

ATTORNEY'S ROLE SHEET

The New Deal on Trial



You have been selected to be an attorney in this imaginary trial assessing the historical significance of the New Deal. To make this trial a successful learning experience for you and your classmates, work diligently to apply the suggestions below.

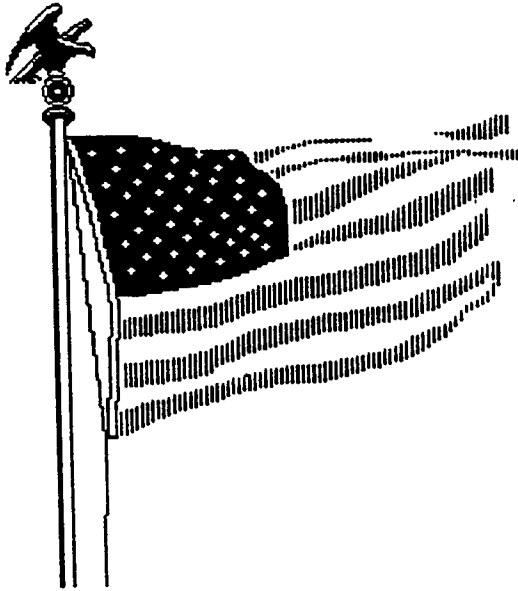
1. Immerse yourself in this time period as much as possible. Read over all the material **before** the trial begins. Also strive to master your American history textbook's content on FDR and the New Deal. *If you have a chance to hear/view any of the trial's historical figures on audio tape, video tape, or motion picture prior to acting as an attorney, do so.*
2. Divide the responsibilities and tasks among the attorneys on your side. Meet a few times in advance to rehearse your parts.

3. Work up some strategies or techniques to gain the upper hand over your opponents.
4. If you are **prosecuting**, try to get a conviction against the New Deal.
5. If you are **defending**, try to get the jury to acquit the New Deal ... and perhaps admit that the New Deal had to resort to unique methods to solve the serious problems of the Great Depression.
6. When you feel the other side is overstepping its authority while questioning one of your witnesses, object on one of the following grounds:
 - "Objection, your honor. My opponent is badgering the witness."
 - "Objection, your honor. My opponent is putting words in the witness' mouth." Or "...is leading the witness."
 - "Objection, your honor. The question is irrelevant and immaterial."

Wait for the judge to rule. The judge will say either **Sustained**, meaning a new line of questioning is called for ... or **Overruled**, meaning that the attorney you objected to may continue with his/her line of questioning.

TRIAL SEQUENCE SHEET

The New Deal on Trial



1. The teacher hands out the JUROR'S CONFIDENTIAL LOGS and explains it. (Only judge and attorneys are exempt.)
2. Judge enters and everyone rises. He reaches podium, pounds gavel, and says, "Everyone be seated. The case of the New Deal will now begin. Bailiff, swear in the jury."
3. Bailiff swears in jury: "Please stand and say 'I will' at the end of this oath. 'I promise to impartially judge this case on the merits of the testimony I hear.' *Do you so swear?*"
4. Judge says: "This case has come to court to determine the historical merits of the controversial administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt — the New Deal. Will a representative of the New Deal stand? The charges against the New Deal are as follows: The New Deal gave false hope to millions during the Great Depression; it made the United States a poorer nation; it created a dictatorship for President Roosevelt and granted him excessive power."
5. Judge says: "How does the New Deal plead?"
6. Judge says: "Now that a 'non-guilty or innocent' plea has been registered, we will begin to hear testimony."
7. Judge says: "Does the prosecution have an opening statement?"
8. Prosecution delivers a brief opening statement.
9. Judge says: "Thank you. Does the defense have an opening statement?"
10. Defense delivers a brief opening statement.
11. Judge says: "Thank you. We will now allow the prosecution to call its first witness."
12. Prosecution calls its first witness.
13. Defense cross-examines.
14. Prosecution calls its second witness.
15. Defense cross-examines.
16. Prosecution examines its third witness.
17. Defense cross-examines.
18. Prosecution examines its fourth witness.
19. Defense cross-examines.
20. Judge says: "Does the prosecution have any further witnesses?"
21. Prosecution says: "No, your honor. We rest our case."
22. Judge says: "Does the defense wish to call its first witness?"
23. Defense examines its first witness.
24. Prosecution cross-examines.
25. Defense examines its second witness.
26. Prosecution cross-examines.
27. Defense examines its third witness.
28. Prosecution cross-examines.
29. Defense examines its fourth witness.
30. Prosecution cross-examines.
31. Defense says: "Your honor, the defense has no further questions."

