDR and the Democrats to take the presidency back from the Republicans. Roosevelt and his associates (Samuel I. Rosenman and Basil O'Connor) assembled a group of the best minds and college professors to advise and guide him through his presidential bid, known as the Brains Trust. It is very important for the governor to have a successful campaign by gathering information for speeches and press conferences (Edwards 3).

One of the first members of the Brain Trust is Raymond Moley, a law professor at Columbia University and an expert in the administration of criminal justice and political science. He is a gifted writer, having drafted "The Forgotten Man" speech in 1932 and coming up with the term "New Deal". The second one is Rexford G. Tugwell, the only economist in the group; he has a PhD in economics from the University of Pennsylvania and is a true believer in the advantages of economic planning (Edwards 3).

The third is Adolf A. Berle, also a professor of law at Columbia, he graduated from Harvard Law School and coauthored a book with Means called "The Modern Corporation and Private Property" in 1932: "the modern corporation that showed systematically how economic power had become concentrated in the United States and how difficult it was to govern companies when ownership and control were not in the same hands (Edwards 4)." Most of Roosevelt's advisers were lawyers and not investors or economists, though they played a big role in shaping the legal policies of the First New Deal in 1933. They were highly criticized by many newspaper editorials and editorial cartoons because their focus was on the Constitution rather than restructuring the economy (Edwards 7).

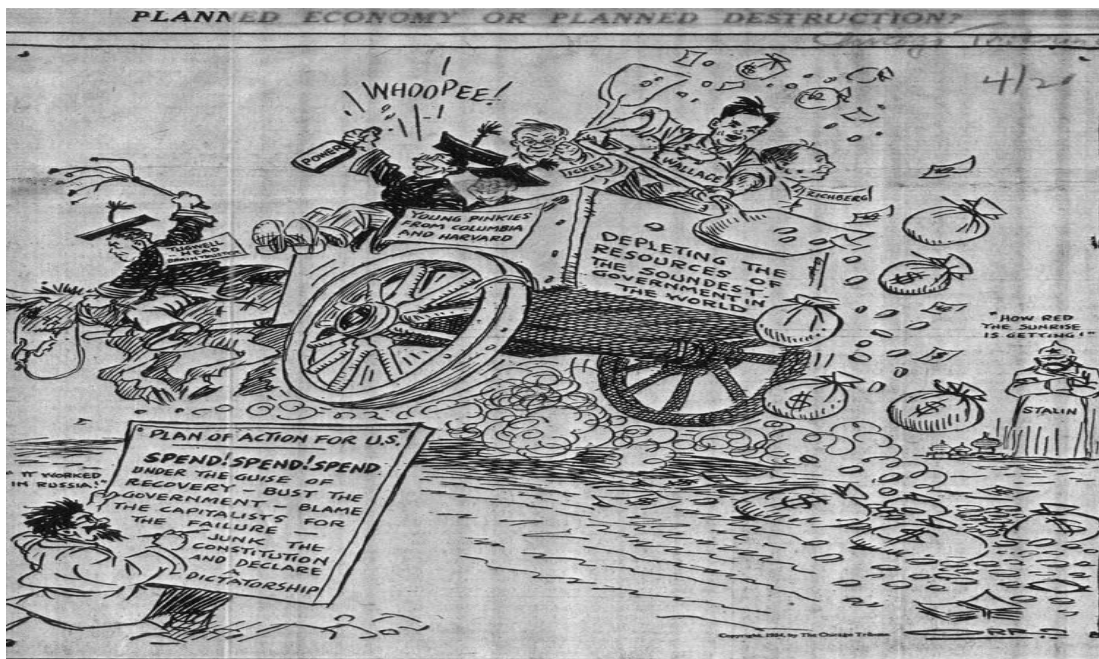


Figure 2: Cartoonic picture of "Roosevelt's Brains Trust." *Armstrong Economics*, 9 Jan. 2016, www.armstrongeconomics.com/research/economic-thought/economics/roosevelts-brains-trust/.

Unlike Hoover's individualism in the face of the depression, Roosevelt thinks that working together could overcome the nation's economic crisis by using "we" in most of his speeches to show that they are in this fight together. This gives him a chance to win by a wide margin in both the popular votes and the Electoral College votes (the president and vice president are chosen by electors, who are selected by each state) (Kaye 2). As well, FDR lives up to his speeches in his own life and political creed like in his First Inaugural Address on March 5, 1933. Roosevelt said, "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive, and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror that paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance (Roosevelt, "The First Inauguration, 1933" 1)," and in his speech about unemployment he stated: "[...] that put their faith once more in the forgotten man at the bottom of the economic pyramid (Roosevelt, "The Forgotten Man" 2)." Maybe Roosevelt by the forgotten men means to address the public from his own live experiences and his struggles with "Polio".

In the time of Roosevelt's administration, African Americans were helped by economic relief in the light of the early New Deal programs, but most of them were discriminatory, and FDR was unwilling to challenge the wide political control of the South. FDR needed the white supremacists support of Southern Democrats to pass the New Deal in his early election. Although his legislation gives a chance and sort of equality to all Americans regardless of race and color, on the other hand, the conservative Southern Democrats maintained pressure on FDR, which made him dependent on getting votes to fund the Second World War (Baugh).

1.4. The Impact of New Deal's Policies on the American Union

Providing employment for young men through new programs like "the Civilian Conservation Corps(CCC)" was Franklin D. Roosevelt's main objective to reduce unemployment. But the appliance of these programs was segregated, discrimination, and different and low payment between black and white. Michael Hoak analyzes the participation of African Americans in the CCC in his thesis under the title "The Men in Green: African Americans and the Civilian Conservation Crops, 1933-1942", and illustrates that some of these government policies "allow" the local and state authorities to create and adopt segregated camps by the CCC. On the other hand, there was a group of black elites made an attempt improve things for black enrollees (Hoak 3). Whereas, Hooverville was one of the few homogeneous communities in race during the depression; this was expressed in "The Story of Hooverville, In Seattle" by Jesse Jackson when he said: "The committee appointed was composed of two whites, two negros, and two Filipinos." This means that whites and other races could collaborate to gather (Jackson).

Furthermore, the nation's unemployment rate of poor retired or disabled workers slows down some recovery processes like the employment of young men after the Great

Depression. Due to the implementation of the Social Security Act in 1935, it acted as a safety net for millions of Americans who are dependents and cannot or unable to work. But African Americans are unable to access Social Security, because it is shaped to exclude them and views only white men as workers. The Social Security Act was designed to exclude certain categories of employment that were mainly held by African Americans, like domestic work and agriculture. In some cases, the administration of the Social Security system discriminates by determining eligibility for benefits and restricting access to higher-paying job opportunities (Hansan).

Before the Great Depression, African Americans traditionally voted for the Republican Party for generations due to its relationship to Abraham Lincoln. There was a dramatic shift in their votes in the election of 1932 to the Democratic Party, and more than 70 percent of African Americans voted for Roosevelt by 1936. In an interview the historian John Hope Franklin stated that African Americans could resemble Franklin D. Roosevelt's struggles. Nevertheless, Roosevelt did not advocate for the anti-lynching law or the poll tax that prevented them from voting to pass his New Deal agenda (Klein).

The groups with the highest unemployment rate were among the African American groups that were nearly fifty or even seventy in the South; they were the last to be hired and the first to be fired. As long as there were whites out of work, African Americans were fired or, even worse, Lynched. Hundreds of thousands of African Americans, mostly those who worked as sharecroppers, left their homes during the Great Migration and the Great Depression to improve their living conditions (Klein). But they were deprived of any employment or housing opportunities, which had a bad reflection on their future generations. For instance, most African Americans could not afford to buy a house or even a two-bedroom apartment until they worked for many years, and their parents could not loan them money simply because they did not have money to give. Hasan Kwame Jeffries' grandfather lived in

Newark, New Jersey. He faced racial inequality during the New Deal era could not have access to lending mortgages to secure a home for his family. Even so, if he got a loan in trendy community as Levittown (the gateway to the middle class), he could only get it in a black neighborhood, and it was not worth much like those white's houses when they were sold (Watts).

Conclusion

Roosevelt's presidency had a lasting impact on the United States, leading the country through the Great Depression and World War II. He was elected to a total of four terms as president, making him the longest-serving president in American history. However, conservative businessmen criticized the New Deal for being too socialistic in 1934. Others, like Louisiana politician Senator Huey Long, said it didn't do enough for the poor and suggested to the Share Our Wealth Society, which calls upon the federal government to guarantee every family in the nation an annual income of five thousand dollars, to acquire the necessities of life, including a home, a job, and an automobile, and make "Every Man A King." Even so, does this really mean that all men get the same treatment, no matter their race or color? The problem with the New Deal is not only that it moved far from the economy and was too socialistic, but it is far more than that. Most of the Roosevelt programs did not challenge the unequal chances and discriminatory systems in themselves. FDR's intentions were to improve all American people live. But we should evaluate government policies according to their actual consequences and not their good intentions. Although the United States did not participate in the First World War only marginally, it was apart from the conflict in World War II by the Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Although there were human and material losses, it is fair to say that America is the first to benefit from the victory in the Second World War that had a positive impact on the economy after the depression. After the conflict, the country emerged as an industrial and economic

power through a massive increase in production and technological advancements in the military.

Chapter Two

The Racial Biases in the Army

Forces

Introduction

Additionally to the depression, America has dealt with many foreign problems: the attack on the U.S. naval base, the spread of fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany, which marked the beginning of the Second World War. America was against the Nazi aggression in European lands. Whereas America was trying to defend democracy overseas, it was nowhere to be found for African Americans. The New Deal was not the only discriminatory system that failed to give equal opportunities to African Americans. Despite their service and sacrifice for their country, the racial segregation of the army forces in unites, medical, and training facilities made them question what they were fighting for because the Nazi segregation policies were similar to American Jim Crow policies. Black soldiers were insufficient by giving them roles as servicemen or mechanics, questioning their abilities, and creating barriers to military advancement. This chapter illustrates the function of civil rights activists like First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, A. Philip Randolph, and black advisers called "the Black Cabinet," who demanded the end of segregation and racial policies in the Army and Navy. As well as, their role in achieving the "Double V" victory against fascism abroad and discrimination at home.

2.1. Americans in the Second World War

America pursued an isolation policy about engagement in European conflicts, which was reflected in the Neutrality Acts before the Second World War. The U.S. was supporting the Allied powers through the Lend-Lease program; instead of selling or leasing the supplies, they were provided on credits or gifted to the Allies, putting in count they would pay off after the war and providing material assistance to countries like the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and China. The Neutrality Acts remained in effect until September 1939, when Germany invaded Poland; thus, Great Britain and France declared war, therefore the beginning of the Second World War in Europe (Moser).

