

THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATION IS AN ENEMY DISCOURSE THAT LOOK FOR NEW ENEMIES

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Received: 05 April, 2024

Revised: 05 May, 2024

Accepted: 22 May, 2024

Published: 05 June, 2024

ABSTRACT

In Huntington's article the clash of civilization? which he refined and extended in 1996 a theory was presented which has many arguable points as he explored the role of culture in shaping conflict between civilizations and the role of the religion of Islam in the conflict. The argument contradicts his theory that the main reason for the conflict is not the clash of civilization but the clash of interests. According his theory Islam portrayed as the cause of tension between the west and Muslims countries but in reality religion has nothing to do with these conflicts. In modern world The theory of clash of civilization don't apply it needs more clarification and more explanation. Qualitative research method has been employed in this article with the case study using secondary data sources. This research study has critically analyzed the events happened in 21st century on the basis of clash of civilizations. we cannot ignore the other factors in these 21st century events. Culture is not the prime source of conflict; depletion of resources, economy, military and geography are also very strong factors along with the culture which emerged after the cold war like War on Terror 2001 and Iraq war 2003 can be discussed as a case study to negate the idea of Huntington's Clash of Civilization. It was actually an enemy discourse that is curious and searching new enemies for new world order.

Key words: Clash of Civilization, Conflict, Nations, New World Order, culture

INTRODUCTION

Samuel P. Huntington started a debate by writing his famous article "The Clash of Civilization?" in 1993 and expanded his article in a book in 1996 "The clash of Civilization and the remaking of the World Order in which he presented a new idea of global politics in post-cold war era that the clash of civilizations would dominate the world politics and the fault lines between the nations would be the battle lines of the future. He considered the cultural identities would link with civilizational identities that would be the main source of conflict between the nations. He has also predicted in his fault lines that Islamic civilization would be a major threat to the west and future wars would be on the basis of religion mainly Islam.

The disintegration of former Soviet Union in 1989 and the emergence of unipolarity, the world entered in a transition mode in search for the new balance of power on the planet. Debate started among the

intellectuals, academicians, scholars as well as policy makers in the US about the future politics and the role of US in this regard. The Francis Fukuyama, s work "The End of History" focused on the political ideologies because the end of cold war he predicted that the western form of liberal democracy would be the final form of government.

In this article three important dimensions of Huntington's "Clah of Civilization" have been discussed in detail. The first dimension is about the conceptual strengths of the Huntington's thesis, the second one is about the weak points of his thesis and the last one is about the analysis of Huntington about the emerging contemporary issues in the new world order and the future shape of the world politics.

Huntington's "The Clash of Civilization" is an alternative approach of international political system and a response to liberals who thought that the liberal democracy is the final form of government but

civilization is the main part of his analysis which would determine the future shape of actions in the world politics.

Research Objectives

- To evaluate the actual concepts of the clash of civilization.
- To critically analyze the events on the basis of clash of civilizations.

Research Questions

- How major events in early 21st century have impact of clash of civilization.
- Why we cannot ignore the other factors in these 21st century events.

Research Methodology

Methods used the research is qualitative with a case study. A case study is a comprehensive study of an institution, a person or group of persons, event or community. In this case study methods, the focus would be on two events in early 21st century. The event which researcher is going to focused are war on terror 2001 and Iraq war 2003. The secondary data source has been employed by focusing on research articles, books, reports, newspapers, official websites.

Literature Review

Conceptualization of the clash of Civilizations

The cold world divided the world in to power blocks, the west the Islamic world, the Confucian, Latin America. the relevancy of these groups can be challenged because these groups are made on the basics of culture and civilization instead of ideology and economic system. Huntington thought that civilization is the highest form of cultural grouping and broadest level of cultural identity which differentiate people from other people. The common objective elements of language, religion, history, customs as well as subjective element of self-identification of people (Huntington, 1993). Apart from these Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu Salvic Orthodox, Latin American and African civilizations as major civilization. According to Huntington the future world politics dominated by conflicts between these civilizations along the cultural fault lines.

