

Department of History
University of Wisconsin
SEMESTER I, 1988-89

HISTORY 901

MR. HOLLINGSWORTH

As this is a pro-seminar, the main concerns of the class will be reading and discussing the literature on the political economy of the United States since 1890. Each week, the readings will focus on topics around which the literature is organized. During the semester, you should become familiar with the literature on the history of American political economy since 1890 and sensitive to its inadequacies. You should also become aware of the potential for conducting research in new areas.

There are more titles on the reading lists than any student can master. However, through a collective effort, students should become familiar with most of the readings on the lists. Most weeks, all students are expected to read a common core of literature. In addition, students will read other titles on the reading lists and write a short summary or brief evaluation of the readings. These should be no more than one or two pages in length and a copy should be distributed to each member of the class. In this way, by the end of the semester, each member of the class will have compiled a file on much of the literature on the reading list. You should prepare two copies for the instructor, who will return one copy with comments.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS

Each week, the discussions will focus on the subject of that week's readings. The discussions will be led by groups of three or four students who should collectively prepare for the sessions which they will lead. Each student will participate in leading three class discussions during the semester.

A seminar involves collective effort. It will work well only if everyone works together and if all participants collaborate and do their work in a timely manner. If you ease up, you injure the quality of the entire class.

LONGER PAPERS

Each student is to write two papers, each being approximately 10-12 typed, double-spaced pages in length. These papers are to be critical reviews of books or literature which confront major problems or questions posed by the course. The model for these papers will be essays which appear in either The New York Review of Books or Reviews in American History. All paper topics must be approved in advance by Mr. Hollingsworth. The first paper is due no later than November 7 and the second paper is due no later than the week of the last class meeting, though you may submit your papers before these dates. Each student is advised to choose topics well in advance of these dates.

GRADING

Grading will be based on the weekly reading reports, the longer papers, and discussion participation -- including one's role in leading the three class discussions.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES AVAILABILITY

I have requested that each of the following books and articles be placed on 3-hour reserve in the State Historical Society or the Helen C. White Library. If you cannot locate a book or article in these places, please contact me.

Materials with an * are to be read by all members of the class. Materials with # should be purchased in the University Book Store. From time to time, additional materials will be placed in the History Library on the fourth floor of the Humanities Building (Room 4257). The library hours are:

8:30 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.

1:15 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.
Monday through Friday.

The History Library is closed Saturday, Sunday and holidays.

September 12: Perspectives on American Populism

Core Reading: *#Larry Goodwyn, The Populist Movement

Consult: Pollack, Handler, Unger, and Hollingsworth, "Populism Discussion," Agricultural History, 39 (April 1965), 59-85.
 Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, 3-130.
 James Turner, "Understanding the Populists," Journal of American History, 67 (1980), 354-73.
 Steven Hahn, The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of Georgia's Upcountry.
 Jonathan Wiener, "Class Structure and Economic Development in the American South, 1865-1955," American Historical Review, 84 (October 1979), 970-992.
 Harold D. Woodman, "Post-Civil War Southern Agriculture and the Law," Agricultural History, 53 (January 1979), 326-31.
 Roger L. Ransom and Richard Sutch, One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation.
 Steve Hahn, "The Unmaking of the Southern Yeomanry: The Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1860-1890," Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation, pp. 179-203.
 Robert McMath, Populist Vanguard: A History of the Southern Farmers' Alliance.
 Allan G. Bogue, From Prairie to Cornbelt (I suggest that you read this book for a perspective on a region where Populism developed very modestly.)

September 19: The Changing Structure of American Business.

Core Reading: Alfred D. Chandler, The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business.

Consult: Alfred D. Chandler, Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of American Industrial Enterprises, especially Chapter 7 and Conclusion.
 Alfred D. Chandler and Herman Daems, Managerial Hierarchies, Chapters 1-3, 6.
 G. Porter and H.C. Livesay, Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of 19th Century Marketing.
 Merritt Roe Smith, "Military Arsenal and Industry Before World War I," in B.F. Cooling, editor, War, Business and American Society.
 Merritt Roe Smith, "Military Enterprises and the Innovative Process," in Otto Mayr and Robert Post, eds., The American System of Manufacturers.
 *William H. Becker, "American Wholesale Hardware Trade Associations, 1870-1900," Business History Review, 45 (1971), 179-200.

September 26: The Changing Structure of American Business

Core Reading: #*Naomi R. Lamoreaux, The Great Merger Movement in American Business.