However, the Neutrality Acts soon changed after the Japanese attack against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii on December 7, 1941. To prevent the U.S. Pacific Fleet from interfering in the attack against Southeast Asia and the islands in the Pacific by the Japanese forces, the Japanese planes sank four U.S. battleships; nearly 200 planes had been destroyed; and more than 2,400 U.S. service members had been killed (Moser). President Roosevelt famously called December 7 as: "a date which will live in infamy (Roosevelt, "Day of Infamy" Par: 1). After his speech, Roosevelt urged to the Congress and the American people to reconsider the Laissez-faire decision. This was a turning point in American policies toward war; in the following days, Roosevelt asked Congress to declare war against Japan immediately (Moser).

The United States entered World War II primarily as a response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but a set of factors added to that attack: the growth of German aggression after World War I and the peace treaty between the Allied Powers and Germany, "the Treaty of Versailles" in 1919, plus the invasion of Poland in September 1939. Under the terms of the treaty, Germany must give up its territory near France, permanently disarm to prevent future attacks, admit that it was responsible for the First World War, and pay for the damages (Ladenbug 49). Hitler felt that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair to Germany. On September 19, 1939, Germany made a move that marked the beginning of World War II, Poland was a target due to its alliances with France and Britain as a reaction to German invasion. Britain and France declared war on Germany and the Axis powers (Fascist Italy, Imperial Japan, and Nazi Germany) (Getz 2).

Despite the fact that the United States entered the Second World War after the attack on the U.S. naval base, there were other factors, such as the fall of France in 1940 and the spread of German aggression to the Soviet Union and fascism. Following the end of WWI at the Paris Peace Conference in April 1919, Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando and the

Italian delegation demanded the city of Fiume as a spoil of war victory. While the "Big Three" powers (the United States, France, and Britain) ignored Italy's demands, which led the Italians out of the conference, and the nationalist newspapers called the war a "mutilated victory" (Killinger 1). Nevertheless, the fascist movement originated after World War I at the Piazza San Sepolcro in Milan, where one hundred socialists, futurists, and arditi (special forces) led by Mussolini established the Fascio di Combattimento (fighting groups). However, after Mussolini visited Germany in 1937, Italy withdrew from the League of Nations, which separated it from the western democracies and marked the beginning of diplomatic and military alignment that would take Italy into World War II (Killinger 4-5).

Through the First and Second World Wars the United States played an important role in victory as a superpower along with the Allied powers. The shift from neutrality and isolationism in the European conflict to engaging and playing a crucial role in Europe's liberation made it one of powerful countries, with atomic weapons and a booming economy (Fishback 53). Although the fourteen points made by President Woodrow Wilson were a way to make the world safe for democracy, as he said : "to end all wars", by punishing Germany solely for WWI and the failure of the Paris Peace Conference, could make the world safer. On the other hand, the Atlantic Charter was another attempt by an American president and Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, to establish world safety. The Atlantic Charter agreement was a continuity to the Fourteen Points by Wilson, particularly in the eighth section about the abandonment of all nations of the use of force: "Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers (Roosevelt, "The Atlantic Charter" Par: 8).

But before the United States makes the world safer for Europeans, it needs to ensure the safety of its own people back home. When America turned its resources to helping its allies, it could have spent it on the New Deal to end the depression and even prevent the

Second World War. FDR spent 30 times more on the war than he spent on the New Deal because war spending was endless compared to domestic spending. In 1942, the unemployment rate had fallen to 4.7 percent and the economy had grown by 18.9 percent (Amadeo), but this was due to the increase in the number of dead soldiers and the war's debt.

2.2. Racial Segregation in the American Army

The U.S. government propaganda promoted patriotism, equality, and unity during wartime and featured an imaginary picture of a united America fighting against tyranny. Since the Revolutionary War, black veterans have been segregated and discriminated against by white soldiers, which led them to question the fight for freedom and democracy because many of the Nazi racial policies toward Jews were similar to the American racial policies against African Americans (Davies).

More than one and a half million African Americans served in the United States military forces during World War II. They fought in the Pacific, Mediterranean, and European war zones like the Battle of the Bulge and the D-Day invasion. The historian Matthew Delmont sort the truth in his book "Half American: The Epic Story of African Americans Fighting World War II at Home and Abroad" about the U.S. military facilities that were based on segregation and racism by Jim Crow laws through the war, Delmont stated that the only reason the military enforced this racial segregation during the war was to please white racial prejudice ("Smithsonian Magazine"). The U.S. military walked on the Nazism and Fascism footprints, because of how an African American soldier fights for freedom in Europe when he is denied it at home.

Another military historian named Col. Krewasky Salter has a Ph.D. in military history, specializing in African Americans. In the Army War College for officers mainly, "white men" there was a "secret document from 1925" that taught them about the use of

Negro manpower in war. It talks about the Negro as subservient and mentally inferior to the white man. It says that the Negro is unable to control himself because of his fear of danger (Ono). One of the stories that Salter tells is about a brave African American soldier, and many more prove that these stereotypes are wrong. During World War II, Verno Baker was an incredible American soldier. He was a part of a segregated African American unit, and his mission was to capture the castle with twenty-five men, of whom almost all were killed or wounded. Baker single-handedly fought the Germans and captured the castle. Although he was granted the Distinguished Service Cross for his courage, with this kind of heroism, he must have been awarded the highest award, "the Medal of Honor," but no African Americans received that honor in WWII, said Baker. After 52 years, Baker gets the recognition that he deserves from Bill Clinton at the White House (Ono).

Although FDR and Henry Stimson, the Secretary of War, gave black men the right to register in the U.S. Army Forces, the military would decide where black soldiers were recruited into the service. Most of them are relegated to labor and service units such as working as cooks, mechanics, and unloading supplies from trucks and airplanes (Clark). As well black soldiers are given second-hand equipment or could not be officers; they could only lead other black men. Christopher Paul Moore wrote in 2005 his book, "Fighting for America: Black Soldiers—The Unsung Heroes of World War II" about the use of black soldiers in supporting positions like noncombatants or laborers. To southern politicians and the military command, the use of blacks as infantry, pilots, or even carriers was unthinkable. While the authority of African American officers was restricted to African American units only, if there was a white officer in these units, the African American officers were not allowed to have higher positions or were excluded from receiving recognition for their World War II service (Clark).

Moreover, the Army referred to the African Americans who served as "Negro personnel". During the war, over 901,896 were segregated and marked into "colored" outfits, which are delineated in some Army records by parenthetical (colored) or abbreviation (CLD). For instance, in the 452nd Antiaircraft Artillery (Automatic Weapons) Battalion (Colored) or the 452nd AAA (AW) Bn (Cld), the dominated attitude was that white men made the best soldiers and should provide an overbalanced combat force. To the extent that blacks, Filipinos, or women were not to the same degree, due to political pressure and to relieve white men of less meaningful tasks, so they could fight at the front (Greenwald).

Since 1798, the reestablishment of the American Marine Negroes has been accepted in the Navy. During a meeting of the General Board of the Navy in April 1941, Major General Thomas Holcomb, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, declared that there is no place for blacks in his department in the Marine Corps, and if he had to choose between a small number of whites and a large number of blacks, he would rather have the whites. Even though President Franklin D. Roosevelt offered treatment and greater opportunity to a small number of African Americans to gain an unprecedented third term, as a replay to black leaders, including A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, it was within the segregated armed forces (Nalty 1). Due to the opposing opinion of Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, who was against the recruiting of African-Americans only as stewards in officers' messes, by April 1942, he advised the leaders of the Navy that they had to accept them for general service (Nalty 2).

In contrast, the use of African Americans was due to political pressure rather than military necessity. The Army translated segregation policy into practice by dividing it into branches that were less used and accepted by whites. In December 1941, the Quartermaster Corps and the Engineer Corps designated a large percentage of black inductees as follows: five percent of the infantry, less than two percent each of the Air Corps, Medical Corps, and

Signal Corps. The Quartermaster Corps was fifteen percent black, and the Engineer Corps was twenty-five percent. Additionally, the Army General Classification Test (AGCT) justifies the rejection of black units and the distribution of Negroes to the lack of educational achievement and the ability to absorb training (MacGregor 24). This test was based on educational achievement rather than native intelligence, and the majority of Negroes came from inferior schools and areas that struggled with economic and cultural poverty to show their disadvantage to the Army Force. By complicating the training of black soldiers and establishing lower quotas for black inductees in separate and smaller housing and other facilities. The Selective Service demanded to accept more Negroes in the Army to adjust the racial imbalance (MacGregor 24-25).

Not only black soldiers had to face these conditions, but black women had to face even worse segregation and discrimination in auxiliary care units (as nurses and cooks). During the Second World War, women became providers, because they needed money for their families and themselves. Women in the army force reform the state of mind toward women labor, but it did have the capacity to change thinking on things like racism. For instance, Gertude Margaritte Ivory-Bertram "was a Lieutenant and a black member of the Army Nurse Corps who served as a nurse at Ft. Bragg and the West African Theatre during WWII (Clint 02:00) "story and experiences during her service as a black woman in the army force. Gertude encountered several events of discrimination and segregation; even the train was divided into first class only for whites. From the moment she arrived at Ft. Bragg, she was mistreated by white colleagues. These kinds of events made black women suffer another high level of mistreatment from all races and genders, including whites, blacks, men, and women (Clint 06:00).

Engaging in WWII was limited to African Americans due to a lack of military education and training facilities, but in the last few years of the war they had made a historical

impact and proved the Negroes capabilities and participation. One of the major events that helped in the training of black pilots was the visit of the First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt on March 29, 1941, to Kennedy Field (one of the African American training facilities). To help in facing the skepticism about the black pilots' ability to fly, Charles "Chief" Anderson, a black pilot and chief flight instructor, took Mrs. Roosevelt for a flight in a Piper J-3 Cub over the Tuskegee countryside. She became an outspoken supporter of Tuskegee's flying program to help fund the first class of all black Army Air Corps pilot trainees at the Tuskegee Institute camps (Walters-Philips et al. 6).

Judge Hastie, a successful lawyer and civil rights advocate, wanted to break the racial policy in the War Department. Hastie was willing to prove that the Army's racial policies were both inefficient and unpatriotic. According to him, there are three radical problems in the separation of black soldiers from white soldiers. First, the effect on black morale is devastating ; he demonstrates that it is hard for African American soldiers to show pride, dignity, and aggression against the Axis powers when they are discriminated against in units. Second, segregation wasted black manpower. It is impossible to employ skilled Negroes in the traditional, limited, and narrow black units. Third, Hastie describes the segregation system of black soldiers at war as hypercritical, while the nation is urging for democracy (MacGregor 19-20).

