

**Globalization: Theoretical Perspectives**  
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**Lecture No. 08**  
**The Clash of Civilizations?**

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## The Clash of Civilizations?

Samuel P. Huntington



Welcome back to the class. Moreover, in the previous two sessions, we started discussing cultural globalization. We will continue with the same theme in this class or next week because I want to devote around ten lectures to introduce you or discuss some of the substantive themes associated with cultural globalization. Moreover, I made this point very clear at the beginning of the previous two lectures that cultural globalization represents a significant component of globalization literature, unlike, say, during the 1990s or during the 80s, when globalization was seen predominantly as an economical process.

Now, increasingly social scientists realize and admit that the cultural dimension of globalization is equally essential. We are in our everyday encounter in our everyday life. We are witnessing the implications of globalization around us, including our own life. So, we had two discussions and two sessions in the previous days. I introduced this concept of culture and how varied and divergent the meanings associated with this particular term are. Furthermore, in the second class, I discussed a broad overview of the whole idea of cultural

globalization, trying to understand it as a territory, its connection with identity formulation, and culture.

So, in today's class, I want to introduce you to a very-very important work, a significant work yet a highly controversial book titled *The Clash of Civilizations*. And, why I need to introduce you to this book is of two reasons. One is that it is prevalent, infamous or famous. It depends upon which ideological position you want to locate yourself. It has been an extremely influential work, the controversial work by one of the leading political scientists of our times Samuel P. Huntington. So, he puts forward a very provocative argument. Many people say that it is a very divisive argument, which supports a very dismal picture of the whole world's future. Furthermore, it created quite a lot of discussions and debates.

The second reason is not only because he is putting forward something very controversial, but he is putting forward a cultural argument about the future of the world, the future of globalization, and how different types of conflicts might arise. He is providing a cultural explanation based on values, which he calls a kind of a civilizational fault line. We need to understand why a scholar like Samuel Huntington had prepared such work. His thesis revolves around the question of culture rather than economy or politics.

So, in this session, we will look at Samuel P. Huntington. Most of the material that I have used is taken from his writings because his work came up in different publications. Some small excerpts are available; his own smaller articles are available. And then he published his whole book titled this *Clash of Civilizations*. So, mostly I am taking from his book.

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- 1993 *Foreign Affairs* article titled "The Clash of Civilizations?",
- Huntington later expanded his thesis in a 1996 book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*
- Highly influential as well as controversial book
- Places cultural incompatibility in the center of global conflicts



So, he first published it in 1993. This journal, titled *The Foreign Affairs*, titled the article *The Clash of Civilizations?* It is a question mark. He is not saying that what you are witnessing today or what you will witness today will be a clash of civilizations. However, he is proposing a kind of a tentative explanation. Then, he later expanded this thesis in 1996 in the book with the title, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. He elaborates the argument, expands the scope of his argument, and then talks about how this clash based on civilizational values will change the whole world order that we are familiar with.

And as I mentioned earlier, it has been a highly influential as well as a controversial book. Huntington has been criticized enormously by many scholars from various vantage points. We will have the last slide to look at the criticisms levelled against Huntington. However, people criticize him from various theoretical points of view. People will criticize him for propounding very nefarious kind of theory, a very negative, nefarious kind of theory for his ambition. He wanted to be seen as somebody, as advising American security forces. So, there were even arguments concerning his moral integrity.

Nevertheless, it became highly influential. This influenced a host of strategic thinkers and analysts and then even the public imagination about the world's future. How should America reposition itself? What should be their perspectives or approach towards a host of other countries and other things? So, it places cultural incompatibility in the centre of global

conflicts. So, he is proposing a kind of an explanation, which revolves around the concept of culture.

And this was something quite unusual in that sense because earlier, the theorizations were based on economic positions or political positions, strategic positions. However, he is proposing something, or he proposed something entirely new and radical, which created many controversies.

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- It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural.
  - Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations.
  - Conflicts between princes, nation states and ideologies in the past were primarily conflicts within Western civilization, "Western civil wars,".