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

President Herbert Hoover

Directions: Read the following character description. It will provide information for you to use while you answer the questions that the Defense and Prosecution attorneys ask you during the trial. Strive to dress and act appropriately during the trial, for what you wear and how you speak and move while you are a witness definitely can add to the trial's reality.

You are former President Herbert Hoover, a man whom FDR beat decisively in the 1932 presidential election. Out of office for about six years now, you will enjoy this opportunity to criticize the New Deal and the man who is most responsible for its strategies and philosophy.

When you were president (1929-1933), the stock market crashed and you, as the country's leader, were blamed — unfairly, most would agree. A man of action no less than Roosevelt, you quickly took steps to remedy the human suffering and economic problems. Instead of a dole which is so socialistic, you encouraged private agencies, charities, and institutions to help the hungry and the poor. The federal government should never give handouts to people — they lose their personal initiative — or “rugged individualism.” Too much government intrusion into a person's life robs him of his self-reliance.

As president, you had Congress pass the RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) which was created to loan money to banks, railroads, and similar industries. Money would, therefore, reach destitute individuals when they earned money from working, not from one-time handouts, or “freebies.”

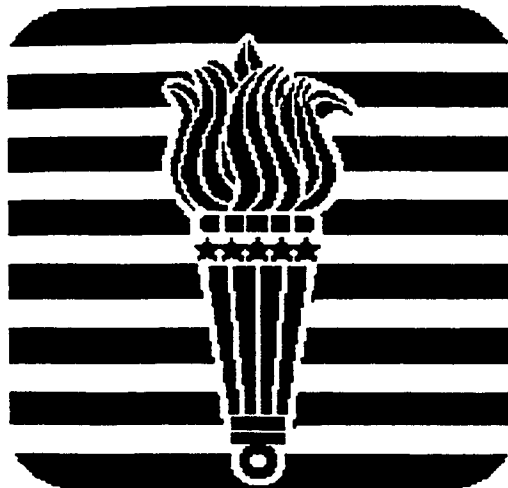
The New Deal sapped self-reliance from individuals. Its agencies crept into people's lives and regulated them. Every step in the direction of government intervention poisoned our political, economic, and social freedom. FDR gained much power during the New Deal. And that fact, coupled with the intrusion of federal government into our lives, *was and is* dangerous.

Questions for President Hoover:

- P-1** Sir, what did you do as president to alleviate the miseries of the early depression and not resort to government handouts?
- P-2** So you took action . . . What was the RFC?
- P-3** Then how do you feel about federal government intruding into an individual's life?
- P-4** What was “rugged individualism” and how did the New Deal destroy it?
- D-1** Mr. President, FDR easily defeated you in the election of 1932, right? Then wasn't FDR the people's choice and wasn't this a rejection of your strategies to deal with the depression?
- D-2** Are you saying, sir, that the New Deal and its architect, FDR, shouldn't have tried unique measures to solve the depression?
- D-3** Mr. Hoover, why are you so bitter toward the New Deal and Mr. Roosevelt — he was trying to deal with widespread misery his own way?

32. **Judge** says: "Very well. It is time to hear any closing statements. The defense will be heard first."
33. **Defense** delivers its closing statement.
34. **Prosecution** delivers its closing statement.
35. **Judge** says: "It is now time to remind the jury that you will base your verdict on only the testimony you have heard." Judge then rereads the charges. "Bailiff, escort the jury to the Deliberation Room."
36. **Jury** retires to deliberate.
37. Upon return, **judge** says: "Has the jury decided on a verdict?"
38. **Jury foreman** says: "We have, your honor. We, the jury, find the defendant, the New Deal, guilty/not guilty."
39. **Judge** says: "It has been decided after a fair and impartial jury trial that the New Deal is guilty/not guilty." (If not guilty,

thank all participants, "release" from custody the New Deal. If guilty, decide quickly a penalty or fine. Then thank all participants, and say, "This case is closed."



WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

Millard C. Smithers, CCC Youth

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You are a young 19-year-old boy from New York City who, after wandering the streets for nearly two years without gainful employment, finally found a job working for the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps.

This agency, which was created in the early months of the New Deal administration's Hundred Days, was perhaps the most popular of all so-called alphabet soup agencies. The CCC provided employment for young men to work in forested areas of the United States, doing useful things like planting trees, fighting fires, draining swamps, controlling floods, and digging fire-breaks in the mountains. This CCC agency was called Roosevelt's "Tree Army" or New Deal Soil Soldiers. It is estimated that more than three million men who might have been driven into criminal habits after aimlessly stagnating on city streets or neighborhood pool halls and bars benefitted from being in the CCC. Part of their wages of \$30 per month was sent home to their families.

Most men who were in the CCC like yourself will never forget their years in the agency. Perhaps for the first time, city boys were put into a beautiful mountainous region with clear, fresh air. They were given plenty of good food to eat and a clean bunk to sleep on. They

mingled with other men whose friendship, in many cases, led to life-long connections. The CCC camps provided free medical help as well as religious and counseling assistance if needed.

As a CCC soil soldier, you awoke at 5 A.M., ate a hearty breakfast, went to morning classes, and then went off to the fields, or up into the higher mountains, to work at digging fire-breaks, repairing and clearing trails, building shelters, draining swamps, controlling flooded areas, fighting fires, when needed, and, most importantly, planting millions and millions of trees for the beauty and use of future generations. It was a vigorous and healthful life, a time you wouldn't trade for anything. Who knows what kind of life lay ahead had you been left to stagnate in New York City, jobless, dependent, and restless. By golly, you have FDR and the creative New Deal to thank for your, and the country's, good fortune!

Questions for Millard D. Smithers

- D-1** Millard, what was life like for you while you lived in New York City in the years 1930-1933?
- D-2** What kinds of tasks did you do while employed by the CCC, which stands for what?
- D-3** And . . . was it a positive experience for you — up there in God's country?
- D-4** What would you say to President Roosevelt and the New Deal if he were here facing you today?
- D-5** Millard, speculate what your life would have been like in New York had there been no CCC.

- P-1** Millard, did you ever feel like you'd been forced or drafted in this Civilian Conservation Corps? Did you have a choice?
- P-2** Sir, were these tasks you performed in the mountains really valuable or worthwhile jobs? They sound like silly "make-work" jobs so typical of New Deal legislation.
- P-3** Thirty dollars a month for all that hard labor — did you ever feel exploited — I mean I wouldn't do all that slave labor for a mere \$30 a month!

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

Louise "Ma" Kincaid

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You are a middle-aged woman of moderate means whose family in the early 1930s was forced into situations no other generation of Americans faced. For the Crash of '29 helped initiate unique economic conditions which led to the so-called Great Depression.

Almost immediately, your husband Clem lost his job at a local plumbing firm when the cycle of overproduction, deflated currency, low prices and low wages hit most businesses in 1930-32. Unable to find work, your husband disappeared, shamed by the fact that he could no longer provide for his family. Solving nothing, his departure meant "hard times" for you and the five Kincaid children. Food was hard to secure, but some of your most difficult decisions surrounded your actions to keep up the facade of "doing just fine" in the eyes of your equally struggling neighbors. Tricks like recycling razor blades, raiding garbage cans behind restaurants, and using cardboard pieces to replace worn-out socks and shoes were clever but at best were temporary.

Soon your oldest boy, Clem, Jr., resorted to selling apples in New York City for five cents each. He also wore a sign on his back offering to do *anything* for a meager wage... In ordinary times, it would have been a family embarrassment—but not in 1932, the worst year of all for those who remember. In addition, you ar-

anged to have your sister's family of six move in with you to help make ends meet. Her husband, a former RCA executive, lost thousands in the stock market disaster, and personally humiliated and broke, jumped to his death from the 20th floor of his office building.

This was the situation — struggling to survive — when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated in March 1933 and immediately initiated the radical measures of the New Deal. And, lucky for you and the nation, the New Deal saved this republic, in your estimation.

Many critics never accepted the change of direction the New Deal brought during the Great Depression, but you and others who were caught in the spiral and were down and out could hardly be critical. Almost immediately, a new positive spirit permeated the country as Americans listened to the new president's calm voice on radio during his fireside chats. His **3R Program** (Relief, Recovery and Reform) was a positive step to combat the Great Depression, and most Americans were eager to support such legislation from Congress.

