

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON  
Department of History  
Semester II 1989-1990

History and  
Sociology 327

Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy  
in America Since 1890

Mr. Hollingsworth

A major concern of this course is to analyze the changing nature of American capitalism and the role of the state during the twentieth century and to analyze how they are distinctive as well as similar to that in other highly industrialized, capitalist societies. The course will devote particular attention to class relationships, focusing on the distinctive characteristics of the working-class and capital in the United States. The course will be especially concerned with why the relations between labor and capital in the United States are different from that in other highly industrial societies, and how class relationships have influenced the role of the American state. The course will also attempt to understand why class relationships have varied from one industrial sector of the economy to another (e.g. steel, automotive, aircraft, computer agricultural, etc.) and why these relationships have varied over time within the same sector.

Lectures and readings will devote particular attention to the changes in the institutional arrangements which have altered the nature of American capitalism and the American political system since the late nineteenth century. In addition, the lectures will explore how various institutional arrangements in American society have influenced the performance of the economy. More specifically, the lectures will analyze (1) the political and economic institutions which have emerged in the United States since 1890, and (2) how these institutional arrangements have influenced various types of social and economic policies which have been implemented since the Second World War.

Students in the course should emerge with a good understanding of the (1) inherent tensions between democratic and capitalist institutions, (2) the persisting crises which are inherent in capitalism systems, and (3) why the American economy is performed as it has at different time points.

The first part of the course will focus on the social, economic, and political arrangements which have become highly institutionalized by 1945. The second part will focus on how these institutional arrangements placed constraints on the formation and implementation of public policies after 1945. In addition, substantial attention will be devoted throughout the course to analyzing what classes and groups have benefitted by the social, economic, and political arrangements in the United States since 1890.

There is no single textbook which covers the materials in the course. Those student who have a deficient background in American history should obtain a general textbook on twentieth century American history and read it along with the specific assignments during the course. Many textbooks will do, but I recommend the following: Norton Chaudacoff, et al. A People and A Nation (Houghton, Mifflin Co.), and John Blum, et al., The National Experience (Harcourt, Brace).

The bulk of the reading will consist of photo-copied essays which you should purchase from one of the photo duplication shops near the campus. These will be prepared in a packet, and the name of the firm which has prepared these will be announced at the beginning of the semester.

As this is a four credit course, there will be frequent discussion sections which each student is expected to attend.

There will be two major written assignments during the semester, each being a take-home examination on which you will have several days to work. (It has been my experience that students learn much more from take-home examinations than from in-class exams.) Each take-home examination should be carefully written in essay form and demonstrate a mastery of the subject matter. The first examination will be given on March 27 and will be due April 3. The second exam will be given on May 8 and will be due on May 15. Except in the case of extreme emergency, there will be no incompletes in the course. All work must be completed by the dates indicated above. The instructor in your discussion section may also ask you to do additional writing assignments.

It is expected that students can and will express their ideas in clear, English prose. Students having difficulty doing so, or having uncertain writing skills, should make use of the campus writing lab and/or should make use of office hours to discuss their difficulties.

Mr. Hollingsworth and the instructor in your discussion section will be happy to meet with you in order to discuss course materials. Please keep in mind that office hours are held for your benefit, and we hope that you will take advantage of them! However, it is advisable not to take advantage of office hours only at the end of the semester.

#### Grading Policy:

Class Participation (20 percent)  
First Take Home Examination (40 percent)  
Second Take Home Examination (40 percent)

#### Lecture Schedule and Reading Assignments

Part I: The Failure of Social Democracy and the Structure of American Society, 1890-1945.

January 23: Introduction

1. Rogers Hollingsworth and Robert Hanneman, "Working Class Power, and the Political Economy of Western Capitalist Societies" (Packet)

January 25: The Problem of American Exceptionalism

2. Semour Martin Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States?" (Packet)

January 30 - February 6: The Structure of American Business in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

3. Alfred Chandler, "The Beginnings of Big Business in America" (Packet)
4. Alfred Chandler, "The United States: The Seedbed of Managerial Capitalism" (Packet)
5. Alfred Chandler, "Organizational Innovation" (Packet)
6. Alfred Chandler, "The Spread of the Multidivisional Structure"
7. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Logic of American Manufacturing Sectors (Packet)

February 8 - 15: The Structure of Labor Unions and Labor-Management Relations in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries: The Problem of Control

