

Political Change: Evolution and Revolution

Fall semester, 2004.
Tuesday and Thursday, 11:00 – 12.15
W4430

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Course outline

This is a graduate course on different forms of political change. In the first part of the semester we examine some general evolutionary forms of social change i. e. theories of modernization and development. In the second part, we shall discuss revolutions in theoretical and historical comparative perspective. Conservative, constitutional, Marxist, psychological, mobilization theories and structuralist approaches to the phenomenon of revolution will be analysed. Here, we also focus on the historical processes of some revolutions more empirically. Finally, in the third part of the semester, we shall cover evolutionary forms of (more narrowly understood) political change, and their social consequences. Transition and consolidation theories will be discussed and criticized, together with the theories of elite transformation. Students will have to follow the readings every week by reading the texts before each class.

Grading will be based on

- participation, activity (20%);
- periodic assignments (including an in-class test), and presentations (40%);
- a final essay of minimum 12, maximum 14 pages (double-spaced) on a topic agreed upon with the. The paper is to be handed in a print-out form by the *December 7.* meeting (40%).

Topics and readings

WEEK 1. (September 7, 9) **Social Change I. Theories of Modernization and Development**

Mandatory readings

Talcott Parsons (1964), „Evolutionary Universals in Society” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29. 339-357.

Daniel Lerner (2000 [1958]), *The Passing of Traditional Society*. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., op. cit. 119-133.

W. W. Rostow (2000 [1960]), *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 100-109.

David E. Apter (1965), „Toward a Theory of Modernization” in Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1-42.

Further readings

Seymour M. Lipset (1969 [1959]), „Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy” in Charles F. Cnudde & Deane E. Neubauer eds. *Empirical Democratic Theory*. Chicago: Markham, 151-192.

Myron Weiner ed. (1966), *Modernization and Dynamics of Growth*. New York: Basic Books

Marion J. Levy (1966), *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Lucian W. Pye (1966), *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Samuel P. Huntington (1966), „Political Modernization: America vs Europe” *World Politics*, Vol. 38. No. 5. April, 378-414.

Samuel P. Huntington (1968), *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press

Cyril E. Black (1967), *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History*. New York: Harper & Row

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (1968), *Modernization: Protest and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall

Daniel Lerner & James S. Coleman (1968), „Modernization” in David Sills ed. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10. Macmillan, 386-402.

Neil Smelser (1999 [1968]), „Toward a Theory of Modernization” in Malcolm Walters ed. *Modernity: Critical Concepts*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 149-169.

Alvin Y. So (1990), *Social Change and Development*. London: Sage

David Harrison (1997, [1988]), *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Routledge

Larry Diamond (1992), „Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered” in Gary Marks & Larry Diamond eds. *Reexamining Democracy*. London: Sage, 93-139.

Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 17-85.

WEEK 2. (September 14, 16) Social Change II. Theories of Dependency and World System

Mandatory readings

André Gunder-Frank (1970), „The Development of Underdevelopment” in Robert I. Rhodes ed., *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 4-17.

Fernando H. Cardoso (2000 [1972]), „Dependency and Development in Latin America” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 169-178.

A. R. Desai (1976), „Need for Reevaluation of the Concept” in Cyril E. Black ed. *Comparative Modernization*. New York: Free Press, 89-103.

Immanuel Wallerstein (2000 [1979]), „The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds, *From Modernization to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell. 190-209.

Further readings

Philip J. O’Brien (1973), „A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency” in Ivar Oxaal et al. eds. *Beyond the Sociology of Development*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 7-27.

David Booth (1975), „Andre Gunder Frank: An Introduction and Appreciation” in Ivar Oxaal et al. eds. (1975), *Beyond the Sociology of Development*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 50-85.

Samir Amin (1976), *Unequal Development*. London: Monthly Review Press

Henry Bernstein (1979), „Sociology of Underdevelopment vs Sociology of Development?” in David Lehmann ed. *Development Theory: Four Critical Studies*. London: Frank Cass, 77-106.

Peter Evans (1979), *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gabriel Palma (1981), „Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview” in Dudley Seers ed. *Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment*. London: Pinter, 20-78.