Living in New York state, you and the large brood in your house were almost immediately spared from starvation by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) which provided direct relief to needy Americans. The president had said: "We must act, for people now, not in the long run," which you all knew was a dig at President Hoover's lame attempt to give relief by funding businesses instead of feeding the hungry. Your oldest sons, Clem, Luke, and Hugh, went to work for Civil Works Administration (CWA). They built school parks, and repaired roads for \$15 a week.

When the CWA was phased out, two went on to the Public Works Administration (PWA) while one joined the CCC.

You were never sure if life *really* got better. Yet, a spirit of optimism replaced defeatism in the country. You were pleased at the reforms instituted by the New Deal to ensure that the miseries of the Great Depression never returned. Especially laudable was the 1935 Social Security Act, passed to guarantee a pension for older Americans in retirement, though the payroll deductions from paychecks were involuntary.

In all, Americans should praise FDR and his New Deal Administration. It injected a bit of unorthodoxy to salvage our precious free enterprise system, to say nothing of salvaging most of our generation's self-respect. It must be said that you had to have been truly "down and out" to appreciate the titanic role faced by the New Deal and its miraculous successes.

Questions for Louise "Ma" Kincaid:

- D-1 Mrs. Kincaid, or "Ma," what were "hard times" like for you and your family?
- D-2 What was the most difficult problem you faced?
- D-3 Was your family able to cope?
- D-4 What was the immediate reaction to President Roosevelt and his course of action?
- D-5 Did the New Deal save America?
- D-6 What specific New Deal measures seemed to alleviate human misery and unemployment?
- P-1 While we can all appreciate your struggles, Ma Kincaid, do you really think the long-range results of Roosevelt's New Deal socialism have been beneficial?
- P-2 Mrs. Kincaid, wouldn't most of the difficulties you faced have gone away in time without the New Deal and "Dr." Roosevelt's aspirin remedies?
- P-3 Were you aware that much of your sons' wages came from worthless boon-doggling projects and agencies wherein a man could be paid for leaning on a shovel?
- P-4 Don't you give just a wee bit too much credit to the New Deal? Come on, be honest!

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt

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You are the 32nd president of the United States, a man charged, for better or worse, with changing the direction of America in the 1930s. Charges and countercharges have tried to make you look like a dictator, a spend-thrift, and a power-hungry politician, exploiting the unique times to advance yourself in history. But you feel it's time to set the record straight.

First, critics have said that you're an extremely powerful president, who in 1933 was given extraordinary powers by the Congress. But it was a necessity. Why? Because when the New Deal began in March 1933, factories were closed, banks were failing every day, farmers could find no markets to sell their products at a decent price, and workers could find no jobs. Despair and pessimism were rampant! Clearly by this year — 1939 — we have reversed this. Working with Congress, the New Deal now can point out the following achievements: factories have stayed open, banks are stable, farmers have survived, and workers across the length and breadth of this land are employed on important projects. You have even managed to set up and provide for security for the aged. Could a weak and do-nothing administration have done all this?

Second, you have been accused of bankrupting our nation to the detriment of future generations. Conditions were such that dollars had to be pumped into a stagnant economy. And they were well spent. Look around you. People survived the worse catastrophe in United States history. Your philosophy is clear on this issue: If it takes money to turn Americans from despair to happiness, so be it. Further, the millions pumped into the economy went directly to people, not to banks, or railroads, or into the coffers of the filthy rich.

Third, there are those who say that the New Deal destroyed the American character and the free enterprise system. Balderdash! Is a man hurt if his government provides him with constructive work? Is a man's character hurt if his government transforms him from a starving wretch to a self-respected worker? Is a man's character hurt if his government hires him to do a job that needs to be done, rather than sending him out to search for a non-existent job? It must be said that the New Deal preserved the free enterprise system; in fact, it had strengthened it by reforming antiquated laws which caused the Great Depression and human misery which came as a result. Interestingly, critics have been free with labels like fascism, socialism, and communism. Yet, obviously everything the New Deal has done is in the American tradition and your administration is merely an extension of reform movements of the 1840s and early 1900s.

In summary, the New Deal has been fighting the Great Depression with all the weapons we could find. Unorthodox times called for unorthodox methods. You should be proud of what the New Deal has done to preserve precious traditions and thus to save an entire generation's self-respect.

