

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
Department of History  
Fall Semester -- 1971-72

History 696 (Political Change in Industrializing Societies) Mr. Hollingsworth

A major goal of this course is to encourage the student to apply the tools of the social scientist to comparative historical analysis. A major problem to which the colloquium will address itself is -- to what extent is there convergence in the political systems of societies with high levels of industrialization? The analysis will be confined primarily to political change in the industrializing societies of Western Europe and North America.

Much of the class discussion will center on the utility of a model of political change in industrializing societies, a model for comparative analysis which Mr. Hollingsworth will present to the colloquium. As a major requirement in the course, each student will write a paper assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the model for understanding political change in a country of Western Europe or North America. Each student will present to the colloquium a summary of his paper at the end of the semester.

The following pages consist of suggested reading assignments for the colloquium meetings and suggested titles for student papers on individual countries. The titles on individual countries consist only of a few important studies and should not be treated as more than a starting place for reading on a particular country.

- \* indicates that the book is in paperback.
- # indicates that every student should read the material.
- 1 indicates that the book has been placed on reserve.

Reading Assignment:

September 14 - Introduction

September 21 - The Comparison of Political Systems

- 1 # \* Gabriel A. Almond and B. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach

September 28 - Classes of Political Systems

- 1 # \* Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, Ch 2  
also in World Politics, XVII (April, 1965), 396-430
- \* S. M. Lipset, The First New Nation
- B. J. L. Berry, "By What Categories May a State Be Characterized,"  
Economic Development and Cultural Change, XV (October, 1966)
- 1 # \* L. Hartz, The Founding of New Societies

October 5 - Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Political Change

- # \* Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy
- \* Cyril Black, The Dynamics of Modernization
- Eric Nordlinger, "Political Development: Time, Sequences and Rates of Change,"  
World Politics, XX (April, 1968), 494-520.
- \* Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies
- Joseph Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study  
of Social Change," American Journal of Sociology, LXXII (January, 1966),  
351-62.

Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," Comparative Studies in Society and History, IX (April, 1967), 293-345.

Reinhard Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship

Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," American Political Science Review, 55 (Sept., 1961), 498-514

1 S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments," in S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments

S. Rokkan, "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies," Comparative Studies in Society and History, X (1968), 173-210 also see his "Nation Building, Cleavage Formation and the Structuring of Mass Politics," in Stein Rokkan, Citizens, Elections, Parties

Ted Gurr, "Psychological Factors in Civil Violence," World Politics, XX (January, 1968)

#### October 12 - A Model: Political Change in Industrializing Societies

#### October 19, 26 - Political Systems in Societies with Low Levels of Economic Development

\* Lucien Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation-Building

Robert Walcott, English Politics in the Early Eighteenth Century

Stein Rokkan, "The Growth and Structuring of Mass Politics," Scandinavian Political Studies, V (1970), 65-83.

\* G. Almond and S. Verba, The Civic Culture

1 # Donald Horowitz, "Three Dimensions of Ethnic Politics," World Politics, XXIII (January, 1971), 232-244.

1 # Myron Weiner, "Political Integration and Political Development," The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 358 (March, 1965), 52-64

James C. Scott, "The Analysis of Corruption in Developing Nations," Comparative Studies in Society and History (June, 1969)

1 \* Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, Chap. I

#### November 2 - Political Machines

\* Seymour Mandelbaum, Boss Tweed's New York

Edward C. Banfield and James O. Wilson, City Politics

Eric McKittrick, "The Study of Corruption," Political Science Quarterly, 72 (October, 1957), 502-14.

1 # \* M. Ostrogorski, Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, Vol. II (Anchor Book)

\* Arnold Heidenheimer, ed., Political Corruption

#### November 9, 16, 23 - Political Systems in Societies with High Levels of Economic Development

\* Theodore Lowi, The End of Liberalism: Ideology, Policy and the Crisis of Public Authority

Grant McConnell, Private Power and American Democracy

Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society," The Public Interest, VI (Winter, 1967), 24-35 and VII (Spring, 1967), 102-18.

\* Zbigniew Brzezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era

Henry Ehrmann, "Interest Groups and the Bureaucracy in Western Democracies" in Reinhard Bendix, ed., State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology

Norman Birnbaum, The Crisis of Industrial Society

\* Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society

Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times

- Walter Dill Scott, "Corporate Power: Government by Private Groups and the Law," Cornell Law Review, LVII (1932), 123-36
- Don Price, Government and Science
- Joseph Haberman, Politics and the Community of Science
- 1 \* G. Almond and G. Verba, Civic Culture
- Seymour M. Lipset, "The Changing Class Structure and Contemporary European Politics," Daedalus, 93 (Winter, 1964), 291-303.
- # \* Raymond Aron, Progress and Disillusion
- Robert Lane, "The Politics of Consensus in an Age of Affluence," American Political Science Review, LIX (December, 1965), 875-894.
- \* Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society
- Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology
- J. Stirling, "Social Services Expenditure during the last 100 years," Advancement of Sciences, VII (1952), 379-392.
- Michael Brenner, Technocratic Politics and European Functional Integration
- Lewis Edinger, ed., Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies
- Alfred Grosser, "The Evolution of European Parliaments," in Stephen Graubard, eds., A New Europe
- George Kelly, "Biculturalism and Party Systems in Belgium and Canada," Public Policy, XVI (1967), 316-357
- Arnold Feldman, "The Nature of Industrial Societies," World Politics, XII (July, 1960)
- 1 # \* J. Rogers Hollingsworth, "An Approach to the Study of Comparative Historical Politics," in J. Rogers Hollingsworth, Nation and State Building in America: Comparative Historical Perspectives

