

Second Edition

Mark N. Hagopian

REGIMES, MOVEMENTS, AND IDEOLOGIES



INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

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A Comparative Introduction to Political Science

Mark N. Hagopian



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Regimes, Movements, and Ideologies, Second Edition

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The second edition of Regimes, Movements, and Ideologies incorporates a number of improvements intended to lower the book's level of abstraction without sacrificing the book's distinctive approach. Thus I have retained the tripartite focus on regimes, movements, and ideologies but have deleted some conceptual treatments that are more properly the concern of advanced political science majors. Perhaps this validates the maxim that sometimes "less is more." But perhaps more significant is what has been brought into the text. The new edition, I think, is something between a wholly new book and a simple cosmetic update. I have retained what I felt were strong aspects of the first edition. The text remains strongly conceptual, because this is the ultimate form of knowledge in a truly comparative political science. However, I have tried in almost every chapter to incorporate more case-study materials to illustrate, amplify, or qualify concepts and typologies. This, naturally, is the type of material the beginning student can most readily ingest and digest.

These more concrete portions of the text are either biographical in nature or show how a particular notion displays itself in the politics of a given country. In the first instance, for example, there are brief biographies of people like FDR, de Gaulle, Idi Amin, Mussolini, Hitler, Stalin, and Reverend Jim Jones. Indeed, with some of these figures the treatment is faintly "psychohistorical," an approach that I favor more than some of my colleagues. At any rate such a stylistic modulation of the book's strongly conceptual bent should go over better with the students than some of the first edition's typologies.

In the case studies, properly speaking, I have tried to give examples of various concepts from different countries. For example, Fascist Italy illustrates the single-party in an authoritarian regime; Stalin's USSR and Nazi Germany illustrate totalitarianism; Khomeini's Iran shows the differences between revolt and revolution; France and Italy illustrate varieties of corporatism; and the Netherlands and Lebanon exemplify the notion of consociational democracy; and so on.

The second edition is also somewhat shorter in total pages, which is helpful in itself but also allows for supplementary readings. There are various avenues of approach here. One is to use only the text, which may be appropriate in certain teaching contexts. For the traditionally inclined, it might be wise to go in depth on certain countries. There are still plenty of specific treatments of the major countries available. These are either in single books or the traditional four-governments approach. Using the latter, however, will make very high reading and financial demands on students.

A third option is for the instructor to assign readings on topics that he has some special interest in or feels is treated inadequately in the text itself. The reservation here is the difficulty of the proposed supplementary book. Nonetheless, topics like revolution, nationalism, political parties, dictatorship, and European integration could be included.

Perhaps the most feasible area for supplementary readings is with the "isms," narrowly speaking. The text covers these in two fairly concise chapters so that there is room for a booklength treatment of ideologies along traditional lines. There are serviceable books here by Macridis, Eisenstein, Sargent, Cohen, and so on. A variation on this theme would be an anthology of primary source materials. Finally, there are monographs on most isms.

Sequence: In the first edition I felt that the three parts of the text

could be used in virtually any order. Now, I strongly recommend setting out with the regimes portion of the text, following then either with the movements portion or the ideologies portion. Quite possibly, the second best alternative is to start with ideologies, then go to regimes and conclude with movements.

Two Final Points: One is the inclusion of a Glossary-Index in the text. Given the amount of concepts and the range of the case studies, this should be far more useful to students than the usual subject and name indexes. Students should be encouraged to resort to the Glossary-Index. The second point is that the Instructor's Manual contains well over three times as many test items as the first edition. Each chapter has a minimum of sixty-five such items divided among multiple-choice, completion (fill-in), and true-false questions.

Part I: REGIMES

Chapter 1: Who Rules in the Modern State?

This chapter represents a condensed version of chapter 6 in the first edition. It now serves as the introduction because of the importance of the question "who rules." This is a question that most political scientists have firm conclusions about and the material is not necessarily easy going for the beginning student. It might be wise to let the students get their feet wet with some or all of chapters 2-5 and then come back to 1.

