

Index

Abbasid revolution 41 Appleby, R. S. 94 absolutism Arabian utopianism 101 in France 61 Arjomand, Said 41 and revolutionary movements 127 Arnason, Johann 68 accountability of rulers Artasharta of Katulya 10 in Axial-Age Civilizations 6, 13 Asian civilizations Islamic 21, 22-3 and modernity 121, 123 in Communist regimes 108 social contract in 10 see also South/Southeast Asia in fundamentalist regimes 108, 150 Augustine, St. 9, 24, 40 and Great Revolutions 41 in Japan 157 Australia 121 in modern states 60-1, 122 authenticity, and Islamic fundamentalism Ackerman, Bruce 199 144 autonomous intellectuals, in Axial-Age Adamson, Christopher 167-8 Advani, L. K. 147 Civilizations 6, 7 Afghanistan, Taliban movement 88, 96, autonomy 103 and the cultural program of modernity Africa 56, 57-8, 62, 63, 64-6 changes of regime 121 of human will, and modern and Islam 87, 88, 89, 132, 185-6 fundamentalist movements 91-2, Agudat Israel 85 112, 117 in India 181 Algeria 186 Almond, G. 94 and the political program of modernity alternative visions in Axial-Age Civilizations 7-9, 10-16 Axial-Age Civilizations 3-38 see also transcendental and mundane basic antinomies in the cultural programs orders of 7-13 American Revolution 25, 39, 116 and Great Revolutions 93 declarations 43 heterodoxies and utopianism in 3-7 and the Meiji Restoration in Japan and Japan 155-6, 157, 163 and modernity 118, 120, 126, 201 and the pluralistic concept of democracy cultural program of 62, 66, 67 political program of 73 and political groups 45 monotheistic 19-25 utopian visions 42 other-worldly 13-16 patrimonial regimes 174 Anabaptists 35, 83 anarchist movements 77 proto-fundamentalist movements in 25-38, 39, 40, 90, 105 Appendurai, Arjun 207

270



rulers in 5-6, 10, 60 this-worldly, Confucianism 16-18 Aziz Al Azmeh 20, 34, 100-1	China Axial-Age Civilization 15 classical Chinese belief systems 27 and collectivities 16–18
Ba'ath movement 129, 131 Bellah, Robert N. 165	conception of the Mandate of Heaven 6 construction of new state in 122, 123
Berlin, Isaiah 71	early imperial 4
Bhakti 14	fundamentalism in 153
Bible, Old and New Testaments 31-2	literati in 6
BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) 146-7, 188,	and modernity 191
189	post-Mao period 126
Bobbio, Norberto 73	Chinese Revolution 39, 116, 125
"bourgeois" culture, decline of 139	and political groups 45
Bowman, Carol 148	and the political program of modernity 74
Buckley, William F. 171	and socialist symbols 131
Buddhism	and utopian visions 42
alternative visions in 14, 15–16	Christian Coalition 83
and Axial-Age civilization 4, 6, 8	Christian meta-narrative of modernity 51, 62
Buddhist countries 1, 93, 114 and communal–religious movements 154	Christianity and Axial-Age Civilizations
and Hinduism 11	crystallization of 4
in Japan 155, 156–9	heterodoxy and orthodoxy in 29, 30
and neo-Confucianism 18	Calvinism 25
and primordial orientations 93	and Judaism 11
and proto-fundamentalist movements 27,	Lutheranism 24-5
28, 29–30	medieval Catholicism 23-4, 35
Sangha 6	and patrimonial regimes 174
Theravada 114	proto-fundamentalist components in
Burma 122, 125, 129, 130, 132	35–6
	and sacred text 26
Calvinism 25, 49, 83	sectarianism 22, 23–5
Canada 121	in the United States 147–9, 171–2
capitalism	utopian fundamentalism in 150
and modernity 52, 54–5, 79	see also Catholicism; Protestantism
and proto-fundamentalism 36 and socialist and nationalistic movements	church and state, separation of 166 citizenship
