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Fereydoun Hoveyda: The Broken Crescent Study Guide

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FEREYDOUN HOVEYDA: THE BROKEN CRESCENT STUDY GUIDE, 2003 Steven Alan Samson

CHAPTER ONE: FIRST ENCOUNTER WITH A MILITANT

Study Questions

1. What changes were taking place in the Middle East during the years following the First World War? Who was **Haj Amin al-Husseini** and what political role did he play? (7-13)

Review

Haj Amin al-Husseini

CHAPTER TWO: THE IRANIAN CONNECTION

Study Questions

1. Who was **Reza Khan (Shah)**? How did he rise to power in Iran? What reforms did he introduce? What manner of man was Alizadeh? What was the **Fedayin-e-Islam**? Who was its founder, **Navab Safavi** [perhaps a reference to the Safavid dynasty of Persia], and what did he have against **Ahmad Kasravi**? We meet them again in chapter four. (15-21)

Review

Reza Khan

Navab Safavi

Ahmad Kasravi

CHAPTER THREE: THE COMMUNITY OF DEVOTED FIGHTERS

Study Questions

1. What was the background of **Hassan al-Banna**, the founder of the **Muslim Brotherhood** in Egypt? What led him into political activity? How did he wage his campaign of terror? What 11th century movement did he emulate? What is **ketman** and how did Hassan use it? How did the authorities suppress the Brotherhood? (23-26)
2. What did **Seyed Muhammad Qutb** glean from his study of the American education system? What **sources of western decadence** did he identify? What did he accomplish? (27-28)

Review

Hassan al-Banna
Seyed Muhammad Qutb

Muslim Brotherhood

ketman

Review

Sunnite	Shiite	mahdi
Ismailis (Ismailiya)	Batini	Assassins
Hassan Sabbah	Muhammad Ibn Tumart	Almohad (Al-Mowahaddin)

CHAPTER SIX: THE TURNING POINT

Study Questions

1. What was the most advanced civilization a thousand years ago? Why were early Arab conquerors greeted as liberators? What were some of the characteristics of Islamic government and intellectual life? (43-46)
2. What are some reasons for the **decadence** that followed these early triumphs? In other words, what turned Muslims from their early period of cultural creativity? Hoveyda notes the growth of an Arab aristocracy that cut non-Arabs out of the loop in terms of real power. As a consequence, many non-Arabs engaged in what is known as **“out-bidding”**: in this case, becoming more orthodox than the Arabs (or, as the expression goes, more Catholic than the Pope. For example, the Seljuk sultans legitimized their rule in Mesopotamia, where the Abbasid caliph resided, by espousing the fundamentalist doctrines of **Ash’ari**. Nizam-ul-Mulk founded an Islamic university in Baghdad and appointed the philosopher **Abu Hamid al-Ghazali**, a follower of Ash’ari, as its first rector. Ghazali resigned in 1095 and spent the next twelve years as a wandering Dervish or mystic before returning to teaching. What was **Ash’ari’s thesis**? Why is it incompatible with natural science and philosophy (Ghazali’s most famous work was entitled *The Incoherence of the Philosophers*). What are the proper studies for Muslims, according to Ghazali? How does the Islam of Muslim countries differ from that practiced in Trinidad, according to V. S. Naipaul (in *Among the Believers*)? The reference to **Andrei Zhdanov** (Jdanov) alludes to Stalin’s sponsorship of what is known as Lysenkoism (a Soviet spinoff of Lamarck’s theory of evolution). Zhdanov, who was a leader of the Great Purge, also lodged the famous accusation of “formalism” against the Russian composers Serge Prokofiev (who was pressured to give up his foreign wife) and Dmitri Shostakovich (who feared murder by the secret police), among others. This campaign of intimidation became known as the Zhdanovshchina (Zhdanov’s Terror). Hoveyda notes similar ravages by fundamentalists in the Muslim world. (46-49)

Review

most advanced civilization	Arab Bedouin government	“outbidding” the Arabs
Abu Hamid Ghazali		

CHAPTER SEVEN: FUNDAMENTALISM FOREVER

Study Questions

1. Who was **Ibn Taymiya** and what has been the nature of his influence? What circumstances contributed to the spread of **Wahhab’s** brand of fundamentalism? What role has been played by the family of **ibn Saud**? Where and when have Wahhabi states been established? Who was the **Mahdi** of Sudan, whose forces massacred a British garrison under Charles “Chinese” Gordon at Khartoum? (More than a decade later the Mahdi’s successor was defeated by Lord Kitchener). (51-54)