Questions for President Roosevelt

- 1** Mr. President, what a distinguished honor it is to have you in our courtroom today. Sir, are you upset at all the charges filed against you and the New Deal?
- D-2** Sir, what can you say to critics who say that you have too much power?
- D-3** And . . . has the New Deal, in your opinion, spent the country into permanent debt and bankruptcy?
- D-4** Mr. President, has the New Deal destroyed the American character and the free enterprise system?
- P-1** Mr. President, your presence here certainly lends credibility to the case for the defense. But let's hope it doesn't detract from the jury's ability to sort out the facts relevant to the charges. Sir, can you honestly say all these expensive "alphabet soup" agencies were absolutely necessary?
- P-2** And, sir, was all this money being pumped into the economy justified? Remember, you're under oath.
- P-3** Did you ever determine if real people were actually starving before your rubber-stamp Congress passed all these make-work agencies like CCC, WPA, and PWA?
- P-4** Sir, how do you think history will judge you and the New Deal 50 to 100 years from now when the U.S. has a huge deficit, and welfare costs are soaring? Will the New Deal then be the culprit?

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

Clarence T. Richmond, Tennessee farmer

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You were a small-time farmer trying to eke out an existence on a 60-acre farm in Tennessee. But in 1933 life for you and other farmers like you changed when the New Deal Congress created the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and initiated a huge public works program to produce electricity, control flooding and generally upgrade the economy of your beloved Tennessee, where the Tennessee River runs through a very poor region. Previously, private companies had run the dams and several plants in this region, but it seemed that these companies charged excessive rates for what was now deemed a necessary service — electric power.

Obviously, the New Deal poured millions of dollars and tons of concrete into the project because the region up to 1933 was a disaster. The valley's forests had been stripped, erosion had reached frightening proportions, and the Tennessee River's tributaries were filling with silt, which indicated a flood danger to low-lying farms and cities. Furthermore, the people who lived along the rivers were some of the poorest in the nation, so poor, unemployment meant near-starvation, and so primitive that most of the farms had no electricity! So it was that the architects of the New Deal eagerly saw a perfect laboratory for economic planning.

The new TVA agency was determined to discover precisely how much the production and distribution of electricity cost, so that a "yardstick" could be set up to test the fairness of rates charged by private companies in most similar industries. What followed were more charges by utility corporations that the federal government, through TVA, was trying to compete with private industries. Thus, it was labeled clearly *socialistic* — or "creeping socialism in concrete." Critics further claimed that private companies could not compete fairly with the federal government because "it was destroying the initiative that has made this country great." Another critic put it this way: "Business and politics don't mix."

Supporters of the New Dealer's TVA enterprise looked right past the "wedge of socialism" charge, primarily because TVA worked. It did provide low cost electric power to Tennessee Valley residents through dams on the river. Moreover, TVA successfully established projects to control employment in the region. Employment rates soared during a time when the jobless rates elsewhere were dismal. Last, rivers of the area ran blue instead of brown, and a once poverty-cursed land was transformed into a comparatively flourishing state.

Critics of TVA — mostly wealthy businessmen — abounded, but for the wrong reasons. Socialistic or not, the TVA works. Poverty has been lessened, and an entire region has been saved. We must praise a farsighted President Roosevelt and his progressive New Deal for the success of TVA. On a personal level, your standard of living has been significantly raised, and your neighbors have saved their way of life.

Questions for Clarence T. Richmond

D-1 Mr. Richmond, what was life for you and others like before the New Deal intervened in the Tennessee Valley in 1933?

D-2 Just what was the purpose of Tennessee Valley Authority? It had several goals, didn't it?

D-3 And, sir, there were legions of critics of TVA. What was their focus and their particular charges?

D-4 So . . . how successful was TVA and how did farmers like you fare?

P-1 Farmer Richmond, is a definition of socialism one in which the federal government *assumes control* of a once-private industry?

P-2 Isn't it clear that the New Deal's TVA project was socialistic in that private industry couldn't compete with TVA in that region?

P-3 You say that it was easy to look past the label of "socialistic" because TVA worked to alleviate poverty and to efficiently run the dams on the Tennessee River. But, Mr. Richmond, don't you think you are sacrificing future freedom for temporary security? Isn't this a dangerous policy?