Peter F. Klarén & Thomas J. Bossert, eds., (1986), *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview

David E. Apter (1987), *Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Postmodern Politics*. London: Sage

Alvin Y. So (1990), *Social Change and Development*. London: Sage

Tony Spiby (1992), *Social Change, Development, and Dependency*. Cambridge: Polity Press

David Harrison (1997 [1988]), *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Routledge

Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 120-165.

J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell

Immanuel Wallerstein (2000), *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press

Joe Foweraker & Todd Landman (2004), „Economic Development and Democracy Revisited: Why Dependency Theory is Not Yet Dead” *Democratization*, Vol. 11. No. 1. February, 1-20.

WEEK 3. (September 21, 23) **Theories of Revolution I. Some Classic Approaches**

Mandatory readings

Gustave Le Bon (1971), „The Psychology of Revolutions” in. Paynton & Blackey eds. (1971), *Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 160-176.

Cane Brinton, „The Anatomy of Revolution” in C. Paynton & R. Blackey eds. (1971), *Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 87-98.

Eugene Kamenka (1966 [1963]), „The Concept of Political Revolution” in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *Revolution*. New York: Atherton Press, 122-135.

Harry Eckstein (1971 [1964]), „On the Etiology of Internal Wars” in C. Paynton and R. Blackey, eds., *Why Revolution?* Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 124-150.

Karl Griewank (1971), „Emergence of the Concept of Revolution” in C. Paynton and R. Blackey eds., *Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 16-22.

James C. Davies (1971), „Toward a Theory of Revolution” in C. Paynton & R. Blackey eds., op. cit. 177-197.

Further readings

Niccolo Machiavelli (1999 [1531]), *The Prince*. London: Penguin

Niccolo Machiavelli (1998 [1531]), *The Discourses*. London: Penguin

Alexis de Tocqueville (1955 [1856]), *The Old Regime and the Revolution*. New York: Anchor Press - Doubleday

Andrew C. Janos (1964), „Authority and Violence: The Political Framework of Internal War” in Harry Eckstein ed., *Internal War*. New York: Free Press, 130-141.

George Pettee (1966), „Revolution – Typology and Process” in Carl J. Friedrich ed., *Revolution*. New York: Atherton Press, 10-33.

Melvin Richter (1966), „Tocqueville’s Contribution to the Theory of Revolution” in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *Revolution*. New York: Atherton Press, 75-121.

Lawrence Stone (1966), „Theories of Revolution” *World Politics*, Vol. 38. No. 2. 159-176.

Charles A. Ellwood (1971), „A Psychological Theory of Revolution” in Paynton & Blackey eds. (1971), *Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses*. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 151-159.

Louis Gottschalk (1971), „Causes of Revolution” in C. Paynton & R. Blackey, eds., *Why Revolution?* Cambridge: Schenkman, 99-109.

Dankwart Rustow & Kenneth Paul Erickson eds. (1991), *Comparative Political Dynamics*, New York: Harper Collins

WEEK 4. (September 28, 30) Theories of Revolution II. Marxist, Constitutionalist and Functionalist Approaches

Mandatory readings

Robert C. Tucker (1966), „The Marxian Revolutionary Idea” in Carl J. Friedrich ed. *Revolution*. New York: Atherton Press, 217-39.

Michael Walzer (1980), „A Theory of Revolution” in Walzer, *Radical Principles*. New York: Basic Books, 201-223.

John Molyneux (1981), „Permanent Revolution” in Molyneux, *Leon Trotsky's Theory of Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press 17-46.

Hannah Arendt (1987, [1963]), *On Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 21-58.

Chalmers Johnson (1966), *Revolutionary Change*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 59-118.

Further readings

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1978 [1848]), *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*. In Robert Tucker ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W. W. Norton, 469-500.

Leon Trotsky (1969), „What Is the Permanent Revolution” in L. Trotsky: *The Permanent Revolution*. New York: Merit Publishers, 276-281.

Mao, Tse-tung, (1973 [1936]), „Revolutionary War in China” in Lawrence Kaplan, ed., *Revolutions: A Comparative Study*. New York: Vintage, 355-367.

Ernesto Che Guevara (1983 [1960]), „General Principles of Guerilla Warfare” in Guevara *Guerilla Warfare*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 47-77.