117–18	and the development of
Castoriadis, Cornelius 65	communal-religious movements 176
Catholicism	and revolutionary movements 127
and fundamentalism 30, 150, 176-7, 178	in the Roman Empire 165
in Latin America 179	transformation of, and modernity 60, 61,
medieval 23-4, 35	70, 71, 139
and modern dislocation processes 149	City of God and City of Man 9, 24, 40, 49,
and the New Testament 31	56
center formation, in Axial-Age Civilizations	city states of antiquity 78
5	civil society
center-oriented movements	and the development of
and Great Revolutions 49, 52	communal-religious movements 176
modern fundamentalist movements 77 social movements 76–7, 80, 81	and Jacobin tendencies 92
center-periphery relations	
	in Japan 161–2, 163
	in Japan 161–2, 163 and the political program of modernity
in fundamentalist and Communist	in Japan 161–2, 163
in fundamentalist and Communist regimes 107	in Japan 161-2, 163 and the political program of modernity 52, 54, 62, 69, 73 class
in fundamentalist and Communist	in Japan 161-2, 163 and the political program of modernity 52, 54, 62, 69, 73



Cochin, Albert 45	dislocation processes
Cold War 80, 120, 121, 136	in India 183–4
collective identity	and modern fundamentalist movements
in European Protestant countries 177–8	141–5
in India 179–82	and national, socialist and Communist
and modernity 53, 111	movements 145–7
Muslim 191	in the United States 147–9
primordial 64	Dunn, John 70
and modern fundamentalist	
movements 93, 113	Durkheim, E. 70, 197, 199
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	East Europa 120 122 201 202
in the United States 165–9, 170, 173	Eastern Europe 120, 123, 201, 202
collectivities, reconstruction of, in	and fascism 133
Axial-Age Civilizations 4–5	and nationalist movements 140
common good	economic decline
different conceptions of the 79	global 137–8
and pluralistic conceptions of democracy	in the United States 172
71-2	economic development, and revolutionary
common will, and the political program of	movements 127
modernity 69, 70–1	economic dislocation, and modern
communal-nationalist-religious movements	fundamentalist movements 141-2
challenge to modern pluralistic regimes	economic globalization 136, 137
184–95	economic policies, "Islamic economics"
development of, compared with	191
fundamentalist movements 149–55,	Edsall, Thomas B. 147
175–6	Edsell, I. 184
and dislocation processes 141-3	educated groups
in India 184	and the American Christian right 148
and modernity 119-20, 135-6, 206	and modern fundamentalist movements
in Southeast Asia 93, 107, 113-15,	142, 143–4
116–17, 175	Egypt 1, 129, 187
Communist movements and regimes	Elias, Norbert 65, 139
challenges to Western hegemony 121	elites
and communal-religious national groups	in Axial-Age Civilizations 6, 7, 11, 12
153	in China, and Confucianism 18
compared with modern fundamentalist	and Great Revolutions 47-8
movements 106-12, 114-15, 117-18	and modern fundamentalist movements
and dislocation processes 145-6	119
and modernity 125-6, 128, 135	and proto-fundamentalist movements
Confucianism 8, 16–18, 27, 29, 56, 153	36–7, 38
in Japan 155, 156–9	see also intellectuals
Counter Reformation 24, 51	enemies
counter-cultures 139	of modern fundamentalism 90
Counter-Reformation, and man, cosmos	and Communist regimes 108–9
and nature 56–7	English Puritans 42
cultural homogenization 122, 138	English Revolution (Civil War) 25, 39
cultural nomogenization 122, 136	and accountability of rulers 60
democracy	components of 46