If background research on this most central question of politics is desirable, the seven works mentioned in the annotated Suggestions for Further Reading at the end of the chapter are an excellent point of departure. Also helpful are C. Wright Mills's The Power Elite and Robert E. Putnam's The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Vilfredo Pareto is most associated with the term
*A. governing elite D. interest group
B. bourgeoisie E. charisma
C. power elite
2. In elite theory, rapid, wholesale "circulation" of the elite is
A. reform *D. revolution
B. change E. equilibrium
C. stagnation
3. In addition to wealth, birth, and military prowess as the base of his "ruling class," Gaetano Mosca refers to
A. land *D. knowledge
B. charisma E. technology
C. religion
4. What does Mosca call the system of ideas that helped to justify the rule of the ruling class?
A. ideology D. charisma
IB. political formula E. divine right
C. legitimacy
5. What tendency does Mosca oppose to the democratic tendency in human societies?
A. liberal *D. aristocratic
B. oligarchic E. antidemocratic
C. polyarchic
6. According to James Burnham, the separation of what two things has resulted in the "managerial revolution"?
A. superstructure/substructure *D. ownership/control
B. economics/politics E. services/manufacturing
C. Marx/Engels
7. The three components of C. Wright Mills's "power elite" are the warlords, the corporate rich, and
A. the mass society D. the politicians
B. middle levels of power *E. political directorate
C. nongoverning elite
8. What is the pluralists' acid test for determining the existence of a ruling elite?
A. income distribution D. social background
*B. studying decisions E. political influence
C. the political formula
9. What do critics of the pluralist model charge that it neglects?
A. nondecisions D. access
B. interest groups E. the public interest
*C. public policy

10. Some pluralists suggest that current interpretations of Soviet politics are often unduly influenced by
 - A. Marxism
 - B. the elitist concept
 - *C. the totalitarian model
 - D. Weberian sociology
 - E. Neo-Marxism
11. What do Neo-Marxists consider political elitism to be?
 - *A. bourgeois ideology
 - B. political formula
 - C. substructure
 - D. profit maximization
 - E. the managerial revolution
12. For Neo-Marxists, which group encompasses professionals, small businessmen, small farmers and artisans, and white collar workers?
 - A. the proletariat
 - B. the ruling class
 - C. the working class
 - *D. the petty bourgeoisie
 - E. the masses
13. What do Neo-Marxists call the most privileged and hence conservative members of the working class?
 - A. apparatchiki
 - B. mass society
 - C. bourgeoisie
 - D. nongoverning elite
 - *E. labor aristocracy
14. Whom do Neo-Marxists see as the chief "conscious or unconscious allies of existing economic and social elites"?
 - A. the bourgeoisie
 - *B. top civil servants
 - C. the warlords
 - D. trade unions
 - E. the superrich
15. Which of the following provided a "Neo-Marxist" analysis of communist regimes?
 - *A. Milovan Djilas
 - B. Ralph Miliband
 - C. Friedrich Engels
 - D. Robert Dahl
 - E. C. Wright Mills
16. Which of the following is a Weberian "status group"?
 - *A. an Indian caste
 - B. AFL-CIO
 - C. American power elite
 - D. a ruling class
 - E. the bourgeoisie
17. What did Max Weber consider the key to class affiliation?
 - A. race
 - B. birth
 - *C. market position
 - D. power
 - E. status
18. What is it called when a lower group resents the privileges and arrogance of a higher group?
 - A. class struggle
 - B. revolution
 - C. circulation of elites
 - D. reaction formation
 - *E. status resentment
19. What does a "mixed political elite" mix?
 - A. elites and nonelites
 - *B. classes and status groups
 - C. racial groups
 - D. aristocrats and oligarchs
 - E. the three estates

20. For Weber what is the polar opposite of rational-legal domination?
A. traditional
B. legitimate
*C. charismatic
D. political
E. ideal
21. In Leninist language, "kulak" means
A. peasant
B. middle peasant
C. poor peasant
D. rural proletarian
*E. rich peasant
22. Which of the following best reflects Karl Marx's view of the peasantry?
A. reformist
B. critical
C. revolutionary
*D. reactionary
E. rebellious
23. In some ways modern intellectuals are the counterpart to premodern
*A. priests and prophets
B. monarchs
C. aristocrats
D. tribal chieftans
E. slaves
24. Undivided sovereignty characterizes which form of modern state?
A. federation
B. Greek polis
C. confederation
*D. unitary state
E. government
25. Which of the following distinguishes federations from most confederations?
A. states
*B. no right of secession
C. prefects
D. United Nations representation
E. satraps

Completion Questions

1. Pareto's, as with most stratification models, can be depicted in the form of a PYRAMID.
2. Pareto once remarked that history was the GRAVEYARD of aristocracies.
3. Gaetano Mosca called his ruling minority the ruling or POLITICAL class.
4. Mosca's two types of political formula are the rational and the RELIGIOUS.
5. The variable number of social FORCES makes the later Mosca's theory more pluralistic.
6. According to James Burnham, Stalinism, Nazism, and New Dealism all represent MANAGERIAL ideologies.