Huntington is still not clear about the definition of the civilization because at once he set the criteria

according to the religion but on the other hand give example of the common history (D.&S). Huntington numbered following factors could be the reason of clash of civilizatio. First difference among civilizations are the most important because civilizations are different by history, language culture tradition and religion. Second due to globalization the world is becoming a smaller place for interaction among the different civilizations. Third economic modernization is also important factor for social change among different civilizations. Fourth the double standard policy of west boosted the growth of civilizational consciousness. According to Huntington Cultural differences are less compromised than the economic and political ones.

By Discussing the theory of Huntington he predicted that in future the west will have a conflict with Islam. M.J. Akbar stated that the west's next confrontation will come from the Muslin world. It is in the sweep of the Islamic nations from Magrib to Pakistan that the struggle for new order will begin (Huntington, 1993).

In addition to these states belonging to one civilization involved with war with another civilization they are supported by their own civilization on the basis of commonality.H.D.S. Greenway used the term "Kin Country" syndrome. By Huntington this Kin Country Syndrome is replacing political ideology and traditional balance of power as basis for cooperation and coalitions (Huntington, 1993).

According to Huntington's point of view nonwestern states like Latin America, East European, orthodox Countries of former Soviet Union. Muslims, Confucian, Hindus and Buddhist societies did not like to join the west due to cultural differences. But intensity vary from society to society. The nonwestern societies want to compete with west by the internal development and cooperating with other nonwestern states. The Confucian Islamic connection that has emerged to challenge the western interests (Huntington, 1993).

Clash of Civilizations provided short term implications for the west. The west has developed a sense of cooperation among themselves to keep away any from confrontation in future particularly its North American and European segments. But as well as long term measures for western countries are also recommended. (Ashraf)

Whereas the nonwestern civilizations wanted to become modern without becoming western. The wanted to enhance their capability in technology, skills, machines and weapons and wealth that are the characteristics of the modernity. But they wanted to continue this modernity with their own traditional values and culture. by adopting these modern techniques they will increase their economic as well as military strengths. (Ashraf). Hence this is the duty of the west to accommodate these modern nonwestern civilizations but west will also prioritize its economic and military power to secure its interests.

Weak Points of Huntington's Theory

One of the argument in Huntington, s theory is that there is a clash between Islam and the west. Infact it is not true the Muslims living in the west have adopted many western values the example in this regard is socialism in Turkey. His argument is weak enough because he is promoting Islamophobia nothing else. (Nasrallah, 2021) Huntington basically linked the clash between Islam and the west has proven from history and thought that this clash will not end in future. He added the historical aspect of West and Islam. The idea of Clash of civilization associated with Huntington but he was not the first one who wrote on this topic Bernard Lewis Is American and British scholar who has already wrote an essay on the same topic in which he did not suggest the clash between Islam and the West but an irrational reaction against Judo Christian heritage. In his book what went wrong he recognizes that

The relationship between Christendom and Islam was now reversed. Those who had been disciples now become a teacher; those who had been masters became pupils. They are willing enough to accept the products of infidel...the dominance of the west was clear invading the Muslims in every aspect of their public and more painfully even his private life (Lewis, 2002)

In addition to these a perception was created that the war between Islam and west is based on religious grounds but reality is entirely different. Another argument of Huntington's theory was that after the cold war there was a clash of civilization due to diversity of opinion is to some extend correct because the diversity of opinion may cause clash of civilization or the clash of interest but Huntington in

his theory did not clearly elaborate the reasons of these clashes in the present world, which don't often lie with the culture. Apart from these Huntington stated that Muslim immigrants are also the threat for the west but in case of China, s economic projects in the Middle East and no local level fault line wars between Muslims and non-Muslims. (Nasrallah, 2021)

Apart from these the most controversial statement of Huntington's theory was Islam has "bloody borders" by this statement Huntington is promoting Islamophobia. Islamic religion cannot be separated from Islamic regime. Turkey's example can be quoted. Islamic fundamentalism in middle east did not present the true picture of Islam. Racial ideology cannot be supported in any religion whether in Islam, Christianity or Judiasim. Clash of Civilization is not an analytical thought otherwise Nazism is acceptable according to this theory. (Nasrallah, 2021)

The Al-Qaeda attack of September 2001 shocked US and the whole world because these attacks were very unexpected. After these attacks Osama Bin Laden wrote a letter to the public of America by claiming that governments of the western nations steal oil from Muslim states and dictates the Arab Governments not to apply the Sharia Law. The last words in his letter were regarding the threat of Islamic nation war.