So, what is he saying? All these are his excerpts, his writings. So, my hypothesis, Huntington says, "It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural". So, why is he talking about ideological and economical? Because we know that, if you look into the post-World War scenario, the rise of two huge ideological blocs, one was led by the USA, the democratic capitalist bloc, the USSR, the communist bloc, led the other one.

The whole cold war that we have witnessed from the 1950s to the 1990s, till the disintegration of the USSR, was primarily understood as a kind of conflict, simmering tension, emerging from incompatible ideological, political and economic reasons. Because ideologically, they were very different politically, they were very different. Moreover, their overall orientation towards economic structure was completely different.

So, with the war, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, it is a symbol. Its destruction was a symbol of the collapse of the Soviet Union the collapse of the communist bloc. And then you no longer have this bipolar world. You have only a unipolar world where the US was the unquestionable leader. So, he says that unlike this kind of scenario where the ideological or economic factors are in the centre, he is proposing a division that is a great division among humankind, and the dominating sources will be cultural.

Nation-states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. He put forwards a very dismal, dubious picture. You can call it a very nefarious kind of depiction, a bleak reality that the nation-states will be influential. They will continue to be essential players in world affairs. However, the principal conflicts, reasons for countries to engage in battles and wars, will be more minor of economic or political reasons, but more of the kind of reasons emerging from different civilizational aspects.

So, conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. Conflicts between princes, nation-states, and ideologies were primarily conflicts within Western civilization- The western Civil War. So, he provides a kind of European history of the West, looking into how before the advent of nation-states during the medieval period, there were constant battles or wars between different princely countries and princely states. And then later it became during first world war even before that, it became wars between different nation-states.

And in the post-1950s, during the era of the Cold War, what you saw was kind of simmering tension or low-key conflicts based on ideological differences between the USA bloc and the USSR bloc. But he is saying that all these things happened within the western civilization as a kind of Western Civil War. Moreover, this Western civilization is necessary to keep in mind.

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- With the end of the Cold War, international politics moves out of its Western phase, and its centerpiece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among non-Western civilizations.

- World will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American and possibly African civilizations.



Then he argues that, with the end of the Cold War, international politics moves out of its Western phase. Its centrepiece becomes the interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations. He argues that after the end of the Cold War, the international politics, which was centred around this European dispersal, between European powers, USSR and USA, is moving out of the confines of the West, and it is becoming an interaction between the West and non-Western civilizations and among the non-Western civilizations.

So, the world will be shaped in large measures by the interactions among 7 or 8 significant civilizations? So, this includes the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox, Latin American, and possibly African civilizations. And you know that he is not mentioning the Christian civilization. Instead, he is using the term Western with the inherent understanding that the Christian civilization is what the western civilization represents.

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Why should there be a clash of these civilizations?



- First, differences among civilizations are not only real; they are basic. Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion.
- Second, the world is becoming a smaller place. The interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing; these increasing interactions intensify civilization consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations.
- Third, the processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity. In much of the world religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements that are labeled "fundamentalist."



Now, he pushes over this argument that the kind of conflicts and wars and then battles that we have been witnessing so far will change its character. What you will witness in the future would be of a completely different type, emerging from entirely different reasons, the incompatibility of different cultures based on different civilizational ethos. Now he is answering many questions. Why should there be a clash of these civilizations?

We know that if you look into the history of all these 6, or 7 or 8 civilizations, as he talks about, you can identify them as a large geographic area comprising of more significant, either one state or more than one state. So, they are all representing distinct geographic areas. And why is he saying that there will be a clash of civilizations? First, he argues, differences among civilizations that are not only real but also primary civilizations that differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition, and most importantly, religion.

So, he is presenting an essential mystic argument that these civilizations or the cultural roots of these countries of these societies are real. They are basic, fundamental, foundational, that a particular set of people or people of a particular country society? What do they believe in? What are their predispositions towards a host of other things? Their civilizational ethics and civilizational values will fundamentally decide all these things. Moreover, it is not only that they are differentiated by history, language, culture, tradition, and most importantly, religion. Moreover, he places much emphasis on the significance of religion.

