

**American Society  
Sociology 005-001  
Fall 2004**

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**OVERVIEW**

A review of our Framers' uses of Americans' legacies from the several European Enlightenments, their philosophies-like (intellectuals') sharp wits, their extraordinary foresightfulness, and their vivid, and rich imaginations (and their good fortunes in terms of America's space and resources!) to build "The First New Nation". *The Federalist* anticipates more possible criticisms of the Framers' efforts than any defender of any intellectual constructs I have ever encountered, including the Enlightenment authors who inspired *The Federalist's* authors, since Thomas Aquinas defended scriptures or Rebbe Schneersohn (N.Y.) reputedly handed down Halachas!

As you read, think now of Iraq/U.S." "after the sovereignty" accorded to that "new nation" in June 2004, a venture in what the President and others, in 1999-2000, called "nation building" which the candidates opposed: not a single public intellectual had begun to think through the possibilities of Iraq's next 3 years, in ways that compare with the Federalists' authors; indeed, not a soul thought through "after Baghdad", at all except Mr. Cheney whose expatriates, he reported, promised "flowers and sweets" from the happily liberated Iraqis.

After considering our origins, with their serious fits and false starts along the way, we will look briefly at the growth and development of the Republic, 1860-1920s, noting that "Growth" and "Development" are distinguishable phenomena; then the Great Depression and WWII; then the near post-war era, and finally (especially) the 1960s and beyond. Our approach is chronological in its form, but it is realistically, highly episodic-"selective" – in its substance; I seek to offer some Themes with relevant evidence. One main theme: from 18<sup>th</sup> Century Liberalism on to the, New Deal's Liberalism then (now), to the new century's 'conservative compassion-ism' and battles over nation building overseas. The latter motif is realistically a tad more towards "leaving no billionaire behind" than to "leaving no child behind", if we compare "tax expenditures" (non-collection of taxes) in re the "haves", on one side, with the reduced cash expenditures on "have nots" who have not health insurance, decent public schools, and jobs, and so on.

Another theme: we have two fully developed systems of governance, one dejure ("Uncle Sam") on one side and, on the other side, a de facto, gigantic complex made up of corporations and fairly coherent interest groups, otherwise; a good example of the latter complex's adhocery are to be found in our tribes of innovative 'social technologists' in government, business, and in universities; "social technology", in this second system of government has not received the attention it deserves (as a governance system). We see my two systems as separate de jure and defacto systems, and as

differentiated worlds, one government and the other, the ‘business economy’, as a private, non government sector. The distinction between our “public and private sectors” hints at two not-so-easily separated governments; we will simply make the distinction a simpler one with more explicit references to our elected and self appointed governing agencies. Short run note: During WWII, the two governments were largely merged, as we will see later, into an “industrial state” (Galbraith).

A third theme: we are best prepared to ‘spot’ sources of stability and change in complex modern social systems if we bring a conceptual apparatus (a “paradigm” in currently fashionable academic argot) to function, for us, like a pair of spectacles. This scheme (from Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*) involves tracing out the interpenetrations of relevant events/developments in each of three social system realms: the polity, the economy and the system’s culture, at different points in time. A number of the interpenetrations are “inapposite” – in tension, as with capitalism’s needs for “deferred gratifications” which is contra-indicated by our credit card culture.

To the extent that the subsets of each system augment and enrich (or usefully/constructively balance each other) the society enjoys great stability (but may not adapt very well to changing environments); to the extent to which one or more elements in each of the realms are disjunctive, with one or more elements in the other realms, as with credit versus savings, adjustments may develop a bit less easily (from practice!) and the results of the adjustments may detract from a society’s stability. Consider the example that A adjusts to B but the adjustment disrupts a larger system, as when the “separation of ownership from control” in corporations worked out OK for firms but the adjustments were often highly problematic for American society overall: the recent hullabaloo over “corporate governance” (ENRON et al) was not much of an issue when stockholders would and could exercise some control over professional managers, and when markets were essentially competitive. The refusal by Vice President Cheney to release information about his energy policy commission, 2001, reflects the “oneness” of big elements of government and all the elements of the “energy industry”, (many) of our foreign relations, and a goodly segment of our foreign policy programs!