Consult: Thomas K. McCraw, Prophets of Regulation, Chapters 3 and 4.
 Scott Lash and John Urry, The End of Organized Capitalism, Chapters 2 and 3.
 Alfred D. Chandler and Herman Daems, Managerial Hierarchies, Chapters 5-7.
 Thomas K. McCraw, Regulation in Perspective, pp. 1-55.
 Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism.
 *William H. Becker, "American Wholesale Hardware Trade Associations, 1870-1900," Business History Review 45 (1971), 179-200.

October 3: The Transformation of the Working Class

Core Reading: #*David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the U.S.

Consult: Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry," The Review of Radical Political Economics, 6 (1974).
 Daniel Nelson, Managers and Workers: Origins of the new Factory System in the U.S., 1880-1920.
 Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, Chapters 4-10.
 Dan Clawson, Bureaucracy and the Labor process.
 David Montgomery, The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925.
 Alex Keyssar, Out of Work.

October 10: The Transformation of the Working Class

Core Reading: Christopher Tomlins, The State and the Unions.

Consult: Stuart Brandes, American Welfare Capitalism.
 Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, the Second Industrial Divide, pp. 111-132.
 Katherine Stone, "The Post-War Paradigm in American Labor law," Yale Law Journal, 90 (June, 1981) 1509-80.
 David Montgomery, Workers Control in America.
 Ruth Milkman, "Organizing the Sexual Division of labor: Historical Perspectives on 'Womens Work' and the American Labor Movement," Socialist Review, 49 (1980), 95-150.
 Ruth Milkman, "Women's Work and the Economic Crisis: Some Lessons from the Great Depression," Review of Radical Political Economics, 8 (Spring, 1976) 73-97.

- Sharon Hartman Strom, "Challenging Women's Place: Feminism, the Left, and Industrial Unionism in the 1930s," Feminist Studies, 9 (Summer, 1983), 359-386.
- David Brody, "The Emergence of Mass Production Unionism," in John Braeman, R. Bremner, and E. Walters, editors, Change and Continuity in Twentieth Century America, pp. 221-62.
- Karl Klare, "Labor Law and the Liberal Political Imagination," Socialist Review 62 (March-April, 1982), 45-72.
- Ruth Milkman, ed. Women, Protest, and Work: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History
- Karl Klare, "Judicial Deradicalization of the Wagner Act and the Origins of Modern Legal Consciousness, 1937-1941," Minnesota Law Review, 62 (1978) 265-239.
- Ronald Schatz, "The End of Corporate Liberalism: Class Struggle in the Electrical Manufacturing Industry, 1933-1950," Radical America (July-August 1975).

October 17: Technological Change and the Problem of Corporate Control

Core Reading: #*David F. Noble, America by Design

- Consult: David F. Noble, Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation
- See three articles on technology by David F. Noble in Democracy, 1983.
- Joel Colton and Stuart Bruchey, editors, Technology, The Economy, and Society: The American Experience.
- Langdon Winner, Autonomous Technology: Technics-Out-of-Control as a Theme in Political Thought.
- David F. Noble, "Social Choice in Machine Design: The Case of Automatically Controlled Machine Tools," Andrew Zimbalist, editor, Case Studies on the Labor Process, pp. 18-50.

October 24: Political Structure and Public Policy During the Progressive Era

Core Reading: #*James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State.

- Consult: Gabriel Kolko, The Triumphs of Conservatism.
- *Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 55 (October, 1964), 157-169.
- Peter Filene, "Obituary of the Progressive Movement," American Quarterly, (Spring, 1970) 20-34.
- Martin Sciesl, The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1800-1920.
- Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency.
- Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency.
- Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform.
- Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift.

- Donald Stabile, Prophets of Order.
- David Eakins, "The Origins of Liberal Policy Research, 1916-1922," in Jerry Israel, ed. Building the Organizational Society.
- *Robert D. Cuff, The War Industries Board: Business Government Relations During World War I.
- Stephen Skowronek, Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877-1920.
- Mansel Blackford, "Businessmen and the Regulation of Railroads and Public Utilities in California During the Progressive Era," Business History Review 44 (Autumn, 1970) 307-319.
- Richard Abrams, Conservatism in a Progressive Era: Massachusetts Politics, 1900-1912.
- William Graebner, "Federalism and the Progressive Era: A Structural Interpretation of Reform," Journal of American History, 64 (1977), 331-357.
- Richard McCormick, "The Discovery that Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," American Historical Review, 86 (1981), 247-74.
- Richard McCormick, From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York State, 1893-1910.
- Gabriel Kolko, Railroads and Regulations, 1877-1916.
- Morton Keller, "The Pluralist State: American Economic Regulation in Comparative Perspective, 1900-1930," Thomas McCraw, editor, Regulation in Perspective, pp. 56-94.