2.3. Eleanor Roosevelt and the Black Cabinet

First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, a lifelong advocate of equal rights, used her position as First Lady to advocate against discrimination in the United States. Before Eleanor became the president's wife, she was born on October 11, 1884, in a fine townhouse in Manhattan. She is the daughter of the beautiful Anna Hall Roosevelt and Elliott Roosevelt, the younger brother of Theodore Roosevelt, who became president of the United States in 1901 (Jacobs

786). Along with her two brothers Elliott and Hall, Eleanor was from one of America's oldest and wealthiest families, but that did not keep her from being called "granny" by her mother or "ugly duckling" as a way to tease her by people about her looks. In addition to being unloved by her mother and being shy and afraid, she had to wear a bulky brace to straighten her crooked spine. On the other hand, Eleanor was loved by her father; he called her "little golden hair," but he left to live in Virginia to deal with his drinking problem. At the age of eight, Eleanor had lived a devastating year; she lost her mother, a brother, and, a few months later, her father (Jacobs 788). She and her little brother went to live with their grandmother in Manhattan. Eleanor tried to pursue her dear father's words of being brave, well educated, and becoming a woman who helps people (Jacobs 789).

When she turned fifteen, she was sent to Allen wood, a boarding school in England, where she felt outspoken and confident in thinking for herself. After a few years, Grandmother Hall insisted that she come back. To be introduced into the social world as a debutante, she went to parties and dances. She attended them with someone from childhood, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who was tall, strong, and handsome. Soon after they realized that they liked each other, they got married on March 17, 1905, and raised five children (Jacobs 791).

In the summer of 1921, the Roosevelt family encountered a disaster of sudden illness for Franklin; he became a victim of polio. But Eleanor did not give up on him and stood by his side until he recovered his health and returned to politics. She kept Franklin in the public eye by involving herself in politics. With the help of his adviser Louis Howe, she helped in the work of the League of Women Voters, the Consumer's League, and the Foreign Policy Association. Next, she met a group of remarkable women in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), where she learned about life in the slums and how to improve the condition of the poor. Eleanor and her reformer friends talked with Franklin about the need for new

laws for working children and women and how to get fair and equal wages for all workers. In 1928, Roosevelt was elected governor of New York, and just four years later, he was elected president of the United States (Jacobs 793-794). After the election, ER used her influence to shape the Roosevelt Administration's social and economic programs during the Great Depression. She traveled extensively to gather information on people's conditions, spoke with various organizations, and started writing a widely distributed daily column, "My Day." She advocated for the appointment of more women and African Americans to government positions, acted as a link between FDR and African American leaders, promoted programs for unemployed, and contributed to the establishment of the National Youth Administration and Federal Art Project (Sears 6).



Figure 3: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Mary McLeod Bethune and others at the opening of Midway Hall, one of two residence halls built by the Public Buildings Administration of the Federal Works Agency.

Along with the First Lady, Roosevelt had a group of African American advisors called "the Black Cabinet". The Black Cabinet, urge African Americans to receive equal

access to federal benefits employment, and job training programs under Roosevelt's New Deal. They promoted the First Lady and white liberals to institutionalize racial justice to grow black support for New Deal programs and the Democratic Party. In 1933, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, former Chicago NAACP president, led an unprecedented effort to open high-level civil service positions for African Americans. Among those 27 men and three women were architects, demographers, lawyers, economists, engineers, and social workers, which formed the core of this Black Cabinet (Ruffin).

Mary McLeod Bethune was appointed by the National Youth Administration (NYA) as "the Negro Advisor." She was the first black woman to head a government division. Bethune was the founder of "the Bethune Cook man School" in Florida and the founder of a new civil rights organization, "the National Council of Negro Women" (NCNW), in 1935, where she pushed for more African Americans to serve in administrative positions and in other New Deal programs. Mary McLeod Bethune was a friend of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who recommended black civil rights and problems that African Americans faced in the United States, such as supporting a federal anti-lynching bill, an end to the poll tax, and increasing funds for black schools (Murphy).

In the summer of 1943, race riots in California and Detroit by Japanese and African Americans rose up to protest about their rights as American citizens. Eleanor Roosevelt was a strong supporter of them; she was committed to democracy and social justice (Black 99). On April 26, 1944, a woman named Addie Frizelle wrote to Eleanor about her experience moving from Oklahoma to Washington, DC. Addie went to work, but after witnessing the desegregation up north, she returned home. She questioned the First Lady's motivations for fighting for social equality between black and white individuals. She asked her to reconsider her thoughts. After reading this letter, Eleanor Roosevelt realized the absurdity of fighting fascism when Jim Crow was at home. The sociologist Gunnar Myrdal

wrote in her book "American Dilemma" that we cannot hide our issues like human bones in a closet (Black 100). In the following letter, Eleanor Roosevelt states the four rights that every American citizen should have, including African Americans (see Fig: 4).

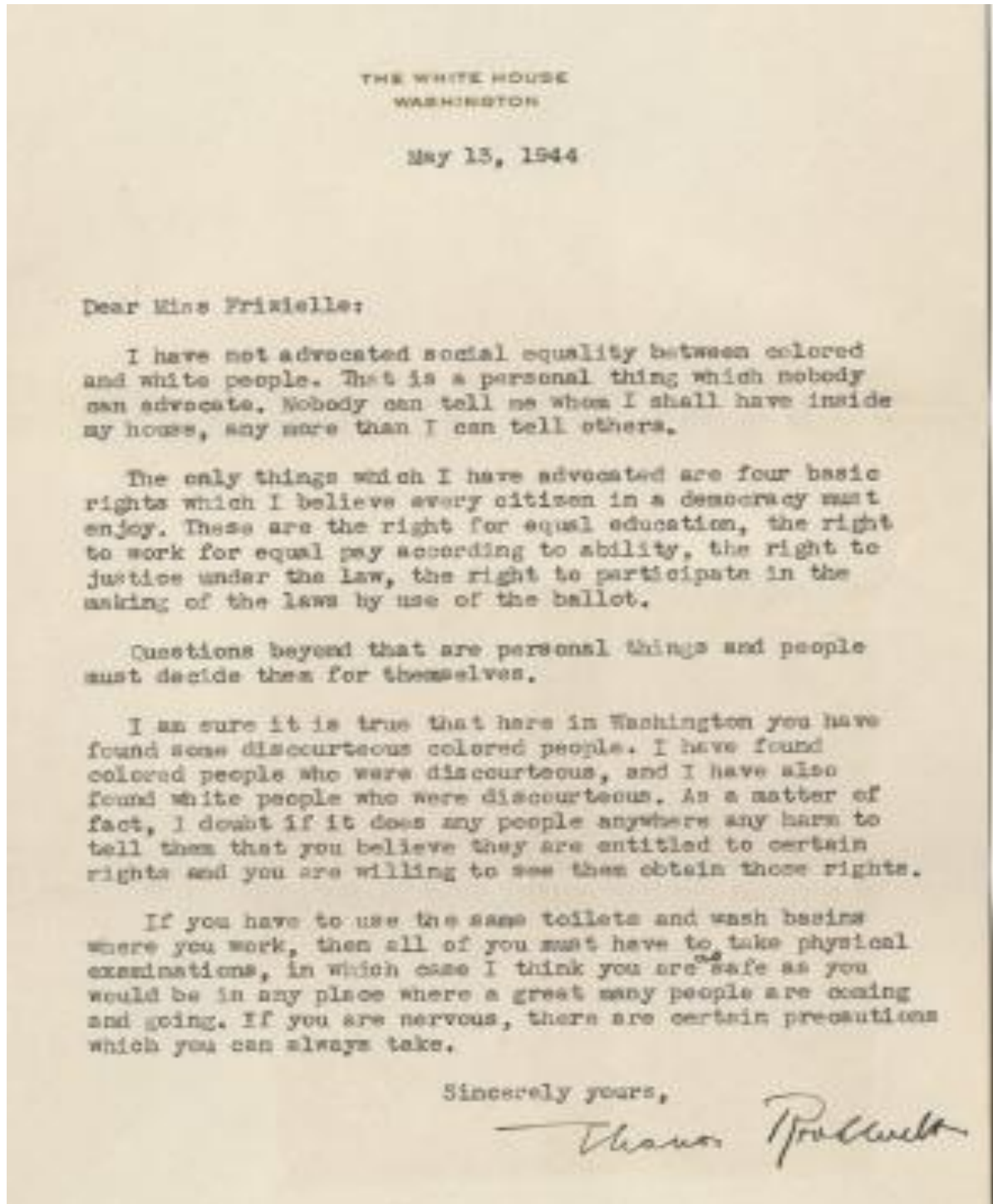


Figure 4: A letter from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt to Addie Frizelle, May 13, 1944.

(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09544)

Though Roosevelt portrayed noble and democratic war aims in his famous "Four Freedom" speech on January 6, 1941, it was hard for African Americans to relate to their conditions at home. There was a big gap between what was in Roosevelt's speech and his fulfillment towards African Americans. Jim Crow segregation for black soldiers did not end with their recruitment because the military was as segregated as the Deep South (Gates).

2.4. A. Philip Randolph and the March on Washington Movement

Randolph was a prominent African-American civil rights leader, labor union organizer, and social activist. Asa Philip Randolph, born on April 15, 1889, in Florida, and his brother James studied at the Cook man Institute in East Jacksonville, Florida (the only academic high school for black students). Although he was interested in singing and acting, he was a distinguished student and graduated as valedictorian in 1907. Randolph was highly influenced by W.E.B. Du Bois in fighting for social justice for the Negroes (Mae). After moving to New York City in 1911, he met a Howard University graduate, widow Lucille Campbell Green, and got married. With her assistance politically and financially, Randolph began organizing on behalf of the labor and civil rights movement (Mae). He was the founder and co-editor of "Messenger" magazine, a leading black member of the Socialist Party and proponent of "New Negro" politics, and the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) (Arnesen). In 1965, Martin Luther King described him as a man "whose total integrity, depth of dedication, and caliber of statesmanship set an example for us all." Randolph earned many titles: "Mr. Black Labor," "an American Gandhi," and "the ranking hero of the race," and many more for his public activism (Arnesen).

