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**The African Americans and the Roosevelt's New Deal**

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**Candidate**

➤ **Ahlem Bendjoudi**

**Board of Examiners**

Herizi	University of M'sila	Chairperson
Farrah	University of M'sila	Supervisor
GOUFI	University of M'sila	Examiner

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## **Dedication**

Praise and prayer to Allah and peace be upon his Messenger Mohamed.

I dedicate this work

To the memory of my mother may God bless her soul..

To my father, Where life begins and love never ends

To my brothers and sisters

Those who hold me when I feel lost ..

The support that stood by me at any cost

To my nieces and nephews .they always stay in my heart

To my friends: Rachida, Fatima, Hadjer, Rania, Samira, Manal, Meriem, Ismhan, Saida, Ibtisam, who will always care .. love, respect, and trust are things we share

To everyone who helps me and gives me hope

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## **ABSTRACT**

This dissertation endeavors to study the Roosevelt's New Deal of 1930's and its impacts on African Americans. This work studied the Blacks suffering in order to seek their equality as Whites before the deal. The results of this research have revealed that color determines one's position and life in America so white people gave themselves the opportunity to oppress blacks who did never accept this racial discrimination, instead, they tried over time to change this reality. Additionally, the study shows that Blacks calling for their rights lasting for long time which show the opposition between the American pretending of democracy and equality and the lived reality there. More else, the research confirms that Roosevelt was like all preceding American presidents who never look for African Americans or other minorities, but deepening the gap. From other view, the study investigates that the New Deal was little beneficial for them in the way that Roosevelt did not crackdown the Blacks organizations to demand their rights, instead he appointed many of them in high positions which back with a great acceptance for Roosevelt among Blacks in the elections of 1936, and the greatest result of the New Deal was the Civil Right Movement which took place mainly during the 1950s and 1960s.

**Key words:** New Deal, African Americans , blacks , Roosevelt, rights.

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# **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

## **Introduction**

No one can ignore the fact that the American society was, and still, characterised by the separation between the races. From the very beginnings of reconstructing the American continent, the government applied many segregationist, racist systems which forced some different racial groups to live separately and to develop separately, grossly and unequally, simply because they did not share the same skin color of the rulers who are the whites, those latter by their race gave themselves the opportunity to control the society since they are in the upper class, however, the poor black people were oppressed politically, socially, and economically, by the whites since they belong to the lower class.

African Americans were from the main groups that suffered a lot from the unfair rulers and rules in America. From the first onset of Africans on the continent in 1619, they were oppressed and lived all different unjust systems. More than that, for so long time they did not practice none of their natural rights, the worst of all they were not even considered as a human beings.

## **Motivation**

What pushes me to write this modest dissertation, is to show the struggle which Africans live to attain equal rights and to be treated as human beings with dignity. To Show the way the Roosevelt's New Deal affected the American society in general and African Americans in particular, and show if they get benefits from it regarding the social, economic, and political effects of the deal. In addition to that, the topic was very interesting in the way that seeing the recent treatment the black received in the ninetieth century and knowing if the New Deal was a blessing or reprobation on them.

## **Aims of the Study**

This research aims to manifest the different effects and results of the New Deal on the African Americans and present the various acts that affected either positively or negatively the Blacks. I intend to show the way that Blacks lived before the deal and give some about their relationship with the Whites before. Besides, it is so important for whom who want to discover the American history to know about the New Deal and its influence on African Americans.

## **Research Questions**

This study is based on the following questions:

- What are the effects of the deal on the African Americans in all domains; socially, economically, and politically?
- What is the Roosevelt's New Deal? And what are its main acts and recommendations?

## **Statement of the Problem**

The American continent is mostly known by its mixture of races and colours.

The African Americans were from the first groups who traveled toward the new world, but unfortunately, they did not live as normal citizens and they lost all their rights just because their black colors, thus the New Deal marked some changes and gave them little of their rights.

## **Methodology**

In discussing this topic, I used the descriptive method because it reveals historical facts and the critical race theory when talking about Blacks.

## **The Plan**

This work is divided into two chapters. The first chapter gives a general view about President Franklin Roosevelt, then I move to show the relationship between Blacks and Whites before the New Deal as I get sight of the miserable conditions of African Americans through time, then ending it with defining the New Deal and setting some of its outcomes and recommendations.

In the second chapter, I numbered some of the effects of the deal on the American society and how it minimized the results of the Great Depression. Finally, I mention some of the results the deal put on the African Americans socially, economically, and politically.

# **CHAPTER I**

## **Roosevelt's New Deal**

## **1: Introduction:**

In his First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933, Roosevelt said:

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. 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.

In this chapter, I will talk about two main elements. The first one is giving a glance about the situation of African Americans before the New Deal and show how their relationship with whites was, without forgetting to show their enjoy of the principals of life: education, work and the voting right. The second point is talking about the background of the New Deal. Adding to that, illustrating its main programs and reforms .

## **2: Delano Roosevelt**

On January 30, 1882 in Hyde Park, New York Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born. He entered school at 14 years old, then he continued his studies at Harvard. Later on, he was appointed as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, a position once held by Uncle Teddy. During the years he spent on this job in Washington, D.C. Franklin earned a reputation as an accomplished administrator, learned a good deal about politics, and forged many valuable political friendships. He also became an ardent supporter of Wilson's programs, including the League of Nations. Roosevelt's outstanding characteristics were recognized in his nomination in 1920 by the Democratic Party to run for the office of vice President alongside presidential candidate James Cox of Ohio. Though the Cox/Roosevelt ticket was soundly defeated, Roosevelt's political skills were widely recognized and he remained a major figure in the Democratic Party (Ladenburg, 2007, pp.38).

When the stock market crashed in 1929, Roosevelt was governor of New York. His state plunged into economic chaos with the rest of the nation. President Hoover and the country's leaders struggled with massive problems. More businesses and banks closed every day. The nation's farms were dying. Millions of unemployed people looked to the government for help. Hoover's cautious policies seemed to produce little fruit. Americans cried out for solutions. Roosevelt ran for president in 1932. He offered voters a "New Deal." He promised to work for the average American, the "forgotten man." He gave few details of what he planned, but voters liked what they heard. Roosevelt was elected by a landslide. Meanwhile, the nation sank deeper into decline. On March 3, 1933, over 5,000 banks closed. Roosevelt took office on March 4. He immediately set about reassuring the American people. "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself!" Roosevelt declared. The next day, the new president announced a "bank holiday." All banks were closed. The U.S. Treasury Department inspected bank records. Banks found to be solvent were re-opened. Those teetering toward bankruptcy remained closed until they were healthy again. This action stabilized the banking system. People felt that a re-opened bank carried a federal stamp of approval. These banks were safe places to leave their money.

A flurry of activity marked Roosevelt's first three months in office. This period came to be known as the "Hundred Days." First, the president called Congress into special session. Everyone worked at a furious pace. Roosevelt submitted bill after bill aimed at reviving the ailing nation. Relief, recovery, and reform were his priorities( Robinson,pp.1).

During his 12 years in office, Franklin Roosevelt confronted two of America's greatest crises of the twentieth century: the Great Depression and World WarII. Historians have judged Roosevelt's performance quite favorably, consistently ranking him among the nation's top five presidents and typically second only to Abraham Lincoln (Murray and Blessing 1983). According to these historical assessments, the nation desperately needed leadership

and found it in FDR. Establishing a reservoir of public support early in his tenure enabled Roosevelt to spurn popular panaceas and in steadsteer national policy toward far-sighted economic reforms and an internationalist foreign policy that anticipated the threat posed by Hitler( Baum&Kernell,2001,pp.198-199).

### **3- African Americans Situation before the New Deal:**

*“African Americans”*, a term used to describe or refer to one of the largest ethnic group in the United States of America. African Americans are mainly of African ancestry and origins, coming from different parts of the continent. They are largely the descendants of enslaved people who were brought from Africa to work in the New World’s so many factories and farmings. They used to have no rights simply because they were seen as inferior to other Americans , who enjoyed total liberty and welfare. Nevertheless, African Americans have made basic and lasting contributions to American history and culture( Lynch, African Americans).