October 31: The Failure of Socialism in the U.S.

Core Reading: #*Daniel Bell, Marxism Socialism in the United States.

- Consult: Seymour Martin Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States" in Sewery Bialer, editor Radicalism in the Contemporary Age, pp. 31-149.
- James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America 1912-1925.
- Mary Jo Buhle, Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920.
- William C. Pratt, "The Socialist party, Socialist Unionists, and Organized Labor, 1936-1950," in Maurice Zeitlin, editor, Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 4 (1984), pp. 63-100.
- Werner Sombart, Why Is There No Socialism in the United States (also see the review by Jerome Karabel in The New York Review of Books, (February 8, 1979).
- Howard Brick, Daniel Bell and the Decline of Intellectual Radicalism.
- Ira Katznelson, "Considerations on Social Democracy in the United States," Comparative Politics, (October, 1978).

November 7: Technology, Social Class, and Social Democracy

Core Reading: #*Donald Stabile, Prophets of Order: the Rise of the New Class, Technocracy and Socialism in America.

Consult: Alvin Gouldner, The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class.

John P. Diggins, The Bard of Savagery (This is an interesting study of Thorstein Veblen.)

Thorstein Veblen, The Engineers and the Price System.

Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift.

David F. Noble, America by Design.

Edwin Layton, "Veblen and the Engineers," American Quarterly, XIV (Spring, 1962) pp. 64-72.

November 14: Political Economy of the 1920s

Core Reading: *Ellis W. Hawley, editor, Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce.

*Ellis W. Hawley, ed., Herbert Hoover and the Crisis of American Capitalism.

Consult: *Louis Galambos, Competition and Cooperation: The Emergence of a National Trade Association. (Everyone should consult this book.)

Evan B. Metcalf, "Secretary Hoover and the Emergence of Macroeconomic Management," Business History Review, 49 (Spring, 1975), pp. 60-80.

Ellis W. Hawley, "Secretary Hoover and the Bituminous Coal Problem, 1921-1928," Business History Review, 42 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 247-270.

Peri Arnold, "Herbert Hoover and the Continuity of American Policy," Public Policy 20 (Fall, 1972), pp. 525-44.

Robert Himmelberg, "The War Industries Board and the Antitrust Question in November 1918," Journal of American History, 52 (June, 1965), pp. 59-74.

Robert Himmelberg, "Business, Antitrust Policy and the Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce, 1919" Business History Review, 42 (Spring, 1968), pp. 1-23.

Ellis W. Hawley, "Three Facets of Hooverian Associationalism: Lumber, Aviation, and Movies, 1921-1930," in Thomas K. McCraw, ed. Regulation in Perspective, pp. 95-123.

Robert Himmelberg, The Origins of the National Recovery Administration: Business, Government, and the Trade Association Issue, 1921-1933.

*Ellis W. Hawley, "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Secretariat, and the Vision of an Associative State, 1921-1928," Journal of American History, LXI (June, 1974).

November 21: The New Deal, Class, Politics, and the American State.

Core Reading: #*Ellis W. Hawley, The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly.

