

## Bibliographical Note

There is an immense literature on Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the New Deal, and I list only a small subset of that literature here. For an accessible catalogue of Roosevelt's major speeches, the best source is *The Essential Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: Gramercy, 1995). Invaluable treatments include James MacGregor Burns, *The Lion and the Fox* (San Diego: Harcourt, 1956); Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Rendezvous with Destiny* (New York: Little, Brown, 1965); and the multivolume *The Age of Roosevelt* by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., including *The Crisis of the Old Order* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1957); *The Coming of the New Deal* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1958); and *The Politics of Upheaval* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1959). More recent discussions are Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001); David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War* (New York: Oxford, 1999); Kenneth S. Davis' four volumes, especially (for current purposes) volume 2, *FDR: The New Deal Years, 1933–1937* (New York: Random House, 1986); and volume 4, *FDR: The War President, 1940–1943* (New York: Random House, 2000).

Engaging discussions of Roosevelt can be found in Frances Perkins, *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York: Viking, 1946); Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1948); and Isaiah Berlin, *Personal Impressions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001). Exceptionally informative is Samuel I. Rosenman, *Working with Roosevelt* (New York: Harper, 1952). On the period in general, an illuminating treatment is Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1989). On the New Deal's institutional innovations, Ellis W.

Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), remains invaluable.

On the National Resources Planning Board, helpful discussions are found in Marion Clawson, *New Deal Planning: The Natural Resources Planning Board* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981); and Patrick D. Reagan, *Designing a New America: The Origins of New Deal Planning* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999). The latter contains a particularly illuminating account of the origins of the second bill of rights.

On the legal realists and Robert Hale, the best discussion, by far, is Barbara Fried, *The Progressive Assault on Laissez Faire: Robert Hale and the First Law and Economics Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001). On the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, an exceptional account is Mary Ann Glendon, *A World Made New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (New York: Random House, 2001). On social and economic rights in general, helpful overviews include Matthew Craven, *The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: A Perspective on Its Development* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Asbjorn Eide et al., eds., *Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights: A Textbook*, 2d ed. (Dordrecht: Maryinus Nijhoff, 2001); and Paul Hunt, *Reclaiming Social Rights: International and Comparative Perspectives* (Brookfield, Vt.: Dartmouth, 1996). On American exceptionalism, a good treatment is Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marks, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States* (New York: Norton, 2000).

On the American Supreme Court's grappling with the question whether there is a constitutional right to welfare, the classic treatment remains Frank I. Michelman, "Foreword: On Protecting the Poor Through the Fourteenth Amendment," *Harv. L. Rev.* 83 (1969): 7. More recent discussions include William E. Forbath, "Caste, Class, and Equal Citizenship," *Mich. L. Rev.* 98 (1999): 1; William E. Forbath, "Constitutional Welfare Rights: A History, Critique, and Reconstruction," *Fordham L. Rev.* 69 (2001): 1821; Sortiros Barber, *Welfare and the Constitution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).