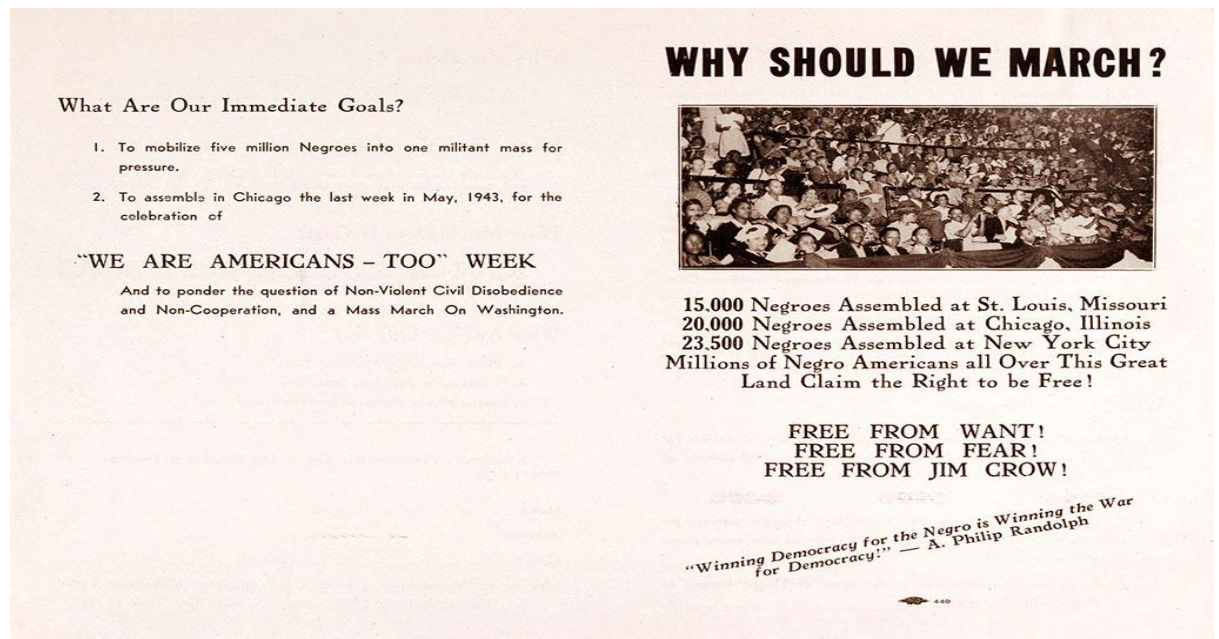


Figure 5: Philip Randolph notification on "Why Should We March" 1941. Courtesy of Library of Congress

The March on Washington Movement (MOWM) was initiated by Randolph in 1941 and aimed to protest racial discrimination in the defense industry and demand equal employment, as well as discrimination in the hiring and promotion of African Americans during World War II (Fig: 5). The movement put pressure on the presidential administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order, "Executive Order 8802" (EO 8802), to ban racial discrimination in the defense industry (Reich 101). Although MOWM never marched on the nation's capital, it gave the civil rights organization a constitutional advancement for the black race through nonviolent protest. Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941, in which it says: "I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin" (Walker 175).

When the United States entered World War II, African Americans joined the fight to defeat fascism abroad. But in the meantime, the fight at home for equal access to employment, housing, education, and voting rights remained. James G. Thompson displayed these concerns in his service in the U.S. Army, which was racially segregated during World War II. In a letter to the editors of "The Pittsburgh Courier", Thompson wrote, as a 26 years old American with a dark complexion, these concerns cross his mind: Should I sacrifice my life to live half American? Will things be better for the future generations of peacekeepers? Is the America that he knows worth defending? (Thompson 1). For Thompson, defeating the Axis powers was half the battle, but winning the war by overturning racial discrimination at home is the total victory.

While government propaganda presented the nation as an example of racial harmony and national unity for the war effort, the Pittsburgh Courier, America's most widely read black newspaper, tried to tell the truth by connecting the United States' treatment of African Americans with Nazi Germany's treatment of Jewish people. The Courier urges black people to give their all, as well as calling on the government to give equal rights to every citizen regardless of race. This fight is against enemies from within and without; they called it the Double V Campaign (Gates).

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Courier published a letter from twenty-six-year-old James G. Thompson, a defense worker in Wichita, Kansas. At that time, black workers could not work on the factory floor of the aircraft manufacturing company where he was employed; instead, he was confined to work in the factory cafeteria. Thompson's questioned the war's aims by saying, "Should I Sacrifice to live Half American?" In the end of his letter, he reminded the readers that the "V for Victory" logo of the U.S. and its Allies for victory over tyranny, slavery, and aggression, which represents the aims of the Axis Powers, is the same of black hardship (Dixon).

On June 15, 1944, it marked the beginning of the liberation from German occupation in France and the end of the Second World War. D-Day was a crucial turning point in the war, when the Allied forces landed on Normandy beaches in France, which allowed them to establish a foothold in Western Europe. The Allies needed huge amounts of materials to load through France to keep up the armies while they were pushing into Germany. Black troops across the channel loaded about 400,000 tons of ammunition, food, and other supplies into the ships that move across the channel into Normandy and other ports. As well, black units unloaded the ships into the trucks; one of them was Medger Evers, a civil rights leader; even the drivers of trucks were black truck drivers on "the Red Ball Express" (Davies). Without that effort, the troops would have been unable to move, eat, or shoot. When you think about D-Day, not just as a single day, but as the much larger invasion that lasted months, practically everything they moved in European theater was handled by at least one black American (Delmont). As Matthew Delmont clarifies the important role played by black soldiers in helping American allies win the war.

The struggle of black soldiers did not end with the end of the Second World War. Black veterans were treated as convicts when they returned to the country; by the moment they got off ships, they were separated from white troops and led to only the black section of town. Despite verbal attacks and violence against them, black veterans stay in uniforms because white supremacists intimidate these veterans into becoming leaders in the civil rights movement (Davies). Johnnie Jones Sr., a warrant officer in a unit responsible for unloading equipment and supplies onto Normandy. Jones remembers coming back to Louisiana after the war ended and having to move to the back of the bus when it crossed the Mason-Dixon Line, which separates the North from the South. He was often harassed by police officers, and the war's memories still haunt him, as Jones stated that he was unable to sit with the soldiers he

had served beside on the battlefield. He had to get to the back of the bus. He became a lawyer and civil rights activist in Baton Rouge (Santana).

Conclusion

African Americans have served courageously in every conflict in U.S. history; they endured individual and institutional racism while fighting for social equality and opportunity. In World War II, the U.S. military systematically discriminated against African Americans, which allowed only white men to serve in combat roles as they had ratification for winning the war. The Army Forces should not be based on race, ethnicity, or religion but rather on the qualifications of physical and mental abilities in defending the nation. Even though Roosevelt passed legislation to give some rights to African Americans, those legislations stayed just ink on paper because they did not reach them due to prejudice in society and the manipulative system during that time. Civil rights movements contributed to advancement, and constitutional changes give an opportunity to future generations of activists and leaders in the ongoing struggle for equality and justice.

Chapter Three

Critical Analysis of "The New Deal"

Introduction

The New Deal made significant and beneficial changes to the American economy and society. It was through providing jobs for millions of unemployed Americans, creating an insurance system as a safety net for its vulnerable populations, and supporting labor unions and workers' rights. But New Deal is highly criticized for everlasting impact on the racial inequalities of minorities, especially African Americans, who faced discrimination in access to relief programs and job opportunities. Though it alleviated some of the Great Depression, the economy continued to struggle throughout the 1930s, with high levels of unemployment persisting in some sectors. In conjunction with the beginning of World War II, the New Deal had high levels of government spending. Both of them helped stabilize the American economy by creating jobs, regulating the financial system, and providing relief and economic strength needed to support the war effort during World War II. While the framework of these significant events made it impossible for black people or soldiers to have their equal rights as American citizens, with restrictions and segregation by the federal and local governments, negroes faced the unprobational distribution of government resources to improve the family conditions of whites while neglecting other minorities on the basis of race and ethnicity.

This chapter provides a closer examination of the various public social work programs that contributed to the social and economic differences in the American community. By taking into consideration the varying challenges and limitations facing African Americans, which advocated for civil rights movements for racial equality, this analysis gives an overview of these programs and highlights their historical effect on changing political attitudes toward them. The racial and ethnic tensions surrounding the New Deal program's implementation and problems concerning equitable access to land ownership, access to relief programs, and educating the public about who was eligible for relief and how it was applied.

3.1. Applying Critical Race Theory on the Discrimination of African American in the New Deal

The historical factors surrounding the New Deal significantly contributed to racial inequality during the Great Depression and the World War II era. This laid to the foundation for ongoing challenges that relate to race and inequality in the United States.

3.1.1. Historical Context of the New Deal

The New Deal was one of the most significant public experiments in American history. The Roosevelt administration's realistic approach to combating the Great Depression of the 1930s resulted in economic recovery and job creation for millions. In the long run, it increased the federal government's participation in national affairs and provided unprecedented responsibility for everyone's welfare. It also represented a significant shift in control over the functioning of American democracy (Walker 1).

The New Deal began with President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's inauguration on March 4, 1933. The legendary Hundred Days of New Initiatives followed. Banking and monetary reform, the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) to assist states, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) to stabilize prices, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) to boost farms and farm prices were all passed by a largely Democratic Congress. The New Deal had five significant effects on the country: boosting economic recovery, creating jobs for the unemployed, establishing public works throughout states, investing in education and civic culture, and reforming the federal system. New programs and laws appeared throughout FDR's first term, with more introduced in the second. Most commentators refer to a First New Deal in 1933-1934 and a Second New Deal in 1935, but there is excellent cause to consider a Third New Deal in 1937-1938, following FDR's 1936 reelection (Walker 1).

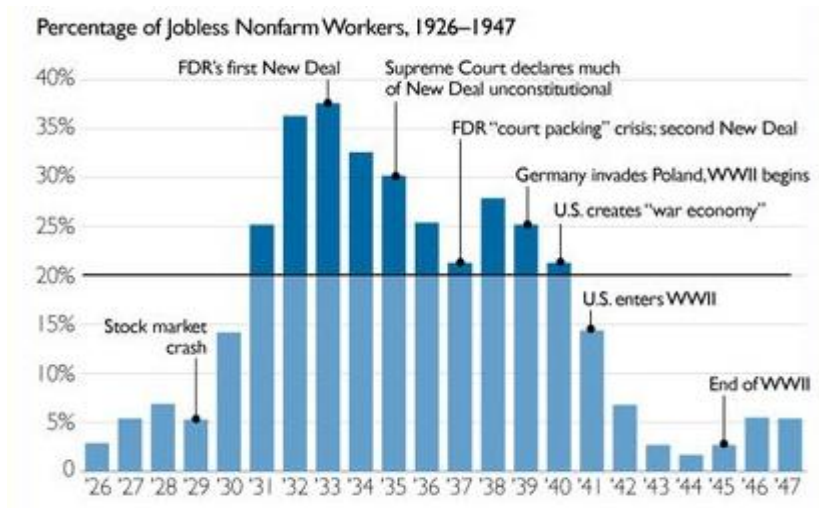


Figure 6: unemployment Rate during the New Deal. Percentage of Jobless Nonfarm Workers, 1926-1947

During the stock-market crash until 1933, 10 to 15 million people lost their jobs, and unemployment reached 25% of the working population. The new administration was compelled to act immediately to address widespread unemployment (see figure: 6) and stimulate the economy (Walker 3). In the first Hundred Days, three job-creation programs were implemented: CCC, FERA, and PWA. FDR's particular favorite, the CCC, aimed to engage young men who lacked resources, skills, or opportunities to work on conservation initiatives. The CCC was a basic 'make-work' effort that employed "CCC boys" to work on reforestation, soil conservation, and park renovations for a minimal salary. FERA provided direct aid through funds to governments facing poverty, company bankruptcies, and declining tax revenues. Several local administrations have declared bankruptcy. FERA grants supported state emergency relief administrations (SERAs) that distributed funds to local agencies (Walker 4).