Ted R. Gurr (1970), *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Krishan Kumar ed. (1971), *Revolution: The Theory and Practice of a European Idea*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson

Mark N. Hagopian (1974), *The Phenomenon of Revolution*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

A. S. Cohan (1975), *Theories of Revolution: An Introduction*. London: Nelson

WEEK 5. (October 5, 7) Theories of Revolution III. Mobilization Theory, Structural and Historical Explanations

Mandatory readings

Charles Tilly (1978), *From Mobilization to Revolution*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 189-242.

Theda Skocpol (1979), *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-43.

Theda Skocpol (1994), „Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach” in T. Skocpol ed. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 99-119.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley (1997), „Structural Theories of Revolution” in John Foran ed. *Theorizing Revolutions*. London: Routledge, 38-72.

Further readings

Barrington Moore (1966), *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon

Press

Mark N. Hagopian (1974), *The Phenomenon of Revolution*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

A. S. Cohan (1975), *Theories of Revolution: An Introduction*. London: Nelson

Jack A. Goldstone ed., (1986), *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

Michael S. Kimmel (1990), *Revolution: A Sociological Interpretation*. Cambridge: Polity Press

WEEK 6. (October 12, 14) **Recent Debates on Revolution and Political Change**

Mandatory readings

William H. Sewell (1994), „Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case” in T. Skocpol ed. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 169-198.

Theda Skocpol (1994), „Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell” in T. Skocpol ed., *op.cit.* 199-209.

Eric Selbin (1997), „Revolution and the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In” in John Foran ed., *Theorizing Revolutions*. London: Routledge, 123-136.

Jeff Goodwin (2001), *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-64.

Jack A. Goldstone (1995), „Why We Could (and Should) Have Foreseen the Revolutions of 1989-1991 in the USSR and Eastern Europe”; in Nikki R. Keddie ed. *Debating Revolutions*. New York: New York University Press, 39-64.

Nikki R. Keddie (1995), „Response to Goldstone” in Nikki R. Keddie ed., (1995), *Debating Revolutions*. New York: New York University Press, 65-76.

Further readings

Valentine M. Moghadam (1997), „Gender and Revolutions” in John Foran ed. *Theorizing Revolutions*. London: Routledge, 137-167.

John Foran (1997), „Discourses and Social Forces: The Role of Culture and Cultural Studies in Understanding Revolutions” in J. Foran ed., *Theorizing Revolutions*. London: Routledge, 203-226.

Mark N. Katz (1997), *Revolutions and Revolutionary Waves*. New York: St. Martin's Press

Krishan Kumar (2001), „The Revolutionary Idea in the Twentieth-Century World” in Moira Donald & Tim Rees (eds.), *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe*. London: Macmillan, 177-197.

Richard Sakwa (2001), „The Age of Paradox: The Anti-revolutionary Revolutions of 1989-91” in Moira Donald and Tim Rees (eds.), *Reinterpreting Revolutions in Twentieth-Century Europe*. London: Macmillan, 159-176.

WEEK 7. (October 19, 21) State Socialism as Modernizing Regime & Post-Communist Democracy as Project for 'Catching Up'

Note: On October 19, Professor *József Böröcz* (Rutgers University) is invited for a talk.

Mandatory readings

Klaus Müller (1995), „From Post-Communism to Post-Modernity? Economy and Society in Eastern European Transformations” in Bruno Grancelli ed., *Social Change and Modernization: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 265-293.

Piotr Sztompka (1996), “Looking Back: The Year 1989 As a Cultural and Civilizational Break” *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 29. No. 2. 115-129.

József Böröcz (2000), “Informality Rules” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 14. No. 2. 348-380.

Andrew C. Janos (2001), “From Eastern Empire to Western Hegemony: East Central Europe under Two International Regimes” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 15. No. 2. 221-249.

Further readings

Jeffrey C. Alexander & Piotr Sztompka eds. (1990), *Rethinking Progress: Movements, Forces, and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century*. Boston: Unwin Hyman

Klaus Müller (1992), “‘Modernising’ Eastern Europe: Theoretical Problems and Political Dilemmas” *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33. 109-150.

Ken Jowitt (1992), “The Leninist Legacy” in Ivo Banac eds. *Eastern Europe in Revolution*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 207-224.