Many people disagree with Huntington it was not the clash of Civilization but was a political and economic clash. This theory is applicable to some extend in the case of Islam and the west but on one point that the clash can be possible in the same religion too. The radical Islam having authoritarian pattern regarding Kurdish or Shia could be fitted in this theory. Apart from these in the Arab Spring many people protested against the government to adopt western values such as democracy, firstly started in Tunisia. When Arab leaders fail to deliver then Jihadies came in the limelight and different Jihadi groups emerged as Al Qadea and ISIS. A violent wave of political Islam spread in many parts of middle east Syria, Iraq and Libya. These groups supported the establishment of these Arab states and were against western values. The radical groups failed in the Middle East.

Furthermore, the main argument is weather the clash of civilizations or a clash of interest. Diversity of opinions and values existed in every society but does not mean the clash or conflict. The current situation in the Middle East did not show any picture of conflict having reason of religion and culture but

many more other factors could be considered like economic inequalities, poverty, and human rights issues can be seen globally and locally which would be result of some socio economic issues. American scholar Noam criticized the Huntington's theory in his words

The whole concept is really strange; I mean what's the clash? who are the Us Allies in this clash? The most fundamentalist Arab states is Saudi Arabia. And the Taliban.... They have been US Client ever since the state was formed and remain so far a very simple reason...oil (Chomsky, 2002)

The world renowned American scholar Noam Chomsky negated the very idea of Clash of civilization in different words as he blames Huntington that he did not present the clash between rich and all others but did not want to expose the real cause. In addition to these Chomsky called the idea of clash of civilization is an effort to find new narratives which will replace the older ideas and fear of communism. Chomsky again called the idea of Huntington is the elitist idea. Apart from these he also exposed the role of Western Intelligence Agencies by supporting the fundamentalist terrorist's groups against the idea of clash of civilization. (Thessaloniki, Greece, 2020)

Eward W.Said also accused Huntington that he has failed in capturing the complexity of world by defining civilizations(Said,2001).Another critical view of Errol A Henderson suggests that: "we conclude that they (cultural factors) do not appear to play the role that Huntington assumes for them, nor do they suggest the need for a policy of cultural containment". (Henderson, 2001).

In addition to these Karim H. Karim and Mahmoud Eid (Karim & Eid, 2012) both they supported the idea of Huntington that idea was perceived in the Cold War environment and Huntington want to replaced this idea by connecting with the clash of civilization and new emerging order. They suggested that Huntington's idea can be dangerous for the world because it is a "self-fulfilling prophecies" that can create an unending violence in human History. Apart from these Huntington's ideas were moving world to another direction that can be called as racism and interventionism which promote an environment of war. Deepshikha Shahi presented the psychological weak pint of Huntington's theory that Huntington's idea is to deal with the psyche of the people and to transform in to its agents.

Fouad Ajami also criticized the Huntington in these words that Huntington overestimates the cultural differences and underestimates the western hostile attitude towards Muslim world (Shahi, 2017). Apart from these Shrin T.Hunter and Muhammad Asadi both negated the idea of Huntington that worse relations between the Muslims and the westerns are not because of cultural or civilizational but structural political and economic inequalities between the two worlds "haves and have-nots" not (Shahi, 2017).

Huntington approach still did not complete; it requires more explanation. Conflict of Interest can be more appropriate than theory of Clash of civilization. If conflict of interests exists, states go to war or becomes allies due to common interests or economic resources like oil as Noam Chomsky already highlighted the real cause of clash. Hence a gap exists between the theory and practical approach of Huntington (Nasrallah, 2021).