8. John Laslett, "Socialism and American Trade Unionism" (Packet)
9. John Herling, "Labor Unions in America" (Packet)
10. Melvyn Dubofsky, "Socialism and Syndicalism" (Packet)
11. Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry" (Packet)
12. Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, "Scientific Management" Chapter 4 (Packet)
13. Stuart Brandes, "The Early Days of Modern Welfarism" (Packet)
14. David Brody, "The Rise and Decline of Welfare Capitalism" (Packet)
15. Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, "American Shop-floor Control" (Packet)

February 20: The Political Economy of Agrarian America

16. Lawrence Goodwyn, "The Alliance Develops A Movement Culture" (Packet)

February 22: Socialism in America

17. James Weinstein, "The Problem of the Socialist Party" (Packet)
18. Daniel Bell, "Marxian Socialism in the United States" (Packet)

February 27: The Structure and Formation of American Political Machines

19. Readings by James Bryce, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, and Robert Merton (Packet)

March 1 - 6: Capitalists and American Politics, 1900-1920

20. James Weinstein, "The National Civic Federation" (Packet)
21. Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government" (Packet)
22. Thomas McCraw, "Rethinking the Trust Question" (Packet)
23. James Weinstein, "War As Fulfillment" (Packet)

March 8: American Capitalism during the 1920s

24. Ellis Hawley, "Herbert Hoover and American Capitalism" (Packet)

March 13 - 27: The Crisis of American Capitalism, 1929-1945

25. Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis" (Packet)
26. Jess Gilbert and Carolyn Howe, "Beyond State vs. Society" (Packet)
27. Ellis Hawley, "The New Deal and Business" (Packet)
28. Jil Quadango, "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935"
29. Exchange between Quadango and Skocpol
30. Nelson Lichtenstein, "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining" This reading will be obtained later in the course.

March 29-April 3: EXAMINATION

Part II: American Political Economy Since 1945

April 3: The Changing Structures of the American Corporation: Conglomerates and Mergers

31. Gardner Means, "Economic Concentration" (Packet)
32. Willard Mueller, "Conglomerate Mergers" (Packet)

April 5: The Political Economy of Banks

33. David Kotz, "The Exercise of Finance Control" (Packet)

April 10: Political and Economic Power in America

34. G. William Donhoff, "The Upper Class as a Governing Class" (Packet)
35. G. William Donhoff, "How the Power Elite Shaped Social Legislation" (Packet)  
Re-read Gardner Means "Economic Concentration" Assignment for April 3
36. David Vogel, "The Power of Business in America" (Packet)

April 12: The Politics of Growth

37. Alan Wolfe, "The Rise and Fall of Growth Politics" (Packet)

April 17: The Organizing Strategies of Capitalists - Reading to be announced

April 19 - 24: American Labor in Advanced Capitalism

38. Andre Gorz "Workers' Control Is More Than Just That" (Packet)
39. Stanley Aronowitz "Trade Unionism and Workers Control" (Packet)
40. "Alienation" (Packet)
41. Thomas Kochan and Michael Piore, "Will the New Industrial Relations Last?" (Packet)  
Re-read Piore and Sabel assignment from February 15  
Re-read Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Manufacturing Sectors" from February 6

## April 26 - May 1 The Politics of Growth Continued

42. Wallace Peterson, "Military Spending and the National Economy" (Packet)
43. Michael Reich and David Finkelhor, "The Military Industrial Complex" (Packet)
44. Michael Reich, "Military Spending and Production for Profit" (Packet)
45. E. Richard Brown, "A Half Century of Medicine in Corporate Capitalist Society"
46. J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Political Economy of Medicine"

## May 3: The Welfare State and Distributional Issues

47. Thomas Wiesskopf, "Capitalism and Inequality" (Packet)
48. Richard Edwards, "The Poverty of Welfare" (Packet)
49. Wallace Peterson, "The Distribution of Income and Wealth" (Packet)
50. Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?" (Packet)

## May 8 - 10: The Governance of the American Economy and the Changing Role of the State

51. Hollingsworth and Lindberg, "The Governance of the American Economy" (Packet)  
Re-read Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Manufacturing Sectors" from February 6
52. James O'Connor, "The Expanding Role of the State" (Packet)
53. William Dornhoff, "State and Ruling Class in Corporate America" (Packet)
54. Richard C. Edwards and Michael Reich, "Party Politics and Class Conflict" (Packet)