7. Thinkers who see highly-trained specialists in control of economy and polity call this new form of rule TECHNOCRACY.
8. C. Wright Mills relegated most elected officials and interest group leaders to the MIDDLE levels of power.
9. Critics say that elite theory involves the three C's of consciousness, coherence, and CONSPIRACY.
10. Robert Dahl objects that elite theorists mistakenly endow their alleged ruling elite with both potential for control and potential for UNITY.
11. The pluralist view of the power structure can be depicted as a sort of headless PYRAMID.
12. As in American baseball or football, pluralists sometimes describe the role of government as that of an UMPIRE.
13. According to the Neo-Marxist T. B. Bottomore top MANAGERS are not really "independent of the upper class of property owners."
14. Another name for the big bourgeoisie is the class of CAPITALISTS.
15. Neo-Marxists consider IDEOLOGY more a vague and diffuse view of things than an explicit, programmatic set of guidelines.
16. Milovan Djilas found that the emergence of a new CLASS marked the transition from revolutionary to dogmatic communism.
17. Pluralism focuses on social differentiation, while Neo-Marxism and elitism lay greater stress on social STRATIFICATION.
18. Most defenses of the inequality of status groups involve an ORGANIC conception of society.
19. Charisma is originally a term taken from RELIGION.
20. In contrast to the pure capitalist, the peasant does not produce solely for the MARKET.
21. Groups that have been politically mobilized because their livelihood, social status, or scheme of values is endangered are called CRISIS strata.
22. True middle-peasants who own their land and work it are known as independent SMALL-HOLDERS.
23. According to Lewis Feuer, extremist political ideologies have a special attraction for INTELLECTUALS.
24. Proponents of federalism stress experimentation, participation, size of territory, and FREEDOM as its outstanding virtues.

25. Certain critics of political elitism believe that its essence lies in anti-MARXISM.

True-False Questions

1. Elitism and Neo-Marxism seem to have more in common in their views of the power structure than either has with pluralism. (T)
2. Mosca's political formula is closer to the Neo-Marxist view of ideology than it is to Weber's three modes of domination. (F)
3. James Burnham's theory of managerial revolution can be considered a synthesis of Marxism and pluralism. (F)
4. In Burnham's estimation ownership of the means of production is ultimately the crucial factor in the power structure. (F)
5. Pluralism focuses on the interest group as the main political actor. (T)
6. The pluralist sees very strong vertical links between interest group leaders and the rank-and-file of organizations. (T)
7. The pluralist argues that the monolithic public interest should prevail over all lesser or sectional interests. (F)
8. In the Neo-Marxist view, desire for power unites owners and managers of industry. (F)
9. Neo-Marxists contend that a rising standard of living makes all talk of exploitation of the workers irrelevant. (F)
10. Leon Trotsky maintained that despite bureaucracy the Soviet regime remained a "workers' state." (T)
11. To all intents and purposes the distinction between classes and status groups can be safely ignored. (F)
12. Max Weber's notion of "rule by notables" suggests an elite that mixes individuals from both classes and status groups. (T)
13. The petty bourgeoisie is probably the most passive social group in a modern society. (F)
14. Those who oppose all attempts to decentralize Soviet power to the union-republic level are called "national deviationists." (F)
15. Pluralists are more optimistic about the democratic quality of most western countries than are the elitists or Neo-Marxists. (T)

This chapter has several basic concerns. It first tries to explore the notion of constitutionalism, stressing how legalism limits both the substance and procedure of governmental action. Keynote ideas are constitutional dictatorship, separation of powers, and judicial review. Under constitutionalism the following subtopics stand out: (a) the nature of constitutional government--see especially C.H. McIlwain, Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961); M.J.C. Vile, Constitutionalism and the Separation of Power (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); and Carl J. Friedrich, Constitutional Government and Democracy (Waltham, Mass.: Ginn-Blaisdell, 1968); (b) constitutional dictatorship--see Clinton Rossiter, Constitutional Dictatorship (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963); (c) on the comparative aspect of judicial review, see Taylor Cole, "Three Constitutional Courts," reprinted in the 3rd ed. of Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, eds., Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1968).