2. How do such militant fundamentalists differ from mainstream religious leaders? How are they similar? Why are mainstream Muslims so reluctant to condemn militants? What explains the way **charismatic leaders** have been able to stir the masses? Why, with one exception, have such leaders failed to institutionalize their rule? Historically, as with the caliphate, this has been the great weakness of Islamic rule. (54-56)

Review

Ibn Taymiya
Muhammad Ahmad

Muhammad ibn-Abdal Wahhab Muhammad ibn Saud

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ISLAMIC STATE

Study Questions

1. Who was **al-Farabi** and what the nature of his Islamic political theory? Who was **al-Afghani** (who influenced **Muhammad Abdoh**) and how did he follow in this tradition? What is the thesis of his essay "Despotic Government?" What did he mean by his concept of the **just despot**? What did Daniel Lerner (author of *The Passing of Traditional Society*) learn about traditional Muslim political attitudes? What have been the historical consequences of such beliefs? (57-62)

Review

Al-Farabi

al-Afghani

CHAPTER NINE: FUNDAMENTALIST AGENDAS

Study Questions

1. Self-anointed leaders and conflicts of authority are not unusual in the West, either. The Investiture Contest of the eleventh and twelfth centuries between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope revolved, in part, around the claim of each to be God's vicar on earth. What were the expectations of Hassan al-Banna, Ali Shariaty, and Navab Safavi regarding Islamic government? What reforms did Safavi seek? Concerning the national economy, what was his **grocer (bazaari) model**? What kind of government did he envision? (63-66)
2. Who was **Mawlana Mawdudi**? Why did he oppose the Muslim League's promotion of a separate Muslim nation? What is his theory of the Islamic state? What are **dhimmis** [*dhimmi* is actually plural] and how are they restricted? What did he mean by saying that Islam is a **revolutionary ideology**? (66-69)

Review

grocer model

Mawlana Mawdudi

dhimmis

CHAPTER TEN: ENTER KHOMEINI

Study Questions

1. What in **Ruhollah Khomeini's** background made him a "predestined child?" What was the Shah's **white revolution** and what role did Khomeini's opposition to it play in his rise in influence? What political views did he espouse? What are **nabis**? (71-76)

Review

white revolution

nabis

CHAPTER ELEVEN: THEOLOGIAN AND TACTICIAN

Study Questions

1. During Khomeini's exile in Najaf, Iraq, what two unexpected events came to his rescue? Who was **Musa Sadr**? What were some of the reasons Khomeini made an alliance with liberals and politicians? Who was **Mehdi Bazargan** and why did he believe that without the United States the revolution could not have triumphed? How did the United States and the Shah both play into Khomeini's hands? What does the author mean when speaking of the "convoluted ways" of the "Iranian mind-set" and "the Iranian propensity to decode uncoded messages?" (77-83)

Review

Musa Sadr

Mehdi Bazargan

Jimmy Carter

CHAPTER TWELVE: THE KINDLING OF THE REVOLUTION

Study Questions

1. As he was dying why did the Shah seek to transform Iran into a "real" **constitutional monarchy**? How did the Shah and Khomeini seek to defeat and discredit each other? What does it mean to be **mahdur-o-dam**? How did the Shah misjudge the situation and allow his enemy to escape (thus violating Sun Tsu's counsel in *The Art of War*: "You should keep your friends close, but your enemies even closer)? How did Khomeini come to power? (85-88)
2. What **four changes** were wrought (things coming to an end or beginning) with the rise of Khomeini? What consequences has the Iran Revolution had for the world, especially for The United States? What **factors** probably led Khomeini, like Mao, to conclude that the United States was a "paper tiger"? (88-91)

Review

mahdur-o-dam

consequences of the Iranian Revolution

CHAPTER THIRTEEN: THE PARTY OF GOD

Study Questions

1. How did the face of **terrorism** change after the Iranian Revolution? Who was **Hadi Ghaffary** and what is the nature of the organization, **Hezbollah**, he founded and its ideology? Whence comes the bulk of its membership and martyrs? How was the **Lebanese Hezbollah** established? How does it establish good public relations and recruit members? How does it disguise its operations? Think *ketman!* (93-96)
2. Who is **Ahmad Yassin** and how the organization he founded, **Hamas**, operate? What is **Islamic Jihad**? Identify some of the fronts Hamas and similar organizations operate in the United States. Who is **Hassan al-Turabi** and what is his role in Sudan? What sort of image does he cultivate in the West?