In 1935, Roosevelt established the Works Progress Administration (WPA) from the produce of the CWA and FERA, with Hopkins in charge. The expansion of relief work was rapid and decisive, and the WPA grew to become the largest and most well-known of all New

Deal initiatives. The PWA, led by Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, requested stringent control to prevent corruption. PWA supported projects that resulted in the creation of many private-sector jobs. In the mid-1930s, the WPA hired approximately one-third of the unemployed, totaling 8.5 million individuals. The WPA created almost three-quarters of all work program employment, the CCC one-eighth, and PWA and all other agencies one-eighth (Walker 5).

House values had dropped significantly, and foreclosures were prevalent. FDR enlarged the Home Owners' Loan Act in 1933 and enacted the Federal Housing Act in 1934. The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) sought to restructure debt for underwater mortgage borrowers. The FHA supported the housing market by offering federal guarantees to mortgage lenders. By the mid-1930s, home prices had continued to rise. During the third New Deal, the Federal National Mortgage Association purchased mortgages from lenders and increased housing financing (Walker 8).

3.1.2. Historical Factors Contribute to Racial Inequality

While the New Deal introduced several programs to help Americans weather the Great Depression, many of these initiatives reinforced racial inequality. This was the case with the CCC and WPA programs, which were criticized for perpetuating segregation and offering unequal access to benefits based on race. The Civilian Conservation Corps was created to address the wide unemployment rate during the Great Depression by the Roosevelt administration in 1933. Many Americans labored to conserve natural resources for state and federal prosperity, especially in the southern and western United States. Despite the efforts of the Department in enlisting young white and black workers, about three million men had participated by 1942, between the ages of 18 and 25. There was discrimination in enlisting black workers, even if they were officers; they were put in segregated camps (Pettit 3).

A visitor to segregated camps in Houston, Texas, George O. Dunean sent a message in 1933 to the NAACP to address the bad conditions of the CCC. George spoke about the different conditions between whites and coloreds in work, food, and even hindered packages of tobacco donated from the Brown and Williamson Company. Distribution based on race identities affects the justice and development of the work industry (Pettit 5). On the other hand, the WPA was the largest and most controversial during its eight years of existence; it spent over 11 billion dollars, hired more than 8 million workers, and provided relief for an estimated 30 million people, roughly one-fourth of the nation. For that, it became one of the most praised and criticized of all the New Deal agencies (Ladenburg 47).

A study found that 23% of Americans considered the WPA the "worst" of all New Deal projects. Investment systems were concerned that government funds were being wasted. Unions and industry criticized competition from ordinary businesses, while the unemployed criticized low government pay and a shortage of WPA jobs. African-Americans reported a lack of employment opportunities, while Republicans argued that government jobs were used to influence voters. Conservatives were concerned about the potential for a communist state. Making fun of WPA workers became a national sport (Ladenburg 49).

Even in the military, African Americans faced exclusion until the need for more troops demonstrated the importance of their participation. Historically, this practice has been fueled by personal and institutional racism. Blacks were never considered equals in the military with whites. Even as military auxiliary units, they faced endless isolation and discrimination. The majority of blacks were consigned to service and supply groups (McGuire 351).

3.1.3. Study of the Political Programs

Poverty and homelessness expanded in the Great Depression era, more than one million Americans faced foreclosure on their homes. Many Americans lived in slumps, unable to afford houses over their heads. To stimulate the economy offered home-buying aid for Americans the Federal Housing Administration and National Housing Administration federal backing loans guaranteeing mortgages to promote homeownership. But the FHA limited access to only white buyers, whereas it put restrictions on black Americans (Little). Richard D. Kahlenberg, a writer about housing segregation in the United States, notes that the assistance program does not only limit loans to white Americans ; as he says: "the federal subsidy for home ownership went almost entirely to white people," but it also establishes and reinforces housing segregation by drawing lines between white and black neighborhoods (Little).

Whereas, the Agricultural Adjustment Act signed in May 1933, was enacted to offer farmers urgent economic help during the Great Depression. It was designed to boost farmers' purchasing power by lowering agricultural product surpluses and encouraging prices to climb back to levels that would provide farmers with sustainable incomes (Metych). By 1935, farmers' incomes were 50% higher than in 1932, whereas, for black sharecroppers in the South, this act caused deeper poverty because the payments were not for planters but for landowners. John E. Moser said:

"The AAA had been formed under the 1933 Agricultural Adjustment Act; its Purpose was to implement a "domestic allotment" plan to raise the price of farm products by paying farmers to produce less. This proved a great deal for farmers who owned their own land. However, for those who lived and worked on land owned by others – particularly black sharecroppers in the South – the results were often disastrous, as landowners simply informed them that their

labor was no longer necessary, and evicted them from the land." (John E. Moser, 74)

Even when some African American members expressed their dissatisfaction with the AAA, they were dismissed by southern Democrats. The replacement of sharecroppers by technological equipment shows the racial prejudice towards black farmers (Lewis).

3.2. Applying Marxist Theory to the Neglection of African Americans

While the New Deal provides some economic relief and opportunities to American citizens, it also has of limitations for African Americans. The policies had economic effects that did not achieve racial equality and equity. African Americans often faced segregation and discrimination in job opportunities, exploitation of worker rights, redlining of houses, and in social security.

3.2.1. Labor Exploitation

Access to regular jobs and work relief differed significantly across the US based on race. Local governments outside the South provided work aid to blacks, but the labor markets in those regions were already more likely to leave them unemployed. Local governments in the South provided less help to unemployed blacks compared to whites. This contributed to the economic as well as political disparity of blacks in the South. For instance, local officials valued the interests of voters, economic stakeholders, and personal ideology while distributing chances and funds between blacks and whites. During the period when blacks had limited voting rights in the South, white voters with discriminating attitudes controlled the voting population. White voters made up both the average and upper percentiles of the electorate, particularly when the winning candidate sought stronger authority to implement policies (Fishback et al. 12). Among those interests and policies is the domination of white workers in the Work Progress Administration (WPA) and the National Recovery Administration (NRA).

The NRA, a component of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), was a major step toward a European-style welfare state. It enacted national minimum-wage and maximum-hours regulations, guaranteed collective bargaining rights and industrial production codes, and invested massive sums of tax money in public-works projects. But many African Americans and organizations sent letters of protest to NRA officials because agricultural and domestic jobs [which employed the vast majority of black workers] were not covered in the fair competition standards. Another important concern raised by African American workers was unequal remuneration for equal effort ("Black Labor and the Codes").

The New Dealers urge gathering data on the country's citizens. To provide Washington planners with information on the hardships of living during the Great Depression, the National Archives and Records Administration conducted interviews, completed questionnaires, kept track of their consumption, and mailed petitions. Domestic work in the discourse demonstrated that it was an occupation, fought over by interest groups just like any other job. Middle-class employers, who were largely white, preferred that the job remain unregulated, unless hours of legislation, for example, drew new workers in. Domestic workers from working-class families, regardless of race, sought inclusion in statutes that safeguarded union organizing or provided coverage under maximum hour and minimum wage regulations. The public narrative of housework also fueled new research into the development and preservation of whiteness. Housewives had found government partners to maintain a system that upheld white women's entitlement to a pleasant, well-ordered house, but other women's futures were defined by low-wage, unregulated employment that rarely paid enough to sustain their own homes and families (Palmer).

Even when the administration puts some regulation in regard to hours and wages, the condition of hundreds of Negroes in the domestic and personal service faced a number of barriers by working for 18 hours a day with a small salary, especially in the Southern States.

3.2.2. Housing and Redlining

Many Americans lost their homes to the deep impact of the Great Depression. Near the conclusion of the "First Hundred Days" of New Deal legislation, in June 1933, the Home Owners Loan Act was approved, and a part of it established the HOLC. Under the direction of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, it was authorized to refinance nonfarm house mortgages up to a maximum of \$14,000 by using bonds that were issued to lenders, on which the interest was fully insured by the government after 1934. The refinanced mortgages had a fifteen-year term and were fully amortized, which meant that the principle and interest were paid back at the same time. This arrangement was more advantageous to the borrower and was first introduced by savings and loans, or "thrifts," which are tiny shareholder-owned banks, in the 1920s. New Deal housing policy advisors strongly advocated for this reform (Michney et Winling 152).

Roosevelt sent a short message to each house of Congress to pass legislation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation on April 13, 1933, which has the following points: "One, protect the small home owner from foreclosure; two, relieve him of part "of the burden of excessive interest and principal payments incurred during the period of higher value and higher earning power"; and three, declare that it was a national policy to protect homeownership (Harriss 9)".

The federal government's segregationist housing policies continue to associate the HOLC's high-risk, "Hazardous" with mostly minority areas. Cities with more HOLC "Declining" and "Hazardous" neighborhoods that are majority-minority tend to have uneven distributions of minority and white residents, lower levels of interaction between races and ethnicities, and higher minority clustering rates. Cities with the least change in HOLC neighborhoods have higher levels of segregation across multiple dimensions (Mitchell 13). By

denying minorities, especially African Americans, homeownership aid during 1933-1935, it will deprive blacks of future prosperity. "African Americans had dramatically lower rates of homeownership stemming from unequal access to the housing markets (Michney et Winling 151)". But this draft is so limited because many deserving families would not get aid or others would get too little.

