

Department of History
University of Wisconsin
SEMESTER II, 1991-1992

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 strengths and 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 many of the readings on the lists. Most weeks, all students are expected to read a common core of literature. Hopefully, students will also read other titles on the reading lists.

CLASS DISCUSSIONS

Each week, the discussions will focus on the subject of that week's readings. The discussions will be led by groups of two or three students who should collaborate in preparing 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 March 18 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 weekly class participation, papers, and one's role in leading the three class discussions.

BOOKS AND ARTICLES AVAILABILITY

I have requested that each book and article with an asterisk (*) be placed on 3-hour reserve in the State Historical Society and/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. From time to time, additional materials will be placed on reserve.

Materials labeled "packet" are in a reading packet prepared by Bob's Copy Shop in University Square. All students are expected to purchase this packet.

Materials labeled "Readings on American Political Economy" are prepared by myself and are on 3 hour reserve in the Helen C. White Library. You should be able to find this packet under my name in the reserve room.

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January 22: Introduction

Core Readings to be Read and Consulted Throughout the Semester:

- # J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Coordinating American Manufacturing Sectors (Reading Packet)
- # J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "Perspective on Social Systems of Production and the Problem of Convergence" (Reading Packet)
- # J. Rogers Hollingsworth and Robert Hanneman "Working-class Power and the Political Economy of Western Capitalist Societies" (Reading Packet)
- #* David Lake "International Economic Structure and American Foreign Economic Policy" (Readings on American Political Economy, Helen C. White)
- #* Paul Kennedy, "The Relative Decline of America" (Reading Packet)
- # Thomas McCormick "World Systems" (Reading Packet)

Consult:

Paul Kennedy, The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers, Introduction pp. 514-535.

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January 29: The Changing Structure of American Business

#* Core Reading:

Alfred D. Chandler, The Visible Hand: The Managerial evolution in American Business.

#* Alfred D. Chandler and Herman Daems, Managerial Hierarchies, Chapter 1 (Readings in American Political Economy)

Consult:

* Alfred D. Chandler, Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of American Industrial Enterprises, especially Chapter 7 and Conclusion.

G. Porter and H.C. Livesay, Merchants and Manufacturers: Studies in the Changing Structure of 19th Century Marketing.

Merritt Roe Smith, "Military Arsenals 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.

Alfred D. Chandler, Scale and Scope, especially chapters pertaining to the United States.

Alfred D. Chandler, "Technology and the Transformation of Industrial Organization" in Joel Colton and Stuart Bruchey, Technology, The Economy, and Society, pp. 56-82.

* Alfred D. Chandler, "The Beginnings of Big Business in American Industry."

February 5: 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.

February 12: Technological Change and the Problem of Corporate Control

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

Consult:

- ** Donald Stabile, Prophets of Order: the Rise of the New Class: Technocracy and Socialism in America, Chapters One and Two
- # 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.

February 19: The Transformation of the American Working Class

Core Reading:

- ** Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capitalism. Read selections from ("Readings in American Political Economy.")
- ** Katherine Stone, "The Origins of Job Structures in the Steel Industry" ("Readings in American Political Economy.")
- ** Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, "American Shop-floor Control" ("Readings in American Political Economy.")
- ** Melvin Dubofsky, "Socialism and Syndicalism" ("Readings in American Political Economy")

- #* Craig Littler, "Deskilling and Changing Structures of Control," in Stephen Wood, ed. The Degradation of Work, Chapter 7.
- #* Craig Littler, The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies, Chapters 1-4, 11.

Consult:

- * David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the U.S.
- * Daniel Nelson, Managers and Workers: Origins of the new Factory System in the U.S., 1880-1920.
- * Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital, Entire book.
- * Dan Cawson, 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.
- * 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 'Women's 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.
- * David Brody, Workers in Industrial America
- 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).

Mary Freifeld, "Technological Change and the 'Self-Acting Mule.' A study of Skill and the Sexual Division of Labor," Social History, 2 (October, 1986), 319-43.

March 4: Political Structure and Public Policy During the Progressive Era

Core Reading:

- ** James Weinstein, The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State.
- ** Martin Sciesl, The Politics of Efficiency

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.
- * Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency.
- * Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform.
- * Samuel Haber, Efficiency and Uplift.

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.

March 18: Associationalism in the American Economy

Core Readings:

#* Louis Galambos, Competition and Cooperation: The Emergence of a National Trade Association.

Consult:

William H. Becker, "American Wholesale Hardware Trade Associations, 1870-1900," Business History Review, 45 (1971), 179-200.

Marc Schneiberg and J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "Can Transaction Cost Economics Explain Trade Associations," in Roland M. Czada and Adrienne Windhoff-Heritier, eds. Political Choice, pp. 199-232.

Cuff, Robert D. The War Industries Board: Business-Government Relations During World War I.

Hawley, Ellis. "Three facets of Hooverian Associationalism: Lumber, Aviation, and Movies, 1921-1930," in Thomas K. McGraw, ed. Regulation in Perspective.

March 25: 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).

April 1: The Transformation of Work in American Industry

Core Reading:

- ** Sanford Jacoby, Employing Bureaucracy Managers, Unions, and the Transformation of Work in American Industry 1900-1945.

Consult:

Robert Zieger, "Herbert Hoover, the Wage-Earner, and the 'New Economic System,'" Business History Review 51 (1977), 169-89.