Review

Hezbollah
Ahmad Yassin

Hadi Ghaffary
Hassan al-Turabi

Hamas

CHAPTER FOURTEEN: THE STRETCHING SHADOW

Study Questions

1. The five principles of Pancasila (Sukarno, 1945): belief in the one and only God, just and civilized humanity, unity of Indonesia, guided democracy (arising out of deliberations of representatives), and social justice. What “theory of militant Islamic activity” in the United States did the prosecution attribute to Omar Abdal Rahman? Why does the religious question remain unresolved in Turkey? (101-09)

Review

Omar Abdal Rahman
Algerian FIS

Islamic activity in the United States
Abbassi Madani

militant fundamentalism: Turkey

CHAPTER FIFTEEN: THE CAUSES OF MILITANT FUNDAMENTALISM

Study Questions

1. Identify the chief causes of militant fundamentalism. What are the chief cultural factors? What is the nature of the Muslim “identity crisis”? (111-20)

Review

economic, political, and cultural factors	Saudi welfare state	policies of Muslim governments
policies of United States	inferiority complex	
Reza Shah’s dress code	split caused by modernization	identity crisis
split personality	reaction to western malaise	

CHAPTER SIXTEEN: THE BROKEN CRESCENT

Study Questions

1. What is the role of the supreme guide of the Islamic Republic? How has Iranian history been rewritten? What are some of the other totalitarian or fascistic aspects of the Iranian Revolution and Tunisia's al-Nahda? (121-28)

Review

supreme guide rewriting history goals of al-Nahda
fascism of the Iranian regime totalitarian vision of society: Hitler, Stalin, Khomeini
features of militant fundamentalism

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: THE CASE AGAINST THE WEST

Study Questions

1. How is the conflict between the House of Islam and the House of War perceived? What are some of the historical injuries to Muslim pride? Why was the West such a source of perplexity? What was the double betrayal by the West? What are some of the other grievances against the West? (129-36)

Review

House of Islam (*dar al-islam*) vs. House of War (*dar al-harb*) Crusades
Reconquista treaty of 1699 three stages of defeat
double betrayal by West militants' criticisms of the West

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: THE "GREAT SATAN"

Study Questions

1. What are some samples of Muslim conspiracy thinking? Why does the United States appear to be the total enemy of Islam? How has its behavior compounded the problem? (137-42)

Review

conspiracy theories reasons for anti-American rhetoric

CHAPTER NINETEEN: A GLOBAL DANGER?

Study Questions

1. How have western observers and academics misread militant Islamic fundamentalism? Why is Israel resented? Why is the destruction of western civilization countenanced? How has this project been systematically pursued? What are the OIC and MAYA? (143-52)

1. What is Khomeini's grand design? Why will terrorism grow in the near future? Why is The cost of fundamentalism "unbearable"? What are some of the economic and social indicators of Iran's great leap backward? (173-82)

Review

Ayatollah Khomeini's threefold plan
Iran's economic and social problems

contamination by Western culture

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR: A CHALLENGE TO THE WEST AND THE WORLD?

Study Questions

1. How were the human wave assaults and suicide bombings prepared by the Iranian government? What role is played by drug trafficking? What advantages associated with the civil society of the West do the fundamentalists miss? Why is the status of women a reflection of backwardness? Why is the West's advance linked to the notion of risk? (183-89)

Review

human wave assaults
Bernard Lewis
status of women

drug trafficking
conditions that allowed the West to forge ahead
risk, uncertainty, probability

Taliban

CONCLUSION: THE "PAST SHOCK"

Study Questions

1. How has the rise of modernity affected the West? What are some problems associated with the western response to militant fundamentalism? (191-99)

Review

Alvin Toffler's future shock
causes of the challenge of militancy

normalization of relations with "rogue states"

STRATFOR WEEKLY, April 10, 2003: AFTER IRAQ: THE ONGOING CRISIS

Review

reasons for invading Iraq
Syria

themes in the Arab press
Turkey

geopolitical issues
Iran