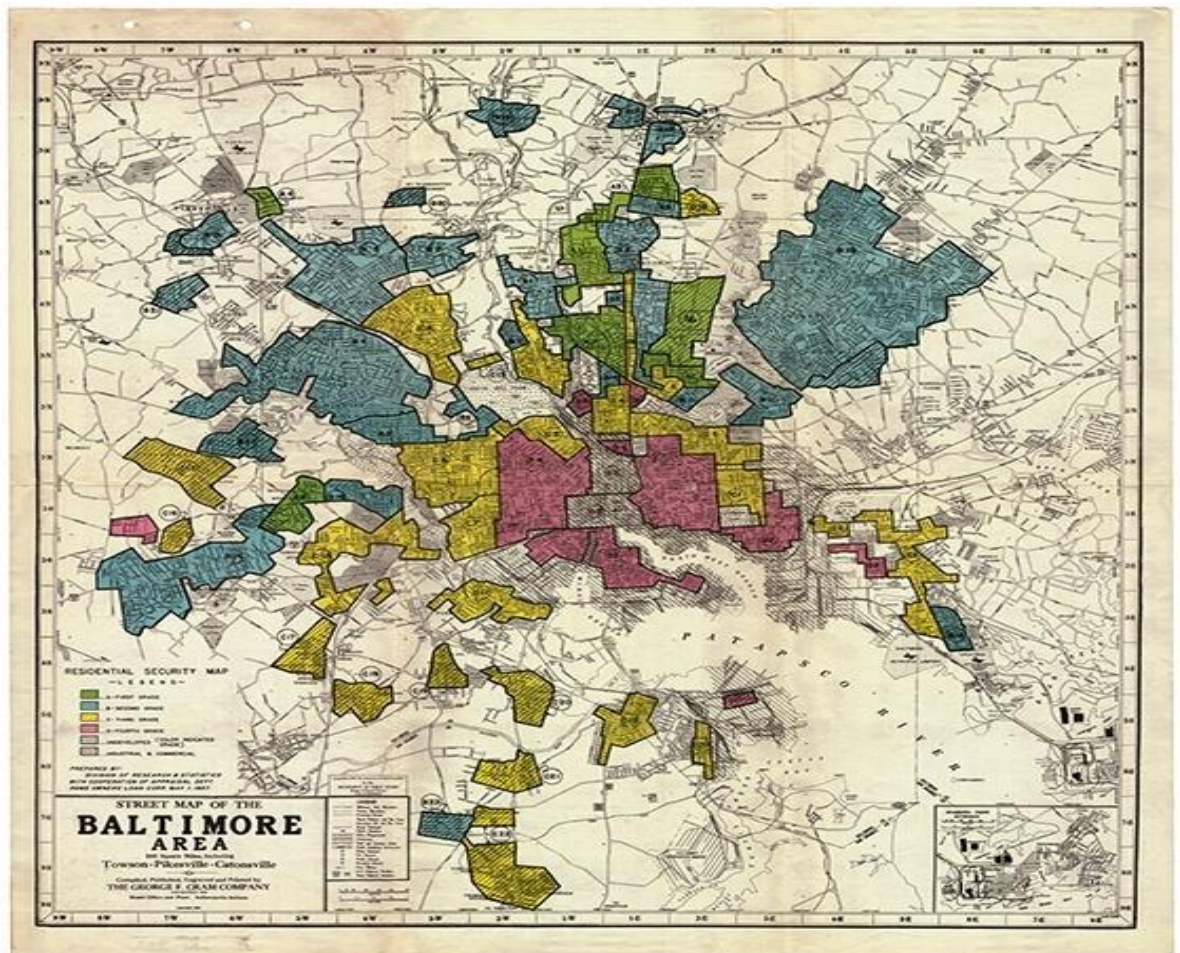


Figure 7: A Home Owners Loan Corporation map from 1937 shows how areas in Baltimore were graded on their lending “riskiness,” with the redlined areas concentrated downtown. (Image courtesy of the [Johns Hopkins Library](#))

The FHA set redline (Figure: 7) on the black neighborhood to prevent mixture between segregated areas because it only insures mortgages in white neighborhoods that would remain white. The historian Richard Rothstein writes in "The American Prospect"

about the inability of black Americans to buy a house in a white neighborhood or to insure their house in a black neighborhood. According to Rothstein, if a black family could afford to buy into a white neighborhood without government help, the FHA would refuse to insure future mortgages even to whites in that neighborhood because it was now threatened with integration (Rothstein, "The Color of Justice"). With fewer education and job opportunities for blacks compared to white neighborhoods, the federal practice of redlining, which involves denying loans or other services based on a person's race, was attempted to be stopped by the Fair Housing Act of 1968, but it did not fully address the detrimental effects that segregation and discrimination had already had on Black Americans for decades. Halley Potter, a senior fellow at "The Century Foundation," said that the legacy of housing values and demographic patterns in our cities is evident when you look at maps (Little).

3.2.3. Social Security Act

The Social Security program was established in 1935 as part of the New Deal. The legislation has been labeled as colorblind, implying that race did not play a role in program design; however, this claim is disputed. The initial legislation applied exclusively to those who were regularly employed in commerce and industry. Domestic workers and farm workers, among other jobs, were not protected. In 1930, these two occupations employed almost 65 percent of all African American workers. Although there is evidence of racially motivated decisions to exclude African Americans from the old-age assistance program, historians dispute why legislators denied domestic and agricultural workers old-age insurance. Some experts believe the decision to exclude these workers was racially motivated, and that members of Congress were involved (Kijakazi et al, 2). Most African Americans were excluded from Social Security as a result of coalitions among white leaders across regions and political parties, including Roosevelt's Committee on Economic Security (CES), which was in

charge of developing the program. This position states that these policymakers "shared an interest in maintaining the political and economic values of whiteness (Poole)."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in his speech when he signed the Social Security Act on August 14, 1937, "This social security measure gives some protection to 30 million of our citizens who will receive direct benefits through unemployment compensation, through old-age pensions, and through increased services for the protection of children and the prevention of ill health ("Social Security statement")." When Roosevelt makes such a statement and refers to the 30 million American people as "our citizens", he cannot exclude African Americans as members of the American people.



Figure 8: "At the Time of the Louisville Flood (1937)". By Margret Bourke-White.

As (Fig: 8) shows African Americans flood victims waiting to receive bread through the Red Cross Relief, ironically standing in front of a poster proclaiming the "American Way". The concept that the white capitalist standard of living in America is the only way to

live appropriately is in stark contrast to the experiences of the people who are going nowhere in the line underneath it (Browning). On the other hand, Social Security is crucial for most Americans, but it is especially important for African Americans, who are more likely to face financial hardship.

Veterans could receive guaranteed loans for homes, farms, or businesses, as well as tuition assistance, job placement, and unemployment insurance through the G.I. Bill. But unlike white veterans, black servicemen were not as successful in entering the middle class as they were after the war, thanks to the bill. Legislative gaps allowed discrimination against African-Americans to continue, just as it did in daily life. Veterans could receive guaranteed loans for houses, farms, or businesses, as well as unemployment insurance, tuition assistance, and job placement through the G.I. Bill. After the war, black soldiers encountered the same racial violence and socioeconomic problems. They still had trouble getting hired for well-paying jobs, faced segregation, and suffered targeted brutality despite their sacrifices made abroad, especially when they were wearing their military uniforms. Black Americans were encouraged to enlist in the military during the war by the NAACP and other civil rights organizations in order to qualify for G.I. Bill benefits, which included guaranteed loans for homes, farms, or businesses, tuition assistance, unemployment insurance, and job placement for veterans. However, the bill did not advance black servicemen into the middle class in the same proportion as it did for white veterans after the war. Legislative gaps allowed discrimination against African-Americans to continue, just as it did in daily life (Clark).

3.2.4. Trade Unions

The National Labor Relations Act was one of the first measures implemented under the Second New Deal. The Wagner Act, named after Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, reinstated the NIRA's collective bargaining provisions. The federal government once again

defended workers' rights to form unions and bargain collectively with their employers. The Wagner Act also blocked unfair labor actions such as threatening employees, terminating union members, and interfering with union organizing efforts ("Seaford Union Free School District ", 794).

While white workers frequently petitioned state and municipal governments to remove competition from free black workers, the convention was unnecessary because the constitution made no mention of race. This left the issue of membership to national and local unions. This demonstrated a key aspect of organized labor in America. Black workers were confined to "federal" union status, putting them at the mercy of larger national organizations, which typically ignored their calls for equal treatment, which limited their ability to bargain for better wages and working conditions than white members. The leader of the National Urban League, Lester Granger, warned black workers against "premature admiration" for the new industrial unions. He later described the Wagner Act as "the worst piece of legislation ever passed by Congress" (Moreno 75-76).

3.3. The Reactions and Outcomes of the New Deal on African Americans

The New Deal achieved significant results, got people back to work, saved capitalism, restored faith in the American economy, and instilled hope in the American people. But economically, it was less successful. Nevertheless, the Roosevelt administration's efforts to establish racial equality proved ineffective. Roosevelt prioritized economic recovery over civil rights reform, refusing to push legislation to address racial injustice. He supported anti-lynching and anti-poll tax initiatives, but did little to help them pass Congress. To do so would have enraged influential southern white congressmen, whose backing he required to carry out his wider New Deal initiatives and foreign policy goals of assisting the Allies in

their struggle against fascists in Europe at the end of the 1930s (Lawson). This led civil rights activists to advocate for fair and equal rights.

America's harsh racial geography remains a reliable predictor of opportunity. Residential segregation influences inequalities in educational opportunities, labor market performance, political efficacy, credit availability, and a variety of other areas of American life. Many researchers blame the federal government for generating this socioeconomic divide through segregationist housing laws implemented during the New Deal and expanded in the following decades. The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), Federal Housing Administration (FHA), and G.I. Bill established the modern U.S. house ownership system but excluded people of color from affordable mortgage loans, perpetuating racialized neighborhoods. These rules give official support to the notion that living near people of color leads to a decrease in property value (Faber 740).

Conclusion

The New Deal had continued to alleviate Americans' suffering. Millions of individuals got assistance, including immediate relief and stable employment opportunities. However, Roosevelt's plans did not bring an end to the Great Depression. During his second administration, FDR hinted at plans for a third New Deal. In his inaugural address, he indicated that the New Deal was effectively gone by 1939, but its legacy would endure. New Deal economic and financial reforms, including the FDIC, SEC, and Social Security, have stabilized the nation's economy. Despite ongoing economic downturns, people's money is protected. In cases of job loss, they may be eligible for unemployment compensation.

The New Deal did provide some economic relief and opportunities for African Americans through programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Works Progress Administration, and the Public Works Administration. However, critics argue that the New

Deal did not do enough to address the systemic racism and discrimination faced by African Americans. That is responsible for racial and economic disparity for most minorities especially black Americans. By excluding them from most relief programs in the South. The legislation and policies often perpetuated racial inequality and disparities that persisted long after the New Deal era. Nonetheless, the New Deal era's political and cultural movement began to reshape the country, laying the groundwork for the Civil Rights Movement. For example, the number of African Americans in the federal government increased considerably, including some officials who joined the Black Cabinet to exert pressure on the administration. Many leading New Dealers, such as Harold Ickes, Mary McLeod Bethune, and Eleanor Roosevelt, were vigorous advocates of racial equality, something that had not been seen since Reconstruction.

General

Conclusion

Franklin D. Roosevelt is generally considered to be one of the greatest presidents in American history, along with Lincoln and Washington. He happened to have a disability throughout much of his adult life, but people were amazed at his energy and optimism. He held office longer than any president in American history, leading the United States through two of its biggest crises in the 20th century, the Great Depression and World War II. After that has been said, in spite of Roosevelt's qualifications for maintaining social and economic order, he would be either the worst or the greatest president. He said: "If I fail, I shall be the last one." Due to gaps in the New Deal policies, he was unsuccessful in including all American people, but that does not make him a failure as president. Because he was one of the dynamic figures who advocated for change.

Alternatively, the U.S. was unfair and discriminated against African Americans at home and within the armed forces. Even if black soldiers served in the military and contributed to the war effort, they were often faced with segregation, relegated to supporting roles, and denied the same opportunities for combat duty and promotions as their white counterparts. Meanwhile, at home, African Americans faced discrimination in hiring practices, and they were often limited to low-paying and menial jobs in the defense industry, as well as excluded from many highly skilled and managerial positions. Not only that, the U.S. government forcibly interned Japanese Americans, but there was no comparable mass internment of German and Italian descent. This contrast highlighted the unequal treatment of different racial and ethnic groups, which increased racial tensions and riots across America during the war years, particularly in areas where African Americans and whites worked together, such as the Detroit Race Riot of 1943.