and modernity 61	and historical background 42
and the political program of modernity	and the Meiji Restoration in Japan 161
61, 71–2, 74–5	political processes 44–5
democratization, and modern	primordial themes 43
fundamentalist movements 194	Enlightenment
Descartes, R. 63	and communal religious movements
diasporas	135-6
emergence of new 138, 140	and the cultural and political programs of
Muslim 88 98 107 138 142	modernity 57, 65, 68, 134, 193



and fascist/national-socialist movements 113, 124-5 and Judaism 33, 84 and modern fundamentalism 39, 89, 91 compared with Communist regimes 109, 111, 115 and proto-fundamentalism 36, 40 and the separation of church and state 166	Göle, Nulifer 104, 143–5, 191 Gonder, M.D. Deve 188 Great Revolutions 39–50 and Christianity 25 Communist 126 components of 45–6 and "counter-revolutionary" forces 46 historical roots of 40–3 and Jacobin ideology 72, 105
Epstein, Jason 171–2 Erasmus 63	liminal dimensions of 49–50 and the Meiji Ishin in Japan 160–1 and modern fundamentalist movements
Falwell, Rev. Jerry 83	93, 116, 192
fascist movements	and modernity 2, 3, 39, 40
as challenges to Western hegemony 121, 133	participation by intellectuals in 47–8 and political processes 43–5
Jacobin components of 73, 80, 110 and modernity 112–13, 114, 116, 118,	and the political program of modernity 68, 74, 75
193, 194	and proto-fundamentalism 36
Ferro-Luzzi, Gabriella Eichinger 14 Foucault, Michel 65, 139	and socialist and communist movements
France, absolutism in 61	and utopian visions 42, 52
Frankfurt school 199	Great Tradition
French Revolution 25, 39, 116	in Axial-Age Civilizations 5
components of 46	and Islam 132
Jacobin clubs 50	Greece, ancient 6, 28
and the Meiji Restoration in Japan 161	and monotheistic civilizations 29
and political groups 45	Grew, Raymond 91, 92, 110
and the political program of modernity 74	Guinea 185 Guch Emunim (Plack of the Faithful) 84
primordial themes 43	Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful) 84,
sanctification of violence 50	85, 86, 103
utopian visions 42	Habermas, Jürgen 206
Freyer, Hans 67	Hannerz, Ulf 207
fundamentalism	Haredim Jews 89, 90, 92
use of term 83, 95	Harrison, Selig 180
see also modern fundamentalist	hegemony see Western hegemony
movements; proto-fundamentalist	Heidegger, Martin 67
movements	Heilman, S. 86
Furet, François 45	Herder, J.G. 63–4
- u.o.,u	heterodox sectarian movements 1
Gandhi, Indira 130, 180, 183	and Axial-Age Civilizations 3-7, 13-14,
Gandhi, M. 130, 183, 184	105
Gellner, Ernest 22, 109	in Judaism 20
German romanticism 64	and modern social movements 76
globalization	heterodoxy
and dislocation processes 145, 149	in China 18
of the economy 136, 137	in modern fundamentalist movements
gnostic meta-narrative of modernity 51, 62	102
gnostic orientations	and orthodoxy, in proto-fundamentalist
in Christianity 24	movements 28–30
in Great Revolutions 43	Hindu nationalism 146–7
in modern fundamentalist movements	Hinduism 56
93	alternative visions in 14, 15–16
and modernity 56 and proto-fundamentalist movements 40	and Axial-Age Civilization 4, 6, 8 Brahmins 6



Hinduism (cont.)	Iran
Buddhist reformulation of the premises of 11	Islamic fundamentalism 88, 96–7, 108, 111, 185, 191
fundamentalist movements in 114	Zoroastrianism 4
nationalist movements in India 146–7,	Iraq
183, 184	Ba'ath movement 129, 131
and proto-fundamentalist movements 27,	Islamic fundamentalism in 88
28, 29–30	Islam
religious communal movements in 154	and Axial-Age Civilizations
