

For section this week you should read Chapters 1, 3, and 4 of The Dark Continent by Mark Mazower. The reading is complex and historically detailed, by highly rewarding, so please give adequate time to prepare for section/lecture. It's a wonderful book filled with complex explanations and definitions.

Key Concepts to know from lecture/readings:

Hitler	Corporatism
Stalin	National Socialism
Authoritarianism	Welfare State
Totalitarianism	Pro-Natalism
Democracy	Scientific Racism
Military	Laissez-Faire
Performance Legitimacy	Economic Nationalism
Corruption	Autarky
Primordial Identities	League of Nations
Instrumental Identities	Isolationism
Coalition/Conciliation	Contingent Factor
Pseudo-democracy	Systemic Factor
Secret Police	Proportional Representation (form of democracy)
Fascism	Majoritarian Democracy
Leninism	Liberalism
Communism	Inter-war Period

From Lecture:

- 1) What are the benefits of examining regions (rather than just singular countries) in the study of comparative politics?
- 2) How are modern nation-states coercive? How do they employ coercive force?
- 3) Is the modern nation-state system better than a world system dominated by empires?
- 4) Are national identities primordial or instrumental?
- 5) How are nationalities stigmatized or "othered" in authoritarian regimes?
- 6) If a country holds elections, is that sufficient to call that state a democracy?

From Mazower:

- 7) According to Mazower, how well suited was Europe for democracy in the early Twentieth Century?
- 8) How was citizenship defined in pre-WWI Europe?
- 9) What are the key differences between liberalism and fascism?
- 10) Why did democracy become less appealing to leaders and populations as a form of government in Europe?
- 11) How did Hitler and Mussolini come to power in their Germany and Italy?
- 12) Describe the role of the state in the life of the average individual during the inter-war period. Was the role of the state expanding or contracting?
- 13) How did various countries in Europe define the "nation"? (p. 101)
- 14) How can we account for racism during the inter war period in Europe? How did various countries respond to this problem?
- 15) How can we explain the rise of economic nationalism in Europe during the early Twentieth Century?
- 16) Mazower says the USSR achieved great levels of economic growth during its early phases. What were the strategies to achieve this growth? At what social cost was this economic growth achieved?
- 17) What is economic nationalism? (p. 126)

Performance Legitimacy

How a regime is able deliver goods and services to the population. Hard to regain legitimacy in the eyes of the people once you have lost it.

State Capacity versus Government Capacity

State capacity reflects institutions which endure rather than governments which are ephemeral. Institutions, legitimacy and resources of the state should remain regardless of whose in charge. Government capacity refers to the strength of state institutions during the reign of a particular leader. State capacity is longer term (i.e. state capacity in post-WWII United States vs. government capacity under President Clinton).

Veto Players

Entrenched bureaucrats in a governmental apparatus that prevent reform or policy implementation in authoritarian/totalitarian states. One example is local lords who try to block policy implementation from the center.

Leaders of the Soviet Union

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Soviet Premier, 1917-22

Josef Stalin, Secretary General, 1922-1953

Nikita Khrushchev, Secretary General, 1953-64

Leonid Brezhnev, Secretary General, 1964-82

Yuri Andropov, Secretary General, 1982-84

Konstantin Chernenko, Secretary General, 1984-85

Mikhail Gorbachev, Secretary General, 1985-



Stalin



"We have a monolithic society. Why, therefore, found another party? That would be like letting someone put a flea in your shirt."

Cult of the Personality

Jan 1937: "Stalin is everything that is best in the possession of humanity. For Stalin is hope; he is expectation; he is the beacon that guides all progressive mankind. Stalin is our banner! Stalin is our will! Stalin is our victory!" --N.S. Khrushchev

Feb 1956: Stalin's cult was: "dissolute flattery and loathsome adulation". --N.S. Khrushchev

Dec 1956: "When it is a question of fighting against imperialism, we can state with conviction that we are all Stalinists. We can take pride that we have taken part in the fight for the advance of our great cause against our enemies. From that point of view, I am proud that we are Stalinists." -- N.S. Khrushchev

- 4) What is an "Islamic fundamentalist" (Ruthven p. 26)? What is the difference between
- 5) How does Ruthven describe the background of the terrorists who attacked the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001?
- 6) What is "jihad"? Do you think most Muslims have a common understanding of "jihad"?
- 7) Who was Sayyid Qutb? Why does Ruthven spend so much time in his book talking about him? Why is he important? What is Qutb's theory of "vanguard"? Does this sound familiar to you? (Chapter 3).
- 8) What is the difference between Islamism and Islam (p. 38)?

