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-Americaines, 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:
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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


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”

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’étude 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 20th 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 20th 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


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: Neo-Liberalism 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”


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”


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”


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