and sectarianism 22	crystallization of 4
history, totalizing and pluralistic visions of 63-4	proto-fundamentalist orientations in 29, 33–5, 37
Hobbes, Thomas 69	tribes converted to 23
Hobsbawm, Eric 44	Diaspora communities 88, 98, 107, 142
Hodgson, Godfrey 171-2	and the ideal of the unmah 20
holy men of antiquity 11	Jacobin components of 96–7
homosexuality, views of the American	Mahdist movement 22, 87
Christian right 148–9	Medinan Caliphate 34
Hsunt-su 10	modern fundamentalism 1, 86–9, 90, 107,
Hungary, Judaism in 84	151, 185, 186–8
Hunter, James Davison 147–9	and essentialized tradition 100–1
Huntington, Samuel P. 165–6, 169, 206–7	in Iran 88, 96–7, 108, 111, 185, 186, 191 and jihad 94
Ibn Khaldoun 10, 22, 23, 37, 100	and primordial components of
Imperial regimes, and revolutionary	collective identity 93, 107
movements 127	and socialism 136
Inden, R. 181	in Turkey 88, 89, 96, 98, 143–5, 185,
India 175, 179–84, 188–90	186
collective identity 179–82	and universalism 115
dislocation processes in 183–4	and modernity 118
Hindu nationalist movements 146–7, 183,	and nationalist movements 128–9
184, 188–9	and patrimonial regimes 174, 175
modern fundamentalist movements 1, 87,	political dynamics and sectarianism 20–3
88, 89, 93	and sacred text (Koran) 26, 31, 144
politics 122, 125, 128, 130, 182–3, 188–90	sanctification of violence in 50
and socialism 131	Shi'ite 22, 33–4, 88
individual responsibility, and Confucianism	and socialist symbols 131–2
17	Sufism 22
individual rights, and the political program	Sunni 22, 23–4, 87
of modernity 69–70, 71	ulema (religious establishment) 6, 21, 22,
individualism, and modernity 51	88
Indonesia 122	and the Wahhabites 23, 33, 34–5, 87, 101
industrialization, and modernity 79	Islamic law (sharia) 21
instrumental rationality	Israel
and Communist regimes 111	ancient 6, 12
	·
and the cultural program of modernity	modern fundamentalist movements 84–6,
63, 64 intellectuals	89, 103, 190
	and Muslim fundamentalists 90 State of 20, 84–6
in Axial-Age Civilizations 6, 7	•
as leaders of modern fundamentalist	see also Judaism
movements 102	Ivory Coast 185
participation in Great Revolutions 47–8	Jacobin aluba 50
in Turkey 104	Jacobin clubs 50
see also elites	Jacobin components
interest groups, and the modern political process 78	in communal-national movements 114, 117



in modern fundamentalist movements 2,	Kenya 185
82, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94–7, 115, 150, 196	Khatami, Muhammad 96, 191
and American Protestantism 151-2,	Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruholla 108, 142,
173, 185	186
compared with Communism 106–12	Kierkegaard, S. 67
and Islam 151	Kolakovski, Lessek 67
power of 105-6	Korea 16, 153-4
and Western Europe 177, 178	Kuran, Timur 191
in the political program of modernity 72-4	
in social movements 76, 77, 80	Latin America
Jainism 14	Catholicism in 179
Japan 12, 120, 122, 125	changes of regime, and modernity 121,
civil society in 161–2, 163	123
Meiji Ishin 159–61	evangelistic movement in 94, 149
and modernity 134	and fascism 133
nationalist movements 128, 129, 130, 155	Protestantism in 84, 149, 152, 178
politics 140	resistance movements in 125
and socialism 131	law
weak development of fundamentalist	development of autonomous spheres of 6
movements in 155-63	Islamic (sharia) 21
Jasper, Karl 3	rule of, in modern nation states 122
John Birch Society 171	leadership
Jordan 186, 187	and Great Revolutions 45
Judaism	and modern fundamentalist movements