Second, the world is becoming a smaller place. Furthermore, I do not think I need to elaborate that because the core argument of this course on globalization is that the globe is

becoming a smaller place. The interactions between people of different civilizations are increasing. These increasing interactions intensify civilizational consciousness and awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. So, he is saying that unlike the past, where different countries and cultures were confined in separate geographic areas, they were comfortable leading their lives.

In comparison with such a similar view, globalization has brought in much more heightened levels of interaction. Interaction through communication, through the flow of articles, ideas, people, goods, services, and economic activity and in that sense, we are coming to contact people of other civilizations. There is an intensification of civilization consciousness. So, everybody is becoming more and more aware of the kinds of things that bind us together and how people are different from others, how we are different from others, how are our values different from the values of others. So, this whole idea of the other and the self is emerging more and more prominently in a globalized world.

Third, the process of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation-state as a source of identity. Religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in movements called fundamentalists. So, this is another compelling argument that the world we are seeing today is undergoing significant transformations. Major economic modernization occurs, and people are being lifted out of their traditional society. There is an absolute term by name disembodiment. We will discuss that later when discussing Anthony Giddens, Ulrich Beck, and others.

So increasingly, people are separated or lifted out of their traditional roots or traditional cultures. The identity of the nation-state is also weakening because people are looking for a stronger sense of identity for them, and religion is dipping into that. So, in contrast to a kind of argument put forward by Max Weber that the whole world is undergoing a process of secularization where religion will lose its significance and religion will be confined only to the private sphere.

According to Huntington, what we are witnessing is that religion is becoming more and more prominent, especially in the form of movements that can be called fundamentalists. So, the fundamentalist movement in every religion is asking for a more significant role of religion to

be played in everyday activities. They want the world societies to go back to the fundamentals of their religion.

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- Fourth, the growth of civilization-consciousness is enhanced by the dual role of the West. On the one hand, the West is at a peak of power. At the same time, however, and perhaps as a result, a return to the roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilizations.
- Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones.
- Finally, economic regionalism is increasing. The importance of regional economic blocs is likely to continue to increase in the future. On the one hand, successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilization-consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization.



Fourth, the growth of civilizational consciousness is enhanced by the dual role of the West. On the one hand, the West is at peak power. When Huntington writes this, they are at the peak of the power simultaneously, however, and perhaps, as a result, returned off to the roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilizations. So, he is saying that almost every non-Western civilization is kind of deeply disturbed by the emergence of or the rise of Western societies. That provokes them or encourages them to look inward and search for their civilizational roots.

Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable, and hence, less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. So, this is again a powerful argument. He would argue that the cultural characteristics emerging from your ethnicity, religion, caste, and linguistic affiliation are challenging to change, unlike differences arising from ideological or economic reasons. You can negotiate, convince others, and encourage others to change their positions concerning ideological or economic reasons, but reasons about factors associated with culture are tough to change. They are tough to change; they cannot change.

Finally, economic regionalism is increasing. The importance of regional economic blocs is likely to continue to increase in the future. On the one hand, successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilizational consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when rooted in a common civilization. So, he must have in mind say example like European Union or this oil-producing countries union or similarly the kind of regional economic blocs that want to present itself as a single economic unit to facilitate globalization transactions. Nevertheless, he says they will function well, only when rooted in a common civilization.

For example, in this European Union, Huntington would argue that all the 26 or 27 countries can stick together as a union because they are all bonded by a common Western civilization underlying or underpinned by Christianity. Moreover, a Muslim majority country like Turkey found it very difficult to join the European Union.

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- As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an “us” versus “them” relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicity or religion.
- The clash of civilizations thus occurs at two levels. At the micro-level, adjacent groups along the fault lines between civilizations struggle, often violently, over the control of territory and each other. At the macro-level, states from different civilizations compete for relative military and economic power, struggle over the control of international institutions and third parties, and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.



As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an “us” versus “them” relation between themselves and the people of different ethnicities and religions. So, this is the point that we have discussed so far. In a globally integrated world, where people from other societies have to interact with them, either digitally or physically, you are supposed to deal with their business and culture. There is a flow of cultural ideas, idioms, media, entertainment, everything. That is likely to produce this binary between these

“us” versus “them” relations between themselves and people of different ethnicities or religions.