The second basic concern is a thorough survey of parliamentarism, both in its classic and its transformed versions. The underlying theme here is how parliamentary regimes nowadays do not operate as our classic or "textbook" account would have it. The balance has shifted away from parliament and toward the government.

Technical points such as no-confidence and censure may be highlighted in class. The theme of opposition has received increased attention in the past decade or so: see Dahl's collection in Suggestions; Otto Kirchheimer's essay "The Waning of Oppositions in Parliamentary Regimes," reprinted in Comparative Political Parties, A.J. Milnor, ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1969). Back issues of the journal Government and Opposition contain many useful studies.

Also worthy of class attention is the whole problem of the causes and effects of the "decline" of parliaments: see G. Loewenberg, ed., Modern Parliaments: Decline or Change? (New York: Aldine-Atherton, 1971). The essays by Bracher and Grosser in The New Europe, S. Graubard, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964) are relevant to this theme. Also helpful here is A. H. Birch, Representative and Responsible Government (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969) for a view of the evolution of parliament in the British context.

The third basic concern of this chapter is to explore presidentialism, which is done through a look at American and French presidentialism. Some underlying themes are the institutional weakness of the former despite the "imperial presidency" rhetoric and the dependence of the impressive power of the latter on pro-presidential majorities in the National Assembly. Here the biographies of FDR and de Gaulle complement the legal-institutional perspective with the personality variable.

At this point some discussion of the comparative merits of parliamentarism and presidentialism seems warranted. Of the countless books on the American presidency the classics by Corwin, Rossiter, and Burns as well as the recent treatment by Cronin (see Suggestions) can be consulted with profit. The Barber book on "presidential character" is a must for those who like the personality emphasis.

1. Which term is closest to the classic Greek understanding of constitution?
*A. political regime D. judicial review
B. written document E. public policy
C. democracy
2. Which of the following is a convention of the British constitution?
A. party conclaves D. orders-in-council
*B. the vote of confidence E. the Reform Act of 1832
C. the monarchy
3. Which two types of limitations operate in consitutional government?
A. written and unwritten C. rights and duties
B. interpretations and D. state- and nation-building
amplifications *E. substantive and procedural
4. Beyond defining the institutional balance and citizenship, what have some recent constitutions included?
*A. social rights D. constitutional dictatorship
B. checks-and-balances E. separation of powers
C. judicial review
5. Which of the following did not characterize the Roman dictatorship?
A. limited duration *D. the title of Caesar
B. later liability E. return to normalcy
C. crisis situation
6. Modern constitutional dictatorship necessarily involves
A. judicial supervision D. martial law
B. separation of powers *E. strengthening the executive
C. six months duration
7. The United States Supreme Court cannot
A. overrule state courts D. contradict the president
B. refuse to hear appeals E. reach split decisions
*C. issue advisory opinions
8. Some countries have a Council of State which functions as a
A. senate D. cabinet
*B. highest administrative court E. electoral college
C. constitutional tribunal
9. Which doctrine impedes the full development of judicial review in certain countries?
*A. parliamentary sovereignty D. checks-and-balances
B. separation of powers E. federalism
C. Roman law
10. Which of the following could not be the title of the head of government in a parliamentary system?

- A. prime minister
 - *B. president
 - C. chancellor
 - D. president of council of ministers
 - E. premier
11. Which of the following is not part of the classic parliamentary model?
 - A. government by assembly
 - B. vote of confidence
 - C. collegial cabinet
 - D. the strong M.P.
 - *E. separation of powers
 12. An attempt by M.P.'s to oust the government without the latter's agreeing to the vote is called a
 - A. coup d'etat
 - B. vote of good faith
 - C. blocked vote
 - *D. vote of censure
 - E. vote of cessation
 13. "Crisis" in the context of classic parliamentarism means
 - A. vote of censure
 - B. emergency decrees
 - C. disagreement between two houses of parliament
 - D. resignation of the prime minister
 - *E. lack of a pro-government majority
 14. The major factor explaining the relative weakness of M.P.'s in modern as opposed to classic parliamentarism is
 - A. decline of parliaments
 - *B. increased party discipline
 - C. constitutional dictatorship
 - D. unicameralism
 - E. quasi-presidentialism
 15. In addition to lacking strong staff assistance, the British Prime Minister, in contrast to the American president, faces a more powerful
 - A. parliament
 - B. supreme court
 - *C. cabinet
 - D. head of state
 - E. ministry
 16. Which of the following is not among the principles for the existence of upper houses?
 - A. hereditary nobility
 - *B. virtual representation
 - C. federalism
 - D. functional representation
 - E. indirect election
 17. The basic official rules of parliamentary assemblies are often called
 - A. Robert's Rules of Order
 - *B. standing orders
 - C. conventions
 - D. folkways
 - E. lex naturalis
 18. In contrast to the American Speaker, the Speaker of the British House of Commons is
 - A. appointed rather than elected
 - B. Leader of the House
 - C. secretary-general
 - *D. a politically impartial figure
 - E. unable to guide debate
 19. Standing parliamentary committees do not