anti-Zionist ultra-orthodox 84-6	119
Christian reformulation of the premises	see also elites
of 11	Lechner, Frank J. 97
and the crystallization of Axial-Age	Lefort, Claude 68
Civilizations 4	legitimization
and the Enlightenment 33, 84	of Communist regimes 108
Liberal or Reformed 33, 84	in modern nation states 122
modern fundamentalist movements 1, 98,	and the political program of modernity
107	59, 71
Gush Emunim (Block of the Faithful)	of the political regime in India 188-9
84, 85, 86, 103	of the postwar regime in Korea 153-4
Haredim 89, 90, 92, 103	of rulers
and modernity 118	and Great Revolutions 41
period of exile 19–20	Islamic 21–2
and primordial components of collective	and sovereignty 53
identity 93, 107	and social movements 76, 77
proto-fundamentalism 26, 29	Levine, D.H. 149
Karaite movement 31–2, 32–3	Lewis, Bernard 22
and the Old Testament 31-2	Lijphart, Arend 182
Sabbatean movement 20	Lilla, Mark 67
and sacred text 26	Little Traditions, in Axial-Age Civilizations
sages 6	5
Second Commonwealth 4, 19, 32	lobby groups 78
transcendental and mundane orders in	Locke, John 69, 70
19–20	Luebe, H. 71
and utopian sectarianism 90	Lutheranism 24–5, 49
Zionist movement 84–6, 90	
see also Israel	McCarthy, Joe 171
Jünger, Ernst 67	Mahdist movement (Islamic) 22, 87
T	Malaysia 187
Kant, I. 57	fundamentalist movements 87, 88, 93,
Keddie, Nikkie 89, 113, 136, 137	102, 103



Mali 185 Malia, Martin 108 Marsden, George 83 Marx, Karl 197, 199 materialism, and the cultural program of	crystallization of 35-6, 39, 52, 62, 65 and national and Communist movements and regimes 125-35 role of elites in 48 cultural and political programs of 51-81,
modernity 67 Mawdudi 151	193 and accountability of rulers 58, 60-1
medieval Catholicism 23–4 Merleau-Ponty, M. 50	antimonies, tensions and criticisms 62–7
messianic movements, in Judaism 20 Middle East	and capitalist political economies 52, 54–5
patrimonial regimes 174 and socialist symbols 131–2	and center-periphery relations 58, 59, 61-2
see also Islam	challenges to 205–6
migration 138 Mill, J.S. 70	constructivist approach to 68 differences between 202–3
missionary orientations	factors shaping 203–5
in Great Revolutions 42, 43	Jacobin component in 72–3
in modern fundamentalist movements 91,	and Japan 161–3
93	and social contract 69–71
modern fundamentalist movements 82–118	and social movements 61–2, 74, 75–8,
challenge to modern pluralistic regimes	121
184–95	and socialist and nationalist
and communal religious movements	movements/regimes 133–5
149–55 and communal-national movements	and transcendental and mundane orders 56–8, 59, 62
135–6	and utopian visions 51–2, 59, 61, 68
and dislocation processes 141–7	cultural and structural dimensions of 198
distinct sectarian utopian characteristics 89–94	development of modern states and collectivities 52–3
historical settings of 82-9	fascist/national-socialist attitudes to
intercivilizational setting of 119–25	112–15
and internal "Western" cultural discourse	global transposition of themes of 201-2
141	meta-narratives of 51, 62, 66-7
Jacobin components of 2, 82, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94–7, 116, 150, 196	and modern fundamentalism 1-3, 39, 40, 82, 91-2, 97, 103
compared with Communism 106–12, 114–15	compared with Communism 109, 111–12, 115, 117–18
power of 105-6	in Iran 96–7
Japan, weak development of 155-63	in Turkey 104-5
in Jewish communities 84-6	"original" 197