Finally, we will urge that one of the single biggest obstacles to the successes of democratic societies is likely to be the “hardening of the system’s arteries”-or better, “the hardening of its categories”; these may harden in the form of either lofty or nasty principles that appear to their adherents to be totally “non-negotiable”; think of public concerns about pollution and managers’ (justifiable) concern about the costs of solutions!

As we conduct the review, 1930-1980, we will be especially interested in Americans’ nearly obsessive interest in programs via social sciences, neo-orthodox economics, Freudian psychoanalytic thought, social psychology, in survey methodology/opinion research/”culturology”, and in policy making, via social service, starting with ‘economic science’!

We are obliged (we have but one academic term to work with) to be selective/episodic, thus leaving more scrupulous and systematic chronological treatment

to the customary year-long course in American history to historians. Our focus: a few main themes with social science dimensions, rather than the systematic treatment of intra-periodic interdependencies of events favored by historians.

Quizzes: Sept 30; Oct. 21; Nov18; Dec 9; all quizzes will be ‘open book’. You are required to take at least three quizzes; if you take all four, we will drop the lowest of the four grades. All quizzes are ‘open book’. Most pre-quiz reviews will be on Wednesdays 6:00 PM at a place to be announced. Brief lecture notes are included in each class date.

There will be no mid-term or final exams, and no required term papers. An individual optional oral exam, (on a trenchant and revealing American novel) will be available after the last class, Dec 9<sup>th</sup>, 2:00-5:00, (for those who have taken all four quizzes in one half hour intervals, 289 McNeil). There will be no quiz “make-ups”. The instructor’s lecture notes (as June 15<sup>th</sup>) are ‘embodied’ in this syllabus; he will depart somewhat from these notes, as available scholarship, court decisions, and Fall election developments, etc., dictate: note that his schematic lecture comments were reduced to paper in late June; they are not up to date in September.

Advice: Do Not Hesitate To Ask Questions In Class!! Please use my phone numbers freely; again: no email, please. My commuting arrangements and lack of clerical help makes office management difficult for a library-bound teacher-writer. I’ll be pleased to answer questions, and, to help with readings, for example, by phone, especially evenings and weekends and, of course, office hours.

Books: Penn Book Center, 34<sup>th</sup> and Samson  
Bulk Packs: Copy Center, 39<sup>th</sup> and Walnut.  
Quiz reviews: Wed 6 PM, place TBA.

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Note: (1) No class scheduled 9/21 and 10/14  
(2) Quiz Reviews Wed before Quiz 6:00 PM TBA

**Part I. From a pacified – to an aggrieved colony, and on to the  
construction/development of an “Economic Republic”**  
(Sept 9-Sept 30; Quiz #1 Sept 30)

- Sept 9:** Introduction, and the legacies of The Enlightenment: the “imperatives” we have adapted: “rationality”, reason and de-mystification over “faith”; individualism over tradition; secular, sectarian; denominations, sects and, ‘deism’; establishmentarianism and congregationalism; Liberals (then) and liberals (now); liberty, equality, and justice; utilitarianism, pragmatism, idealism and nationalism; the first hints of our predilections for ‘theodicies of innocence’, i.e., our preferences for discipline by a determined ‘visible hand’ (and something like the downright worship of ‘the market’ as a deus et machina); “...the greatest good of the greatest number” as a kind of standard for judgments about policies, institutions. Our creeds about markets, the greatest good etc. give way, in practice, to a significant amount of compartmentalizing and a fair amount of functionalist rationalizations.
- Sept 14:** First, a revolution against King George, followed by a colonial government of our own design but with its designers faced with their own insurgents, led by Captain Daniel Shays, against the ‘centralist’ (Federalist) bias of the prospective government aborning in Philadelphia. Shays’s Rebellion (and reciprocated moves by a frightened Constitutional convention to contain what was called Jacobinism in France, later, in 1789); populism, a ‘constant’ since Shays right up to 2004. Convention produced a good bit more centralization than most Federalist Framers’ expected and a very great deal more than Jefferson/Republicans desired, as well.
- Sept 16:** The Constitutional Convention emerging from the move away from “The Articles of Confederation” to “We the People”; the seeds sown of a second set of entirely private governments courtesy of Alex. Hamilton and John Marshall: a Tariff 4 July 1789; Assumption of Colonies’ Debts (see Federalist #10). Marshall gives us Dartmouth College Vs. Woodward, 1819, the “corporate person” and the corporate person’s rights vis a vis rights of ‘natural’ persons.