More Resources on Islam (for those of you who are interested in understanding these complex issues)

- Link to a radio broadcast on National Public Radio about Islam. Interview with two prominent Muslims.

http://www.speakingoffaith.org/programs/2001/10/19_spiritofislam/

- "The Saudi Timebomb" a PBS television documentary -

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saudi/>

- Islamic Texts and Resources:

<http://wings.buffalo.edu/student-life/sa/muslim/isl/isl.html>

- Interview with John Esposito on Islam and Terrorism:

http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcript_esposito.html

- Islam Links:

http://people.hofstra.edu/faculty/daniel_m_varisco/islamlink.html

Muslim Brotherhood

officially *Jamiat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun* [Arab., Society of Muslim Brothers], religious and political organization founded (1928) in Egypt by Hasan al- Banna . Early opposed to secular tendencies in Islamic nations, the organization has sought to foster a return to the original precepts of the Qur'an . It grew rapidly, establishing an educational, economic, military, and political infrastructure. Threatened by its power, Egypt's government twice banned (1948, 1954) the organization. It has since existed largely as a clandestine but militant group, marked by its rejection of Western influences. The Muslim Brotherhood remains strong in Egypt, Syria, Sudan, and other Arab countries and has resorted to acts of political violence. It was permitted to operate openly in Egypt in the late 1980s and early 90s after disavowing violence in the 1970s, but the government again moved against the group in the mid- and late 1990s. In Jordan the Muslim Brotherhood's political arm, the Islamic Action Front, is an important opposition party. The Muslim Brotherhood has given rise to a number of more militant and violent organizations, such as Hamas , Gama'a al-Islamiya, and Islamic Jihad. (www.encyclopedia.com)



Hassan al-Banna



Sayyid Qutb

Week 6: Political Culture
PS 106 – Professor Edward Friedman
TA: Jennifer Brick

During the next three weeks we will explore “political culture” as a paradigm for explaining political outcomes in various Muslim cultures. Note: the study of political culture does not simply apply to Muslim countries. Political scientists look at the nuances of “culture” to explain modern nation state developments throughout the world (think about how you could explain political outcomes in Southeast Asia or Europe by looking at culture.

A Fury for God may be a bit challenging for those of you who are not familiar with Islam as a world religion. For that reason I am attaching a nice introduction to Islam written by Professor John Esposito (Director, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University) entitled “Ten Things Everyone Should Know About Islam”. This reading is not mandatory and you are not responsible for it, I thought it might help out when reading A Fury for God.

Readings for the next three weeks:

Week 6: Begin with two articles in the reader “Saddam’s Iraq” and “Who Rules Iran?” (both in the reader), then read Chapters 1-3 of A Fury for God.

Week 7: Begin with “Pakistan on the Edge”, “Nigerian Politics at the Crossroads” (both in the reader), and chapter 6 of A War in the Blood (on Malaysia). Then read chapters 4-6 of A Fury for God.

Week 8: Begin with “Nigerian Politics at the Crossroads” and “Failed Democratization in the Arab World” (both in the reader) and then read Chapters 7 and 8 in A Fury for God.

Key Terms to look out for this week:

I have included several terms from Arabic that you will find in A Fury for God, while learning all of these terms is not essential, understanding them will allow you a more graceful read of the book.

Political Culture

Attitudes toward the political system and its parts and attitudes towards the role of the self in the system (Almond and Verba 1964)

Political socialization	Quran
Muslim Brotherhood (Hasan al-Banna - founder)	Sunni
Ottoman Empire	Shi’a (twelvers)
Communalist Identities	Ismaili (seveners)
1. Primordial	Wahhabism
2. Instrumental	Medina, Mecca
3. Socially Constructed	<i>Zakat</i>
5 pillars of Islam	<i>Kufr</i>
Hadith	<i>jihad</i>
Sufism (Sufi <i>tariqas</i>)	

Questions for this week:

- 1) One of your favorite questions: Just what is “political culture” and how can we use it in political science?
- 2) How can you explain the emergence of totalitarian states in overwhelmingly Muslim states? Is this a product of culture?
- 3) What other kinds of dimensions do we leave out when we explain political outcomes in terms of political culture?