

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON
Department of History
Semester II, 1991-1992

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 during the twentieth century and to analyze how it is 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, economic, and social institutions which have emerged in the United States since 1890, (2) how these institutional arrangements have influenced various policies which have been implemented since the Second World War, and (3) how these institutional arrangements have influenced the performance of the American economy.

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 has performed as it has at different time points.

The first part of the course will focus on the social, economic, and political arrangements which had 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 students 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 suggest the following: Norton Chaudacoff, et al., A People and A Nation (Houghton, Mifflin Co., latest edition), and John Blum, et al., The National Experience, (Harcourt, Brace, latest edition). An optional but very useful book for this course is available at University Bookstore. It is John Campbell, J. Rogers Hollingsworth, and Leon Lindberg, eds. The Governance of the American Economy (Paperback).

The bulk of the reading will consist of photo-copied essays which you should purchase from one of the photocopy 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. There are additional required readings which Mr. Hollingsworth has prepared in packets. These are on 3 hour reserve in the Helen White Undergraduate Library.

As this is a four credit course, there will be discussion sections which each student is expected to attend. You should attend all discussion sessions, and the instructor of these sessions will discuss the attendance policy for these classes during the first week.

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 February 20 and will be due February 27. The second exam will be given on May 5 and will be due on May 13. 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 ask you to do additional writing assignments.

It is expected that student can and will express their ideas in clear English prose. Students having difficulty doing so, or in 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

Discussion participation, which includes discussion writing assignments (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, 1980-1945.

January 21: Introduction

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

January 23: The Problem of American Exceptionalism

2. Eric Foner, "Why is there no Socialism in the United States?" (your packet)

January 28, 30, February 4: The Structure of American Business in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

3. Alfred Chandler, "Seedbed of Managerial Capitalism" (library packet)
4. Alfred Chandler, "Rise and Evolution of Big Business" (library packet)
5. Alfred Chandler, "Organizational Innovation" (library packet)
6. Alfred Chandler, "The Spread of the Multidivisional Structure" (library packet)
7. J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Logic of American Manufacturing Sectors" (your packet)

February 6, 11, 13: The Structure of Labor Unions and Labor-Managements Relations in the Later 19th and Early 20th Centuries: The Problem of Control

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

February 18: The Political Economy of Agrarian America

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

February 20: Socialism in America

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

February 20-27: TAKE HOME EXAMINATION

March 3: The Structure and Formation of American Political Machines

19. Readings by James Bryce, Jane Addams, Lincoln Steffens, and Robert Merton (your packet)
20. James Weinstein, "The National Civic Federation" (library packet)

(March 3, cont.)

21. Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government: (your packet)
22. Thomas McCraw, "Rethinking the Trust Question" (library packet)
23. James Weinstein, "War As Fulfillment" (library packet)

March 19: American Capitalism during the 1920s

24. Ellis Hawley, "Herbert Hoover and American Capitalism" (your packet)
Ellis Hawley, "Secretary Hoover and the Bituminous Coal Problem" (Optional, library packet)

March 24, 26, 31: The Crisis of American Capitalism, 1929-1945

25. Theda Skocpol, "Political Response to Capitalist Crisis" (library packet)
26. Jess Gilbert and Carolyn Howe, "Beyond State vs. Society" (your packet)-supplement
27. Ellis Hawley, "The New Deal and Business" (library packet)
28. Jil Quadango, "Welfare Capitalism and the Social Security Act of 1935" (your packet)
29. Exchange between Quadango and Skocpol (your packet)
30. Nelson Lichtenstein, "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining" (library packet)
31. David Lake, "International Economic Structure and American Foreign Economic Policy" (library packet)

Part II: American Political Economy Since 1945

April 2: The Changing Structures of the American Corporation: Conglomerates and Mergers

32. Gardner Means, "Economic Concentration" (your packet)
33. Willard Mueller, "Conglomerate Mergers" (your packet)

April 7: The Political Economy of Banks

34. David Kotz, "The Exercise of Finance Control" (your packet)

April 9-14: American Labor in Advanced Capitalism

35. Andre Gorz "Workers' Control is More Than Just That" (library packet)
36. Stanley Aronowitz "Trade Unionism and Workers Control" (library packet)
37. Thomas Kochan and Michael Piore, "Will the New Industrial Relations Last?" (your packet)
Re-read Piore and Sabel assignment from February 14 (library packet)
Re-read Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Manufacturing Sectors" from February 4 (your packet)
Hollingsworth, "Perspectives on Social Systems of Production" (Optional, your packet)

April 16: Political and Economic Power in America

38. Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, On Democracy (library packet)

April 21, 23, 28: The Politics of Growth

39. Alan Wolfe, "The Rise and Fall of Growth Politics" (library packet)
40. Wallace Peterson, "Military Spending and the National Economy" (packet)

(April 21, 23, 28 cont.)

41. Michael Reich and David Finkelhor, "The Military Industrial Complex" (your packet)
42. Michael Reich, "Military Spending and Production for Profit" (your packet)
43. J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Political Economy of Medicine" (library packet)
44. J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "State Intervention Versus Privatization in Medical Care" (your packet)

April 30: The Welfare State and Distributional Issues

45. Richard Edwards, "The Poverty of Welfare" (your packet)
46. Wallace Peterson, "The Distribution of Income and Wealth" (library packet)
47. Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?" (library packet)

May 5-7: The Governance of the American Economy, the Changing Role of the State, and the Decline of U.S. Hegemony

48. Hollingsworth and Lindberg, "The Governance of the American Economy" (library packet)
Re-read Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Manufacturing Sectors" from February 4 (your packet)
49. James O'Connor, "The Expanding Role of the State" (your packet)
50. David Gordon, et al, "Power, Accumulation and Crisis" (your packet)
51. Paul Kennedy "The Relative Decline of America" (your packet)
52. Thomas McCormick, "World Systems" (your packet)