African Americans are largely the descendants of slaves—people who were brought from their African homelands by force to work in the New World. Their rights were severely limited, and they were long denied a rightful share in the economic, social, and political progress of the United States. Nevertheless, African Americans have made basic and lasting contributions to American history and culture.

African slaves and indentured servants were brought to the United States’s colonies for providing a cheap labor force alongside European indentured servants. By the turn of the 18th century, African Americans made up about 10% of the population and while some were brought from Africa, many came from the West Indies, as they were brought to the colonies as slaves from plantations in the Caribbean, or—increasingly—were born in the colonies. It also became increasingly rare for African Americans to be treated as indentured servants and

freed; instead, they were treated as slaves for life, their children born into slavery with no hope of escaping the condition.

Most masters and land owners treated their slaves in violent ways and kept seeing them as machines rather than humans, and focused only on the work they could do. Separated from their families and their culture, blacks were forced to adapt to extremely difficult working and living conditions. In response, they formed their own society, culture, and religious practices as best they could. Some slaves ran away or organized rebellions, most of which were brutally put down( History Net Magazine, Para. 2).

During the so many years of the 1800s, African Americans economic life depended mainly on agriculture, especially on planting cotton and spices, such activities lasted till the late 1900s . African Americans grew their plantings under a variety of contracts and institutional arrangements. Some were laborers hired for a short period for specific tasks. Many were tenant farmers, renting a piece of land and some of their tools and supplies, and paying the rent at the end of the growing season with a portion of their harvest. Records from Southern farms indicate that white and black farm laborers were paid similar wages, and that white and black tenant farmers worked under similar contracts for similar rental rates. Whites in general, however, were much more likely to own land. A similar pattern is found in Southern manufacturing in these years. Among the fairly small number of individuals employed in manufacturing in the South, white and black workers were often paid comparable wages if they worked at the same job for the same company. However, blacks were much less likely to hold better-paying skilled jobs, and they were more likely to work for lower-paying companies.

During the very beginning of the 1900s witnessed a great shift that touched African Americans that they started struggling for their rights as human beings and as equal to other

people of the country. The 1896 Supreme Court decision in the case of Plessy v. Ferguson provided a legal basis for greater explicit segregation in American society. This decision allowed for the provision of separate facilities and services to blacks and whites as long as the facilities and services were equal. Through the early 1900s, many new laws, known as Jim Crow laws, were passed in Southern states creating legally segregated schools, transportation systems, and lodging. The requirement of equality was not generally enforced, however. Perhaps the most important and best-known example of separate and unequal facilities in the South was the system of public education. Through the first decades of the twentieth century, resources were funneled to white schools, raising teacher salaries and per-pupil funding while reducing class size. Black schools experienced no real improvements of this type. The result was a sharp decline in the relative quality of schooling available to African-American children (Maloney, 2002)

The mid-1910s represented the first years of African American's change in both social and political sides. The share of African Americans living in the South fell by about four percentage points between 1910 and 1920 and another six points between 1920 and 1930. What caused this tremendous relocation of African Americans? The worsening political and social conditions in the South, noted above, certainly played a role. But the specific timing of the migration appears to be connected to economic factors. Northern employers in many industries faced strong demand for their products and so had a great need for labor. Their traditional source of cheap labor, European immigrants, dried up in the late 1910s as the coming of World War I interrupted international migration. After the end of the war, new laws limiting immigration to the US would keep the flow of European labor at a low level. Northern employers thus needed a new source of cheap labor, and they turned to Southern blacks. In some cases, employers would send recruiters to the South to find workers and to pay their way North. In addition to this pull from the North, economic events in the South

served to push out many African Americans. Destruction of the cotton crop by the boll weevil, an insect that feeds on cotton plants, and poor weather in some places during these years made new opportunities in the North even more attractive. Pay was certainly better, and opportunities were wider, in the North. Nonetheless, the region was not entirely welcoming to these migrants. As the black population in the North grew in the 1910s and 1920s, residential segregation grew more pronounced, as did school segregation. In some cases, racial tensions boiled over into deadly violence. The late 1910s were scarred by severe race riots in a number of cities, including East St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919). ( Encyclopedia, 2018)

Through the 1910s and 1920s, relations between black workers and Northern labor unions were often antagonistic. Many unions in the North had explicit rules barring membership by black workers. When faced with a strike (or the threat of a strike), employers often hired in black workers, knowing that these workers were unlikely to become members of the union or to be sympathetic to its goals. Indeed, there is evidence that black workers were used as strike breakers in a great number of labor disputes in the North in the 1910s and 1920s. Beginning in the mid-1930s, African Americans gained greater inclusion in the union movement. By that point, it was clear that black workers were entrenched in manufacturing, and that any broad-based organizing effort would have to include them ( Maloney, 2002)

Great Depression was a period of enormous economic upheaval and problems that affected the lives of all Americans. Rich and poor alike experienced the hardships of a contracting economy and the overall loss . The political and economic status of African Americans made them particularly vulnerable, and they felt the effects of the Depression earlier than other groups. During the booming 1920s, blacks had made modest gains because there was a need for their labor. These gains were achieved even though the jobs available were, for the most part, unskilled, low-paying positions, jobs that white workers no longer wanted.

According to the 1930 census, 37 percent of working African Americans were employed as agricultural laborers and 29 percent as personal-service and domestic workers. Only 2 percent were classified as professionals (lawyers, doctors, teachers, and clergy). Because such a large proportion of black workers were involved in agriculture, the collapse of the cotton industry brought devastating results. As early as 1926, the National Urban League was advising unemployed southern black workers not to come north unless they were certain they had a job. White workers were already displacing black workers in jobs that had traditionally belonged to African Americans.

### **3-1-Blacks Relation with Whites before the New Deal:**

The very years starting from the Civil War reaching World War II, were known to change the United States' status, that the country underwent a profound process of racial reorganization. Officially recognized group categories expanded and contracted; socially recognized boundaries between groups blurred and shifted; citizens and public actors passionately debated who belonged in which group. Basic components of the racial order were revised, revisited, and fundamentally altered. Such debates were highly consequential. While whites never lost their position at the top of the status hierarchy, who belonged in this privileged group was hotly contested. Whether or not a given group or individual was included in the category of "white" profoundly affected that group's or person's social standing. Blacks and Chinese were placed into an ugly contest for the bottom of the status hierarchy, with the "victory" depending a great deal on how public officials defined and bounded the group. Simultaneously, whether American Indians were deemed assimilable, whether Mexican Americans should be subject to Jim Crow laws, and whether South Asians would be excluded along with Pacific-rim Asians all depended in part on whether they were classified in terms that allowed them to be potential insiders or that defined them as perennially outside the status of American. Most broadly, over the course of almost a century,

the U.S. government groped its way through extensive experimentation—reorganizing and reimagining the racial order, with corresponding impact on individuals' and groups' life chances.

Race is recognized as the vital issue that defined the United States' situation, especially the social and political sides. In fact, the process of simultaneously creating and reflecting group classifications was so important that by 1904, statistician Walter Willcox could correctly observe that "there is no country in which statistical investigation of race questions is so highly developed . . . as in the United States." Highly developed it may have been—but the American approach to racial classification was also peculiar, reflecting the particularities of various experiments in racial classification. In any single year and across decades, racial categorization was internally incoherent, inconsistent across groups, and unstable. Mixture between blacks and others was identified, elaborated, and then dropped. Asians were racially identified through nationality, in finer and finer grained detail. Latin Americans were variously classified as white, mulatto, or racially distinct. Whites were elaborately distinguished by country of birth, "mixed parentage" (referring to parents' place of birth),[ or mother tongue. In the only instance of racializing religion, immigrants from South Asia were combined under the "Hindoo" category. Native Americans were alternately ignored and categorized down to tiny fractions of black and white "blood" ( Hochschild, 2008)

During the Great Migration of (1910–1920), waves of African Americans moved towards industrial cities to look for jobs and other ways of running their daily lives find work and to fill labor shortages created by World War I. Though they continued to face exclusion and discrimination in employment, as well as some segregation in schools and public accommodations, Northern black men faced fewer barriers to voting. As their numbers increased, their vote emerged as a crucial factor in elections. The war and migration bolstered a heightened self-confidence in African Americans that manifested in the New Negro

Movement of the 1920s. Evoking the “New Negro,” the NAACP lobbied aggressively for a federal anti-lynching law( The Library of Congress, para. 2).