and modernity 1–3, 39, 40, 82, 91–2, 97, 103	pluralistic and totalistic programs of 191 reappraisal of 196
compared with Communism 109, 111–12, 115, 117–18	tensions and antinomies in 199–200, 207 and Western hegemony 120–1, 123–5
in Turkey 104-5	and Western societies, changing
Muslim 1, 86–9	conceptions of 138-41
and proto-fundamentalism 82, 83, 90, 90–1, 93, 96, 105–6, 115–16, 142, 150	modernization, "classical theories" of 197–8 monasteries 48
and tradition 98–105	Mongols, conversion to Islam 23
in the United States 170-3, 185	monotheistic civilizations, development of
and Western discourse 82	fundamentalist movements in 150,
modernity 196–207	152-4
civilization of 198–9	monotheistic religions
and communal-religious movements 119–20, 135–6, 206	in Axial-Age civilizations 9, 19–25, 27, 29, 116



Index 277

orthodoxy and heterodoxy in 29, 30 other-worldly visions, in Iranian see also Christianity; Islam; Judaism fundamentalism 109 Montaigne, M. de 63 Ozouf, Mona 45 moral autonomy, and modernity 58, 64 moral choice, and modern fundamentalist pagan meta-narrative of modernity 51, 62 movements 3, 91-2 Pakistan 182 Moral Majority 83 fundamentalist movements 87, 88, 93, moral-rational vision, and modernity 58, 59 102, 103 Morocco, modern fundamentalist Jama'at Islam 99, 186, 187 movements 102 Pathans, conversion to Islam 23 Motzu 10 patrimonial regimes 174-5 Mowlay Suleiman, Sultan of Morocco 21 patriotic themes, and Great Revolutions 42, Muhammad Ahmad (Sudanese leader) 87 Muhammad (prophet) 20 Perot, Ross 168 multiculturalism, growth of 136, 138, 140 Plato 100 Mumtaz Ahmad 99 pluralistic regimes, fundamentalist Munson, Henry Jr 20 challenge to 184-95 Muslims see Islam pluralistic visions denial of, by fundamentalist and Naipaul, V.S. 188-9 Communist regimes 109 Nasr, S.V.R. 186-7 of history 63-4 national-socialist movements of human society 63 Jacobin components of 73, 110 of the political program of modernity 68, and modernity 112-13, 114, 116, 118, 68-9, 71-2, 74, 75 123 - 5political parties, and the modern political nationalistic movements process 78 communal, in Southeast Asia 93, 107, political processes and Great Revolutions 43-5 113-15, 116-17 and dislocation processes 145-7 and modern fundamentalist movements Jacobin components of 73, 80 93-4, 112 and modernity 112-15, 125-35 in Iran 96-7 and primordial components of collective and social movements 78-81 identity 93 politics and socialist symbols 130-2, 135 changes in modern 140 see also communal-nationalist-religious and Confucianism 17, 18 movements Pollock, Sheldon 181 natural rights, and the political program of popular cultures, and modern modernity 69 fundamentalist movements 94 nature, and the cultural program of post-modernism 66, 136, 137-8 modernity 56-8, 64 primordial collectivities/themes Naylor, Wendy F. 166 and the cultural program of modernity 64 Nehru, J. 130, 183, 184, 189 in European collective identity 178 neo-Confucianism 16-17, 18 in Great Revolutions 43 Netherlands, Revolt of the 25, 39-40, 42 in Jewish collective identity 85 New Zealand 121 and modern fundamentalist movements Nietzsche, F. 66, 67 93, 113, 116, 117 North Africa, Islamic fundamentalism in 88 and national-fascist movements 118 and nationalist movements 128 Obeyskeyere, G. 114 and the political program of modernity 71 Old Testament 31-2 and social movements 77, 80 Oral Law (Jewish) 31-2, 33 pristine transcendental visions other-worldly civilizations in Axial-Age Civilizations 10, 14 and communal-religious movements 154 in Islam 21, 23 modern regimes in 175 and modern fundamentalism 100, 103, 116 proto-fundamentalism in 30-1 and proto-fundamentalist movements 26, sectarianism and utopianism in 13-16 31-2, 37



