

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY//DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Political Science W3280y, Spring 2012**

**TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICAN POLITICS**

**Ira Katznelson**

**Monday and Wednesday, 2.40-3.55pm**

**Office Hours, Wednesday, 4.15-5.45pm. 716 IAB; e-mail: iik1@columbia.edu**

**Teaching Assistants: Suzanne Kahn, <smk2175@columbia.edu>**

**Katherine Krimmel <klk2118@columbia.edu>**

**Steven White <smw2150@columbia.edu>**

**Course Website: <https://courseworks.columbia.edu/>**

This class focuses primarily on a watershed moment, the period of the New Deal/Fair Deal era led by Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. It does so because decisions taken about the economy, labor, race, foreign policy, military affairs, civil liberties, and internal security "set the stage and defined the terms of American politics and government for generations to come," as the historian Morton Keller observed. In examining these issues at the crossroads of two disciplines--of American history and political science--the class probes these policy choices in the context of global affairs, and with particular emphasis on the role played by policy intellectuals, members of Congress, and the southern wing of the Democratic Party.

It is imperative that you keep up with the class readings. Active participation in your weekly section is mandatory. Requirements include a mid-term (March 7), a final examination, and a paper, no longer than ten double-spaced pages, due on April 25, the next to last class session. This is a firm deadline; no late papers will be accepted. This essay will formulate an analytical problem and advance an argument focused on one of the subjects covered in the class. A one page proposal outlining the paper's question and approach is due on March 5. Rules regarding academic honesty must be scrupulously observed. For discussions of academic integrity and the meaning of plagiarism see "The Columbia College Guide to Academic Integrity" and the Lehman Library discussion of plagiarism, respectively at <http://www.college.columbia.edu/academics/integrity>, and <http://library.columbia.edu/indiv/lehman/guides/plagiarism.html>.

Grades are a compound of performance on each exam (20 and 30 percent respectively), the paper (25 percent) and contributions to discussions in class and especially in your section (25 per cent). Links to the readings and audio materials can be found on CourseWorks. Most of the readings are available there as a web-link under "Class Files" or as an electronic library reserve under "Libr. Reserves." Links to these readings are also consolidated for each class meeting in the "Syllabus" section. Readings are on reserve in Lehman Library, and items below marked "[book]" have been ordered at Book Culture on 112th Street.

## SYLLABUS

### One: Painting the New Deal

January 18: Introduction

Background reading (not required, but available as resources):

- a. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *Age of Roosevelt* (3 volumes). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957-1960
- b. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963
- c. Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1930-1940*. New York: Noonday Press, 1989
- d. Alonzo L. Hamby, *For the Survival of Democracy: Franklin Roosevelt and the World Crisis of the 1930s*. New York: Free Press, 2004
- e. Alonzo L. Hamby, *Harry S. Truman and the Fair Deal*. New York: D.C. Heath, 1974
- f. Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996
- g. David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999
- h. David M. Kennedy, "What the New Deal Did," *Political Science Quarterly*, 124 (Summer 2009), pp.251-268
- i. John Braeman, "The New Deal and the 'Broker State': A Review of Recent Scholarly Literature," *Business History Review*, 46 (Winter 1972), pp.409-429
- j. Colin Gordon, "Rethinking the New Deal," *Columbia Law Review*, 98 (December 1998), pp.2029-2054
- k. Jeff Manza, "Political Sociological Models of the U.S. New Deal," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 36 (2000), pp.297-322

January 23: New Deal Designs: Retrospective Views, Alternative Possibilities

- a. Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948, chapter 12, pp.315-352 [e-reserves]
- b. Theodore J. Lowi, "The Roosevelt Administration and the New American State," in Peter Katzenstein, Theodore Lowi, and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Comparative Theory and Political Experience: Mario Einaudi and the Liberal Tradition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990, p.188-211 [e-reserves]
- c. Alan Brinkley, "The New Deal and the Idea of the State," in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, chapter 4, pp.85-121 [book]

### Two: "Fear Itself"

January 25: Inauguration Day:

- a. Franklin Roosevelt, Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933 (web link)
- b. William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War," *McClure's Magazine*, August, 1910, pp. 463-468

January 30: Fear as Context and Motivation

- a. William E. Dodd, "Can Democracy be Preserved?," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2 (January 1938), pp.26-31
- b. Karl Loewenstein, "The Balance Between Legislative and Executive Power: A Study in Comparative Constitutional Law," *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 5 (June 1938)
- c. Judith N. Shklar, "The Liberalism of Fear," in Nancy L. Rosenblum, ed., *Liberalism and the Moral Life*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989

#### February 1: March 1933

- a. Carl J. Friedrich, "The Development of the Executive Power in Germany," *American Political Science Review*, 27 (April 1933), pp.185-203
- b. Karl Loewenstein, "Dictatorship and the German Constitution," *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 4 (June 1937), pp.537-574
- c. Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*. New York: Penguin Press, 2005, "Prologue," pp.2-17 [e-reserves]

#### February 6: Emergency and Exception

- a. Frank R. Kent, "White House Technique," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 9 (July 1933), pp.372-379
- b. J.O. Hertzler, "Crises and Dictatorships," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (April 1940), pp.157-169
- c. Clinton L. Rossiter, *Constitutional Dictatorship: Crisis Government in Modern Democracies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948, pp.3-14
- d. John Ferejohn and Pasquale Pasquino, "The Law of the Exception: A Typology of Emergency Powers," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 2 (March 2004), pp.210-239.