When the United States Government entered the war , it called for Negro soldiers to stand by its side and to get engaged in the struggle the colors , men, women, and children, to devote their labor and earnings to the cause, and when the war shortage of labor permitted a quarter million Negroes to leave the former slave States for the better conditions of the North, the entire Negro people experienced a profound sense of spiritual release. For the first time since emancipation they found themselves comparatively free to sell their labor on the open market for a living wage, found themselves launched on a great world enterprise with a chance to vote in a real and decisive way, and, best of all, in the heat of the struggle they found themselves bound with other Americans in the spiritual fellowship of a common cause. . . . At the close of the war, however, the Negro’s hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground. Southern newspapers began at once to tell the Negro soldiers that the war was over and the sooner they forgot the better. “Pull off your uniform,” they said, “find the place you had before the war, and stay in it.” “Act like a Negro should act,” said one newspaper, “work like a Negro should work, talk like a Negro should talk, study like a Negro should study. Dismiss all ideas of independency or of being lifted up to the plane of the white man. Understand the necessity of keeping a Negro’s place.” In connection with such admonitions there came the great collective attacks on Negro life and property in Washington, Chicago, Omaha, Elaine, and Tulsa . There came vain appeals by the colored people to the President of the United States and to the houses of Congress. And finally there came the reorganization and rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan. . . .( National Humanities Center, pp.1).

The USA constitution and federal law declared that everyone was equal. The southern states passed the Jim Crow Laws which related to segregation. This meant that white people

and black people had to live separately. The areas of society affected by segregation included churches, hospitals, theatres and schools.

Whites did too much to express their refusal of blacks, and this led to the creation of the Ku Klux Klan( KKK), which was active in the southern states. Most of its members were White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASPs) and they wanted to show that they were better and more powerful than black people, immigrants, Jews, Roman Catholics, communists and socialists.

The KKK became known for the following:

- 1. *Holding night time meetings and marching in white clothing with masks over their heads***
- 2. *Beating up black people***
- 3. *Throwing tar and feathers***
- 4. *Hanging***
- 5. *Raping***
- 6. *Murdering***
- 7. *Lynching – mob killings. In the state of Georgia in 1924-25, 135 people were lynched.***

Members of the KKK were seldom punished because most of them were policemen, judges and governors. By 1924 there were about 5 million members. The number of members fell when the leader of the KKK, D C Stephenson, was found guilty of kidnapping and raping a young girl in 1925( BBC, 2014, pp.1)

Segregation was the norm in the army, with white soldiers and black soldiers fighting separately. The black soldiers were called the Jim Crow Army. This led to passing the Select Service Act in 1940 which prohibited segregation in selecting and training black soldiers.

As many as 1.5 million USA soldiers stayed in Britain where there was no segregation. Black people could go to the same pubs as white people, where black men could meet white women. This in some cases led to white soldiers attacking black soldiers( BBC, pp.2).

### **3-2- The Blacks Rights before the New Deal:**

#### **3-2-1: The Blacks Right of Education:**

After the years of 1800s, the education of African-Americans, was sporadic and unreliable in Texas as in other Southern states. Formal education was practically nonexistent for African Americans. Education most often consisted of on-the-job training in a variety of occupations. Before the Civil War most people believed education of African Americans would lead to discontent and rebellion. A few did support instruction and often volunteered their services. According to the census of 1850, 58,558 African Americans, representing 27.5 per cent of the population, lived in Texas. Fewer than 1 percent, or 397, were free, of which 217 were believed to be literate, 20 were in school, and 58 were illiterate adults. There are no actual statistics available on the 58,151 enslaved African Americans, but available data indicate that a portion of the slave population had been instructed in the basic rudiments of reading and writing( Wilson, 2018, para1)

Between 1890 and 1910 the quality of schools attended by black students declined relative to those attended by white students, as judged by expenditures per student, average class size, and the length of the school term. Between 1915 and 1925 black students made moderate

progress relative to white students, but the progress stalled between 1925 and the Great Depression( Boozer and others, 1992, pp. 269)

In 1865 the United States Congress instituted the Freedmen's Bureau. The bureau's primary function was to supervise and coordinate a vast educational enterprise located in Texas, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. The bureau supervised schools offering classes from the elementary level through college. These schools provided a formal curriculum of arithmetic, reading, writing, history, and geography. In addition, a practical curriculum of civics, politics, home economics, and vocational training was provided. In January 1866, Texas began with ten day and six night schools for black children. There were ten teachers with a total enrollment of 1,041 students (many of whom were adults). By the end of 1870 there were eighty-eight schools (both day and night) in Texas, eighty-five teachers of whom forty-four were African American, and 4,478 students. In addition, there were twenty-seven Sabbath schools with twenty-eight teachers (twenty-three were black) and 1,350 students.

African Americans were taxed for "the maintenance of a system of public schools for Africans and their children." The Reconstruction legislature of 1870, by eliminating segregation, gave Texas a single educational system in which all children shared, but in 1873 and 1875 the state legislature repealed most of the laws of the Reconstruction period.

In 1871, Texas organized a public school system. The succeeding system, formed under the Constitution of 1876, reestablished the segregation of races but make impartial provision for each. Between 1873 and 1893 at black state conventions, African Americans from all sections of the state met to express their opinions, to delineate their needs, and to shape educational policies. Most significant were the Waco and Brenham conventions and the

first meeting at Austin in 1884 of the Colored Teachers Association (see TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS). The state Board of Education conducted its first survey of black schools in 1921. At that time 6,369 pupils were enrolled for secondary work, the majority being in city high schools. By 1925 there were 150 institutions in Texas offering one or more years of high school work for African Americans; included in this number were fourteen city high schools, six or more country high schools, and high school departments in every junior and senior college. In the 1920s to 1930s the average length of the school term for black children was only about four days shorter than that for white children.

The Constitution of 1866 provided that the "income derived from the Public School Fund be employed exclusively for the education of white scholastic inhabitants," and that the "legislature may provide for the levying of a tax for educational purposes."

The massive effort to desegregate public schools across the United States was a major goal of the Civil Rights Movement. Since the 1930s, lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had strategized to bring local lawsuits to court, arguing that separate was not equal and that every child, regardless of race, deserved a first-class education. These lawsuits were combined into the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court case that outlawed segregation in schools in 1954. But the vast majority of segregated schools were not integrated until many years later. Many interviewees of the Civil Rights History Project recount a long, painful struggle that scarred many students, teachers, and parents(para 1).

### **3-2-3- Blacks right of working :**

From the arrival of the first slaves in Virginia in 1619 to the present, African Americans have formed an important part of the American working class. Whether as slaves

or as free men and women, they have performed a wide range of tasks vital to the building and sustaining of the nation's economy. Yet blacks often found themselves possessing few economic resources of their own, restricted to lower sectors of the economy, and shut out from better-paying jobs. Despite their tremendous achievements in the economic realm, black Americans have faced a long history of racial discrimination at the workplace and in the job market( 2003, para 1-2).

Between 1890 and World War I, American industry surged into a position of global pre-eminence, but for the most part this feat was accomplished without black labor. The bulk of the black population stayed in the South after emancipation, and prior to World War 1, black representation was negligible in the major industries of the northeast and midwest. In 1910, blacks comprised 1 percent or less of the industrial workers in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago; and less than 4 percent in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. A sample of male workers in northern cities in 1910 shows that blacks made up about 4 percent of overall employment, and most of this relatively small number were concentrated in such low-paying occupations as domestic and personal service, or in eating/drinking establishments or hotels( Whatley and Wright, 1990).