November 30 - Recapitulation

December 7 - Student Reports

December 14 - Student Reports

January 4 - Student Reports

January 11 - Student Reports

#### Suggested Readings for Specific Countries

##### Italy

- \* Joseph La Palombara, Interest Groups in Italian Politics
- Sidney Tarrow, Peasant Communism in Southern Italy
- \* Edward C. Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society
- Samuel H. Barnes, "Italy: Oppositions on Left, Right, and Center," Political Oppositions in Western Democracies
- D. Mack Smith, Italy: A Modern History
- Giorgio Galli, "Italy," in Walter Laqueur and Leopold Labedz, eds., Polycentrism
- Giorgio Galli, "Italy: The Choice for the Left," in Leopold Labedz, ed., Revisionism
- A. C. Jemolo, Church and State in Italy, 1850-1950
- Richard Webster, The Cross and the Fasces
- Leicester Webb, Church and State in Italy, 1947-1957
- Charles DeZell, Mussolini's Enemies: The Italian Anti-Fascist Resistance
- Joseph Lopresto, "Upward Social Mobility and Political Orientation," American Sociological Review, XXXII (1967), 588-593
- Sidney Tarrow, "Economic Development and the Transportation of the Italian Party System," Comparative Politics, 1 (Jan., 1969), 161-83.

France

- Bernard Brown, "The French Experience of Modernization," World Politics, XVI (April, 1968), 866-91
- Stanley Hoffman, In Search of France
- Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon
- Marj Kavutjian, "Research Design in Comparative Local Politics," The New Atlantis, I (Winter, 1971), 44-64
- Suzanne Berger, "The Problem of Reform in France: The Political Ideas of Local Elites," Political Science Quarterly, LXXIV (Sept., 1959)
- \* Henry Ehrmann, Politics in France
- J. H. Lord, "Political Change in Rural France," Political Studies, XVI (1968)
- Philip Williams, The French Parliaments: Politics in the Fifth Republic
- Harvey Simmons, French Socialists in Search of a Role, 1956-1967
- Richard Hamilton, Affluence and the French Worker in the Fourth Republic
- George Lichtheim, Marxism in Modern France
- Henry Ehrmann, Organized Business in France
- Harvey Waterman, Political Change in Contemporary France: The Politics of an Industrial Democracy
- Alfred Grosser, "France: Nothing but Opposition," in Robert Dahl, ed., Political Oppositions in Western Democracies
- Vincent McHale, "Electoral Traditions and Opposition Building in France," Comparative Politics, IV (July, 1971), 499-514
- Frank L. Wilson, "The Club Politicians in France," Comparative Politics, IV (July, 1971), 817-828
- Lowell Noyon, France: The Politics of Continuity in Change
- Philip Williams, Crisis and Compromise: Politics in the Fourth Republic
- Gordon Wright, Rural Devolution in France: The Peasantry in the Twentieth Century
- Peter Campbell, French Electoral System and Elections Since 1789
- Georges Lavan, "Political Programmes by Interest Groups in France," in Henry Ehrmann, ed., Interest Groups on Four Continents

Germany

- Juan Linz, "Cleavage and Consensus in West German Politics: The Early Fifties; in Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokhan, eds., Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives, pp. 283-321
- Otto Kirchheimer, "Germany: The Vanishing Opposition," in Robert Dahl, Political Opposition in Western Democracies
- Theodore Hamerow, Restoration, Revolution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871
- Hans Rosenberg, Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience, 1660-1815
- S. Verba, "Germany: The Remaking of Political Culture," in Lucien Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Political Culture and Political Development
- G. Loewenberg, "Parliamentarism in Western Germany: The Functioning of the Bundestag," American Political Science Review, 55 (1961), 87-102
- Douglas Chambers, The Social Democratic Party of Germany
- G. Loewenberg, "The Remaking of the German Party System," Polity, I (1968), 87-113
- Peter Merkl, "The Structure of Interests and Adenauer's Survival as Chancellor," American Political Science Review, LVI (1961), 634-650
- Gerhard Lehbruch, "The Ambiguous Coalition in West Germany," Government and Opposition, III (1968), 181-204
- Lewis Edinger, Politics in Germany
- Charles Frye, "Parties and Pressure Groups in Weimar and Bonn," World Politics XVII (July, 1965), 602-65
- Ralf Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany
- T. Parsons, "Democracy and Social Structure in Pre-Nazi Germany," Essays in Sociological Theory

- L. J. Eklund, "Socialization and Leadership in the German Federal Republic," Comparative Social Science Review, 1 (1964).
- Otto Kirchheimer, "German Democracy in the Twentieth Century," VIII (1961), 17-20.
- Gunter Roth, "The Social Structure in Germany," 1961.
- Walt Dillinger, "The Social Structure of German Democracy," Journal of Sociology, 17 (1961), 207-244.
- Lewis Edinger, "Structure of German Social Structure."
- Taylor Cole, "Political Representation in the German Federal Republic," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 10 (1964), 1-10.
- Peter Moril, "The Politics of the West German Republic."