### **Three: Enemies?**

#### February 8: Dictatorship (1)

- a. Lawrence Dennis, "Fascism for America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 180 (July 1935), pp.62-73
- b. Alan Cassels, "Fascism for Export: Italy and the United States in the Twenties," *American Historical Review*, 69 (April 1964), pp.707-712
- c. John P. Diggins, "Flirtation With Fascism: American Pragmatic Liberals and Mussolini's Italy," *American Historical Review*, 71 (January 1966), pp.487-506 [web link]

#### February 13: Dictatorship (2)

- a. Taylor Cole, "Current Appraisals of German National Socialism," *The Journal of Politics*, 1 (May 1939), pp.195-205
- b. Ian Kershaw, "Hitler and the Uniqueness of Nazism," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 39 (April 2004), pp.239-254
- c. Johnpeter Horst Grill and Robert L. Jenkins, "The Nazis and the American South in the 1930s," *The Journal of Southern History*, 58 (November 1992), pp.667-694

#### February 15: Dictatorship (3)

- a. Robert Allen Skotheim, "Americans and the Soviet Experiment, 1917-1933: Liberals and Communism," *American Quarterly*, 20 (Spring 1968), pp.119-129
- b. Stephen Kotkin, "Modern Times: The Soviet Union and the Interwar Conjunction," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 2 (Winter 2001), pp.111-164

#### **Four: Radical Moment (1)**

February 22: Capitalism

- a. Rexford G. Tugwell, "Design for Government," *Political Science Quarterly*, 48 (September 1933), pp.321-332 [web link]
- b. Lewis L. Lorwin, "Social Aspects of the Planning State," *American Political Science Review*, 28 (February 1934), pp.16-22 [web link]
- c. Donald R. Richberg, "Progress Under the National Recovery Act," *Proceedings of the American Academy of Political Science*, 15 (January 1934), pp.25-32.
- d. Arthur Robert Burns, "The First Phase of the National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933," *Political Science Quarterly*, 49 (June 1934), pp.161-194
- e. "Comments: The Tennessee Valley Authority Act," *Yale Law Journal*, 43 (March 1934), pp.815-826
- f. Michael A. Bailey, Judith Goldstein, and Barry R. Weingast, "The Institutional Roots of American Trade Policy: Politics, Coalitions, and International Trade," *World Politics*, 49 (April 1997), pp.309-338 [web link]

February 27: Labor

- a. David Plotke, "The Wagner Act, Again: Politics and Labor, 1935-1937," *Studies in American Political Development*, 3 (March 1989), pp.105-156
- b. Michael Goldfield, "Worker Insurgency, Radical Organization, and New Deal Labor Legislation," *American Political Science Review*, 83 (December 1989), pp.1257-1282
- c. Mark Barenberg, "The Political Economy of the Wagner Act: Power, Symbol, and Workplace Cooperation," *Harvard Law Review*, 106 (May 1993), pp.1379-1486

#### **Five: Radical Moment (2)**

February 29: Unrestrained War

- a. Edward Samuel Corwin, *Total War and the Constitution*. New York: New York: Knopf, 1947, pp.3-132
- b. Albert L. Sturm, "Emergencies and the Presidency," *Journal of Politics*, 11 (February 1949), pp.121-144

March 5: In-class review and study session; paper proposals due

March 7: Midterm Examination

March 19: Borderlands

- a. John Sparks, "Civil Liberties in the Present Crisis," *Antioch Review*, 2 (Spring 1942)
- b. David Riesman, "The Present State of Civil Liberty Theory," *Journal of Politics*, 6 (August 1944), pp.323-337
- c. Geoffrey R. Stone, "Free Speech in World War II," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 2 (March 2004), pp.334-367
- d. Eugene V. Rostow, "The Japanese American Cases--A Disaster," *Yale Law Journal*, 54 (July 1945), pp.489-535
- e. Florence Murray, "The Negro and Civil Liberties During World War II," *Social Forces*, 24 (December 1945), pp.211-216

### **Six: On the South and the Democratic Coalition**

#### March 21: Enlarging the Party

- a. V.O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," *Journal of Politics*, 17 (February 1955), pp.3-18 [web link]
- b. Walter Dean Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," *The American Political Science Review* 59 (March 1965), pp. 7-28. [web link]
- c. Gerald H. Gamm, *The Making of New Deal Democrats: Voting Behavior and Realignment in Boston, 1920-1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapters 2, 3. [e-reserves]