József Böröcz (1993), “Simulating the Great Transformation: Property Change under Prolonged Informality in Hungary” *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 34. No. 1. 81-107.

Piotr Sztompka (1993), “Civilizational Incompetence: The Trap of Post-Communist Societies” *Zeitschrift für Soziologie*, No. 2. 85-95.;

Piotr Sztompka (1994), *The Sociology of Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell

Berend, T. Ivan (1996), *Central and Eastern Europe, 1944-1993: Detour from the Periphery to the Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gil Eyal, Iván Szelényi & Eleanor Townsley (1998), *Making Capitalism Without Capitalists: The New Ruling Elites in Eastern Europe*. London: Verso. Especially the chapter on „The Ideology of the Post-Communist Power Elite” 86-112.

József Böröcz (2000), “Fox and the Raven: The European Union and Hungary Renegotiate the Margins of ‘Europe’” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42. No. 4. October, 847-875.

Adam Przeworski et al. (2000), *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Béla Greskovits (2000), “Rival Views of Postcommunist Market Society: The Path-Dependence of Transitology” in Michel Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 19-47.

András Bozóki & John T. Ishiyama eds. (2002), *The Communist Successor Parties in Central and Eastern Europe*. Armonk, N. Y.: M. E. Sharpe

WEEK 8. (October 26, 28) **Theories of Transition I.**

Mandatory readings

Dankwart Rustow (1970), „Transitions to Democracy” *Comparative Politics*, April, 337-363.

Alfred Stepan (1986), „Paths Toward Redemocratization” in Guillermo O’Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-84.

Samuel P. Huntington (1991-92), „How Countries Democratize” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 106. No. 4. Winter, 579-616.

Further readings

Guillermo O’Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter (1986), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Enrique A. Baloyra, ed., (1987), *Comparing New Democracies: Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone*. Boulder: Westview

Juan J. Linz (1990), „Transitions to Democracy” *Washington Quarterly*, Summer, 143-164.

Larry Diamond (1990), „Beyond Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism: Strategies for Democratization” in Brad Roberts ed. *The New Democracies: Global Change and U.S. Policy*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 227-249.

Adam Przeworski (1991), *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Samuel P. Huntington (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press

Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellen & Frank H. Aarebrot eds. (1998), *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Nancy Bermeo (1999), „Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transition” in Lisa Anderson ed. *Transitions to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 120-140.

WEEK 9. (November 2, 4) **Theories of Transition II.**

Mandatory readings

Scott Mainwaring (1992), „Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues” in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O’Donnell & J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 294-341.

Doh Chull Shin (1994), „On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research” *World Politics*, Vol. 47. No. 1., October, 135-170

Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „Transitology: The Science or the Art of Democratization?” in Joseph S. Tulchin (ed.), *The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 11-41.

„Philippe C. Schmitter & Nicolas Guilhot (2000), „From Transition to Consolidation: Extending the Concept of Democratization and the Practice of Democracy” in Michel Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 131-146.

Further readings

Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stepan & Richard Gunther (1995), „Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, with Reflections on Latin America and Eastern Europe” in Richard Gunther & Nikiforos Diamandouros, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 77-123.

Daniel V. Friedheim (1993), „Bringing Society Back into Democratic Transition Theory after 1989: Pact Making and Regime Collapse” *East European Politics and Society*. Vol. 7. No. 3. Fall, 482-512.

Philippe C. Schmitter & Terry Lynn Karl (1994), „The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53. No. 1. Spring 173-185.

Valerie Bunce (1995), „Should Transitologists Be Grounded?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 1. Spring, 111-127.

Terry Lynn Karl & Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 4. 965-978.

Valerie Bunce (1995), „Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 4. 979-987.

Gerardo L. Munck & Carol Skalnik Leff (1999), „Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective” in Lisa Anderson ed., *Transitions to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 193-216.

Lisa Anderson ed., (1999), *Transitions to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press

Josep M. Colomer (2000), *Strategic Transitions: Game Theory and Democratization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Geoffrey Pridham (2000), *The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach*. London: Continuum

WEEKS 10-11. (November 9, 11, 16, 18) Case Studies on Revolutions and Political Change: Student Presentations

Student presentations based on their individual or group research and readings. Topic and readings are to be discussed individually with me a few weeks before the presentation.