As a response to this discrimination, black newspapers and civil rights organizations launched the Double V campaign, advocating for victory against fascism abroad and victory against racism at home. This campaign highlighted the hypocrisy of fighting for freedom and

democracy overseas while denying those same rights to African Americans in the United States. Their experiences during the Great Depression and World War II exposed African Americans neglect and paved the way for future activism and eventual integration of the U.S. military in 1948, as well as a broader movement for racial equality in the United States.

The economic conditions of African Americans post-World War II were deeply impacted by a combination of historical factors, including the legacy of systemic racism, segregation, and discrimination, as well as the effects of New Deal policies. While the New Deal programs were instrumental in laying the groundwork for social safety nets and economic reforms in the United States, their impact on African Americans was marred by unevenness and often reinforced existing racial disparities. This inequality gives an idea of how many American concepts in the New Deal era were often reflected in policies that marginalized or excluded African Americans and other minorities from the full benefits of the New Deal programs. The segregation in the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), the Work Progress Administration (WPA), and the redlining in the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) are white supremacist ideas that shaped systemic racism in American society throughout history.

Works Cited

- ‘ Why Should We March’ Flyer, 1941.” “*Why Should We March*” Flyer, 1941 | State Historical Society of Iowa, history.iowa.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/world-war-ii-homefront/why-should-we-march. Accessed 24 May 2024.
- “Roosevelt’s Brains Trust.” *Armstrong Economics*, 9 Jan. 2016, www.armstrongeconomics.com/research/economic-thought/economics/roosevelts-brains-trust/.
- A Home Owners’ Loan Corporation map, from 1937. “The Ghosts of Housing Discrimination Reach beyond Redlining.” *Urban Institute*, 15 Mar. 2023, www.urban.org/features/ghosts-housing-discrimination-reach-beyond-redlining.
- Amadeo, Kimberly. “4 Surprising Ways the New Deal Affects You Today.” *The Balance*, www.thebalancemoney.com/fdr-and-the-new-deal-programs-timeline-did-it-work-3305598. Accessed 24 May 2024.
- Amadeo, Kimberly. “Historical US Unemployment Rate by Year.” *The Balance*, The Balance, 6 Dec. 2022, www.thebalancemoney.com/unemployment-rate-by-year-3305506.
- Arnesen, Eric. A. *Philip Randolph and the Writing of Civil Rights And ...*, pq-static-content.proquest.com/collateral/media2/documents/casestudy-gwu.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.
- Baugh, Sue L. “Southern Strategy.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/topic/Southern-strategy. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Black, Allida. "Eleanor Roosevelt on the 'Four Basic Rights'." *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, 2020, pp. 99–102.

Bourke-White, Margret. *At the Time of the Louisville Flood (1937)*. 12 Nov. 2012.

Brinkmann, Lindsay. "Hooverville in the Great Depression" Definition and Facts. 21 Nov. 2023, <https://study.com/learn/lesson/hooverville-great-depression.html>

Browning, Eliza. *No Way like the American Way: But for Whom?*,
wheatonarthiverevue.com/essay/no-way-like-the-american-way-but-for-whom/.
Accessed 3 June 2024.

Clark, Alexis. "Black Americans Who Served in WWII Faced Segregation Abroad and at Home." *History.Com*, A&E Television Networks, www.history.com/news/black-soldiers-world-war-ii-discrimination. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Clark, Alexis. "Returning from War, Returning to Racism." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 30 July 2020, www.nytimes.com/2020/07/30/magazine/black-soldiers-wwii-racism.html.

Colasanti, Kas, and Emily Ference. "Works Cited." *The Great Depression*,
efkcdepression.weebly.com/works-cited.html. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Davies, Dave. "'half American' Explores How Black WWII Servicemen Were Treated Better Abroad." *NPR*, NPR, 8 Nov. 2022, www.npr.org/2022/11/07/1134756262/half-american-matthew-delmont-black-wwii.

Demirel, Magic. *Seattle's Hooverville: The Failure of Effective Unemployment Relief in Early 1930s Seattle - Great Depression Project*,
depts.washington.edu/depress/hooverville_seattle.shtml. Accessed 24 May 2024.

- Dixon, Euell A. "The Double V Campaign (1942-1945) •." •, 23 Jan. 2023, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/events-african-american-history/the-double-v-campaign-1942-1945/.
- Duignan, Brian. "Causes of the Great Depression." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/story/causes-of-the-great-depression. Accessed 24 May 2024.
- education472, Mae Tara. "A. Philip Randolph: Man behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement." *Tvhs*, Tvhs, 19 Jan. 2021, www.threevillagehistoricalsociety.org/post/a-philip-randolph-man-behind-the-scenes-of-the-civil-rights-movement.
- Edwards, Sebastian. *UCLA*, 24 Apr. 2018, www.anderson.ucla.edu/faculty_pages/sebastian.edwards/Papers%20Files/ddhop_49_1_01Edwards_Fpp.pdf.
- Executive Order. No. 8862, 1941.
- Fishback, Price, et al. *Yale*, egc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/2021-04/2021-0423%20EconHistory%20Conference/fishback.et.al.short.2021.04.15%20ada-ns.pdf. Accessed 2 June 2024.
- Fishback, Price. *The Economics of the Second World War: Seventy-Five ...*, University of Arizona and NBER, cepr.org/system/files/publication-files/60043-the_economics_of_the_second_world_war_seventy_five_years_on.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.
- Fober, Jacob E. *We Built This: Consequences of New Deal Era Intervention ...*, stonecenter.gc.cuny.edu/files/2023/04/faber-asr20.pdf. Accessed 3 June 2024.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First Inauguration, 1933,

www.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/00675_FPS_0.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Gates, Henry L. "Segregation in the Armed Forces during World War II." *PBS, Public Broadcasting Service*, 19 Sept. 2013, www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/what-was-black-americas-double-war/.

Gaur, Aakansha. "The New Deal (Article)." *Khan Academy, Khan Academy*, www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/rise-to-world-power/great-depression/a/the-new-deal. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Getz, Trevor. *The Second World War - OER Project*, www.oerproject.com/-/media/WHP-1200/PDF/Unit7/WHP-1200-7-4-2-Read---The-Second-World-War---950L.ashx. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Golway, Terrence. *Machine Made: Irish America, Tammany Hall and the Creation Of*, rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/37410/PDF/1/play/. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Greenwald, Bryon. "Absent from the Front: What the Case of the Missing World War II Black Combat Soldier Can." *National Defense University Press*, 30 Oct. 2023, ndupress.ndu.edu/Media/News/News-Article-View/Article/3571057/absent-from-the-front-what-the-case-of-the-missing-world-war-ii-black-combat-so/.

Hansan, John. "The New Deal: Part II." *Social Welfare History Project*, 6 Mar. 2018, socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/eras/great-depression/the-new-deal-part-ii/.

Harriss, Lowell C. *Background of Home Owners' Loan Corporation Legislation*, www.nber.org/system/files/chapters/c3206/c3206.pdf. Accessed 28 May 2024.

Hoak, Michael Shane. "The Men in Green: African Americans and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933-1942." *W&M ScholarWorks*, dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-h2yd-7p07. Accessed 24 May 2024.

II, Herbert G. Ruffin. "FDR's Black Cabinet (1933-1945) •." •, 25 Jan. 2022, www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/fdrs-black-cabinet-1933-1945/.

Jacobs, William Jay. *Eleanor Roosevelt.Pdf*, www.jacksonsd.org/cms/lib/NJ01912744/Centricity/Domain/520/eleanor%20roosevelt.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Jackson, Jesse. *Excerpt from "The Story of Hooverville, in Seattle" by Jesse ...*, www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/CityArchive/DDL/Hoovervilles/jackson.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Kaye, Harvey J. *Complete Presidential Speeches of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 2022, www.loc.gov/static/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/documents/Complete-Presidential-Speeches-FDR_Kaye.pdf.

Kennedy, David M. *The Great Depression and World War II, 1929-1945*, [www.cbsd.org/cms/lib/PA01916442/Centricity/Domain/1864/The Great Depression and World War II_David Kennedy.pdf](http://www.cbsd.org/cms/lib/PA01916442/Centricity/Domain/1864/The%20Great%20Depression%20and%20World%20War%20II_David%20Kennedy.pdf). Accessed 16AD.

Kijakazi, Kilolo, et al. *African American Economic Security and the Role of Social ...*, www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/100697/african_american_economic_security_and_the_role_of_social_security.pdf. Accessed 3 June 2024.

Killinger, Charles L. *The Fascist Era and World War II, 1919–1945*,

www.slbs.org/cms/lib03/MO01001157/Centricity/Domain/2503/Killinger-Italy.pdf.

Accessed 24 May 2024.

Klein, Christopher. “Last Hired, First Fired: How the Great Depression Affected African

Americans.” *History.Com*, A&E Television Networks, [www.history.com/news/last-](http://www.history.com/news/last-hired-first-fired-how-the-great-depression-affected-african-americans)

[hired-first-fired-how-the-great-depression-affected-african-americans](http://www.history.com/news/last-hired-first-fired-how-the-great-depression-affected-african-americans). Accessed 24

May 2024.

Ladenburg, Thomas. *Chapter 2 the Roaring Twenties - Digital History*,

www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/teachers/lesson_plans/pdfs/unit9_2.pdf. Accessed 24 May

2024.

Ladenburg, Thomas. *Chapter 9 Franklin Roosevelt and the Depression*,

www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/teachers/lesson_plans/pdfs/unit9_9.pdf. Accessed 24 May

2024.

Landenburg, Thomas. “Chapter 11 President Roosevelt and the WPA.”

T.Ladenburg@verizon.Net,

www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/teachers/lesson_plans/pdfs/unit9_11.pdf. Accessed 29 May

2024.

Lawson, Steven F. “To Secure These Rights - Part I: The New Deal Coalition for Civil

Rights.” *Truman Library Institute*, 10 July 2023, [www.trumanlibraryinstitute.org/civil-](http://www.trumanlibraryinstitute.org/civil-rights-symposium/civil-rights-symposium-history-1/)

[rights-symposium/civil-rights-symposium-history-1/](http://www.trumanlibraryinstitute.org/civil-rights-symposium/civil-rights-symposium-history-1/).

Leuchtenberg, William E. *Depression, New Deal, and World War II - National Park Service*, www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/CarlsbadCav/pdf/7.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Leuchtenburg, William E., et al. "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Campaigns and Elections." *Miller Center*, 28 Aug. 2023, millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/campaigns-and-elections.

Leuchtenburg, William E., et al. "Franklin D. Roosevelt: Life before the Presidency." *Miller Center*, 28 Aug. 2023, millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/life-before-the-presidency.