Robert Zieger, Republicans and Labor, 1919-1929.

- * Stuart Brandes, American Welfare Capitalism.
- * 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).

April 8: Education and the Transformation of the American Economy

Core Reading:

#* Harvey Kantor and David Tyack, ed., Work, Youth, and Schooling.

Consult:

- * Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Education Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.
- * Raymond Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency.
- * Robert Freeman Butts, History of Education in American Culture.
- * Lawrence A. Cremin, Transformation of the School Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957.

David Tyack, The One Best System.

Randall Collins, The Credential Society: An Historical Sociology of Education and Stratification.

Michael W. Apple, Ideology and Curriculum (2nd edition).

April 15: The New Deal Era, Class, Politics, and the American State

Core Reading:

#* Steve Fraser and Gary Gestle, The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order

Consult:

- * Ellis W. Hawley, The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly.
- * 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, et al., 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 (August, 1986), pp. 445-445.
- * Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, Regulating the Poor.
- Rhonda Levine, Class Struggle and the New Deal.

April 22: Financial Markets in Twentieth Century America

Core Reading:

- * David M. Kotz, Bank Control of Large Corporations in the United States.

Consult:

- * John Zysman, Governments, Markets, and Growth: Financial Systems and the Politics of Industrial Change.

Vincent P. Carosso, Investment Banking in America: A History.

Robert J. Larner, Management Control and Large Corporation.

Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer, "Who Rules the Corporations?" Socialist Revolution, I Nos. 4-6, 1970.

Ronald Burt, Corporate Profits and Cooptation: Networks of Market Constraints and Directorate Ties in the American Economy.

David S. Glasberg, "Control of Capital Flows and Class Relations" Social Science Quarterly, 68: 51-69.

David S. Glasberg and Michael Schwartz, "Ownership and Control of Corporations," Annual Review of Sociology, 9: 311-332

John Lintner, "The Financing of Corporations" in Edward S. Mason, ed. The Corporation in Modern Society.

Mark S. Mizruchi, The American Corporate Network, 1904-1974.

Richard E. Ratcliff, "Banks and Corporate Lending: An Analysis of the Impact of the Internal Structure of the Capitalist Class," American Sociological Review, 45: 553-570.

Linda B. Stearns, "Corporate Market Effects on External Control of Corporations," Theory and Society, 15: 47-75.

Paul Sweezy, "The Resurgence of Financial Control: Fact or Fancy?" Monthly Review, November, 1971: 1-33.

Maurice Zeitlin, "Corporate Ownership and Control: The Large Corporation and the Capitalist Class," American Journal of Sociology, 79: 1073-1119.

Thomas R. Navin and Marian Sears, "The Rise of a Market for Industrial Securities, 1877-1902," Business History Review, 29 (1955) 105-138.

- * William J. Shultz and M.R. Caine, Financial Development of the United States, pp. 430-466.

April 29: American Labor: From New Deal to the Present

Core Reading:

#* Mike Davis, Prisoners of the American Dream

#* Try also to read as much as possible of Richard Edwards, Contested Terrain.

Consult:

* Thomas A. Kochan, Harry Katz, Robert McKersie, The Transformation of American Industrial Relations.

Harry C. Katz, "The U.S. Automobile Collective Bargaining System in Transition," British Journal of Industrial Relations, 22 (July 1984), 205-217.

Nelson Lichtenstein, Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II.

Joshua Freeman, "Delivering the Goods: Industrial Unionism during World War II," Labor History, 19 (1978) 570-94.

Ruth Milkman, "Female Factory Workers and Industrial Structure," Politics and Society 12 (1983), 159-204.

Ruth Milkman, Organizing the Sexual Division of Labor: Historical Perspectives on 'Women's Work and the American Labor Movement,' Socialist Review 49 (1980) 95-150.

Steve Tolliday and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Shop Floor Bargaining, Contract Unknown, and Job Control: An Anglo-American Comparison," in Nelson Lichtenstein and Stephen Meyer, eds. The American Automobile Industry: A Social History.

Richard Freeman and James L. Medoff, What Do Unions Do?

Thomas A. Kochan and Michael J. Piore, "Will the New Industrial Relations Last?" Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 473 (May, 1984) 177-89.

Walter Korpi and Michael Shalev, "Strikes, Industrial Relations, and Class Conflict in Capitalist Societies," British Journal of Sociology, 30 (1979) 164-87.

Michael Goldfield, The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States.

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.

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).

May 6: The Transition from Mass Standardized to Flexible Specialized Systems of Production.

Core Reading:

#* Michael Piore and Charles Sabel, The Second Industrial Divide.

#* J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "The Logic of Coordinating American Manufacturing Sectors," in John Campbell, J. Rogers Hollingsworth, and Leon Lindberg, eds. Governance of the American Economy, pp. 35-73.

Consult:

* Milton Derber "Employers Associations in the United States," in John P. Windmuller and Alan Gladstone, eds. Employers Associations and Industrial Relations, pp. 79-114.

* Daniel Okimoto, "The Japanese Challenge in High Technology," in Ralph Landau and Nathan Rosenberg, eds. The Positive Sum Strategy, pp. 541-567.

- * Richard Nelson, ed. 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.
- * Steven Tolliday and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Employers and Industrial Relations Between Theory and History," in Steven Tolliday and Jonathan Zeitlin, eds. The Power to Manage: Employers and Industrial Relations in Comparative Historical Relations, pp. 1-31.