#### March 26: The Democratic Party, the South, and New Deal Decisions

- a. Carter G. Woodson, "Fifty Years of Negro Citizenship as Qualified by the United States Supreme Court," *Journal of Negro History*, 6 (January 1921), pp.1-53. [web link]
- b. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, "Introduction," pp.lxix-lxxxiii. [e-reserves]
- c. V.O. Key, Jr. *Southern Politics in State and Nation* Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, chapters 16, 17, pp.345-382 [e-reserves]
- d. Richard Hofstadter, "From Calhoun to Dixiecrats," *Social Research*, 16 (June 1949), pp.135-150 [e-reserves]
- e. George C. Rable, "The South and the Politics of Antilynching Legislation, 1920-1940," *Journal of Southern History*, 51 (May 1985), pp.201-220 [web link]
- f. Brian Feinstein and Eric Schickler, "Platforms and Partners: The Civil Rights Realignment Reconsidered," *Studies in American Political Development*. 22 (Spring 2008), pp.1-31

#### March 28: Southern Power

- a. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2005, chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, pp.1-52, 80-141. [book]
- b. Ira Katznelson and Suzanne Mettler, "On Race and Policy History: A Dialogue about the G.I. Bill," *Perspectives on Politics*, 6 (September 2008): 519-536

### **Seven: Making the Procedural State**

#### April 2: Planning or Fiscal Policy?

- a. Patrick D. Reagan, "Creating the Organizational Nexus for New Deal Planning," in Jerold E. Brown and Patrick D. Reagan, eds., *Voluntarism, Planning, and the State: The American Planning Experience 1914-1946*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1988, pp.85-103 [e-reserves]
- b. Allan G. Gruchy, "The Economics of the National Resources Committee," *American Economic Review*, 29 (March 1939), pp.60-73 [web link]
- c. Ira Katznelson and Bruce Pietrykowski, "Rebuilding the American State: Evidence from the 1940's," *Studies in American Political Development*, 5 (#2, 1991 [e-reserves])

#### April 4: Business, Labor, and the Workplace

- a. Steve Fraser, "The 'Labor Question'" in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, chapter 3 (pp.55-84) [book]
- b. Nelson Lichtenstein, "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era," in Fraser and Gerstle, *Rise and Fall*, chapter 5 (pp.122-152) [book]
- c. Sean Farhang and Ira Katznelson, "The Southern Imposition: Congress and Labor in the New Deal and Fair Deal." *Studies in American Political Development*, 19 (April 2005): 1-30

#### April 9: Interest Group Pluralism

- a. David B. Truman, *The Governmental Process*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, chapters 1-4, 15 [book]
- b. E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*. New York: Holt, 1960, chapters 2, 3, 5
- c. Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, chapters 1, 7-9 (pp.1-27, 176-231)

### **Eight: Making the Crusading State**

#### April 9: International Political Economy: Trade

- a. Michael A. Bailey, Judith Goldstein, and Barry R. Weingast, "The Institutional Roots of American Trade Policy: Politics, Coalitions, and International Trade," *World Politics*, 49 (April 1997), pp.309-338 [web link]
- b. Orin Kirshner, "Triumph of Globalism: American Trade Politics," *Political Science Quarterly*, 120 (Fall 2005), pp.479-503

#### April 11: International Political Economy: Postwar Institutions

- a. Anne-Marie Burley, "Regulating the World: Multilateralism, International Law, and the Projection of the New Deal Regulatory State," in John Gerard Ruggie, ed., *Multilateralism Matters: The Theory and Praxis of an Institutional Form*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993. [e-reserves]
- b. John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International*

*Organization*, 36 (Spring 1982) [also in Stephen Krasner, eds., *International Regimes*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983 [e-reserves]

- c. Michael J. Hogan, "Revival and Reform: America's Twentieth Century Search for a New Economic Order Abroad," *Diplomatic History*, 8 (1984), pp.287-310. [e-reserves]

#### April 16: Might

- a. Edward Meade Earle, "American Military Policy and National Security," *Political Science Quarterly*, 53 (March 1938), pp.1-13 [web link]
- b. Francis O. Wilcox, "American Government and Politics: The Neutrality Fight in Congress," *American Political Science Review*, 33 (October 1939), pp.811-825 [web link]
- c. Marian D. Irish, "Foreign Policy and the South," *Journal of Politics*, 10 (May 1948) [web link]

#### April 18: National Security

- a. Harold D. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *American Journal of Sociology*, 46 (1941), pp.455-468. [web link]
- b. Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, chapters 1, 2 (pp.1-68) [book]
- c. Arnold Wolfers, "'National Security' as an Ambiguous Symbol," *Political Science Quarterly*, 67 (December 1952), pp.481-502 [web link]
- a. Ellen Schrecker, *Many are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, chapters 3, 6-8 (pp.86-115, 203-305) [book]

### **Nine: Bequests**

#### April 25: End and Beginning [papers due]

- a. Dwight Eisenhower, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1953 [web link]
- b. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949, chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, pp.1-50, 131-188, 219-242 [book]

#### April 30: In class review and study session