The clash of civilizations thus occurs at two levels. At the micro-level, adjacent groups along with fault lines between civilizations struggle violently over the control of territory and each other. At the macro-level, states from different civilizations compete for relative military and economic power, struggle to control international institutions and third parties, and competitively promote their particular political and religious values.

So, he says that this clash of civilizations can occur at two levels. One is a micro-level, where adjacent groups or countries representing this different kind of civilizational belongings can fight. Moreover, that is what he uses fault lines. He would explain how in the western, in the European context, there is this fault line on the one side, between more economically advanced and modern Western Europe and eastern Europe which is less advanced, which many of these countries were under the influence of the USSR.

So, he identifies a fault line running through these countries. He says that the countries adjacent to each of these lines are more prone to conflict. Moreover, at an international level, there is the possibility that these countries that belong to different civilizations might compete for greater control over resources and other things.

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- As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity, on the one hand, and Orthodox Christianity and Islam, on the other, has reemerged.
- The peoples to the north and west of this line are Protestant or Catholic; they shared the common experiences of European history – feudalism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution. On the other hand, the orthodox Christians and the Muslims are different, historically as well as culturally.
- Centuries-old military interaction between the West and Islam including the ‘war on terror’ is unlikely to decline.



As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity, on the one hand, and Orthodox Christianity and Islam, on the other hand, has emerged. So, I just mentioned that he talks about a no-fault line that distinguishes between Europe with Western Christianity, primarily Catholic and Protestant, which were more modern, including Germany, France, England, and these essential countries on the one side a host of other countries.

So, Huntington talks about the significant ideological division between Western Europe and the countries with the Catholic and Protestant religious backing and a set of other countries where Orthodox Christianity and Islam are prominent. So, he argues that this is a very important fault-line and future conflict that might arise. The north and the West of this line are Protestant or Catholic. They share the shared experiences of European history, Feudalism, Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution.

On the other hand, the Orthodox Christians and the Muslims are different, historically and culturally. So, this is a powerful argument because when we talk about the rise of modernity, when we talk about enlightenment, when we talk about the industrial revolution, colonialism. All these forces are all these processes primarily took place in Western Europe. In maybe 4 or 5 crucial countries, the Netherlands, the Portuguese, Spain, England, Germany, and France, these are the major countries in which all these vital intellectual, economic and political transformations underwent.

A host of other countries towards this, the other part of Europe, the northern and Eastern European countries, and most other countries were historically and culturally different. That is what Huntington argues. Now, Centuries-old military interaction between the West and Islam, including the 'War on Terror, is unlikely to decline.

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- The West in effect is using international institutions, military power and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests and promote Western political and economic values.



- The conflict between "the West and the Rest" and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power and values.

- He depicted Islamic civilization as characterized by violence

- Huntington emphasised upon the need for tightening immigration and assimilating immigrants and minorities so as to increase civilizational coherence. He favoured Americanisation and denounced multiculturalism, Western technological and military superiority over other civilizations, non-interference in the affairs of other civilizations, empowering Atlantic partnership between US and Europe, limiting the expansion of Islamic-Confucian states, and exploiting the difference between these two civilizations.



The most important point that he puts forward is the tension between Islam and the Christian civilization, which he argues will only intensify. Moreover, this has a much longer past, starting from the crusades, long-lasting conflicts, religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims in Central Europe. Thus, he would argue that this war or this conflict between Western countries and the Muslim countries will only increase. And then, he gives the latest example of the Iraq invasion by the USSR, USA and the latest, the 'war on terror'. He presents them as crucial indications.

So, in effect, the West is using international institutions, military power, and economic resources to run the world in ways that will maintain Western predominance, protect Western interests, and promote Western political and economic values. So, he says that the West is in a very comfortable position to control everything because the West has a hegemony over international institutions, whether it is the UN or World Bank or any other institution or IMF. They can safeguard their dominance over others. Other societies and other countries will not stand up to this economic and political dominance.

