

Finally, Warren argues that the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) played a major role in Bethlehem Steel's collapse. The USWA, he concludes, stood in the way of Bethlehem executives' efforts to create a more efficient company, demanding pension benefits for retirees and sometimes striking to press for higher wages. "The whole post war history" of managers' relations with the USWA, Warren laments, "made up an unhappy tale" (201). Unions and workers supposedly demanded too much of management, and the company ultimately could not carry the heavy costs imposed by labor. However, the expense of union wages and pensions were but one challenge for the company, and perhaps not the most overriding or significant. As his own research shows, Bethlehem Steel collapsed in 2001 because of overwhelming pressure from vigorous competitors, declining steel prices, and a colossal infrastructure of dated equipment and facilities—not working-class wages or retirements.

Still, *Bethlehem Steel* is an excellent and timely study. As other major industrial firms such as General Motors and the Chrysler Corporation struggle to remain commercially viable in the face of declining sales and vigorous competition, we should revisit Bethlehem's storied past—and tragic ruin.

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Daniel Sidorick. *Condensed Capitalism: Campbell Soup and the Pursuit of Cheap Production in the Twentieth Century*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009. Pp. 300, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$29.95.)

At the middle of the twentieth century, three large employers—RCA, Campbell Soup, and the New York Shipbuilding Company—dominated Camden's waterfront. By the time salvagers demolished Campbell Plant No. 1 in 1991 with a spectacular implosion, the city, too, was in shambles. Even by 1970, Camden had twenty-two thousand fewer manufacturing jobs than two decades earlier. New York Ship went out of business after launching its last vessel in 1967, while RCA had left town in a "quest for cheap labor" first to Bloomington, Indiana and eventually to Juárez, Mexico. The Campbell plant, on the other hand, continued to employ thousands of manufacturing workers through most of the postwar period. While keeping its main manufacturing facility in Camden, Campbell Soup zealously

pursued low cost production through scientific management, automation and labor force segmentation—policies vigorously opposed by workers in union Local 80.

In *Condensed Capitalism: Campbell Soup and the Pursuit of Cheap Production in the Twentieth Century*, Daniel Sidorick explores the evolution of this most iconic of American companies, as well as the men and women who picked the tomatoes, plucked the chickens, peeled the potatoes, and packaged the product in those ubiquitous red and white cans placed on millions of supermarket shelves around the world. Framed in a classic exposé style, Sidorick argues that Campbell's long-running and systematic efforts to control its workers combined with a decision to remain in Camden makes the soup maker "an excellent case for studying the other techniques available to corporations, and . . . the consequences of such strategies" (7). While uneven at times, the book is a powerful synthesis of business and labor history that effectively maintains its focus on the "contending forces [of] management's drive for low-cost production and employees' attempts to achieve some control over their working class lives and livelihoods" (2).

The opening chapters of *Condensed Capitalism* cover the period from the founding of the company shortly after the Civil War through the unionization of its workforce in the late 1930s. Campbell really assumed its corporate identity under the management of John T. Dorrance, a trained chemist who ran the company during the first three decades of the twentieth century. While also working to control supply chains and marketing, Dorrance focused his efforts most closely on scientifically managing the production process itself. In 1927, the company adopted the Bedaux system, a Taylorist model for organizing workers that Sidorick persuasively argues provided a pseudo-scientific veneer to what was "little more than a speedup scheme" (31).

While RCA responded to unionization and rising labor costs by moving production away from Camden to cheaper areas beginning in the early 1940s, Campbell adopted a policy of bringing low cost workers to the city. Campbell did build new factories to serve western markets, but it maintained the bulk of production at the original plant until postwar changes in technology allowed it to move away from the farms of southern New Jersey and their famous "Red Gold" tomatoes. World War II marked a watershed in the history of the company, as wartime labor shortages pushed Campbell to import workers from the rural South, Puerto Rico, and the British Caribbean. In Sidorick's telling, the fiercely conservative company had an ally in the federal

government, which steered scarce tin to the company and helped provide workers from the during times of peak demand, thus further segmenting the workforce and expanding the labor pool “with entirely new groups who would accept what Campbell was willing to pay” (69).

The symbiotic relationship between Campbell and the federal government extended into the postwar period, as McCarthyism helped to first discredit and eventually destroy the left-leaning Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers union, with whom Campbell workers had been affiliated. Indeed, Tony Valentino, a founder of Camden’s Local 80 became “the first unionist in the nation convicted for violation of the infamous section 9(h) of the Taft-Hartley Act,” though his conviction was later overturned (110). The social unionism of Local 80 also faced a determined foe in the form of Campbell’s powerful new president, William Beverly Murphy, who was determined to “sideline union officials and make their organizations inconsequential,” a strategy influenced by Murphy’s friend and mentor Lemuel Boulware (146).

The final section of the book covers a major “strike for unity” in 1968 by Local 80 and the unions representing Campbell’s other plants in Chicago, Sacramento, and Paris, Texas. Unlike a similar coordinated action in 1945 that resulted in “a near total victory for the union,” the legacy of anticommunism meant that each of the plants belonged to different international unions (117). Further, with the absorption of the United Packinghouse Workers, with whom Local 80 had affiliated in the early 1950s, into the more conservative Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the grassroots social unionism of Local 80 was undercut by officials of their own union. Following the failure of the strike, the company was able to enforce its will to a much greater degree, particularly as Camden workers finally faced a real threat that the company could move its production elsewhere—a threat it finally followed up on in the 1980s with the construction of a new state-of-the-art facility in rural North Carolina.

Condensed Capitalism corresponds closely to Sidorick’s 2006 dissertation from Temple University and has some of the weaknesses common to such rapid thesis-to-book transitions. At times the narrative takes a back seat to extended analytical interludes, leaving the storyline uneven in several chapters. Perhaps in compensation, the book relies too heavily on chapter subtitles instead of effective in-text transitions. The author makes important connections throughout the text to the broader literature of

business and labor history and particularly the intellectual debt owed to Jefferson Cowie's *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (1999). What is less clear, however, is the extent to which framing the story narrowly in order to simply demonstrate "that many of the strategies of late-twentieth-century capitalism had precursors earlier in the century" provides an adequate foundation for the complex and synthetic story he wishes to tell (6). Some scholars might see his decision to avoid a more sustained analysis of the relationship between the company, its workers, and the community during the postwar period as a missed opportunity. Others may wish for more than the tantalizing glimpses provided in the existing text of the many connections between Campbell Soup and the broader American political economy.

Despite these concerns, the book represents a fine merger of business and labor studies that, while remaining sympathetic to the working-class men and women laboring on the factory floor, successfully locates their experiences within a broader social historical framework. Sidorick argues persuasively that the "lean production" strategies adopted since the 1970s to keep costs low and ensure high profits for investors have a long history in American business. In addition to class, the author pays careful attention to issues of race, gender, and ethnicity as he paints a compelling case study of workplace politics. Alongside *Capital Moves* and Howard Gilette's *Camden After the Fall* (2005), *Condensed Capitalism* fills an important niche in the history of the mid-Atlantic and of the relationship between workplace decision-making and the decline of the industrial city.

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Renée M. Lamis. *The Realignment of Pennsylvania Politics Since 1960: Two Party Competition in a Battleground State*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008. Pp. 432, maps, bibliography, index. Cloth, \$65.00.)

James L. Sundquist uses the Foreword to this book to praise Renée Lamis for her contribution to the realignment genre, namely, the uncoupling of the notion of realignment from that of critical elections. David Mayhew has