

Contents

Introduction	xix
Chapter 1. The Sociology of Politics	1
<i>The Intellectual Background</i>	2
<i>Class Conflict and Consensus: Marx and Tocqueville</i>	4
<i>Bureaucracy and Democracy: Weber and Michels</i>	9
Contemporary Research	12
Voting. Political Movements. The Politics of Bureaucracy.	
The Internal Government of Voluntary Organizations.	
Integrative Institutions.	
PART I. THE CONDITIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ORDER	
Chapter 2. Economic Development and Democracy	27
<i>Economic Development in Europe and the Americas</i>	31
<i>Economic Development and the Class Struggle</i>	45
<i>The Politics of Rapid Economic Development</i>	53
Methodological Appendix	58
Chapter 3. Social Conflict, Legitimacy, and Democracy	64
<i>Legitimacy and Effectiveness</i>	64
<i>Legitimacy and Conflict</i>	70
Systems of Government	80
Contemporary Challenges: Communism and Nationalism	82
Chapter 4. Working-class Authoritarianism	87
<i>Democracy and the Lower Classes</i>	92
<i>Extremist Religions and the Lower Classes</i>	97
The Social Situation of the Lower Classes	100
Lower-class Perspectives	108
Making of an Authoritarian	114

<i>Extremism as an Alternative: A Test of a Hypothesis</i>	116
<i>Historical Patterns and Democratic Action</i>	121
Chapter 5. "Fascism"—Left, Right, and Center	127
<i>"Fascism" and the Middle Class</i>	131
Germany	138
A Note on the German Nonvoter	148
Austria	152
France	154
Italy	165
<i>The United States: McCarthyism as Populist Extremism</i>	169
<i>Peronism—the "Fascism" of the Lower Class</i>	173
<i>The Social Bases of Fascism</i>	176

PART II. VOTING IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES

Chapter 6. Elections: Who Votes and Who Doesn't?	183
<i>The Relevance of Government Policies</i>	191
<i>Access to Information</i>	196
<i>Group Pressure to Vote</i>	207
<i>Cross-pressures</i>	211
<i>Conclusions</i>	226
Chapter 7. Elections: The Expression of the Democratic Class Struggle	230
<i>Left Voting: A Response to Group Needs</i>	243
Insecurity of Income. Unsatisfying Work. Status.	
<i>Social Conditions Affecting Left Voting</i>	261
Channels of Communication. Belief in Opportunities for Individual Mobility. Traditionalism.	
Chapter 8. Elections: The Expression of the Democratic Class Struggle—Continuity and Change	279
<i>Generations and Political Behavior</i>	279
<i>The Historical Background of Voting Patterns</i>	286
<i>Conclusions</i>	297

PART III. POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

Chapter 9. Classes and Parties in American Politics	303
<i>Party Policies Determined by Party Supporters</i>	313
<i>Upper-class Liberalism</i>	318

<i>The Effect of One-party States</i>	322
<i>The Nationalization of Politics</i>	324
Chapter 10. American Intellectuals: Their Politics and Status	332
<i>The Historic Leftism of American Intellectuals</i>	335
<i>Sources of Liberalism</i>	341
<i>The Real Status of the Intellectuals</i>	347
<i>Intellectuals vs. an Intelligentsia</i>	351
<i>The Problem of Numbers</i>	355
<i>Intellectuals in Politics</i>	361
<i>Anti-intellectualism and American Values</i>	363
<i>The Move to the Right</i>	367
Chapter 11. The Emergence of the One-party South—The Election of 1860	372

PART IV. THE POLITICS OF PRIVATE GOVERNMENT: A CASE STUDY

Chapter 12. The Political Process in Trade-unions	387
<i>The Need for Bureaucracy</i>	389
<i>Communications within Unions</i>	394
<i>The Monopoly on Political Skills</i>	396
<i>The Social Status of Union Leaders</i>	399
<i>Membership Participation</i>	405
<i>Time-line Factors</i>	411
Patterns of Organization. The Problem of Succession. Crisis Situations. The Character of the Leader.	
<i>Value Systems</i>	424
<i>Conclusions</i>	428
<i>Methodological Appendix</i>	433

A PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT

Chapter 13. The End of Ideology?	439
Name Index	457
Subject Index	468