THE GREAT Depression of the 1930s was catastrophic for all workers. But as usual, Blacks suffered worse, pushed out of unskilled jobs previously scorned by whites before the depression. Blacks faced unemployment of 50 percent or more, compared with about 30 percent for whites. Black wages were at least 30 percent below those of white workers, who themselves were barely at subsistence level(Sustar, 2012, para 1).

### **3-2-4: the right of voting**

The right to vote has held a central place in the black freedom struggle. With abolition of slavery, African Americans sought the ballot as a means to claim their first-class citizenship( Salvatore, 2007, pp. 4).

Before emancipation, blacks residing in five New England states could vote. Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont, which contained only 6 percent of the northern black population, had extended the right to vote to blacks. In New York, blacks owning \$250 in freehold property could also cast a ballot; however, the same property qualification did not apply to whites. In the South, where the overwhelming number of African Americans labored as slaves, the right to vote was limited to whites( Salvatore, 2007, pp. 4).

Civil War Reconstruction arguably culminated with the Fifteenth Amendment. Ratified in 1870, a year after Congress had passed it, the amendment stated that voting rights "shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The amendment left the door open for states to discriminate on purportedly nonracial grounds, such as property ownership or literacy. But this amendment extended to African Americans a crucial right that only eight northern states had granted in 1868, just two years before( Del Mar, para. 1).

Fifteenth Amendment, amendment (1870) to the Constitution of the United States that guaranteed that the right to vote could not be denied based on "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The amendment complemented and followed in the wake of the passage of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments, which abolished slavery and guaranteed citizenship, respectively, to African Americans. The passage of the amendment and its subsequent ratification (Feb. 3, 1870) effectively enfranchised African American men, while denying that right to women of all colours. Women would not receive that right until

the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920( Sheffer, para. 1).However, something of a compromise, the amendment did not affirmatively grant universal suffrage to male adults, but only banned discrimination on the basis of race. Left out from coverage were supposedly non-racial qualifications such as literacy tests and poll tax payments( Salvatore, 2007, pp.8).

During the period known as Reconstruction (1865–77), the amendment could encourage African Americans to vote. Many African Americans were even elected to public office during the 1880s in the states that formerly had comprised the Confederate States of America. By the 1890s, however, efforts by several states to enact such measures as poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses—in addition to widespread threats and violence—had completely reversed these trends. By the beginning of the 20th century, nearly all African Americans in the states of the former Confederacy were again disenfranchised. Although the Supreme Court and Congress attempted to strike down such actions as unconstitutional, it was not until Pres. Lyndon B. Johnson introduced the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that Congress was able to put an end to this violence and discrimination. The act abolished voter prerequisites and also allowed for federal supervision of voter registration. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act, the Fifteenth Amendment was finally enforceable, and voter turnout among African Americans improved markedly(Sheffer, para. 2,3).

#### **4: The New Deal:**

##### **4-1: It's background and formation**

###### **4-1-1: The Great Depression catastrophe**

worldwide economic downturn that began in 1929 and lasted until about 1939. It was the longest and most severe depression ever experienced by the industrialized Western world. Although the Depression originated in the United States, it resulted in drastic declines in output, severe unemployment, and acute deflation in almost every country of the globe. But

its social and cultural effects were no less staggering, especially in the United States, where the Great Depression ranks second only to the Civil War as the gravest crisis in American history( Romer,, 2003, pp.1).

America had suffered depressions before, but none of them was as severe as the Depression of 1930s. The latter was different because of its length, complexity and durability. Indeed it was at the same time a financial, agricultural, industrial and commercial crisis. All the parts of a market economy are connected to one another. Hence, when an event occurs in one part of the economy, other sectors will feel effects eventually. This is what happened after the stock crash of 1929.While the financial system was collapsing the whole economy underwent the same effects(Lahcen, 2009, pp.32).

Economic activity began to decline in the summer of 1929, and by 1933 real GDP fell more than 25 percent, erasing all of the economic growth of the previous quarter century. Industrial production was especially hard hit, falling some 50 percent. By comparison, industrial production had fallen 7 percent in the 1870s and 13 percent in the 1890s. From the depths of depression in 1933, the economy recovered until 1937. This expansion was followed by a brief but severe recession, and then another period of economic growth. It was not until the 1940s that previous levels of output were surpassed( encyclopedia, para.3).

In fact, the Great Depression was of great effects on the American society. By 1932 United States industrial output had been cut in half. One fourth of the labor force--about 15 million people--was out of work, and there was no such thing as unemployment insurance. Hourly wages had dropped by about 50 percent. Hundreds of banks had failed. Prices for agricultural products dropped to their lowest level since the Civil War. There were more than 90,000 businesses that failed completely. The worst was when people waited in bread lines in every city, hoping for something to eat In 1931 alone more than 20,000 Americans committed

suicide. Anyone who had even a little money was extremely lucky. A new home could be bought for less than \$3,000. A man's suit cost about \$10, a shirt less than 50 cents, and a pair of shoes about \$4. Milk was 10 cents a quart, a pound of steak only 29 cents, and a loaf of bread a nickel. For a dime one could go to the movies, buy a nickel bag of popcorn, and even win prizes given away by the theater. Not many lucky enough to be working had much change to spend after paying rent and buying food. To turn to the government, at least during the Hoover years, was useless. There was no federally financed "safety net" of welfare

"One of Roosevelt's most effective campaign issues was of course the depression. His strategy was to allege that I had made the depression<sup>1</sup> and then done nothing about it. He stated six varieties of "proofs" and "causes" for which I was responsible"<sup>1</sup>.

During this misunderstandings and accusations of one another, In 1932 Americans faced a stark choice. They could vote to keep "the old order" in the White House, or they could choose Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal for the American people.". From the beginning, many Americans expected Hoover to loose, and many of them wanted to give Roosevelt's "New Deal" a chance. Indeed, The later won and hope was rising in Americans souls(*America at the Crossroads: The Election of 1932*, pp.1,8).

African Americans, ever loyal to the party of Lincoln—and not yet persuaded to support the Democratic Party long associated with segregation—remained with Hoover. Despite their 50 percent unemployment rate, black voters cast two-thirds of their ballots for him. In 1936 they would shift their allegiance to the party of Roosevelt(*America at the Crossroads: The Election of 1932*, pp.8).

#### **4-2: It's Outcomes and Programs:**

The New Deal was a series of programs and projects instituted during the Great Depression by President Franklin D. Roosevelt that aimed to restore prosperity to Americans. When Roosevelt took office in 1933, he acted swiftly to stabilize the economy and provide jobs and relief to those who were suffering. Over the next eight years, the government instituted a series of experimental New Deal projects and programs, such as the CCC, the WPA, the TVA, the SEC and others, that aimed to restore some measure of dignity and prosperity to many Americans. Roosevelt's New Deal fundamentally and permanently changed the federal government's relationship to U.S. citizens( History. Com Editors, 2009, para.1).

During the first term of President Franklin D. Roosevelt between 1933 and 1938, the New Deal was implemented through legislation enacted by Congress and presidential executive orders. The programs addressed what historians call the "3 Rs" of dealing with the depression, Relief, Recovery, and Reform—relief for the poor and jobless, recovery of the economy, and reform of the nation's financial system to safeguard against future depressions(Kelly, para.2).