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

Businessman Robert Taylor Green

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You are the owner of a large business with offices in several major American cities. Before the Crash of 1929, your business was very successful. But during the early depression years, you began to suffer financial losses. Yet, you figured out what it takes to climb out of the hole and did just that. Your motto was: "Tough Cookies Don't Crumble!" or "When the going gets tough, the tough get going!"

When FDR's New Deal was instituted, your fortunes reversed once more. Just when you had made adjustments to see large profits again, this "socialist" Roosevelt and his Ivy League sissies started to regulate the economy — everything from what workers could be paid, the hours they could work, and even the prices you could charge. Specifically, you opposed the NRA, another one of those socialistic programs of the New Deal. The NRA stood for the National Recovery Administration. Its goal was to see that *every* major business shortened working hours and raised wages. The president used one of his henchmen, Hugh Johnson, to enforce a code of fair practices. If a company honored this ridiculous code, it could display a silly "Blue Eagle" emblem with the motto: "We do our part."

To you the whole idea of the federal government controlling and regulating American business is pure socialism. And since FDR headed the New Deal, which is trying to regulate the economy, he's the culprit, the man who dictates the rules; he's the man who is destroying the free enterprise system. There's just no trust anymore in this so-called democratic system.

Questions for Robert Taylor Green

- P-1** Mr. Green, did you suffer at all when the early depression set in?
- P-2** But you pulled out of it? How did you manage this?
- P-3** And, sir, what happened to — a streak of bad luck and timing after you were on your feet again?
- P-4** Specifically, you differ with the government's NRA code. What is this all about?
- P-5** Mr. Green, what worries you about the New Deal?
- D-1** Mr. Green, you almost went under. Is that correct?
- D-2** You blame the President and the New Deal for the ups and downs of the economy.
- D-3** Sir, do you realize that if others in the economy weren't helped, no one could do business with you, and, hence, you wouldn't see profits?
- D-4** Do you actually think FDR and the New Deal ruined the American system instead of saved it?

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

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You are the chief justice of the Supreme Court and, as such, are the focus of a large controversy involving the president and the court in 1937. Perhaps no other administration in history had so many of its acts struck down by the high court as did FDR's New Deal from 1934 through 1937.

Indeed, you and the other "Old Men" on the court felt much of the New Deal legislation coming out of a rubber-stamp Congress in those years was unconstitutional, and when some New Deal bills came to your court to be tested for their constitutionality, they were struck down, or made null and void. You and the others (at least five of the nine) struck down the NRA in 1935 and the AAA in 1936.

In each case, where the court struck down New Deal acts, it decided that the New Deal had breached its power in the delicately balanced separation of power system set up by the Founding Fathers in 1787 at the Constitutional Convention.

The nation's attention centered on the separation-of-power issue in 1937, when a powerful

President Roosevelt, for whatever reason, proposed to Congress that the number of justices of the court be raised from nine to 15. No doubt, the court had opposed the New Deal to curb the "socialistic tendencies" of that radical in the White House. FDR's "Court Packing Plan" would have given him power to appoint a new justice for every member over 70 who would not retire — up to 15 total persons.

Reaction to Roosevelt's scheme was similar. The president was wrong; the attempt was "too damned slick" and looked like the actions of a dictator trying to browbeat the judiciary. It was a low point of the New Deal, and when the bill failed to get bi-partisan support in Congress, many breathed a sigh and said, "God bless the Supreme Court."

Questions for Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

- P-1** Mr. Chief Justice, do you believe in the sanctity of the separation of powers idea of the revered Constitution?
- P-2** Sir, exactly what did President Roosevelt do to endanger this concept? In brief, what was this court packing idea specifically?
- P-3** So . . . he felt the New Deal was hampered by an independent judiciary. Is that right?
- P-4** I understand that this so-called court packing scheme didn't work out. What exactly was the reaction?

(Questions the Defense will ask are found on page 1+.)

D-1 Mr. Chief Justice, do you agree that the Great Depression was the greatest affliction ever in U.S. history?

D-2 And, sir, was President Roosevelt and his New Deal a heroic attempt to solve the effects of the Great Depression?