Lewis, E. E. "Black Cotton Farmers and the AAA." *Teaching American History*, 15 Apr. 2024, teachingamericanhistory.org/document/black-cotton-farmers-and-the-aaa/.

Little, Becky. "How a New Deal Housing Program Enforced Segregation." *History.Com*, A&E Television Networks, www.history.com/news/housing-segregation-new-deal-program. Accessed 27 May 2024.

Lotha, Gloria. "New Deal: References & Edit History." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., www.britannica.com/event/New-Deal/additional-info#history. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Macgregor, JR., Morris J. *Integration of the Armed Forces, 1940-1965*, history.army.mil/html/books/050/50-1-1/cmhPub_50-1-1.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Magazine, Smithsonian. "Why African-American Soldiers Saw World War II as a Two-Front Battle." *Smithsonian.Com*, Smithsonian Institution, 24 Aug. 2017,

www.smithsonianmag.com/history/why-african-american-soldiers-saw-world-war-ii-two-front-battle-180964616/.

McGuire, Phillip. "Judge Hastie, World War II, and Army racism." *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 62, no. 4, Oct. 1977, pp. 351–362, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2717111>.

Metych, Michele. "Agricultural Adjustment Act." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 8 May 2024, www.britannica.com/topic/Agricultural-Adjustment-Act.

Mhsdigitaladmin. "Hooverizing to Victory or Food: A Weapon of War." *Hooverizing to Victory OR Food: A Weapon of War*, mthistoryrevealed.blogspot.com/2018/02/food-weapon-of-war.html. Accessed 25 May 2024.

Michney, Todd M., and LaDale Winling. "New Perspectives on new deal housing policy: Explicating and mapping holc loans to African Americans." *Journal of Urban History*, vol. 46, no. 1, 9 Jan. 2019, pp. 150–180, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144218819429>.

Mitchell, Bruce. *Holc "Redlining" Maps: The Persistent Structure Of ...*, nrcr.org/wp-content/uploads/dlm_uploads/2018/02/NCRC-Research-HOLC-10.pdf. Accessed 28 May 2024.

Moreno, Paul. *Unions and Discrimination*, www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-journal/2010/1/cj30n1-4.pdf. Accessed 3 June 2024.

Moser, John E. "Foreign Policy in the 1930s: From Neutrality to Involvement." *Bill of Rights Institute*, billofrightsinstitute.org/essays/foreign-policy-in-the-1930s-from-neutrality-to-involvement. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Moser, John E. "World Magazine 2024." *Feri.Org*, newdeal.feri.org/opp/opp3572.htm.

Accessed 2 June 2024.

Murphy, Mary-Elizabeth B. "African Americans in the Great Depression and New Deal."

Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History, 19 Nov. 2020,

doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.632.

Nalty, Bernard C. *The Right to Fight African-American Marines in World War ...*,

[www.marines.mil/Portals/1/Publications/The Right to Fight African-American
Marines in World War II PCN 19000313200_1.pdf](http://www.marines.mil/Portals/1/Publications/The%20Right%20to%20Fight%20African-American%20Marines%20in%20World%20War%20II%20PCN%2019000313200_1.pdf). Accessed 24 May 2024.

Ono, David. "Faceism: Why Black Solders during WWII Were Denied Recognition for

Heroism." *ABC7 Los Angeles*, 4 Feb. 2023, [abc7.com/faceism-racism-world-war-ii-
history-vernon-baker/12767716/](http://abc7.com/faceism-racism-world-war-ii-history-vernon-baker/12767716/).

Palmer, Phillis. "Black Domestic during the Depression." *National Archives and Records*

Administration, National Archives and Records Administration,

www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1997/summer/domestics-in-the-depression.

Accessed 29 May 2024.

Pettit, Cheyenne. *New Deal Programs and Race, Class, and Ethnicity*, pq-static-

content.proquest.com/collateral/media2/documents/resourceguide-newdeal.pdf.

Accessed 26 May 2024.

Rebecca Santana, The Associated Press. "Fighting Germans and Jim Crow: Role of Black

Troops on D-Day." *Military Times*, Military Times, 19 Aug. 2022,

[www.militarytimes.com/military-honor/salute-veterans/2019/06/05/fighting-
germans-and-jim-crow-role-of-black-troops-on-d-day/](http://www.militarytimes.com/military-honor/salute-veterans/2019/06/05/fighting-germans-and-jim-crow-role-of-black-troops-on-d-day/).

Reich, Steven A. "Winning the War for Democracy: The March on Washington Movement, 1941–1946." *Duke University Press*, Duke University Press, 1 May 2016, read.dukeupress.edu/labor/article-abstract/13/2/101/14797/Winning-the-War-for-Democracy-The-March-on?redirectedFrom=PDF.

Roosevelt, Franklin D: "The Day of Infamy Speech: Well-Remembered but Still Missing." *National Archives and Records Administration*, National Archives and Records Administration, prologue.blogs.archives.gov/2016/12/08/the-day-of-infamy-speech-well-remembered-but-still-missing/. Accessed 8 Dec. 1941.

"Statement on Signing the Social Security Act." *Statement on Signing the Social Security Act. | The American Presidency Project*, 14 Aug. 1935, www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-signing-the-social-security-act-0.

The Atlantic Charter,

www.fdrlibrary.org/documents/356632/390886/atlantic_charter.pdf/30b3c906-e448-4192-8657-7bbb9e0fdd38. Accessed 24 May 2024.

"The Forgotten Man 7 April. 1932", "Academics." *Pepperdine School of Public Policy*, publicpolicy.pepperdine.edu/academics/research/faculty-research/new-deal/roosevelt-speeches/. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Rothsein, Richard. "State-Enforced Segregation and the Color of Justice." *The American Prospect*, 24 July 2017, prospect.org/labor/state-enforced-segregation-color-justice/.

Sears, John F. *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal ...*, goodofall.org/site/wp-content/uploads/2008/06/sears.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Smith, Clint from Crash Courses. "World War II: Black American History #31." *YouTube*, YouTube, 15 Jan. 2022, www.youtube.com/watch?v=U7wrwPnQVg4. From 02:00 to 07:00.

Sparrow, Paul M. "FDR and the Dust Bowl." *National Archives and Records Administration*, National Archives and Records Administration, fdr.blogs.archives.gov/2018/06/20/fdr-and-the-dust-bowl/. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Sterling, Christopher H. "*The Fireside Chats*"—*President Franklin D. Roosevelt* www.loc.gov/static/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/documents/FiresideChats.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Swift, Nan. *The Shaky Foundations of Modern Farm Policy*, www.rstreet.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/Final-Study-No.-284.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

The New Deal - Seaford Union Free School District, [www.seaford.k12.ny.us/cms/lib/NY01000674/Centricity/Domain/324/MODULE 19 The New Deal.pdf](https://www.seaford.k12.ny.us/cms/lib/NY01000674/Centricity/Domain/324/MODULE%2019%20The%20New%20Deal.pdf). Accessed 3 June 2024.

Thompson, James G. *James Thompson's Letter to the Pittsburgh Courier*, www.pcsb.org/cms/lib8/FL01903687/Centricity/Domain/7034/james-thompson-letter.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Unemployment Rate During the Great Depression. Bicentennial Edition Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1970 Part 1 (1975) Washington D.C. Series D 1-10 "Labor Force and its Components 1900-1947", p. 126.

Walker, Joel. A. *Philip Randolph's Attempt at Equal Economic Opportunity*,

www.socialstudies.org/system/files/publications/articles/se_7704174.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Walker, Richard. "New-Deal-in-Brief.Pdf." *The Living New Deal* (2009),

livingnewdeal.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/New-Deal-in-Brief.pdf. Accessed 30 May 2024.

Wall, Wendy. *Doi Name 10.1093 Values*, doi.org/10.1093. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Walters-Philips, Barbara, and Susan Mallett. *Tuskegee Airmen*,

www.gocivilairpatrol.com/media/cms/Tuskegee_Airmen_Book_as_of_22222_016E6745F1290.pdf. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Watts, Jill. "The New Deal, Jim Crow and the Black Cabinet." *Learning for Justice*,

www.learningforjustice.org/podcasts/teaching-hard-history/jim-crow-era/the-new-deal-jim-crow-and-the-black-cabinet. Accessed 24 May 2024.

Watts, Jill. *New Deal or Raw Deal?*, [www.moaf.org/publications-collections/financial-history-](http://www.moaf.org/publications-collections/financial-history-history-)

[magazine/134/_res/id=Attachments/index=0/New%20Deal%20or%20Raw%20Deal.pdf](http://www.moaf.org/publications-collections/financial-history-history-magazine/134/_res/id=Attachments/index=0/New%20Deal%20or%20Raw%20Deal.pdf). Accessed 24 May 2024.

الملخص

السياسات التدريجية التي بدأها الرئيس فرانكلين د. روزفلت بالتصدي للتحديات الاقتصادية والتمييز العنصري والتهميش لا تزال مستمرة في إطار البرامج والمبادرات الاتحادية في هذا العصر. وكان الأمريكيون من أصل أفريقي مستبعبين منهجياً من العديد من مزايا البرنامج الجديد بسبب الممارسات والسياسات التمييزية التي تفضل الأمريكيين البيض. وعلاوة على ذلك، واجه الأمريكيون من أصل أفريقي خلال فترة الحرب العالمية الثانية مزيداً من التحديات في مجال الخدمة العسكرية، فرص العمل، والاندماج الاجتماعي، مما أدى إلى تفاقم التفاوت القائمة. واستناداً على السجلات التاريخية من الأدب العلمي والمصادر الأولية والثانوية، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تسليط الضوء على الإرث الدائم للتمييز العنصري في إطار سياسات الاتفاق الجديد وجهود الحرب العالمية الثانية. يستكشف تأثير العنصرية المنهجية على مجتمعات الأمريكيين المنحدرين من أصل أفريقي من خلال التشديد على أوجه التفاوت في برامج الإغاثة، وفرص العمل، والخدمة العسكرية. وستستخدم هذه الدراسة الاختلافات العرقية والاقتصادية لإلقاء الضوء على هذه المظالم. ومن خلال دمج نظرية العرق النقدي ونظرية الماركسية، فإنها تؤكد الحاجة إلى فهم السياق التاريخي للاتفاق الجديد وكيف أثر الكفاح الطبقي على توزيع موارده وفرص عمله. وستكشف نتائج عمليات التنفيذ هذه عن الحاجة إلى إحداث تغييرات اجتماعية واقتصادية وإحياء الصحف السوداء. ومنظمات الحقوق المدنية من أجل تحقيق المساواة العنصرية في الولايات المتحدة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمريكي ذو أصل أفريقي، فرانكلين د. روزفلت، سياسات الاتفاق الجديد، الكساد الكبير، عدم المساواة

العنصرية، الحرب العالمية الثانية، التمييز