**Sept 23:** Hamilton's followers- including delegates- became Americas' first 'boilerplate' capitalists with the help of "the positive state". Beginnings of today's Republican party closet liberals(vs. Liberals): not big government, perhaps, but big business served, partnership fashion, by government! Groundwork for Republicans' longtime rhetorical strategies was laid by Alex Hamilton, a (not truly!) model for modern business leaders who also think they are "practical" in their reading of Adam Smith! Hamilton repays his supporters by helping to found the first coherent stratum of "capitalists" with assumptions of states' (war) debt.

**Sept 28:** The boon of "having no feudal past" actually dragging on our 'ship of state', a major theme of virtually all observers; some notes on slavery, property and the Civil War (the second major insurrection after Shays's Rebellion) 'inspired' by issues akin to Shays's (local rights and property rights re slavery and tariffs: two legacies – but barely incorporated in most analyses of Americans' history). Add: petition and recall; parties; sectionalism; "interest groups", associationism and "joiners", (later "Babbits").

**Sept 30:** (Quiz) Religion and Capitalism: Weber and Novak; legacies of 'town hall' and "volunteerism". Critiques favoring a new version of the Federalist: some hazards in Republic's waters: consider today's 'choice' and 'life', and the Patriot Act 2002; Johnson Controls Case, 1991.

**Read:** Commager, Commager on de Tocqueville (B); Wessel "Legal DNA and Common Law" (BP); Federalist Papers #10 (BP); Beard (2 articles) (BP); Brands, "Founders Chic" (BP) Novak, "Intro to Capitalism, Socialism and Religion" (BP); Brinkley et al, The New-Federalist Papers (B) N. Fergusson, "The Future of Freedom" (BP)

**Part II. The Great Transformation: capitalism and democracy evermore forcefully linked to a business system that was 'perfecting' its own organizations' governance principles: hedge against market, fight state and its proximity to unions et al; ally against Bolsheviks;  
(Oct 5-Oct 21; Quiz Oct 21)**

**Oct. 5:** The age of trusts: the 'separation of ownership from control', and the substantial trumping of "individualism" (J. D. Rockefeller); this part of the 'transformation' triggered America's contribution to a new age of truly high corporate bureaucracies-size/divisions of labor/specialization, "professional managers"; - and, 1890, (and The Wharton School!). The character of "bureaucracy", to the development of which the U. S. business community has contributed far more than all of our government's designers and its putatively public-serving employees ever did. Bureaucracy was rationalism triumph- Review attributes/pathologies.

**Oct 7:** The evolution (!) of early Liberalism into post-Federal period conservatism: (to reappear in increasingly opportunistic redesigns by Republicans, 2000-2004, that were not nearly as much anti-government growth as the modern Republican party pleads. Narrowing and winnowing Framers' intentions about a stronger but limited-to-"L" (not "I" central government. Add Social Darwinism and the detachment of legitimacy and thus a "legitimacy problem" inevitably moves from (securing) property ownership (and individualism) to new types of indicia as badges of "merit". (Vs. Spencer and Summer) Picks up on Adam Smith's views, 1776 (should teachers and professors vet managers, an issue for Part IV.)