The Clash of civilizations and emerging contemporary issues in the new World order

The clash of civilization is basically a tool for explaining contemporary issues in the world. Huntington, s idea to define the civilization is based on religion only but the geographical factor is also one of the important factor that cannot be ignored in the cases of Latin America and Africa but the diversity of civilization is unexplored by Huntington. Apart from these the practical theory of Huntington differs in many ways and examples can be quoted like groups will come together in support but the coalition to defeat Iraq in 1991included many Arab nations but Iran supported Armenia in its conflict with Muslim Azerbaijan. (Army, 2005)

In addition to these commentators agree on one thing that recent conflicts occurs with in the states due to multiple reasons. The first cause of conflict between the nation sates is to attain political objectives, revolutionary ideology is no longer a major factor but was a phenomena of the past. In recent times in sub states conflicts are based on the power objectives only. The recent example is Liberia and Somalia where the parties purpose was to seize power only. (Army, 2005)

Furthermore, the other reason of conflict between the states is scarcity of resources because in coming fifty years the resource scarcity of renewable resources will increase and depletion of fresh water resources and fisheries will cause environmental problems like Global warming may further deteriorate the situation

as a whole. It is estimated that scarce resources will be the dominant factor of conflict in future. Probably this single factor can be more dangerous than others. (Army, 2005). Apart from these conflicts mainly occur between weak or failed states groups with in the states begin to struggle for power and state institutions would be helpless in front of these conflicts and cannot be able to stop them by doing so.

The circumstances under these situations are not cultural in nature. Historically societies are divided on the basis of ethnicity or religion as the conflict breaks out the group having more power will have more access to resources and the other rival group try to grasp these resources by their own means create tense situation with in the state and in this way they would challenge the rule of law as a whole (Kurth, 2001).

In my view Huntington article is not presenting the real picture of contemporary politics. The most prominent phenomena after the cold war Global politics is the economy which has become the striking factor in shaping international relations. Now for states the economy is the basic factor so states want to increase their economic power in different means to play a key role in the world politics (Junhui, 1995).

A Chinese scholar in his article "The Clash of civilizations: observations" in these words:

"In today's world, owing to the different levels of economic developments, the existence of significant distinction between the developed countries and the developing countries is an objective fact. In order to realize their own economic growth, the developing countries have been fighting in their efforts to establish a new world economic order with certain developed countries. So, how could it be arbitrarily asserted that to group countries in terms of their culture and civilization is far more meaningful?" (Junhui, 1995).

Huntington thesis can be seen far from real world in many ways in present times because worldly changings are ongoing in post-cold war international system. Regional groupings are most important for the states to survive in the global politics. Regional organizations like European Union, ASEAN, OAU and SAARC are playing an important role in the world politics. This transitional phase is the new phenomena of world. (Ashraf, 2012). In addition to these different factors may lead to major conflicts

include territorial disputes, ethnic clashes racial and religious differences between civilizations, hegemony and values. It can be said not a single factor would cause conflict but they are multiple in its nature that change the environment of global politics.

Huntington in his article "Clash of Civilizations" presented many policy proposals in the words:

"In the short term it is clearly in the interest of the west to promote greater cooperation and unity within its own civilization, particularly between its European and North American components to incorporate societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose culture are close to those of the west" to promote and maintain cooperative relations with Russia and Japan, to prevent escalation of local inter-civilization conflicts into major inter-civilization wars, to limit the expansion of the military strength of Confucian and Islamic states, to strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values and to promote the involvements of non – western states in those institutions.." (Huntington, 1993).

By judging these quotations one can see that these proposals are nothing but an attempt to create an atmosphere of conflicts with the label of "The Clash of Civilizations" and it was an effort to strengthen the Western civilizational dominance in the whole world. In addition to these some observers keep an eye on the threatening activities of the military industrial complex, and US armament industry is also promoting the idea of defending enemies (Hyman, 1995). Scholars negated that "The Clash civilizations" is specifically written to sell the US made weapons. They have succeeded to some extent to threaten the world in general and the west in particular against Islamic Confucian Civilizational cooperation.

Apart from these Professor Huntington's view about Islamic Civilization is not correct about the civilizational definition of whole Islamic world. The East Asian Islamic Countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, and Burnei; Iran and Arab countries. The Muslims of the Central Asian states and Muslims of the subcontinent have grown in their own historical cultural bonds. Hence they saw the Global issues by their own lenses. (Ashraf, 2012).