From the main programs of the New Deal, to relief the American society, Roosevelt set the CCC and WPA: FDR set up the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) to provide jobs to millions of unemployed Americans and "stimulate" the economy. the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), a program enacted by Congress to bring relief to young men between 18 and 25 years of age. The CCC was run in a semi-military style and enrolled jobless young men in work camps across the country for about \$30 per month. About 2 million young men took part in this program during the 1930s. During their time in the CCC, they participated in a variety of conservation projects such as "planting trees to combat soil erosion and maintain national forests; eliminating stream

pollution; creating fish, game and bird sanctuaries; and conserving coal, petroleum, shale, gas, sodium and helium deposits( Hardman, para.5). The WPA and CCC built more than 650,000 miles of roads as well as 150,000 schools, airports, hospitals, parks, dams, and other public projects, many of which are still in use today.He also passed the Social Security Act: a law enacted in 1935 to provide aid and financial security to retirees, the unemployed, people with disabilities, and dependent mothers with children(Colasanti and Ference, para.2).

The idea of recovery, rehabilitating agriculture and industry stood at the top of the New Deal's priority list. Farmers came first. In May 1933 Congress passed the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) aimed at raising prices by reducing production(2016, pp.730). This act encouraged those who were still left in farming to grow fewer crops. Therefore, there would be less produce on the market and crop prices would rise thus benefiting the farmers – though not the consumers( C N Trueman, 2015, para. 3).

Also, he embodied the recovering idea through the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, which was the federal government's first attempt to revive the economy as a whole. The bill created the National Recovery Administration (NRA) to stimulate industrial production and improve competition by drafting corporate codes of conduct. The NRA also sought to limit production of consumer goods to drive up prices(Colasanti and Ference, para.3).

The reforming acts were more considered with markets and banks. The Roosevelt government created the FDIC & Bank Reform: When Hoover left office, banks were failing everyday across the nation. Roosevelt and Congress immediately passed emergency legislation to solve the banking crisis. FDR closed all nations' banks so that the Federal Reserve could help strengthen them and restore confidence in the banking system. The FDIC (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation) was created. This meant that the government

guaranteed savings deposits for all Americans. This allowed all citizens to trust private banks. When banks failed, Americans were guaranteed that they would not lose all of their savings and prevented future banking "panics". More else, Roosevelt enacted SEC- Stock Market Reform: The SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission) was setup to regulate Wall Street and the stock market exchanges. The agency was created to prevent fraud and abuse in the stock markets by banks and corporations. The agency enforces regulations to protect investors from illegal financial activities by banks and corporations(Colasanti and Ference, para.4-5).

### **5: Conclusion:**

At the end of this chapter, we conclude that African Americans suffered a lot for being black. Through time, whites mistreated blacks and did not accept their equality to them, this was clear through the different acts and deeds as segregation and the KKK groups...

More over, we gather a whole image of the New Deal as the reformation plan of President Franklin Roosevelt to fix the catastrophic situation caused by the Great Depression. Relief, recover and reform were the Roosevelt's big programs to rebuild the American nation.

## **CHAPTER II**

# **The Influence of the New Deal on African Americans**

## **1: Introduction**

The follower of the American history will notice that the struggle of minorities and races is the dominant issue. Black Americans or as they are called " Negro" are from the first people to seek their independence and equality in the so called " the Democratic society ". The Roosevelt era brought so many changes to the American society and it characterized by the different acts and reforms that were hold under the " New Deal".

In this chapter I will shed light on the main effects it had on both; the American society and Black Americans in different domains; socially, economically and politically. In the first part, I mention some important acts that participated in helping the Americans to cope the catastrophic economic problems of the Great Depression.

Than, I will move to the effects of the deal on Black Americans and show the way they benefited or not from the Roosevelt's New Deal.

## **2: The New Deal's Effects on the American Society:**

Roosevelt was perhaps the most controversial president the United States ever had. For millions of Americans, he was a folk hero: a courageous statesman who saved a crippled nation from almost certain collapse and whose New Deal salvaged the best features of democratic capitalism while establishing unprecedented welfare programs for the nation. For others, he was a tyrant, a demagogue who used the Depression to consolidate his political power, whereupon he dragged the country zealously down the road to socialism. In spite of his immense popular appeal, Roosevelt became the hated enemy of much of the nation's business and political community. Conservatives denounced him as a Communist. Liberals said he was too conservative. Communists castigated him as a tool of Wall Street. And Socialists dismissed him as a reactionary. "He caught hell from all sides, "recorded one

observer, because few knew how to classify his political philosophy or his approach to reform(Mamby, pp.11).

As known, Roosevelt came in a catastrophic conditions that America never had seen before; depression, unemployment, poverty, declined economy...Roosevelt sensed that the American people in 1933 wanted action above all, backed by displays of confidence and optimism. In his inaugural address, he exhorted America to fear nothing but fear itself. Invariably, he maintained a buoyant appearance, exemplified by his calculated cheerfulness or by the jaunty angle of his cigarette holder. Comparing himself to a quarterback who would call the next play only after the present one had been run, he made no pretense of working from a fixed design. Instead, he simply announced that his objectives would be relief, reform, and recovery. He pursued them with a bewildering cluster of programs that left no doubt \_of the government's concern for the plight of its citizens and of the administration's activism( Hamby, pp.221).

Roosevelt, upon taking office, went straight to work on implementing reforms he hoped would stabilize the economy and provide jobs and financial relief to the American people. In his first 100 days in office, he put into effect many major laws, including the Glass-Steagall Act and the Home Owners' Loan Act. He also implemented a number of job creation schemes like the Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) and the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The most significant piece of legislation, however, was the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA). Roosevelt believed economic recovery depended upon cooperation at the expense of competition, and consequently, the NIRA was specifically designed to limit competition while allowing both prices and wages to rise. In 1935, The NIRA was ruled by the Supreme Court. The later replaced the act by the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) passed in 1935. Under the NLRA, workers had even greater power to engage in collective bargaining and demand higher wages than under the NIRA, Following the passing of the

NLRA union membership rose dramatically from about 13% of employment in 1935 to about 29% in 1939. While doing much to improve the bargaining power of the average worker, which in conjunction with a number of tax rate increases on top incomes helped to reduce income inequality, the NIRA and NLRA failed to pull the U.S. economy out of its depressed state( Johnson, 2018, para.2,3).

Despite the fact that the New Deal did not end the depression and the unemployment that accompanied it. Also, it did not end poverty or effect any significant redistribution of wealth. Nor did it do much to address what became some of the principal domestic problems of the postwar era, among them the problems of racial and gender inequality, the achievements of the Roosevelt administration rank among the most important of any presidency in American history, for at least three reasons:

First, the New Deal created a series of new government institutions that greatly, and permanently, expanded the role of the federal government in American life. The government was now committed to providing at least minimal assistance to the poor and unemployed, to protecting the rights of labor unions, to stabilizing the banking system, to building low-income housing, to regulating the financial markets, to subsidizing agricultural production, to using its fiscal policies to stimulate economic growth, and to doing many other things that had not previously been federal responsibilities.

Second, the New Deal produced a new political coalition that sustained the Democrats as the majority party in national politics for more than a generation after its own end.

Finally, the Roosevelt administration generated a set of political ideas-known to later generations as New Deal liberalism-that remained a source of inspiration and controversy for decades, helping to shape the next great experiment in liberal reform, the Great Society of the 1960s( Brinkley, para. 4).

All in all, despite the unachieved goals of the New Deal and the what historians and politicians agreed about as resistance from business and other segments of the community to “socialistic” tendencies of the New Deal, many of its reforms gradually achieved national acceptance. Roosevelt’s domestic programs were largely followed in the Fair Deal of President Harry S. Truman (1945–53), and both major U.S. parties came to accept most New Deal reforms as a permanent part of the national life( Encyclopedia, para.4).