D-3 Here are several questions that are related to one another: Is it possible that when your court struck down some seven of nine cases involving New Deal legislation which came to you in the 1934-1937 years, you actually hampered the effectiveness of New Deal

strategy? Or to put it another way, did human suffering continue because the court, on its high horse, decided not to go along with the administration? Were you justices more concerned about "an independent judiciary" than you were about the welfare of all Americans?

D-4 And, sir, are you aware that the New Deal's credibility to deal with the "hard times" after 1937 was suspect because of your court's finding agencies like the NRA and AAA unconstitutional?

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

Alfred Landon

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You were FDR's opponent in the presidential election of 1936, and as a Republican conservative from Kansas (you had been governor of the Jayhawker state), you were at odds about the Roosevelt socialistic philosophy and the frightening amount of power he amassed as he was elected and re-elected four times to the presidency.

As a former Roosevelt opponent and an astute observer of the New Deal, you firmly believe the country is in trouble, not because of the hard times (tough people will survive!), but because of the real dangers inherent in the New Deal socialism and the absolute power of one man to dictate policy in our democracy.

First, you agree with former President Herbert Hoover: the New Deal is weakening the American character and destroying the free enterprise system. Before FDR, an individual in economic distress solved his own problems. He moved and changed jobs; he learned a new skill; he relied on his family or private charity until things got better. The New Deal altered all of this. The government put the unemployed to work, paid farmers for not growing crops (the AAA), and assisted manufacturers in setting prices (the NRA). To Roosevelt, these measures were necessary

to end misery and to bring some order to the economy. But to you, "a planned economy was incompatible with a democratic form of government." Clearly, the New Deal was leading us toward a system where every citizen would be scrutinized and regulated and the privacy of our homes would be invaded. It is, evidently, the road to Moscow! How long will it be before we're all wearing Social Security dog-tags? After all, Social Security takes funds involuntarily from our pay checks!

Second, while the effects of the Great Depression needed leadership, the Roosevelt steamroller did too much, and, in the process, it created a virtual dictatorship. More power was given to the executive branch to act. But the rubber stamp Democratic Congress passed just about every bill FDR recommended: the AAA for farmers, the NRA for businessmen, the CCC, WPA and PWA for the unemployed. The latter two employed millions of men constructing highways, roads, and bridges all over the country. The main point here is that the president, with billions of dollars allocated, decided how these agencies were to be run, who was to guide them, and the rules for their operation — extra-ordinary powers which exceeded those of any previous president in peacetime history. We should call him Franklin "Deficit" Roosevelt for the extravagant and wasteful spending. Fellow Republicans, and even some prominent Democrats, see in this concentration of power a clear-cut case of dictatorship. The Soviet Union has its Stalin; Nazi Germany has its Hitler. Is the USA counterpart a dictatorial FDR? I hope not, for the sake of our future. Resist his New Deal! Resist his personal charm!

(Prosecution and Defense questions are found on the next page.)

Questions for Alfred Landon

- P-1** Governor Landon, is this country in trouble? How so?
- P-2** Sir, is the Roosevelt New Deal weakening the American character and destroying the free enterprise system?
- P-3** Is a planned and well-ordered economy detrimental to our nation?
- P-4** Governor, how close are we in this democratic nation to becoming a dictatorship? Does Roosevelt have too much power?
- D-1** Governor Landon, if we all agree that the Great Depression is the most catastrophic series of events to plague this country ever, don't you think if you had been elected in 1936 you would have used the powers of your office — perhaps unorthodox methods — to end the cycles of human misery and business failure.
- D-2** Sir, isn't it too early to assess or evaluate the long-range effects of the New Deal? Americans have a way of utilizing methods that work. Therefore, are the unorthodox and emergency strategies of the New Deal permanent or temporary?
- D-3** You compared FDR to Stalin and Hitler. This is unfair, don't you think? After all, FDR is subject to rejection every four years. Please comment.
- D-4** Sir, aren't you criticizing more out of sour grapes, rather than as an astute observer who won't admit the New Deal worked?

Witness for the Prosecution

Governor Huey P. Long (R.I.P.)

Directions: Read the following character description. It will provide information to use while you answer the questions that the Defense and Prosecution attorneys will ask you during the trial (although you will need to do more research).