Week 13. (November 23, 25) **Theories of Consolidation**

Mandatory readings

Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), „Toward Consolidated Democracies” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 14-33.

Guillermo O’Donnell (1994), „Delegative Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5. No. 1. January,

Guillermo O’Donnell (1996), „Illusions about Consolidation” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 34-51.

Larry Diamond (1996), „Is the Third Wave Over?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 3. July, 20-37.

Further readings

Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O’Donnell & J. Samuel Valenzuela (1992), *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press

J. Samuel Valenzuela (1992), *Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Some Facilitating Conditions*. In Mainwaring et al. eds. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 57-104.

Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), *Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Guillermo O’Donnell (1999), *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press

Larry Diamond (1999), „Consolidating Democracy” in Diamond, *Developing Democracy toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-116.

Michael Bernhard (2000), „Institutional Choice after Communism: A Critique of Theory-Building in an Empirical Wasteland” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 14. No. 316-347.

Valerie Bunce (2000), „Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. 703-734.

Week 12. (November 30, December 2.) **The Transformation of Elites and the Nature of Negotiated Political Change**

Mandatory readings

Ellen Kay Trimberger (1986), „A Theory of Elite Revolution” in Jack A. Goldstone ed., *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 159-172.

Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), „Elite Settlements” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52. June, 295-307.

Iván Szelényi & Szonja Szelényi (1995), „Circulation or Reproduction of Elites during the Postcommunist Transformation in Eastern Europe” *Theory and Society*, Vol. 24. No. 5. October, 615-638.

Jacek Wasilewski (2001), „Three Elites of the Central-East European Democratization” in Radoslaw Markowski & Edmund Wnuk-Lipinski eds., *Transformative Paths in Central and Eastern Europe*. Warsaw: Friedrich Ebert Foundation, 133-142.

Further readings

Robert D. Putnam (1976), „Elite Transformation” in R. D. Putnam: *The Comparative Study of Political Elites*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 166- 214.

Jon Elster ed. (1996), *Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

János Kis (1998), „Between Reform and Revolution” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 12. No. 2. Spring, 300-383.

Mattei Dogan & John Higley eds. (1998), *Elites, Crises, and the Origins of Regimes*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield

Michael D. Kennedy (1999), „Contingencies and the Alternatives of 1989: Toward a Theory and Practice of Negotiating Revolution” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 13. No. 2. Spring, 293-302.

Alfred Stepan (2001), *Arguing Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

András Bozóki ed. (2002), *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy*. Budapest - New York: Central European University Press

András Bozóki (2002), „Theoretical Interpretations of Elite Change in East Central Europe” *Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 1. No. 4. 2002. 215-247.

WEEK 14. (December 7, 9) Political Change, Globalization, the Limits of Transition Approach and Democracy Promotion

Mandatory readings

Thomas Carothers (2002), „The End of the Transition Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 1. January, 5-21.

Guillermo O’Donnell (2002), „In Partial Defense of an Evanescent Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 6-12.

Daniel Philpott (2004), „The Catholic Wave” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15. No. 2. April, 32-46.

Frances Hagopian (2000), „Political Development, Revisited” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. August-September, 880-911.

Further readings

- Ulrich Beck (1994), „The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization” in Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash: *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition, and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-55.
- Alejandro Portes (1997), „Neoliberalism and the Sociology of Development: Emerging Trends and Unanticipated Facts” in J. Timmons Roberts and Amy Hite (eds.) (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell, 353-72.
- Ronald Inglehart (1997), *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), „Globalisation and the Study of Political Change” in Randall & Theobald: *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 222-265.
- David Held et al. (1999), *Global Transformations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Thomas Carothers (1999), *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Thomas Carothers & Marina Ottaway eds. (2000), *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Ulrich Beck (2000), *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press
- Michel Dobry (2000), „Paths, Choices, Outcomes, and Uncertainty: Elements for a Critique of Transitological Reason” in M. Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 49-70.
- J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Adam Przeworski et al. (2000), *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Especially 78-141.
- Ghia Nodia (2002), „The Democratic Path” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 13-19.
- Kenneth Wollack (2002), „Retaining the Human Dimension” *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 20-25.
- Gerald Hyman (2002), „Tilting at Straw Men” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 26-32.
- Thomas Carothers (2002), „A Reply to My Critics” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 33-38.