



CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF WORK, LABOR, & DEMOCRACY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - SANTA BARBARA



# Beyond the New Deal Order

A Conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara

September 24-26, 2015

## Sponsored by:

Center for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy

College of Letters and Sciences

Division of Humanities and Fine Arts

Hull Chair in Women's Studies

The Great Society at Fifty: Democracy in America

Laboratoire de Recherche sur les Cultures Anglophones, University of Paris-Diderot

Centre d'Etudes Nord-Américaines, L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

The Mellon Fund for American History at the University of Cambridge

Registration:

Employed: \$60

Unemployed/Student: \$20

For information on accommodations and to register for the  
conference, email Samir Sonti:

sonti [at] uemail.ucsb.edu

# Conference Schedule

## Thursday, September 24

**3:00 PM Registration, McCune Conference Room, Humanities and Social Science Building, Sixth Floor**

**4:00 PM Welcome**

Nelson Lichtenstein and Alice O'Connor, UCSB

**4:15 Introduction to Conference: “The New Deal and the Labor Question”**

Chair: Gary Gerstle, University of Cambridge

Romain Huret, EHESS, and Jean-Christian Vinel, University of Paris-Diderot, “From the Labor Question to the Piketty Moment: A Journey Through the New Deal Order.”

Linda Gordon, New York University, “The Unemployed and the ‘Unemployables’: Unions and Workers Centers: the Workers Alliance as a Social Movement”

**5:30 PM Plenary: A Global New Deal?**

Chair: Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University

Kiran Patel, University of Maastricht, “The New Deal’s Global Order”

Paul Kramer, Vanderbilt University, “War is the Health of the State”

**7:00 Reception, McCune Room**

## Friday, September 25

**8:15 AM Registration and Coffee**

**8:45 AM Plenary: State Building: Democratic and Managerial**

Chair: Alice O'Connor, UCSB

Meg Jacobs, Princeton University, “Reconsidering Regulation in the New Deal and Beyond”

K. Sabeel Rahman, Brooklyn Law, “Transcending the New Deal Idea of the State: Managerialism, Neoliberalism, and Participatory Democracy in the Regulatory State.”

William Novak, University of Michigan Law School, “Beyond the Idea of the New Deal State”

## **1. Liberalism and its Fault Lines**

Dan Geary, Trinity College, “Liberals Divided: The Revival of Left-Liberalism and the Emergence of Neoconservatism”

Alexander Jacobs, Vanderbilt University, “Irving Kristol: His Ideas and Influence”

Andrew Hartman, Illinois State University, “How the Culture Wars Help Us Think about the New Deal”

Commentator and Chair: Nancy MacLean, Duke University

## **2. The National Security State**

Alexandre Rios-Bordes, Laboratoire Interdisciplinaire d’etude des Reflexivites, “A Dark Side of the Moon? The Early National Security State and the New Deal Order”

Mark Wilson, UNC, Charlotte, “The New Deal Order and the Military-Industrial Complex: A Reassessment”

Jennifer Mittelstadt, Rutgers University, “How the Military and its Welfare State Challenges the Centrality of the New Deal as a Way to Understand the 20<sup>th</sup> Century”

Commentator and Chair: Salim Yaqub, UCSB

## **3. New Perspectives on New Deal Social Politics**

Elizabeth Shermer, Loyola University of Chicago, “Indentured Students and Mass Higher Education”

Mark Santow, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, “Castles Made of Sand? Home Ownership and the New Deal Order”

Felicia Kornbluh, University of Vermont, “Clinton’s Welfare Reform: Continuity with, or Rupture from, the New Deal Order?”

Commentator and Chair: Tom Sugrue, New York University

**12:00 PM Lunch**

**1:00 PM Plenary: Politics and Ideology**

Chair: Jennifer Klein, Yale University

Angus Burgin, Johns Hopkins University, “The Conservative Politics of Post-industrialism”

Nancy MacLean, Duke University, “The Virginia School of Political Economy and the Southern Origins of Neoliberalism”

Julian Zelizer, Princeton University, “Parties, Partisanship, and Ideology”

**2:45 PM Breakout Panels**

**1. Keynesianism and its Alternatives**

Benjamin Feldman, Georgetown University, “Monopoly Capital and Rebirth of Marxian Political Economy in the 1960s”

Cody Stephens, UCSB, “Andre Gunter Frank and the Challenge to Modernization Theory”

Timothy Shenk, Columbia University, “The Afterlives of Liberalism”

Commentator and Chair: Sherene Seikaly, UCSB

**2. Tax and Fiscal History as Cat Scan of Post-New Deal Order**

Eliot Brownlee, UCSB, “Fiscal Regimes from the New Deal to “Retro-liberalism”

Isaac William Martin: UC San Diego, “The Tax Revolt and the Fall of the New Deal Order

Joseph Thorndike, Tax Analysts, and Ajay Mehrotra, Indiana University, “New Deal Taxation and the Long 20<sup>th</sup> Century of Progressive Taxation”

Commentator and Chair: Romain Huret, EHESS

**3. The Labor Movement and its Opponents**

Joseph Hower, Southwestern University, “Every Candidate is Running Against Our Union: Public Sector Unions, the Politics of Taxation and the Crisis of the New Deal Order, 1974-1980.”

David Bensman, Rutgers University, and Donna Kesselman, University of Paris, Est Creteil, “From the New Deal Standard Employment Relationship to Employment Grey Zone,”

Lane Windham, University of Maryland, “Knocking on Labors Door: Union Organizing and the Origins of the New Economic Divide in the 1970s and 198s.”

Commentator and Chair: Jefferson Cowie, Cornell University

#### **4:30 PM Plenary: A Feminist New Deal?**

Chair: William Jones, University of Wisconsin

Eileen Boris, UCSB, “Engendering the New Deal Order: Labor Standards and the Feminization of Work.”