- Consult: Theda Skocpol, "Political Responses to Capitalist Crisis," Politics and Society, 10 (1980), pp. 155-201.
- Jill Quadango, "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935," American Sociological Review, 49 (1984), pp. 632-647.
- Margaret Weir and Theda Skocpol, "State Structures and the Possibilities of 'Keynesian' Responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain, and the U.S.," in Peter Evans, etal., Editors, Bringing the State Back In, Chapter 4.
- Herbert Stein, The Fiscal Revolution in America, Chapters 3-7.
- Thomas Ferguson, "From Normalcy to New Deal: Industrial Structure, Party Competition, and American Public Policy in the Great Depression," International Organization, 38 (1984), pp. 41-93.
- Theda Skocpol and John Ikenberry, "The Political Formation of the American Welfare State in Historical and Comparative Perspective," Comparative Social Research, 6 (1983).
- Theda Skocpol and Kenneth Finegold, "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal", Political Science Quarterly, 97 (1982), pp. 268-278.
- Richard Kirkendall, Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt.
- Kenneth Finegold, "From Agrarianism to Adjustment: The Political origins of New Deal Agricultural Policy," Politics and Society, 11 (1981), pp. 1-27.
- Ann Orloff and Theda Skocpol, "Why Not Equal Protection: Explaining the Politics of Public Social Spending in Britain, 1900-1911 and the United States, 1880s-1920s," American Sociological Review, 49 (December, 1984), pp. 726-750.
- Theda Skocpol and Edwin Amenta, "Did Capitalists Shape Social Security," American Sociological Review, 50 (August, 1985), pp. 572-578.
- Jill Quadango, "Two Models of Welfare State Development: Reply to Skocpol and Amenta," American Sociological Review, 50 (August, 1985), pp. 575-578.
- G. William Domhoff, "On Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935." American Sociological Review, 51 (June, 1986), pp. 445-445.
- Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, Regulating the Poor.

November 28: The Mobilization of the Working Class and the American Political System.

Core Reading: #*Mike Davis, Prisoners of the American Dream.

Consult: James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State
 Frank Emspak, "The Breakup of the CIO," in Maurice Zeitlin, editor, Political Power and Social Theory, Vol. 4, (1948), pp. 101-140.
 Roger Keeran, The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Union.
 Mark Naison, Communists in Harlem During the Great Depression.
 Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics.
 Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics.
 Walter Dean Burnham, "The United States: the Politics of Heterogeneity," in Richard Rose, editor, Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook.

December 5: Social Policy in American Society: the Case of American Medicine.

Core Reading: *Paul Starr, Social Transformation of American Medicine.

OR

*J. Rogers Hollingsworth, The Political Economy of Medicine: Great Britain and the United States.

*J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Robert Hanneman, "Working Class Power and the Political Economy of Western Capitalist Societies," Comparative Social Research, 5, (1982), pp. 61-80. (This will be placed in the History Library, 4257 Humanities.)

Consult: E. Richard Brown, Rockefeller Medicine Men.
 Rosemary Stevens, American medicine and the Public Interest.
 Charles E. Rosenberg, The Care of Strangers: The Rise of America's Hospital System.
 Margaret Weir, Ann Orloff, and Theda Skocpol, The Politics of Social Policy in the United States.
 Ronald Numbers, Almost Persuaded, American Physicians and Compulsory Health Insurances, 1912-1920.
 J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Ellen Jane Hollingsworth, Controversy About American Hospitals: Funding, Ownership, and Performance. (This will be placed in the History Library, 4257 Humanities.)

December 12: The Governance of the American Economy.

Core Reading: *Richard Nelson, Government and Technical Progress: A Cross Industry Analysis.

*Rogers Hollingsworth and Leon Lindberg, "The Governance of the American Economy: The Role of Markets, Clans, Hierarchies, and Associative Behavior," in Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe Schmitter, editors, Private Interest Government: Beyond Market and State, pp. 221-254.

Consult: Fred Block, The Origins of International Economic Disorder.
 J. Kurth, "The Political Consequences of the Product Cycle: Industrial History and Political Outcomes," International Organization, 33 (1979), pp. 1-34.
 Marc Schneiberg and Rogers Hollingsworth, "Can Transaction Cost Economics Explain Trade Associations" (unpublished manuscript). This will be in the History Library, 4257 Humanities.
 Gerald T. White, Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the Defense Plant Corporation During World War II.
 Alfred Chandler, "The Evaluation of Modern Global Competition," in Michael Porter, editor, Competition in Global Industries, pp. 405-448.
 M.Y. Yoshino, "Global Competition in a Salient Industry: The Cases of Civil Aircraft," in Michael Porter, Competition in Global Industries, pp. 517-538.
 Frank Spencer, "Technology, Economics and Corporate Strategy in U.S., 1946-1973," Business and Economic History, (February, 1978), pp. 11-28.

FORMAT FOR WEEKLY READING REPORT

Your name: _____

Title: [Goldfield, David R. and Brownell, Blaine A., Urban America: From Downtown to No Town (Boston, 1979) or, Bittick, Marvin C., "Cities I Hated," Journal of Absurd History, XII (May, 1982), pp. 647-698.]

Subject: [e.g. Immigration, Blacks, Communities, Politics, etc.]

Major Points and Evaluation: