

History 524-01, Fall 2006

Topics in Twentieth Century U.S. History:
"Politics, Popular Movements, and Political Culture, 1890-Today"

Professor Thomas Jackson

Office: HHRA 2141

Office Phone: 334-4040; History Dept.: 334-5992

Office Hours: Tuesday, 5-6; Wednesday, 1:30-3:00, Thursday, 5-6, and by appointment

T, Th, 3:30-4:45

HHRA 2206

tjackson@uncg.edu

Americans might think they mean the same things when they speak of equal rights, freedom, and self-determination, but in jockeying for status and power over the 20th century, different groups came up with multiple meanings and interpretations. These social and ideological conflicts have decisively shaped public life. Sometimes we see them locally in centers of movement culture or collective memory as revealed by oral history. Sometimes they inform large popular movements with formal organizations which make an impact on party alignments and policy. We will begin by understanding how farmers and industrial workers challenged dominant 19th-century ideas of liberty, and how Progressive reformers envisioned new roles for government in protecting the public interest. Then the importance of women's voluntary activism to Progressive reform, from woman suffrage to regulation of wages and hours, will be considered. Movements of the 1930s decisively shaped the welfare state and its fragmented structure. We'll look at how conservatives used anti-Communism and religious values to advance their agendas between the 1920s and today. The impact of World War II and the cold war on the women's movement, the labor movement, and the black freedom movement merits our careful attention. The complex dynamics of urban black activism and the roots of "white flight" in the conservative resurgence in urban politics will be especially central to this course. Principally we will understand the scope and impact of many forms of popular democracy, as different groups competed with each other and tried to influence government and corporate elites. To supplement a general text and three monographs, we will read book chapters and scholarly articles reflecting creative scholarship and the best writing in the field.

Student Learning Outcomes

At the end of the semester, he should be able to:

1. Identify the major social movements, party realignments, political conflicts, and policy developments in social welfare, women's movements, the labor movement, and civil rights since 1900.
2. Explain changes in political culture as they effect insurgent movements, electoral coalitions, and policy change.
3. Interpret historical scholarship accurately, by comparing arguments to previous historical writing (historiography), and analyzing historical writing in light of judgments you make about the strengths and weaknesses of supporting evidence.
4. Examine radicalism, liberalism, progressivism, and conservatism in historical contexts, and distinguish their shifting ideological content and social bases in successive historical contexts.
5. Appraise the achievements and suppressed historical possibilities for popular mobilization and

organization in specific historic contexts, such as 1916, 1937, and 1963. Support your views with evidence of either political or ideological strength in selected social and historical contexts.

Assignments and Evaluation

Discussion (including questions or follow-up comments on Blackboard) -- 30%: Several elements can constitute good participation. Essential is your thoughtful contribution to discussion on the days for which you write papers. Posing good questions and offering pertinent evidence when we have clear issues under discussion will earn you points. Try to stay on topic and respond to the questions we have before us. Raise questions as to the relationship between interpretation and evidence. Balance listening and talking. If you are relatively quiet in class, you can raise questions or make comments on the Blackboard discussion board, where you will find questions and announcements as well.

Thesis/evaluation papers 400-500 words, Graduates 8; Undergraduates: 6 -- 30%: This is a way to help you develop critical reading skills and prepare for discussion. Briefly summarize the author's thesis, (the main points he or she is trying to prove), in 1-4 sentences. Then write a two or three paragraph response containing *your* ideas about the reading. **Do not write short papers for the days when you choose to write longer analytic papers.** You might answer any of the following questions: How does the reading challenge or confirm what I previously believed or read? Does it tie in with other issues of the course? Is it persuasive or flawed (don't just say this, *show it* by referring to evidence presented or omitted)? I'll accept these if they are complete and if the thesis is correct or close. I'll collect these at the outset, so you might want to print a second copy for reference during discussion. Grading: 90% complete or more: A; 80% or more: B; 70% or more: C; and so forth.

2 historiographical papers on days you do not write thesis/evaluation papers 40%: Do an analysis of interlinked articles or sections of books. Draw on the day's readings for 40-50% but add an equal amount of readings. Assess their points of view and arguments. Graduates: 8-10 pages; undergraduates: 6-8 pages. [You may substitute a primary source research paper if you like]. Report your findings on day you hand them in. Consult with me in advance, check for material on Blackboard, and conduct your own bibliographic research to identify relevant scholarship to review.

Required reading

Kazin, Michael. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. New York: Basic, 1995.

Horowitz, Roger. *"Negro and White, Unite and Fight!": A Social History of Industrial Unionism in Meatpacking, 1930-90*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Lipsitz, George. *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition*. Rev. ed., Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

Kruse, Kevin Michael. *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Attendance: Attendance is mandatory. *You must email me in advance if you will miss class, or, in case*

of emergency, within 24 hours after class. We can excuse absences only on the grounds of personal or family illness or serious emergency (not conflicting work schedules, appointments, oversleep, or extracurricular activity).

Recommended Readings in Historical Sociology and Political Science:

How Movements Matter: Policy, Institutions, Public Discourse and Collective Identities
Historical Sociologists use history to elaborate theoretical models that in turn can explain larger patterns in the rise, decline, and impact of social movements.

Whittier, Nancy. "Meaning and Structure in Social Movements." In *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, edited by David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier and Belinda Robnett, pp. 289-96, 306-7. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Tilly, Charles. "Conclusion: From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements." In *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly, 253-70. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1999.

McAdam, Doug. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Chapters 1-3.

Oestreicher, Richard. "The Rules of the Game: Class Politics in Twentieth-Century America." In *Organized Labor and American Politics, 1894-1994: The Labor-Liberal Alliance*, edited by Kevin Boyle, 19-50. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. "Movements and Dissensus Politics." In *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, edited by Marcy Darnovsky, Barbara Epstein and Richard Flacks, 235-50. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

Schedule

8/17: Populism and 19th-Century Legacies

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, Introduction-Chapter 2, pp. 1-46

8/22: Workers and Origins of the Labor-Liberal Alliance

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, chapter 3, pp.

Greene, Julie. "Negotiating the State: Frank Walsh and the Transformation of Labor's Political Culture in Progressive America." In *Organized Labor and American Politics, 1894-1994: The Labor-Liberal Alliance*, edited by Kevin Boyle, 71-102. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.

8/24: Middle-Class Evangelists for Reform

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, 4, pp. 49-106.

Crunden, Robert. *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920*. New York: Basic, 1982., It is Sin to Be Sick, on the origins of the pure food and drug act.

8/29: Women, Progressivism, and Social Democracy

Chafe, William. "Women's History and Political History: Some Thoughts on Progressivism and the New Deal." In *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism*, edited by Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Leacock, 101-18. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Historical Foundations of Women's Power in the Creation of the American Welfare State, 1830-1930," in *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States*, ed. Seth Koven and Sonya Michel (New York: Routledge, 1993), 43-93.

Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Two Political Cultures in the Progressive Era: The National Consumers' League and the American Association for Labor Legislation," in *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays*, ed. Linda K. Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 36-62.

Recommended: see Blackboard .pdf

8/31: Insurgency from Below: Garment Workers and Progressive Women's Coalitions

Orleck, Annelise. *Common Sense and a Little Fire: Women and Working Class Politics in the United States, 1900-1965*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995, Intro and, ch. 1-2, pp. 1-83.

Recommended:

Cameron, Ardis. *Radicals of the Worst Sort: Laboring Women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1860-1912*, *Women in American History; the Working Class in American History*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993.

Stephen H. Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth: Telephone Operators and Worker Militancy, 1878-1923* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

9/5: Cross-class Coalitions and the Winning of Woman Suffrage

Katz, Sherry J. "A Politics of Coalition: Socialist Women and the California Suffrage Movement, 1900-1911." In *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, edited by Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, 245-62. Troutdale, OR: New Sage Press, 1995.

Orleck. *Common Sense and a Little Fire*: ch. 3 (suffrage), 87-113.

Ellen Carol DuBois, "Working Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blach and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894-1909," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 176-194.