<p>AAA AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT</p>	<p>Created in 1933, he AAA paid farmers for not planting crops in order to reduce surpluses, increase demand for major farm commodities, and raise prices. Farm income rose, but many tenants and share-croppers were pushed into the ranks of the unemployed. In 1936 the Supreme Court voided the AAA.</p>
<p>CCC CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS</p>	<p>Created in 1933, the CCC took unmarried men aged 18-25 from relief rolls and sent them into the woods and fields to plant trees, build parks, roads, and fight soil erosion on federal lands. Young men sent their \$30 a month home to their families and left a legacy of outdoor recreation areas. The CCC provided jobs for 2.5 million young men during its ten years.</p>
<p>CWA</p>	<p>Created in 1933, the CWA employed four</p>

<p>CIVIL WORKS Administration</p>	<p>million people--paid an average of \$15 a week--many in useful construction jobs such as repairing schools, laying sewer pipes, building roads.</p>
<p>FHA FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>The FHA was created in 1934 to stimulate the building industry by providing small loans for home construction. A related program, also created in 1934, was the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC).</p>
<p>NRA NATIONAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 created the NRA to promote economic recovery by ending wage and price deflation and restoring competition. The NRA set business codes and quotas. The NRA temporarily restored investor confidence and consumer morale, but it failed to stimulate industrial production. In 1935 the Supreme Court declared the NIRA unconstitutional.</p>
<p>NYA NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>Created under the Emergency Relief Act of 1935, the NYA provided more than 4.5 million jobs for</p>

<p>PWA PUBLIC WORKS ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>Established by the NIRA in 1933, the PWA was intended both for industrial recovery and unemployment relief. Eventually over \$4 billion was spent on 34,000 construction projects including public buildings, highways, bridges (e.g., San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge), and dams for water and power.</p>
<p>SSA SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>The Social Security Act of 1935 established the SSA to administer a national pension fund for retired persons, an unemployment insurance system, and public assistance programs for dependent mothers, children, and the physically disabled. The pension was financed by a payroll tax to begin in 1937. It exists to this day as the nation's most important and expensive domestic program, accounting for about one-fourth of the federal budget.</p>
<p>WPA WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION</p>	<p>Established under the \$4.8 billion Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the WPA lasted until 1943 and employed at least 8.5 million people.</p>

	<p>They built thousands of roads, schools and other public construction projects. In addition, under the WPA's Arts Program, thousands of unemployed writers, musicians, artists, actors, and photographers temporarily went on the federal payroll, producing public projects ranging from murals to national park guidebooks.</p>
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Appendix 1:

Some of the Roosevelt’s Administration’s New Deal “Alphabet Agencies”

Source: Hanson, David C. New Deal "Alphabet Agencies" Thesis. Virginia Western Community College. 2001.

### **3: Effects on blacks**

As any group in America, Black Americans were affected by the several programs and recommendations either positively or negatively.

A great number of African Americans migrated to Northern states in hopes of finding employment in industrialized cities. So many blacks left the South the movement was deemed the Second Great Migration. Since “industrial production had declined by more than one-half” Depression Era urban centers offered little to migrants. Throughout the country blacks were on the brink of starvation and were often the scapegoats for their frustrated white counterparts. Blacks began organizing in their communities in an effort to create a support system, especially in the North( Daniel, 2012,pp.4). As migrants became more urbanized these organizations took an interest in politics. Prior to the 1932 election a “...small number

of African-American leaders called for blacks to be more open to voting for Democrats.” Publisher of the largest-selling black newspaper the Courier, Robert L. Vann, pleaded for blacks to “...go turn Lincoln’s picture to the wall. That debt has been paid in full.” Despite this, a majority of African-Americans saw FDR as nothing more than another apathetic politician. Many opposed FDR basing their arguments on his time as governor of New York. Furthermore, FDR was a self-proclaimed “adopted son of the South” and his running mate John Nance Garner, a Dixiecrat Texan. FDR won the election of 1932, with little more than a handful of black votes. In Chicago, for example, “the Democratic Party received only 21% of the African American’s vote.<sup>15</sup> African Americans, expected very little<sup>16</sup> from the new FDR Administration in both relief and recognition, they had grown used to being ignored by the government( Daniel,2012,pp.4-5).

FDR had little trouble defeating Hoover in 1932. In his 1933 inaugural address FDR announced his administration’s “greatest primary task is to put people to work.” Roosevelt promised to exercise “broad executive power to wage war against [the Depression].” The administration created dozens of federal programs collectively known as the “New Deal”, and often referred to as the “Alphabet Agencies.” Alphabet Agencies were given specific areas of the economy to generate jobs and provide relief, to see a list of Alphabet Agencies. The New Deal “with its emphasis on federal supremacy, presented...action to revitalize African American position in the nation’s economy and polity.” (Jancken,2003,pp.199).

### **3-1:Social achievement**

As history shows, from the first coming of the Blacks to the American continent they never were considered as citizens, in fact as humans. They didn't have any rights, more else, any consideration until the 1800's. So, did the New Deal bring any social reforms and benefits for African Americans?.

First, many consider The New Deal as beneficial for African Americans but in fact it was not perfect. It could not and did not eliminate segregation, or the pernicious discrimination in employment, wages, and working condition that plagued so many African Americans during the difficult years of the 1930s( 2010,para7). Moreover, in spite of the best efforts of federal officials like Harry Hopkins to forbid discriminatory practices among neighborhood relief agencies, such practices often continued at the local level, especially in the South. But in spite of these and other shortcomings, the willingness of the Roosevelt Administration to recognize the existence of a racial problem in American and to take steps at the federal level to ameliorate that problem, was, as Sitkoff notes, unprecedented. It made it clear that the federal government had a responsibility to ensure the civil rights of all Americans were protected; rendered civil rights a core part of the liberal agenda; and inspired a generation of African American leaders to continue to pressure not only the federal government, but also the federal courts, to strike down the laws that underpinned the widespread racial injustice that African Americans had endured since the promise of reconstruction( 2010, para.7).

One remarkable achievement of the deal and the Roosevelt administration was the appointment of the first African American to hold a cabinet-level position as the first United States Secretary of Housing and Urban Development(HUD) Robert Weaver, wrote an article in the Journal of Negro Life,1935, in which he described the Blacks profits from the educational systems of the new government. Under the educational program of the FERA, out of a total of 17,879 teachers employed in 13 southern states, 5,476 or 30.6 per cent were Negro. Out of a total of 570,794 enrolled in emergency classes, 217,000 or 38 per cent were Negro. Out of a total of \$886,300 expended in a month (either February or March, 1935 for the program, Negroes received \$231,320 or 26.1 per cent. These southern states in which 26.1 per cent of all emergency salaries were paid to Negro teachers, ordinarily allot only 11.7 per

cent of all public school salaries to Negro teachers. The situation may be summarized as follows: Six of the 13 states are spending for Negro salaries a proportion of their emergency education funds larger than the percentage of Negroes in those states. The area as a whole is spending for Negro salaries a proportion of its funds slightly in excess of the percentage of Negroes in the population. This development is an example of Government activity breaking away from the status quo in race relations( 2016, para.3).

As seen before, Whites from the end of the nineteen century started to accept Blacks but not living with them in the same places, so they passed segregation in all places; schools, restaurants, supermarkets...Unfortunately Blacks were excluded from many Roosevelt's acts, but the segregation term was out of use.

The Federal Housing Administration was created by Congress in 1934 to insure loans for construction and repairs of homes. White middle-class families could buy suburban homes with little or no down payments and extended 30-year amortization schedules and their monthly charges were often less than rents the families had previously paid to housing authorities or private landlords. But the FHA had an explicit policy of not insuring suburban mortgages for African-Americans, according to writer Richard Rothstein on the the American Prospect website. In suburban New York's Nassau County, just east of Queens, Levittown was built in 1947 containing 17,500 mass-produced two-bedroom houses, requiring nothing down and monthly payments of about only \$60. At the FHA's insistence, developer William Levitt did not sell homes to Blacks, and each deed included a prohibition of such resales in the future( Chiles, 2015, pp.1).