You are former Governor of Louisiana Huey P. Long who was concerned with his own power and also thought the New Deal wasn't doing enough to get the country out of the depression. Long ran for office as Governor of Louisiana in 1928. Education was the main theme of his election campaign. As he pointed out, Louisiana's illiteracy rate of 22 per cent was the highest in the United States. Long's attacks on the utilities industries and the privileges of corporations were popular and he won the election by the largest margin in the state's history (92,941 votes to 3,733).

Once in power Long condemned the state's ruling hierarchy and attempted to replace it with his own supporters. In this way he gained control of the Hospital Board, the Highway Commission, the Levee Board and the Dock Board. He also forced state employees to distribute his newspaper, the *Louisiana Progress*. Long also attempted to capture the Democratic State Central Committee.

Long's critics accused him of being a dictator but he did introduce important reforms. This included the provision of free school textbooks, free night school courses for adult illiterates and increased expenditure on the state university.

In 1928, Louisiana only had 331 miles of paved roads. When Long gained power he launched a program of reform. Introducing major reforms, including free textbooks and free night courses for adult learning, Long also launched a program to build a school within walking distance of every child in the state. Moreover, the Democratic governor improved the state's infrastructure. When Long came to office the state had less than 3500 miles of paved roads; during his tenure he paved 3000 miles of roads using money from a tax on gas. He supported the building of 111 bridges, a new airport in New Orleans, and a medical school at Louisiana State University (LSU). During his time in office, Long increased the taxes of large business in the state, especially the oil companies in order to pay for the roads and schools that were built in Louisiana, Long increased taxes on local corporations.

Long also attempted to increase revenues by imposing a new tax on the oil industry. The legislature rejected the measure and attempts were made to impeach Long. He was accused of misappropriating state funds and making illegal loans. However, the Senate failed to convict Long by two votes and afterwards it was claimed he had bribed several senators in order to get the right result.

In 1930 Long was elected to the Senate. To keep full control of Louisiana he installed an old friend, Alvin King, the president of the state senate, to act as governor. In the Senate he was highly critical of President Herbert Hoover and the way his government was dealing with the Great Depression.

In the summer of 1932 Long took on the Democratic Party machine when he decided to support Hattie Caraway, the first woman to be elected to Congress, in her bid to hold her seat in the Senate. Joseph T. Robinson and other leaders of the party in Arkansas were opposed to the idea and told her she would not win the party nomination. Caraway approached Long and he agreed to help her in her

campaign and she defeated her nearest competitor by two to one.

Long supported the presidential campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt. However, **after his election, he was highly critical of some aspects of the New Deal.** He disliked the Emergency Banking Act because it did little to help small, local banks. He bitterly attacked the National Recovery Act for the system of wage and price codes it established. He correctly forecasted that the codes would be written by the leaders of the industries involved and would result in price-fixing. Long told the Senate: "Every fault of socialism is found in this bill, without one of its virtues." Long also claimed that Roosevelt had done little to redistribute wealth. When Roosevelt refused to introduce legislation to place ceilings on personal incomes, private fortunes and inheritances, Long launched his Share Our Wealth Society. In February 1934. He told the Senate: "Unless we provide for redistribution of wealth in this country, the country is doomed." He added the nation faced a choice, it could limit large fortunes and provide a decent standard of life for its citizens, or it could wait for the inevitable revolution. Long quoted research that suggested "2% of the people owned 60% of the wealth". In one radio broadcast he told the listeners: "God called: 'Come to my feast.' But what had happened? Rockefeller, Morgan, and their crowd stepped up and took enough for 120,000,000 people and left only enough for 5,000,000 for all the other 125,000,000 to eat. And so many millions must go hungry."

Long's plan involved taxing all incomes over a million dollars. On the second million the capital levy tax would be one per cent. On the third, two per cent, on the fourth, four per cent; and so on. Once a personal fortune exceeded \$8 million, the tax would become 100 per cent. Under his plan, the government would confiscate all inheritances of more than one million dollars.

This large fund would then enable the government to guarantee subsistence for everyone in America. Each family would receive a basic household estate of \$5,000. There would also be a minimum annual income of \$2,000 per year. Other aspects of his Share Our Wealth Plan involved government support for education, old-age pensions, benefits for war veterans and public-works projects.

Some critics pointed out that all wealth was not in the form of money. Most of America's richest people had their wealth in land, buildings, stocks and bonds. It would therefore be very difficult to evaluate and liquidate this wealth. When this was put to Long he replied: "I am going to have to call in some great minds to help me."

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