So, the conflict between the West and the rest and the response of non-Western civilization to Western power and values become important. He proposes a kind of a long-lasting conflict between the West and the rest. So, the rest includes a host of other countries with different civilizational orientations and roots. However, he argued, is the primary contention, the primary conflict between the rest, the West and the rest of the society. He talks extensively about Islamic civilization and characterizes it as violent. He has a set of reasons why the

Islamic civilization is characterized more with violence or why you will find more and more instances of violence or conflict in the West in the Muslim civilization. He has a list of reasons, a list of reasons which many of them are highly problematic, which kind of essentializes the argument to certain innate features of Islam, the kind of value orientations of Islam, and a host of other things.

However, he has this critical tendency to depict Muslim society as anti-democratic or Muslim societies inherently incompatible with the values of modernity, like individualism, liberalism, secularism, and democracy. He presents all these arguments and says that the Western countries brace for a new kind of conflict. Not the kind of conflict you are familiar with that was fought based on ideological or economic reasons. However, the emerging conflict will be based on civilizational values because these different sets of values are quite different. You cannot bridge them, and conflicts will now increasingly revolve around the kind of cultural Christian.

And we know that this 9/11 attack, where this twin tower was brought down in the city of New York, and then that, led to an entirely new difference, turn in the international developments, with America declaring this war on terror. American forces were sent across the places, and this terrorism became a global phenomenon. So, and then later, you have seen this rise of ISIS, this Islamic State, with a very prominent anti-democratic, anti-modern, or anti-liberal kind of values, which involves significant kind of violence, mainly targeted against the West.

Huntington's argument became very popular in this larger context, where increased magnitude of violence, increased violence emerging from religious differences, basically emerging from by taking inspiration from religious values, became more and more prominent. So, Huntington emphasizes that Huntington provides a secondary warning based on all these points. It is not a very, it is not only a very scholarly analysis but rather a kind of very-very important warning as well, what needs to be done.

So, Huntington emphasized the need for tightening immigration and assimilating immigrants and minorities to increase civilizational coherence. After this very academic elaboration based on historical and political reasons and why the new type of conflict could be very different, Huntington prescribes specific policy initiatives. This becomes even more

problematic because it is not very easy to prescribe policy decisions when this kind of madness no social scientists would immediately translate their sociological understanding into particular policies. After all, these policies will have much more significant unseen consequences. So, one has to be very careful about it.

However, here, Huntington has a set of fundamental, very-very controversial policies. For example, He argues for the tightening of immigration. He argues for the assimilation of immigrants and minorities into mainstream culture how these arguments became important. Now, especially in the US, with Donald Trump becoming president. We know these the same arguments are becoming more and more evident.

He favoured Americanization and denounced multiculturalism, Western technological and military superiority over other civilizations, non-interference in the affairs of other civilizations, empowering Atlantic partnership between the US and Europe, limiting the expansion of Islamic-Confucian states, and exploiting the difference between these two civilizations.

So, it is a very aggressive policy that he is putting forward. He wants to see that Western domination continues at any cost. He wants to ensure that western dominance is preserved. Moreover, the West does whatever is possible at their disposal to keep other forces keep other societies under its control. Furthermore, it is a very problematic statement. It is Western-centric or Eurocentric, but it is a very naked form of political power.. He favoured Americanization. He wanted the American influence to spread across the globe. He is clear about it.

And then, he denounced multiculturalism, the argument promoted by many liberals who argue that every culture must be respected, and he is clearly against all these positions. And the Western technological and military superiority over others, and non-interference in the affairs of other civilizations. So, America or other civilizations must be left alone. It should not interfere in their affairs as long as it does not affect the American interest, limiting the expansion of the Islamic-confusion state and exploiting the differences between these two civilizations.

So, these are the kind of particular policies suggestions that he put forward to that of the American establishment. Furthermore, it is no wonder Huntington became a darling of many

of the very right-wing policymakers of the US. Because this is coming from a well-known political scientist, something that was dear to their ideas, they also wanted their foreign policy and military strategies to be very similar.