An other act that represented the Blacks exclusion from the Roosevelt's reforms was The CCC which was created to employ young single men from ages 18 to 25 on outdoor conservation projects. Enrollees had to be physically fit and come from families that were on

relief and to whom they were willing to send most of their pay. During its nine-year existence, the CCC distributed more than \$2.4 billion in federal funds to employ more than 2.5 million jobless young men (up to 519,000 were enrolled at any one time) who worked in about 3,000 camps. According to the Texas Almanac, the CCC was of very limited assistance to Black families because of local bigotry and national CCC leaders' political concerns. Though CCC rules forbade discrimination based on race, color or creed, the local relief boards often refused to enroll Blacks, particularly in the South. When they were enrolled, Blacks were almost always placed in segregated camps, not only in the South, but all over the country( Chiles, 2015, pp.2).

One act else, that supported discrimination and wronged was the Blacks The Works Progress Administration (WPA), the New Deal program that provided public

ector jobs to the unemployed, started as emergency jobs legislation that put people to work at union wages. This emergency legislation met resistance from both southerners who feared its impact on the wage structure of the South and representatives of craft unions who feared its impact on the unions' monopoly over public works contracts. WPA, the successor of this emergency legislation, allowed wages to correspond to the wage scale and practices of local labor markets and this change encouraged discrimination against blacks in both the South and the North. As a black candidate Steve Valocchi, for Chicago's City Council stated, "Fifty percent of Negroes are out of work. We are the last to get jobs, and we have inadequate relief. Some Negroes who get on WPA are removed for white men". In addition, WPA administrators in the South allowed the release of black workers from WPA jobs to work the fields at harvest time. Mary White Ovington, a member of the NAACP and a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet stated that "(work relief) varies according to the white people chosen to administer it, but always there is discrimination"( Valocchi,1994, pp.353).

In 1935, the existing form of federalism had a powerful influence on policy. In choosing to have shared programs for public assistance, the president and Congress were building on precedent. In creating federal grants-in-aid for public assistance, they were planting a familiar institution of intergovernmental relations in new policy terrain. With southerners in the lead, Congress limited the scope of the proposed innovation, but did not for one moment consider defeating it in defense of state and local autonomy. To what extent Congress acted proximately out of racial motives is necessarily obscure, because a discriminatory political system artificially suppressed consideration of race. But it is precisely this caveat that should make contemporary social scientists cautious in asserting the primacy of racial motivation in retrospective analysis, the more so since the range and probable weight of nonracial factors become so obvious when one takes the trouble to reconstruct the political debate of 1935( Davies and Derthick,1997,pp.235).

Finally, a great blame on Roosevelt was because he stayed far away from civil rights issues in fear of angering his Southern colleagues. The greatest steps in civil rights were not taken on the federal level by the Roosevelt Administration, but on the local level. Throughout the North, Liberal Democrats promised “African-American councilmen and ward leaders power and authority equal to that enjoyed by white peers.” This enabled local black politicians to help their communities without the patronage of white counterparts. In Pennsylvania, the predominantly Democratic State Legislature passed “an equal rights bill which granted blacks access to all public hotels and restaurants in the Commonwealth( Daniel,2012,pp.11).

### **3-2: The Economical Achievement:**

The Roosevelt government's first aim was to make an end to the Great Depression and rise again the American economy. In order to achieve this goal Roosevelt legislated different acts and programs.

One of the main acts the administration passed was the AAA which was intended for the depressed agricultural sector of the economy. All accounts of the impact of the act on blacks agree that it caused grave hardship and was the chief source of downward mobility for blacks in the South. The provisions to reimburse cotton plantation owners for taking cotton out of production caused many owners to drive black tenant farmers off their lands. The act also ignored the social structure of agriculture in the South in that its reimbursement provisions allowed blatant race discrimination. Many black sharecroppers who should have received reimbursements never received them because these reimbursements were held by planters as payment for rents, or by store owners as payment for bills, or were never distributed by local officials. The NIRA was the industrial counterpart of AAA and was designed to limit production, raise wages and prices, and stimulate purchasing power. Contrary to the desires of many businessmen, the codes regulating wages and hours were not made explicitly lower for black workers than they were for white workers (Valocchi, 1994, pp. 352-353). This code was considered for many as a way to encourage discrimination against black Americans, because the minimum-wage provision led many employers to reduce the employment of black workers or to replace them with whites (Moreno, 2002, pp.518).

From the other side, African Americans benefited a lot from the New Deal' programs and reliefs, among them there are:

Much of the research on the politics of the New Deal gives the impression that northern Democrats in Congress and President Roosevelt would have done much more for blacks

without the onerous burden of the southern wing of the party. Of course, there was political motivation for Roosevelt or New Dealers in the North to concern themselves with black interests given African Americans' geographical concentration and their inability to vote and hold office in the South (Valocchi, 1994, pp.355). This concentration and powerlessness, however, needs to be placed in the historical and theoretical context developed here. It is itself a function of past racially-based state policies and practices that kept blacks in the South after emancipation and that refused to implement promises of land reform and redistribution in the South under the auspices of the Freedman's Bureau. In addition, this view that black interests were ignored in national policymaking because they could not vote in the South is based on a narrow and historically inaccurate view of how formally excluded groups have exercised power in the U.S. context: it ignores the coalitional strategies pursued by some powerless groups and the directly disruptive strategies pursued by others. ( Valocchi, 1994, pp.355-356). In addition, many consider that black interests were ignored in national policymaking because they could not vote in the South (Valocchi, 1994, pp.356).

From the time of Lincoln, African Americans who had the right to vote generally voted Republican. However, according to the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 71% of Black voters – including hundreds of thousands who had never previously voted – supported FDR in 1936. Several factors contributed to this turnaround in voting patterns ( 1936: Black Voters Leave the Party of Lincoln, 2016, para.1).

First, many researchers see that the Roosevelt administration's accessibility to African American leaders and the New Deal reforms strengthened black support for the Democratic Party. A number of African American leaders, members of a so-called "black cabinet," were advisers to Roosevelt. Among them were the educator Mary McLeod Bethune, who served as the National Youth Administration's director of Negro affairs; William H. Hastie, who in

1937 became the first black federal judge; Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National Urban League; Robert Vann, editor of the Pittsburgh Courier; and the economist Robert C. Weaver( African American Life During The Great Depression And The New Deal, para.4).

Further, Roosevelt appointed Harold Ickes the administrator of the PWA. With a history of sensitivity to the cause of civil rights, Ickes, who once headed the Chicago branch of the NAACP, tried to ensure that African Americans received a “square deal” (Weiss, 51). Finally, Roosevelt appointed more African Americans to federal positions than all previous Republican administrations combined. Although the positions were not often high profile or high level, the appointment of African Americans in those positions was important in itself ( Pennington, pp.4).

Perhaps the most prominent political symbol of the Roosevelt administration’s attitude toward African Americans was the existence of the “Black Cabinet.” The Black Cabinet was an unofficial group of African Americans on the staff of New Deal agencies. The existence of the group served two important functions. First, it insured that African Americans had jobs in government agencies. And second, the Cabinet represented African Americans working from within the structure of the government . Led by Mary McLeod Bethune, the group served in an unofficial capacity as advisor on racial matters to the Roosevelt administration. Working behind the scenes, the Black Cabinet assured that the concerns of African Americans were heard by the administration and helped to effect change in the administration of several New Deal programs( Pennington, pp.4).

In general, the New Deal had many results and effects on the American society as well the American Americans. In this table, a brief summary for some advantages and disadvantages of the deal on the later.

Advantages	Disadvantages
<p>Grants of \$45 million to build schools, hospitals &amp; homes</p> <p>ERA benefitted between 1933-35, over 250,000 African Americans given literacy help through federal aid projects</p> <p>Roosevelt inherently opposed to lynching</p> <p>Elanor Roosevelt supported African American organisations and openly disapproved of segregation</p> <p>CCC 'discrimination is prohibited on account of race, colour or creed'</p>	<p>Many poor sharecroppers didn't benefit from AAA, no money paid directly to tenants</p> <p>Suffered disproportionately from unemployment</p> <p>Restrictions by NRA to establish fair rates of pay evaded by many in South</p> <p>Strengthening of Unions through Wagner Act did not benefit many African Americans as they were not members due to exclusion</p> <p>Social Security Act did not apply to the mass of sharecroppers</p> <p>Segregation prominent until 1954</p> <p>CCC labour camps segregated, African Americans received poorest rates of employment</p> <p>Roosevelt did not increase African American voting rights</p>

Appendix 2:

African Americans & New Deal

Source: Pickledwalnuts, May 13, 2017. <https://getrevising.co.uk/grids/african-americans-and-new-deal>

## **4: Conclusion**

By the end of this second chapter, we come at one main point which is that some historians see the New Deal's reforms as beneficial for Blacks, when some others see the opposite.