- A. survive from one election to the next
 - B. deal with definite subject matter
 - C. reflect the partisan complexion of the chamber
 - D. make law in Italy
 - *E. iron out differences between the two houses' bills
20. The general meeting of a party's M.P.'s is called the
- A. steering committee
 - B. 1922 committee
 - *C. caucus
 - D. annual meeting
 - E. select committee
21. When parliament acts as a watchdog against administrative misdeeds, it is called
- A. parliamentary sovereignty
 - B. statutory instruments
 - C. responsible government
 - *D. oversight
 - E. the rubber stamp
22. Both standing and select committees can be used for
- *A. investigatory purposes
 - B. direct passage of legislation
 - C. bringing down governments
 - D. replacing the cabinet
 - E. the filibuster
23. Which two roles of the American president do not find mention in the Constitution?
- A. commander-in-chief and chief executive
 - B. chief executive and party chieftain
 - *C. manager of prosperity and party chieftain
 - D. chief diplomat and commander-in-chief
 - E. chief executive and chief legislator
24. The "critical constituency" of the American president embraces
- *A. media, clergy, and intellectuals
 - B. the federal bureaucracy
 - C. the electoral college
 - D. the Supreme Court
 - E. business, labor, and farmers
25. Historians usually characterize James D. Barber's active-positive presidents as
- A. Democrats
 - B. conservatives
 - *C. strong
 - D. strict constructionists
 - E. rigid and suspicious
26. The presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt was characterized by
- A. an attack on the capitalist system
 - B. weak leadership
 - *C. cautious experimentation
 - D. an active-negative leader
 - E. reassertion of Congress
27. Franklin Delano Roosevelt's leadership evokes Machiavelli's contrast between the "lion" and the "fox" because he
- A. always felt that the ends justify the means
 - B. believed in the supremacy of foreign policy

- *C. combined force with cunning
 - D. could combine prudence with principle
 - E. synthesized left-wing and right-wing ideas
28. One difference between French and American presidentialism is that
- A. the French leader is indirectly elected
 - B. the French president must resign after a nonconfidence vote
 - *C. the French president must have countersignatures for certain acts
 - D. the French president is basically a figurehead
 - E. the French president is neither chief executive nor chief legislator
29. Former President Charles de Gaulle of France
- A. was the president of the Fourth as well as the first one of the Fifth Republic
 - *B. resigned after an adverse vote on a referendum
 - C. was defeated in his bid for reelection
 - D. resigned after the parliament ousted his premier
 - E. was a member of the Socialist party
30. De Gaulle's political style
- A. caused him to assume official leadership of the Gaullist party
 - B. favored the strong role of parliament
 - *C. disdained the role of interest groups and narrow partisanship
 - D. deemphasized French sovereignty
 - E. reflected the moderation of French communism

Completion Questions

1. The conservative writer Joseph de Maistre disparaged the WRITTEN elements of a living constitution.
2. The eighteenth-century French thinker who established the doctrine of the separation of powers was MONTESQUIEU.
3. Among the crises that often lead to constitutional dictatorship are foreign war, internal rebellion, natural disasters, and DEPRESSION.
4. Most cases reach the United States Supreme Court through its APPELLATE jurisdiction.
5. The branch of law that has special relevance for bureaucratic activities is known as ADMINISTRATIVE law.
6. What Americans call the Administration is known as the GOVERNMENT in parliamentary regimes.
7. Cabinet members without specific departmental responsibilities are called ministers without PORTFOLIO.
8. The collegial nature of cabinets involves the notion of collective cabinet RESPONSIBILITY.