# DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON SEMESTER II, 1993-94

History 901 Mr. Hollingsworth

A major concern of this course is to analyze the political economy of the United States during the twentieth century. To approach the American political economy, I will take a very large theoretical approach, focusing on what I call the society's social system of production. A social system of production is a configuration of the following: a society's idiosyncratic customs and traditions as well as norms, moral principles, rules and recipes for action which shape the following institutional arrangements: a society's industrial relations system; its system of training for labor and management; a society's labor markets; the structure and behavior of firms, including the structural relationships among firms, their suppliers, and distributors; the structure and behavior of capital markets; the structure and behavior of the state. In other words, this approach to the study of the American political economy requires us to be sensitive to (1) political, (2) business, (3) labor, (4) educational, (5) class, (6) gender, and (7) intellectual history. Rather than view each of these as a separate and highly specialized field of inquiry, this course aims to demonstrate how each of these areas is integrated with each other--while at the same time providing the student with knowledge of the distinctive literatures of these six separate fields. The course assumes that familiarity of intellectual history (e.g., concern with the society's norms, moral principles, rules) is necessary to understand the society's other institutions and how they relate to each other.

Much of the course will focus on the institutional arrangements which had become highly institutionalized by 1940. The last part of the course will focus on how these institutional arrangements placed constraints and limits on the capacity of the society to change in future directions.

This approach to the study of American political economy is very much at the frontier of research in this country. For example, I have been asked to coordinate a large scale research project for the Social Science Research Council which takes this approach to American history during the twentieth century, as well as to the histories of eight other countries during the twentieth century.

#### READING

There are more titles on the reading list than any student can master. The purpose of the reading list is to acquaint you with the literature, and to suggest titles on subjects which you may wish to explore in greater depth either during the course or later.

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## January 24 Introduction

- \*1 J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Social System of Production in America."
- \*1 J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Robert Hanneman, "Working Class Power and the Political Economy of Western Capitalist Societies."
- \*2 Seymour Martin Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States?"
- \*1 Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?"

## January 31 The Changing Structure of American Business

## Core Reading:

- \*# Alfred D. Chandler, <u>The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American</u> Business.
- \*1 William H. Becker, "American Wholesale Hardware Trade Associations, 1870-1900," Business History Review, 45 (1971), 179-200.
- \*1 Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Coordinating American Manufacturing Sectors." Also Chapter Two in John L. Campbell, J. Rogers Hollingsworth, and Leon Lindberg, Governance of the American Economy. (Helen White Reserve)
- \*1 Alfred D. Chandler, "Rise and Evolution of Big Business."

### Consult:

- Alfred D. Chandler, <u>Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of American Industrial Enterprises</u>, especially Chapter 7 and Conclusion.
- Alfred D. Chandler and Herman Daems, <u>Managerial Hierarchies</u>, Chapters 1-3, 6. G. Porter and H.C. Livesay, <u>Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of 19th Century Marketing.</u>
- Merritt Roe Smith, "Military Arsenals and Industry before World War I," in B.F. Cooling, ed., 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.
- Philip Scranton, "Diversity in Diversity: Flexible Production and American Industrialization, 1880-1930."

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## February 21 Transformation of the Working Class, II

## Core Reading:

- \*2 Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry," The Review of Radical Economics 6 (1974).
- \* Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, Chapters 4-10.
- \* Stuart Brandes, <u>American Welfare Capitalism</u>. (Reserve Helen White Library and State Historical Society)
- \* Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide, pp. 111-132.
- \* David Brody, "The Rise and Decline of Welfare Capitalism."
- \* Mike Davis, <u>Prisoners of the American Dream</u>, pp. 3-101. (Reserve Helen White Library and State Historical Society)

### Consult:

Alex Keyssar, Out of Work.

# February 28 Education and the American Social System of Production

- \* Harvey Kantor and David B. Tyack, eds., <u>Work, Youth, and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocationalism in American Education</u>. (Reserve State Historical Society)
- \*2 Hal Hansen, "Manufacturing Skills."

## Consult:

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America.

Ivar Berg, Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery.

William Reese, Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grass-roots Movements during the Progressive Era.

## March 7 Technological Change and the Problem of Corporate Control

### Core Reading:

\*# David F. Noble, America by Design.

- Mansel Blockford, "Businessmen and the Regulation of Railroads and Public Utilities in California during the Progressive Era," <u>Business History Review</u> 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," <u>Journal of American History</u>, 64 (1977), 331-357.
- Richard McCormick, "The Discovery That Business Corrupts Politics: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Progressivism," <u>American Historical Review</u>, 86 (1981), 247-74.
- Richard McCormick, <u>From Realignment to Reform: Political Change in New York</u> 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, ed., Regulation in Perspective, 56-94.
- Edwin Layton, "Veblen and the Engineers," <u>American Quarterly</u>, XIV (Spring, 1962), 64-72.

# March 21 Political Economy of the 1920s

# Core Reading:

- \*2 Ellis W. Hawley, ed., <u>Herbert Hoover as Secretary of Commerce</u>. (Reserve Helen White Library)
- \*2 Ellis W. Hawley, ed., <u>Herbert Hoover and the Crisis of American Capitalism</u>. (Reserve Helen White Library)
- \* Ellis W. Hawley, "Herbert Hoover, the Commerce Secretariat, and the Vision of an Associative State, 1921-1928," <u>Journal of American History</u>, LXI (June 1974).
- \*2 Ellis W. Hawley, "Secretary Hoover and the Bituminous Coal Problem, 1921-1928." (Packet)
- \*2 Robert Himmelberg, "Herbert Hoover and the Crisis of American Capitalism." (Packet)
- \*2 Ellis W. Hawley, "Herbert Hoover and American Capitalism." (Packet)

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### Consult:

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," <u>International Organization</u>, 38 (1984), 41-93.

Theda Skocpol and Kenneth Finegold, "State Capacity and Economic Intervention in the Early New Deal, <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>, 97 (1982), 268-278.

Richard Kirkendall, <u>Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt</u>. Donald R. Brand, Corporatism and the Rule of Law: A Study of the National

Recovery Administration.

# April 18 The Institutional Arrangements of the New Deal

## Core Reading:

- \*# Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, <u>The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order</u>, 1930-1980, Chapters 1-4.
- \* Review, Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis," <u>Politics and Society</u>, (1980), 155-201. (Packet)
- \*1 Jesse Gilbert and Carolyn Howe, "Beyond 'State vs. Society'." (Packet)
- \*1,2 Review Mike Davis, <u>Prisoners of the American Dream</u>, 3-101 and read Chapter 3, 102-153. (Reserve Helen White Library and State Historical Society)
  - Rhonda F. Levine, <u>Class Struggle and the New Deal: Industrial Labor, Industrial Capital, and the State</u>.

# April 25 Social Policy in Twentieth Century U.S., I

# Core Reading:

- \*# Margaret Weir, Ann Shola Orloff, Theda Skocpol, <u>The Politics of Social Policy in the United States</u>.
- \*1 Jill Quadango, "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935," American Sociological Review, 49 (1984), 632-647. (Packet)
- \* Theda Skocpol and John Idenberry, "The Political Formation of the American Welfare State in Historical and Comparative Perspective," <u>Comparative Social Research</u>, 6 (1983).