**Oct 14:** **PROBABLY NO CLASS**

**Oct 19:** "Monopolistic Competition" and "Creative Destruction": Americans' apprehensions about and contempt for (destructive) price competition. Why do we prefer/accept multi year stretch of managed competition/price leadership? One huge beneficiary of managed competition was the auto manufacturer; and, by the way: was the car market in the usual fashion, as a market we should look upon as the triumph of free market capitalism of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century? Think of social costs and social benefits of autos Vs. public or 'pooled' transportation.

**Oct 21:(Quiz)** A pay off-of oligopoly: Latent 'Pax Americana', following 'The Age of Big Business': Big Government (later), Big Labor (later), and Big Business (n progress). Roaring Twenties (prelude or rehearsed for 'the Sixties': "wild" music, drugs, booze, "modernism", feminists' pacifism; the lost generation). What groups of Americans are left out of the list of beneficiaries of Pax Americana? Recession – 1900-1929; growth (development); pre-WWII era; Lewis leaves few grounds for expecting civil rights movement or Joe McCarthy's "witch hunts".

**Read:** McCloskey American Conservatism (BP); F. Lewis *The Big Change* (B) Lekachman, "Introduction to J. Schumpeter's *Can Capitalism Survive*" (BP); A. A. Berle, 'A' and 'B' (BP)

### **Part III. Depression, War II and America's Excursions Into the Social Sciences** (Oct 28-Nov 18; Quiz Nov 18)

**Oct 28:** Keynes and Neo-orthodox Economics two different modes of social analysis 'posing' as economics, and two different users of measurements and of modern econometrics: the positive state vis a vis the Hamiltonian state and the rising tide of rationalism and the 'Rabble Hypothesis': vis a vis Economics Vs. 1930s "Plant Sociology"; Left Vs. Right in views of America's plants and shops; and their denizens; Clinical Psychology Vs.

Learning Theory and ‘Spare the Rod’: from childrearing to groups/peers and on to role strains and ‘chemistry’.

**Nov 2:** Markets or Managers? ‘Managed Competition’; “tax expenditures”, fiscal policy and bond markets; corporate critics: labor unions and the “Human Relations School” – Freud, (Vs. Weber and Marx) plus Durkheim, Mayo; and then, after Kurt Lewin et al, “union avoidance’/1970s: Harvard’s and others’ Business Schools: The Battle of Princeton `57. A capital irony: “Downsizing” and “offshoring” have pre-empted or displaced virtually all of human relations, an academic ‘religion’ peddled by a curious mixture of business professors and ‘dogooders’ for over 30 years to business, 1938-1970.

**Nov 4:** Nov 2 (cont’d) Social Science:  
Another Chapter in America’s Enlightenment and in America’s (current) modernity: Social and Behavior Sciences, beyond “plant sociology” then: IQ 1917; Potter and national character (B); *The American Soldier*; *Authoritarian Personality*; *Assessment of men*; *Voting studies*; *mental health*; *Dr. Spock (not ‘skywars’)* and Dr. T. Berry Bazelton.  
(Nov 4 cont’d):

**Nov 9:** “Organizationalism”; and “Managerialism”-Plus Pax Americana, `45-`75: Big Business, Big Labor, Big Government: A new messocosmic governance system `twixt macro- and microcosmic perspective; “Social Technology” again, and again: an “American original”  
Some observations on industrial conflict, industrial democracy, and on gainsaying conflict; controversial roles of collective bargaining in democracy and “countervailing power” (U. S. Steel, 1959 and UAW 1970; “The Nice Kind of Union Democracy” (UAW and Kenosha et al 1959)

**Nov 11:** (Continued) Note `11/16 Read JFK Yale Speech (BP) NB: **Bonus Question, 5 points and a \$50 copy of Bartlett’s Quotations**; What premises/assumptions does JFK grant himself in his critiques of the “myths” he describe? (class-wide discussion; no written answers).