From the main advantages of the deal on Blacks is the appointment of Harold Ickes the administrator of the PWA, he was the first black to hold a such position in the American history, which was very beneficial for Roosevelt and that was reflected in the 1936 elections where approximately 71% of black voters voted for the Democratic Party. Also, there are many advantages of the deal:

- Roosevelt supported African American organisations and openly disapproved of segregation.
- Roosevelt opposed lynching among Blacks
- Grants of \$45 million to build schools, hospitals & homes
- ERA benefitted between 1933-35, over 250,000 African Americans given literacy help through federal aid projects

From the opposite view, the New Deal kept the major problems of the Blacks and could not solve them. From which I select:

- Many poor sharecroppers didn't benefit from AAA, no money paid directly to tenants
- Suffered disproportionately from unemployment

- Restrictions by NRA to establish fair rates of pay evaded by many in South
- Strengthening of Unions through Wagner Act did not benefit many African Americans as they were not members due to exclusion
- Social Security Act did not apply to the mass of sharecroppers
- Segregation prominent until 1954
- CCC labour camps segregated, African Americans received poorest rates of employment

# **GENERAL CONCLUSION**

In the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson made the radical statement that “all men are created equal” and “are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Many groups in U.S. history have sought recognition as equal citizens. Although each group’s efforts have been notable and important, arguably the greatest, longest, and most violent struggle was that of African Americans, whose once-inferior legal status was even written into the text of the Constitution. Their fight for freedom and equality provided the legal and moral foundation for others who sought recognition of their equality later on.

Black struggle for equality It took almost 400 years for African Americans to achieve their freedom. Freedom which was appointed to them by the US constitution. Ever since blacks arrived in America they were looked upon as the "inferior race." Whites would go to almost any extent to express their hatred towards the blacks. The K.K.K. was one of the models of this animosity( Black Struggle for Equality, para.1).

The Blacks dream, or right, of being free was finally real by the signing of the 13th Amendment to the United States Constitution which abolished slavery and it continues to do so until to day. An other act or amendment that gave hope for African Americans was the 14th amendment(1868), which declared that all men who born or naturalized in the United States are American citizens, this included African Americans.

During the Reconstruction era after the Civil War, The Blacks struggle for equality started to bring it fruits and the main amendment was signed to the United States Constitution. This act gave the voting right for all American citizens regardless their race or color, it was the 15th amendment. More else, blacks took on leadership roles like never before. They held public office and sought legislative changes for equality.

In fact, all the previous amendments could not prohibit the white citizens from showing their absolute enmity and hatefulness toward what is all black. To show that, and as a reaction to the Reconstruction recommendations, the Jim Crow Laws were established in the southern countries between 1874 and lasted until 1975, which are statutes and ordinances to refuse their coexistence with blacks in the same places and called for segregation, this does not mean that blacks in northern cities were treating equal but discrimination was also present there . The American government passed segregation "equal but separate " which it means that Blacks are equal to Whites but can not share the same places. The segregation touched schools, Churches, restaurants, super markets, hospitals,... The segregation continued for long time, and no government could end it.

Besides segregation, blacks were living bad conditions especially in work where they were treated badly, working for long hours, in bad situations, and the worst for little wages unlike whites.

The blacks enduring became than before within the Great Depression where the American economy fall down and too many economical problems occurred. They were the first to live its impacts where almost all black works were ejected out.

During the depression, the Hoover's administration was unable for doing anything toward it. The 1932 presidential elections witnessed the competition between the old Hoover's government and the Roosevelt's Democratic party, and the later won it.

Roosevelt program was named " the New Deal", this program was passed on three principals; relief, reform, and reconstruction. But, what was the blacks situation from those reforms?.

In fact, most researchers agree on the exclusion of blacks from the Roosevelt's reconstructions and that he did not help them. A number of ways in which Roosevelt failed black American:

- He did not offend the racial southern Congressman, stop segregation and deal with the race issue.
- The NIRA Act marginalized unskilled employers, as a result about 500,000 black workers were out.
- The AAA Act aimed to help farmers by cutting farm production and forcing up food prices. Less production meant less work for thousands of poor black sharecroppers. In addition, blacks were among the 100 million consumers forced to pay higher food prices because of it.
- The Federal Housing Administration would not guarantee loans for Blacks if the home purchased was in black neighborhood which implicitly enforced house discrimination

Those are few examples that show the disadvantages of the New Deal on Blacks.

From the other hand, there are other points that marked the blacks benefit from it.

- He guaranteed about 45\$ to build schools, hospitals, and houses.
- He opposed the lynching of blacks (as the KKK was doing).
- He offered new posts for skilled and literal Blacks in higher positions.
- He appointed Harold Ickes as the administrator of PWA to be the first black to hold such position.
- He also encouraged and supported the African American organizations.

But the Roosevelt's interests in Blacks and giving them the opportunities to occur big political positions helped him in attracting their attentions and voices which was clear in the 1936 elections where about 76% of them changed their ancestor's Lincoln party and voted for the Democratic party.

After thousands of blacks threatened to march on Washington to demand equal employment rights, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 on June 25, 1941. It opened national defense jobs and other government jobs to all Americans regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

To conclude, it was a great topic to be tackled, it show some aspects of the Blacks life during the 1930's. For me, the New Deal did not hold radical changes to African Americans and did not help them greatly in the way that it did not end the problem of segregation and race, which in fact still until today. From other point, it offered new opportunities for Blacks and ameliorated their political life.

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## المخلص

يسعى هذا البحث إلى دراسة الاتفاق الجديد للرئيس الأمريكي روزفلت لسنوات الثلاثينات وتأثيره على السود الأمريكيين، كما يحقق في قضية العرق واللون وكيف خربا حياة السود في أمريكا وحرماهما من ممارسة جميع حقوقهم الطبيعية. هذا العمل يهدف إلى إبراز معاناة السود من أجل السعي وراء تحقيق المساواة مع البيض عبر الزمن. نتائج هذه الدراسة أظهرت أن العرق واللون هم من يحدد نمط حياة الفرد ووضعه الاجتماعي في أمريكا أين نصب البيض أنفسهم سداً على السود واططهدوهم، ولكن هذا الأخير لم يرضى بحياة الذل والتفرقة، في المقابل حاول جهده لتغيير هذه الحقيقة. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، ما استخلص من هذا البحث عن طول المدة التي قضاها السود في المناداة على حقوقهم ما هو إلا تأكيد على معارضة الواقع للدعاء الأمريكي على أنه بلد الديمقراطية والحرية. علاوة عن ذلك، أكد البحث على أن الرئيس روزفلت مثله مثل سابقه من رؤساء في ما يخص التعامل مع السود والنظر في حقوقهم ، بل ساهموا في تعميق الفجوة بينهم وبين البيض. من وجهة نظر أخرى، بينت الدراسة أن الاتفاق الجديد كان له بعض الإيجابيات على السود من ناحية أن روزفلت لم يعارض أو يجمع تنظيمات السود من أجل المطالبة بحقوقهم، بل في المقابل عين العديد منهم في مناصب سياسية مرموقة مما ساهم في غرس الثقة في شخص روزفلت وتأييده بنسب كبيرة في إنتخابات1936، كما ساهمت كثيرا في ولادة حركة الحقوق المدنية بين الخمسينات والستينات.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاتفاق الجديد – الافارقة الأمريكيين- روزفلت – الحقوق - السود