property rights, and the political program of modernity 69	and the political program of modernity 75
protest	and sectarianism 24-5
and Great Revolutions 41-2	Renaissance 40
and modern fundamentalism 39	and the cultural program of modernity
and Communism 106	51, 65
and modernity 59, 61	and the political program of modernity
shift in nature of protest movements 140	75
and social movements 75, 76	representation/representative institutions,
themes of	and modernity 51, 53, 60, 61, 70
in modern nation states 122, 123–5	revolutionary movements and politics
in the United States 169-70	Jacobin components of 73, 74
Protestantism	and modernity 68, 71, 123-35
Anabaptists 35, 83	see also Great Revolutions
Calvinism 25, 49, 83	Riesebrodt, Martin 96, 97
in Europe 177–8	rights
in Latin America 84, 149, 152, 178	development of conception of 6
Lutheranism 24–5, 49	and the political program of modernity
and modern dislocation processes 149	69–70
proto-fundamentalism in 30, 31, 35–6	Robertson, Pat 83
Puritans 42, 45, 74	Robertson, Roland 207
and sacred text 26	Robespierre, M. 50
in the United States 1, 31, 45, 82–3, 93,	Roman Empire 165
151-2	Romanticism
utopian fundamentalism in 150	and the cultural program of modernity
proto-fundamentalist movements	64, 67, 69, 135 and national–socialist movements 124,
in different Axial-Age Civilizations 25–38, 39	125, 128
and modern fundamentalism 82, 83, 90,	Rome, ancient 28
90–1, 93, 96, 105–6, 115–16, 142, 150	Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 70–1, 100 rulers
in monotheistic civilizations 152–3	
public opinion	in Axial-Age Civilizations 5–6, 10, 60 in India, and dharma 181
and modernity 61 in the United States 147-9	Islamic 21–2
in the Office States 147-9	political, and modern fundamentalist
rationality	movements 102-3
decline of 203	selection of, and the modern political
fundamentalism and Western discourse	process 78
82	and the transformation of the concept of
and modernity 139	sovereignty 53
reason	see also accountability of rulers;
and Axial-Age Civilizations 8-9	legitimization of rulers
and the cultural program of modernity	Russia
62–3, 64	and patrimonial regimes 174
fundamentalism and Western discourse 82	Slavophiles 124, 126
Reed, Ralph 83	Russian Revolution 39, 116, 125
reflexivity	and political groups 45
and alternative visions, in Axial-Age	and the political program of modernity 74
Civilizations 8, 9	and socialist symbols 130
and Confucianism 17	utopian visions 42
and the cultural program of modernity 57, 62, 64	Sadiq al-Mahdi (prime minister of Sudan)
Reformation 40	87
and the cultural program of modernity	salvationist visions
51, 56-7, 65	in Axial-Age Civilizations 4, 5
and the development of Great	in Communist and fundamentalist
Revolutions 49	regimes 106-9, 111, 126



Saudi Arabia 96 Schmitt, Carl 67 Schopenhauer, A. 67 sectarianism in Axial civilizations otherworldly 13–16	Straus, Leo 67 Sudan fundamentalist regime 185, 186 Madhist movement 87, 88 Syria, Ba'ath movement 129, 131
proto-fundamentalist movements	Taiwan 153
25–38, 40	Tanzania 129, 130
Christian 22, 23–5	Taoism
and Islam 22	in Japan 155
political, and Great Revolutions 46	and neo-Confucianism 18
see also heterodox sectarian movements;	technocratic direction/rationality and fascist/national-socialist movements