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- Criticisms
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- Huntington's emphasis on the ever-present probability of war between civilizations represents a fear that is deeply rooted in political realism.
  - The clash of civilizations thesis is *orientalist*. Edward W. Said claims that the 'epistemology of othering' underlying Huntington's thesis is problematic as labels, generalisations and cultural assertions are finally inadequate.
  - Monolithic conception of civilizations which neglects the polycentric structure of both worlds. Huntington ignores the internal dynamics, plurality and myriad complexities of Islam and the Muslim world.
  - Huntington reduces multiple causes of inter-and intra-national conflict, thereby essentialising the civilizational factor as the prime reason.
  - Huntington's thesis is in fact an *enemy discourse* that looks for new enemies.



Now, what are the kinds of criticisms? Of course, as I mentioned, Huntington was severely criticized by many people from across the spectrum. His arguments were criticized for debates on an intellectual basis, academic, or political grounds. On various grounds, it was his arguments. They were criticized. So, Huntington's emphasis on the ever-present probability for war between civilizations represents a fear deeply rooted in political realism.

So, this is a very important argument that he always wants you of an imminent crisis, or he wants to have an imminent set of violence and aggression emerging from these incompatible values. And scholars argue that this is explicitly coming from political realism. This larger framework informs it of political realism. It does not look into how these ideas change or how other factors play an essential role in deciding this outcome. So, that is one set of essential questions.

Then the Clash of Civilizations thesis is orientalist. Edward W. Said says that the 'epistemology of othering' underlying Huntington's thesis is problematic as labels, generalizations, and cultural assertions are finally inadequate. So, there is no doubt that Huntington's thesis is orientalist. I hope you are familiar with Edward's very important work,

the monumental work titled *The Orientalism*. Edward W. Said argued that the West's knowledge about the oriental countries was a product of their cultural, intellectual and political dominance over the West.

So, there are, he very vehemently criticizes Huntington for reproducing this kind of orientalist idea that the West is everything positive, it is progressive, it is democratic, it is oriented towards freedom. In contrast, the rest is all stands for all opposite to that. So, this kind of trope of binary qualities has been the main form of Huntington's thesis, and a host of scholars are criticized.

Then this monolithic conception of civilizations, which neglect the polycentric structure of both worlds, Huntington ignores the internal dynamics, plurality, and myriad complexities of Islam and the Muslim world. So, it is just again may be one of the fundamental criticisms against Huntington's argument. So, he presents the Muslim world as a monolithic entity, saying that all Muslim societies are deeply religious. They are entirely governed by the ethos of Islam, which is why they will act or act only in certain forms.

We know that any cursory examination into the history of the Muslim world will reveal the kind of enormous diversities, enormous complexities. There are so many differences of opinions of conflict within Islamic societies and how democracy has taken deep roots in many Muslim societies. So, Huntington has no patience, or Huntington has no interest in analyzing these complexities. He just believes in labels, saying that Western European societies or the US are all pro-democratic. They are all pro for progress and everything good.

Other societies, especially Islamic societies, are old, standing for everything terrible and harmful. So, hunting reduces multiple causes of inter and intranational conflicts, thereby centralizing this utilization factor as the prime reason. So, he overlooks a host of other reasons, whether economic or strategic or other reasons, and then underplay the significance of all these factors and then overemphasize these religious or cultural features as the prime reasons. And then Huntington's thesis, in fact, an enemy discourse that looks for new enemies.

So, Huntington has been criticized thoroughly, very-very strongly for his moral bankruptcy. Moreover, even people argued that Huntington wanted to have some more coveted places or coveted positions in the American defence or strategic establishment. That is why he wanted

to create this fear-mongering. He was indeed creating a kind of fear. He was a fear monger talking about the imminent or ever present danger from the other civilization. So, he wanted some critical positions in that. So, there are many criticisms aimed at him presenting enemy discourse, which always wants to look for new enemies because without any enemies, without a perceived or real or imaginary enemy, no such narrations can exist.

So, as I mentioned, Huntington's thesis has been highly influential, prevalent, and highly controversial. A host of studies are criticized Huntington's argument by looking at particular locations its specific histories, but here Huntington has no patience for such kind of elaborate nuanced analysis. Instead, he has this larger meta-theoretical argument which is hugely problematic.

So, we are winding up this class here, but I want you to keep this point in mind that Huntington places the entire question of culture and the central place of this world discourses about global development and the future of global order. So, let us close here, and meet in the next class. Thank You.