**Nov 16:** JFK/Yale; why might we not freely and reasonably grant JFK his gratuitous assumptions? Child Rearing and National Character (Potter); “work”, in principle: from Adam Smith to “Work in America”; Affirmative Action, democracy and rationality (and measurement: deficit, inflation, productivity, earnings, growth/development; union avoidance); We are the most measurement-conscious people on earth and live with one “gold-plated rule”: “Give them an inch”.

**Read:** Summary: American Society and American Social Science: selling, managing; politicking; parenting; and diagnosing/curing. JFK, Yale’s

Commencement '62 (BP); Berg and Huges, "Esquisse" (BP); P. Samuelson (BP); Potter, *People of Plenty* (B); Berg, "They Wont Work and All That" (BP); "Uncapping New Ideas for Oil" (BP); S. Barnes, "America's defacto Industrial Plan" (BP) "Maybe it Wasn't The Economy" (BP); "A Sea of Red Ink" (BP); Madrick "Does Big Government Hurt Economic Growth?" (BP)

**Part IV. (Quiz Nov 18) Nov 18-Dec 9; (Quiz Dec 9)**

**Nov 18:** (A) 1968-2004 The decline of liberalism ("I") and the resurgence and with many Pharisees with putatively conservative thirsts but drink deeply at the public trough!); Democrats as aspiring nation builders (in South East Asia) in 1960s vis a vis Republicans, as aspiring nation builders, in the Middle East, in 2003ff. Similarities and differences on the Right: an unlikely program conceived by "Neo-cons", as against conservative Republicans. And the Left: marking time: If they win – what with Iraq and deficit; and If they lose what to do with/in Iraq?

**Nov 23:** (B) The battles over individuals' versus groups' rights: "...Laws not men...": bigotry and prejudice. Given choice Martin Luther King feared bigots who hated him to the prejudicial ones who sought to lynch African Americans: "I'll take the laws that can be passed that stop lynching over those that are targeted on name-calling". Affirmative Action; Pro Life/Choice; "Nixon, the last democrat, and Clinton, the last Republican"; The Race Problem. Question: do we need groups' rights to offset/undo "groups wronged"? Johnson Control Vs. HAW, 1991.

**Nov 30:** (C) The total transformation of higher education, the stagnation of middle America, and the vexed (and vexing) matter of "managerial legitimacy" in a democratic society. (Why is legitimacy of employers' authority a critically important question/recall Oct 212, McCloskey?)

**Dec 2:** (D) Privatization, and Marketization; (perhaps?) Permanent Culture Wars and the ascendancy of "recall and "referendum" as strategies in 'local culture wars'; Proposition 13 California and Preparation H. Marketizing: military service, marriage (pre-nups); social security; public purchasing; federal elections; monopolies, federal lands; public education; college admissions; public education; (vouchers)

**Dec 7:** The Elections of 2000, 2004  
 In 1955 Czechoslovakia, coffee house, two students, 1<sup>st</sup>. student: "The Party's paper says ' the seeds of the future are in the past'", 2<sup>nd</sup>. Student: "Yes, and what a terrible past we have before us".  
 (i) Sources of Optimism/Pessimism  
 (ii) The disjunctions of realms: economic, cultural and political in the U. S., 1890-2004

Dec 9 Looking Ahead: Dec 9 Quiz#4)

- (a) The reversals of Democrats' and Republicans' key policy perspectives: deficits; foreign adventures; roles of the state/and the roles of the states.
- (b) TBA
- (c) Higher Education's future
- (d) The character of the nation that will likely be built in Iraq cannot yet be divined, but what of the "imperial" dreams of the neo cons: Cheney, Perte, Wolfowitz, Frumm, Kristol, 1994, all re Iraq, discussed with Clinton.

**Read:** I. Berg, *Education and Jobs: the Great Training Robbery* (B); O. Patterson, *The Ordeal of Integration* (B); Ferguson, "The Future of Freedom" (BP); *New York Times* "Sorry, wrong numbers: so Maybe it Wasn't the Economy" (BP).