9/7: New Deal Movements and the Welfare State

Gordon, Linda. *Pitied but Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935*. New York: Free Press, 1994, chapters 8-9.

One of the following two: Amenta, Edwin, Neal Caren, and Sheera Joy Olasky. "Age for Leisure? Political Mediation and the Impact of the Pension Movement on U.S. Old-Age Policy." *American Sociological Review* 70, no. 3 (2005): 516-38. (scan the methodology and conclusions):

Amenta, Edwin, Kathleen Dunleavy, and Mary Bernstein. "Stolen Thunder? Huey Long's "Share Our Wealth," Political Mediation, and the Second New Deal." *American Sociological Review* 59, no. 5 (1994): 678-702.

9/12: Overview: Industrial Unionism

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, chapter 6, pages 135-163.

Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" 1-27.

9/14: Industrial Unions in the 1930s: Hard Times, Radical Organizers

Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" 31--80.

9/19: Working Class Americanism and the Achievements of Civil Rights Unionism

Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" 84-123

Sanchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican America : Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, chapter 11, 227-252.

9/21: Industrial Unionism in World War II: Between Corporatism and Democracy

Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" chapters 6-7, 124-174.

Recommended:

Lichtenstein, Nelson. "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era." In *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980*, edited by Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, 122-52. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989.

9/26: From Father Coughlin to Joe McCarthy -- An Anti-Communist Movement?

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, chapter 5, pages 109-133, chapter 7, pages 165-193.

Robert Griffith, "American Politics and the Origins of 'McCarthyism'" in Chafe and Sitkoff, *A History of Our Time* pp. 62-73.

9/28: Anti-Communism and the American Left

Horowitz, "Negro and White, Unite and Fight!" chapter 8-9, 175-230 only.

Schrecker, Ellen. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Boston: Little Brown, 1998., ch. 10

10/3: Roots of Civil Rights Insurgency

Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, introduction, chapters 1-2, 1-63.

Recommended:

Sullivan, Patricia. "Southern Reformers, the New Deal, and the Movement's Foundation." In *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, edited by Armstead L. Robinson and Patricia Sullivan, 81-104. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991.

Recommended: Morris

10/5: Direct action, nonviolence, and economic justice

Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, chapter 3-4, 65-115.

Levy, Peter. "Gloria Richardson and the Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland." In *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 97-115. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

Fall Break

10/17: Waging War on Poverty from Below

Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, chapter 5-7, 117-171.

Kerstein, Robert J., and Dennis R. Judd. "Achieving Less Influence with More Democracy: The Permanent Legacy of the War on Poverty." *Social Science Quarterly* 61 no. 2 (1980): 208-20.

Recommended:

Bayor, Ronald. "The Civil Rights Movement as Urban Reform: Atlanta's Black Neighborhoods and a New 'Progressivism'." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 77, no. Summer (1993): 286-309.

10/19: Interracial Working-Class Struggles in the 1960s and 1970s

Horowitz, *"Negro and White, Unite and Fight!"* chapter 9-10, 231-86.

Honey, Michael. *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, Ch 7, 286-321.

Recommended:

Fink, Leon. "A Labor Crusade Behind the Magnolia Curtain: Hospital Workers and the Politics of Race and Class." In *In Search of the Working Class*, 51-85. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

10/24: The New Left: from Poverty to Third Worldism

James Miller, *"Democracy is in the Streets:" From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), ch. 10 on Sharron Jeffrey, pp. 184-217.

Kazin, *A Populist Persuasion*, chapter 8, pp. 195-218.

Elbaum, Max. "What Legacy from the Radical Internationalism of 1968?" *Radical History Review* 82 (2002): 37-64.

Recommended:

Klatch, Rebecca E. "The Counterculture, the New Left and the New Right." In *Cultural Politics and Social Movements*, edited by Marcy Darnovsky, Barbara Epstein and Richard Flacks, 74-89. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995.

10/26: Power to the People

Jackson, Thomas F. *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Struggle*

for *Economic Justice* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, ch. 12.

Abron, JoNina M. "'Serving the People': The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles E. Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998.

Fernandez, Johanna. "Between Social Service Reform and Revolutionary Politics: The Young Lords, Late Sixties Radicalism, and Community Organizing in New York City." In *Freedom North*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 255-85. New York: Palgrave, 2003.

Annelise Orleck, "'If It Wasn't for You I'd Have Shoes for My Children': The Political Education of Las Vegas Welfare Mothers," in Alexis Jetter, et. al., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 102-118. (16)

Recommended:

Jackie Pope, "Women in the Welfare Rights Struggle: The Brooklyn Welfare Action Council," in *Women and Social Protest*, ed. Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg (New York: Oxford, 1990), 57-74.

Tyson, Timothy B. "Robert F. Williams, 'Black Power,' and the Roots of the African American Freedom Struggle." *Journal of American History* 85, no. 2 (1998): 540-70.

"'Not a Color, but an Attitude': Father James Groppi and Black Power Politics in Milwaukee." In *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 259-81. New York: New York University Press, 2005.

10/31: Affirmative Action from Below

MacLean, Nancy. "The Hidden History of Affirmative Action: Working Women's Struggles in the 1970s and the Gender of Class." *Feminist Studies* 25, no. 1 (1999): 43-78.

Sugrue, Thomas J. "Affirmative Action from Below: Civil Rights, the Building Trades, and the Politics of Racial Equality in the Urban North, 1945-1969." *Journal of American History* (June 2004): 145-73.

11/2: Struggles in the Postindustrial City

Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle*, Chapters 7-10, Epilogue, 175-269.

Recommended:

Morgen, Sandra. "'Its the Whole Power of the City against Us!': the Development of Political Consciousness in a Women's Health Care Coalition." In *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, edited by Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, 97-115. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. On blackboard.

11/7: Defended Neighborhoods: Working Class Resistance to Racial Liberalism

Krause, Introduction-Chapter 3, 3-104

Recommended:

Arnold R. Hirsch, "Massive Resistance in the Urban North: Trumbull Park, Chicago, 1953-1966," *Journal of American History* 82 (Sep., 1995), pp. 522-550.

Thomas J. Sugrue, "Crabgrass-Roots Politics: Race, Rights, and the Reaction against Liberalism in the Urban North, 1940-1964," *Journal of American History* (September, 1995): 551-78.

11/9: Class Politics, Desegregation, and the Impoverishment of the Public Sphere

Krause, chapter 4-6, 105-179.

11/14: White Rights, George Wallace, and the 1960s Roots of Modern Conservatism

Krause, chapter 7-8, 180-233.

Kazin, *The Populist Persuasion*, chapter 9, 221-242.

11/16: Cracking the New Right: Race and Values

Krause, chapter 9-epilogue, 234-266.

Kazin, chapter 10-11, 245-284.

Recommended:

McGirr, Lisa. *Suburban Warriors : The Origins of the New American Right, Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001.

11/21: Purchasers Politicized: Consumer Movements

Cohen, Elizabeth. *A Consumer's Republic : The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. 1st ed. New York: Knopf, 2003., chapter 8, 345-397, n513-530.

11/28: Direct Action and Disarmament

Swerdlow, Amy. "Ladies Day at the Capitol: Women Strike for Peace Versus HUAC." In *U.S. Women in Struggle*, edited by Claire Goldberg Moses and Heidi Hartmann, 214-39. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Meyer, David S. "How the Cold War Was Really Won: The Effects of the Antinuclear Movements of the 1980s." In *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam and Charles Tilly, 182-203. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota press, 1999.

11/30: Activist Mothering, Environmental Justice, Welfare Rights, and Right-Wing Movements

Alexis Jetter, et. al., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997): Annelise Orleck, "Environmental Justice, Overview," 23-27 (46); Lois Gibbs and the housewives of Love Canal 28-43; Alexis Jetter, A Mother's Battle for Environmental Justice," 44-52; "So Let It Start with Me," an interview with Patsy Ruth Oliver by Alexis Jetter, 53-61; Dollie Burwell, "Sometimes the Road Gets Lonely," 62-69 Kathleen Blee, "Mothers in Race Hate Movements," 247-256 (10)