Claire Potter, The New School, “Did Feminism’s New Deal Begin in 1980”

#### **6:00 PM Reception**

#### **6:45 Dinner at Alumni House**

#### **7:30 Speakers**

Chair: Nelson Lichtenstein, UCSB

Gary Gerstle, University of Cambridge

Steve Fraser, Murphy Institute, CUNY

### **Saturday, September 26**

#### **8:30 AM Breakout Panels**

##### **1. Labor and the Law**

Kate Andrias, University of Michigan Law School, “Law and the Labor Question in the Post New Deal Order”

Joseph McCartin, Georgetown University, “Public Sector Unions and the New Deal Order: Logical Extension, Catalyst of Crisis, Agent of Revival and Revision”

William P. Jones, University of Wisconsin, “The Other Operation Dixie: Public Employees and the New Deal Order”

Commentator and Chair: Bob Master, New Jersey Communications Workers of America

## **2. The Politics of Regulation in and Beyond the New Deal Order**

Paul Sabin, Yale University, “Environmental Law and the End of the New Deal Order”

Paul Kershaw, Wayne State University, “The Ascendance of the Neoliberal Political Order: A Triumph of Interests, Not Ideology”

Reuel Schiller, UC Hastings College of the Law, “Beyond New Deal Regulation: Neoliberalism and the Modern Administrative State”

Lawrence Glickman, Cornell University, “Free Enterprise vs. the New Deal Order, 1935-1975”

Commentator and Chair: Mary Furner, UCSB

## **3. Political Parties and Urban Politics**

Thomas Dorrance, University of Chicago, “The Labor Question and Community Control in Chicago and Los Angeles”

Richard Anderson, Princeton University, “Sustaining Local New Deal Orders: the Chicago Example”

Yann Philippe, University of Rheims-Cena-Ehess, “All Policing is Political: Police, Safety, and Political Order in New York City”

Commentator and Chair: Edwina Barvosa, UCSB

## **4. Political Economy**

Samir Sonti, UCSB, “In the Heyday of Steel: Administered Prices and Labor Liberalism from the Senate to the Shop Floor.”

Jennifer Armiger, ETS, “Mobilizing Business Necessity: The Undermining of Collective and Individual Workplace Rights Beyond the Liberal Order”

Gabe Winant, Yale, “Married Life Ain’t Hard, If You’ve Got a Union Card”: Family, Gender, Domestic Labor, and the New Deal Promise to the Industrial Working Class”

Commentator and Chair: Meg Jacobs, Princeton University

## **10:30 AM Race in the Configuration and Reconfiguration of the New Deal Order**

Chair: Jeffrey Stewart, UCSB

Matt Garcia, Arizona State University, “The Unexpected Virtues of Exclusion: Farm Workers and the New Deal”

Tom Sugrue, New York University, Title TBA

Kelly Hernandez, UCLA, Title TBA

## **12:00 PM Lunch**

## **1:00 PM Plenary: The New Deal and Liberal Internationalism**

Chair: Nelson Lichtenstein, UCSB

Michael Kazin, Georgetown University, “The End of Liberal and Radical Internationalism”

Carl Bon Tempo, State University of New York, Albany, “Human Rights and the Revival of New Deal Liberalism in the 1980s?”

## **2:00 PM Breakout Panels**

### **1. Capital Mobility and American Federalism**

Kristoffer Smemo, UCSB, “Capital Flight and Civil Rights in the Era of Eisenhower Republicanism”

Brent Cebul, American Academy of Arts and Sciences and Mason Williams, Williams College, “Revisiting the Question of Federalism: Intergovernmental State-building and the New Deal Roots of Urban Liberalism and Sunbelt Conservatism”

David Stein, USC, “Containing Keynesianism in an Age of Civil Rights: Jim Crow Monetary Policy and the Struggle for Guaranteed Jobs, 1957-1979.”

Commentator and Chair: Gary Gerstle, University of Cambridge

### **2. Corporate Transformations and the Fate of the New Deal Order**

Jennifer Klein, Yale University, “Health Care Institutions and Politics”

David Ciepley, University of Denver, “The New Deal and the Corporation: Paving the Road to Neoliberalism”

Margaret O’Mara, University of Washington, “The High Tech Revolution and the New Deal Order”

Commentator and Chair: K. Sabeel Rahman, Brooklyn Law

### **3. Individual Rights and Administrative Power in New Deal History**

Sophia Lee, University of Pennsylvania Law School, “The New Deal State and the Tension Between Labor and Civil Rights”

Karen Tani, UC Berkeley School of Law, “The Unanticipated Consequences of New Deal Poor Relief: Welfare Rights, Empowered States, and the Revival of Localism”

Joanna Grisinger, Northwestern University “The Right to Participate and the Civil Aeronautics Board”

Jeremy Kessler, Columbia University Law School, “The New Deal in the New Draft Conscription, Conscientious Objection, and the Decline of Administrative Autonomy”

Commentator and Chair: Laura Kalman, UCSB

### **4. “Mixing” the Political Economy**

Jason Scott Smith, University of New Mexico, “The New Deal Order and the Triumph of the Mixed Economy”

Augustine Sedgewick, Charles Warren Center, “Imperial Lace: The Intricate Relation of Mass Consumption and International Development in the New Deal Order”

David Stebenne, Ohio State, “The Strange Career of Democrats and Republicans Since 1930”

Commentator and Chair: John Woolley, UCSB

### **4:00 PM Concluding Remarks**

Chair: Jean-Christian Vinel, University of Paris-Diderot

Jefferson Cowie, Cornell University

Alice O’Connor, UCSB