In addition to these a controversial debate started whether the conflicts in the Middle East and Afghanistan are the result of the natural phenomena of culture and values or the Consequences of the Western Imperialist interference in the region. This idea sits on the latter end argued that “Clash of Civilizations” dispute is an attempt to justify the Western dominance in the Middle, East which serves as a self –affirming prophecy that create more disturbance in the area (Lee, 2017). Apart from these the pure rivalry between Middle East and West is not based on values and culture but based on historical events and Western interference in the Middle Eastern region is real source of tension between these states for example the religious war between Israel and Palestine was started by Britain committing some promises regarding division of Ottoman Palestine after WW11. The British issued the 1917 Balfour Declaration to the Zionists, 1916 Sykes Picot agreement and the league mandates to the French and also the ruler of Mecca, Sharif Hussain. Hence the conflict that claims to be the Clash of Civilizations was not the Clash of Civilizations but the battle over territory that was the result of British Imperialism (Lee, 2017).

Another example and justification of American invasion of Afghanistan in the name of a War on terror and US asked every nation in every region they are with us or with them. The American claimed that the War on Terror triggered because their enemies don't value freedom. In this way US presents itself the defender of the freedom and Middle East as the symbol of violence and terrorism. Hence this Global legitimacy allowed US to continue its goals in the Middle Eastern region (Lee, 2017). Apart from these US access to Oil in the Arab world are achievable with the support of local autocrats hence US support authoritarian regime with the expansion of the War on terror. US always justified its claim as humanitarian rescue in the name of anti-terrorism campaign that prove to be a powerful political apparatus.

Conclusion

Huntington's article “the Clash of Civilizations” is an attempt to explain future patterns of world politics after the disintegration of Soviet Union and particularly the role of US in it. After the end of Cold war, it was the new chapter started by US about the world politics and future shape of conflicts. Huntington's article was a response to Francis's

Fukuyama thesis “End of History” in which Fukuyama focused on the political ideologies as the main unit of analysis and argued that liberal democracy might embody the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the final form of government (Fukuyama, 1989). Huntington gave alternative approach to the American Policy makers for future shape of world politics after the end of cold war.

Huntington, s work was a reply to liberals who thought that western values had now become the only option for the world after the end of the cold war. According to Huntington the Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in the world affairs (Huntington, 1993).

In addition to these Huntington's term Civilization is vague, without providing a clear definition of civilization and how to find civilization in real life. The criteria he chooses to define civilization is some time religion but sometimes values customs and common history. In this way Huntington confused between culture or power. Huntington's view is not coherence with the realities of contemporary world, because culture is not a prime source of conflict other than culture economic factor is more relevant because it divides the world in to developing and developed countries or second or third world.

Apart from these there are some other important factors like geographical proximity is also one of the more important cause of conflict like Kashmir and Palestine. Furthermore, competition for scarce resources is real cause of many conflicts and water would likely to cause conflict in near future. Huntington's thesis is not supported by the empirical evidences.

After September 11, 2001 the world witnessed many new debates about Huntington's thesis regarding possible clash between Islam and West. This controversial statement of Huntington about Islam make him less important in Muslim World (Mazuri, 2006). Furthermore Huntington claimed that there are pretensions between Islam and China which become the reason of conflict because he described it local level fault line wars between Muslims and Non-Muslims but reality is different they exists cooperation instead of tension .

To sum up there is no clash between civilizations today. Huntington's thesis should not be dismissed slightly. There are many who are in favor of Huntington's idea of Clash of Civilization by seeing the world with the lens of Huntington could cause his

ideas to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. There is contradiction in terms and definitions. Conflicts could be started or intensified by the actors of state informed by idea of Clash of Civilization. Huntington's thesis served as a manipulating tool of the West but also a self-fulfilling prophecy that fuels vicious cycle of misrepresentation and resentment. It is for this reason that Huntington's thesis is not only limited but dangerous that looks for new enemy. Hence it remains a theory that does not reflect the world politics of today.

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