utopian sectarianism Senegal 185	112–13
Shils, Edward 71, 199	and modernity 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 67, 74,
Sidi Muhammed, Sultan of Morocco 21	111, 138
Sikhism 28	territorial boundaries, and the modern state
Silvan, Emmanuel 90	52–3
Singapore 153	terror
Sivan, E. 33–4, 94	sanctification of
Slavophiles 124, 126	and Great Revolutions 50
social change, and modern nation states 121-3	and Jacobin tendencies 92 Thailand 122, 125, 128, 129, 130
social contract	Theravada Buddhism 114
concept of	this-worldly orientation
in Axial-Age Civilizations 10	in Christianity 23–5
and the political program of modernity	in Communist regimes 109
69–71	in Confucianism 16–18
social movements	and proto-fundamentalist movements 28
and the cultural and political programs of	Thurmond, Strom 171
modernity 61–2, 74, 75–8, 121	Tilly, Charles 44
Jacobin components of 74	Tiryakian, E. 51 Tocqueville, A. de 199
and the modern political process 78–81 socialist movements and regimes	totalistic visions
compared with modern fundamentalist	of Hindu movements 114
movements 106-12, 114-15, 117-18	of history 63-4
and dislocation processes 145-6	of human society 63
and socialist symbols 130-2, 135	of modern fundamentalist movements 83,
see also Communist movements and	91, 93, 150, 151
regimes	and Communism 106–9
socialist symbols, in nationalistic regimes 130–2	and essentialized tradition 98–105 of the political program of modernity 68,
Sofer, Hatam 84, 98	69, 71, 72-4
Soloveitchik, Haim 86	"totalitarian democracy" 72
South/Southeast Asia	totalitarian regimes, and semi-subterranean
Buddhist societies 1, 93, 114	cults 153
communal-national religious movements	Toulmin, Stephen 63
93, 107, 113–15, 116–17, 175	tradition, and modern fundamentalist
Islamic fundamentalist movements 88–9	movements 98–105
patrimonial regimes 174 resistance movements 125	transcendental and mundane orders
sovereignty, transformation of, and	in Axial-Age Civilizations 4, 5–6, 8, 9, 10–12, 13
modernity 53, 60–1	and proto-fundamentalist movements
Soviet Union, demise of the 136, 137, 140	25–6, 27, 40
Spanish Civil War 121	and the cultural program of modernity
Spitz, D. R. 146, 183	56–8, 59, 62, 63
Sri Lanka 89, 114, 179	and Judaism 19



violence
ritualization of, and modern
fundamentalist movements 89, 92
sanctification of, and Great Revolutions
50
Voegelin, Eric 24, 40, 52, 67
Voll, John 34–5, 87
von, john 54–5, 87
Wagner, Peter 65
Wahhabi movement (Islamic) 23, 33, 34–5,
87, 101
Wallace, George 171
Walzer, Michael 60
Weber, Max 12, 36, 65, 139, 197, 199
welfare state 79
Werblowski, Z.J.R. 157
Western discourse, and modern
fundamentalist movements 82
Western Europe
and "transnational" Europeanization 140
weakness of modern fundamentalist
movements in 176–8
Western hegemony
and confrontation with other civilizations
79, 120–1, 123–5, 135–6
and modernity 201
weakening of 136, 137
Western societies, changes in the
understanding of modernity in
138-41
"white dominions" 121
Wiebe, Robert 170-1
will
autonomy of human, and modern
fundamentalist movements 91–2,
112, 117
common will, and the political program
of modernity 69, 70–1
Wittrock, Bjorn 110
women
greater choice for 138
and Islamic fundamentalism 96, 97,
144-5
in Turkey 105
World's Christian Fundamentals
Association 83
World Conqueror 94
World Creator 94
World Renouncer 94
World Transformer 94
Yapp, M.E. 97, 143
young people, and modern fundamentalist
movements 143
Zionist movement 84-5, 90
Zoroastrianism 4