### Great Britain

- Robert Alford, Party and Politics
- E. J. Hobsbawm, Imperial Man: Studies in the History of Labour
- Samuel H. Beer, British Parties in the Collectivist Age
- Frank Stacey, The Government of Modern Britain
- Richard Rose, ed., Issues in British Politics
- Allen Porter, Organized Groups in British National Politics
- Harry Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association
- Samuel Beer, "Pressure Groups and Parties in Britain," American Political Science Review, 4 (1961), 1-22.
- Paul Petersen, "British Interest Group Theory Re-examined," Comparative Politics (April, 1961)
- Richard Rose, "Unions: A Traditionally Modern Political Culture," in L. Eye and E. Verba, Political Culture and Political Development
- Alan Peacock and John Wilson, The Growth of Public Expenditure in the United Kingdom
- \* Richard Rose, Politics in England
- Stanley Rothman, "Continuity and Tradition in Britain," Social Research (Autumn, 1961), 273-282
- J. Cornford, "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late 19th Century," Victorian Studies, 11 (1963), 35-66

### Nordic Countries

- Stein Rokkan, "Masses, Bureaucratic Democracy and Corporate Pluralism" in Robert Dahl, ed., Political Opposition in Western Democracies
- Nils Stjerneck, "Masses: Stability or Deadlock?" in Robert Dahl, ed., Political Opposition in Western Democracies
- Stein Rokkan and H. Valen, "The Mobilization of the Periphery," in S. Rokkan, ed., Approaches to the Study of Political Participation
- S. Rokkan, "Geography, Religion, and Social Class," in E.M. Liebert and S. Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments
- H. Valen and S. Gahr, Political Parties in Norway: A Community Study
- D. A. Rustow, The Politics of Compromise: A Study of Parties and Cabinet Government in Sweden
- G. Heckscher, "Interest Groups in Sweden," in H. W. Ehrmann, ed., Interest Groups in Four Continents
- Ulf Torgersen, "The Road towards Political Consensus: The Case of Norway," Acta Sociologica, 11 (1967), 153-71
- T. Hellum, "The Politicization of Local Government in Norway," Scandinavian Political Studies, 11 (1967), 85-93.
- M. N. Pedersen, "Consensus and Conflict in the Danish Folketing, 1901-65," Scandinavian Political Studies, 11 (1967), 143-66

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 \* Johan ... Political Studies, III  
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 Hans ... "A Regulated Society," in  
 Robert ... Political Memories  
 John ...  
 George ... Comparative Politics,  
 I (April, 1961)  
 Val ... "Modern Belgium,"  
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 Val ... (January, 1971) 141-175

Switzerland

Jing ... Life of a Swiss  
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 Roger ... Political Process, 189-165  
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Chronicles, 1800-1850, Journal of American Studies, 1 (1967) 1-10

Jerry Brinkley, Presidential Campaigns: A History of American Political Systems, 1976, pp. 111-112

Surt Mair, "The Swiss 'Confederacy' in Switzerland," Swiss Journal of International Law, 1971, pp. 141-175

Val Zanotti, "Switzerland as a Model of Democracy," Journal of Democracy, (January, 1971) 141-175

George S. Messersmith, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service, 1907

George S. Messersmith, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service, 1907

G. J. S. Messersmith, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service, 1907

Yannick Kuhn, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service (D Q 36; M 25)

E. Zürcher, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service

Wendy Kohn, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service

Charlotte Kohn, Switzerland: A Study of the Swiss Civil Service

Political Science, ed. by Edward M. Earle, ed., Nationalism and International Law

Canada

Karjane Viretta, "Canadian Nationalism," in Bernard O'Brien, et al, Canadian Studies

S. D. Clark, "Canadian Nationalism," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 1971

Mason, Canadian Nationalism

John Porter, Class and Power in Canada

Lloyd M. Ross, "Canadian Nationalism," American Political Science Review, 1971

S. D. Clark, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

George S. Messersmith, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

Seymour Martin Lipset, "The United States and Canada," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

\* Jeanne, "Canadian Nationalism," in Louis Hartz, ed., The Canadian Nationalist

Robert J. R. Ross, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

Alexander Ross, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

Denise Stangor, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

Walter Dill Scott, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

Harold Taylor, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

S. D. Clark, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971

George S. Messersmith, "Canadian Nationalism," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1971