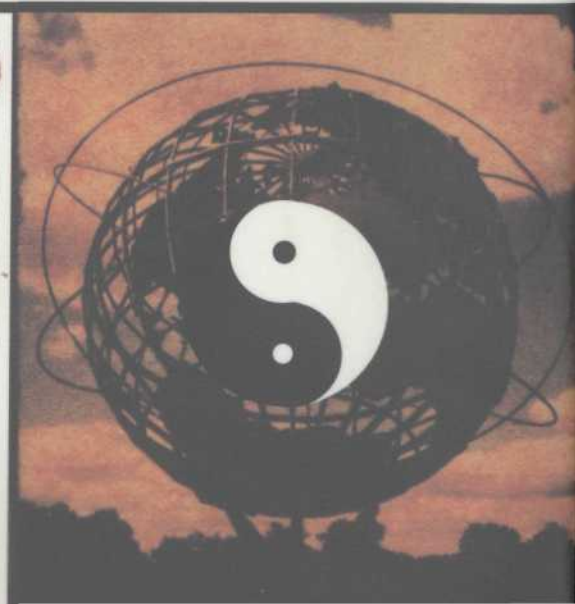


**THE  
CLASH OF  
CIVILIZATIONS  
AND THE REMAKING  
OF WORLD ORDER**

**Samuel P. Huntington**



# Contents



List of Illustrations: Tables, Figures, Maps	11
Preface	13

## I. A World of Civilizations

1. The New Era in World Politics	19
INTRODUCTION: FLAGS AND CULTURAL IDENTITY	19
A MULTIPOLAR, MULTICIVILIZATIONAL WORLD	21
OTHER WORLDS?	29
COMPARING WORLDS: REALISM, PARSIMONY, AND PREDICTIONS	36
2. Civilizations in History and Today	40
THE NATURE OF CIVILIZATIONS	40
RELATIONS AMONG CIVILIZATIONS	48
3. A Universal Civilization? Modernization and Westernization	56
UNIVERSAL CIVILIZATION: MEANINGS	56
UNIVERSAL CIVILIZATION: SOURCES	66
THE WEST AND MODERNIZATION	68
RESPONSES TO THE WEST AND MODERNIZATION	72

## II. The Shifting Balance of Civilizations

4. The Fading of the West: Power, Culture, and Indigenization	81
WESTERN POWER: DOMINANCE AND DECLINE	81
INDIGENIZATION: THE RESURGENCE OF	
NON-WESTERN CULTURES	91
<i>LA REVANCHE DE DIEU</i>	95

5. Economics, Demography, and the Challenger Civilizations	102
THE ASIAN AFFIRMATION	103
THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE	109
CHANGING CHALLENGES	120

### III. The Emerging Order of Civilizations

6. The Cultural Reconfiguration of Global Politics	125
GROUPING FOR GROUPINGS: THE POLITICS OF IDENTITY	125
CULTURE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION	130
THE STRUCTURE OF CIVILIZATIONS	135
TORN COUNTRIES: THE FAILURE OF CIVILIZATION SHIFTING	139
7. Core States, Concentric Circles, and Civilizational Order	155
CIVILIZATIONS AND ORDER	155
BOUNDING THE WEST	157
RUSSIA AND ITS NEAR ABROAD	163
GREATER CHINA AND ITS CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE	168
ISLAM: CONSCIOUSNESS WITHOUT COHESION	174

### IV. Clashes of Civilizations

8. The West and the Rest: Intercivilizational Issues	183
WESTERN UNIVERSALISM	183
WEAPONS PROLIFERATION	186
HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY	192
IMMIGRATION	198
9. The Global Politics of Civilizations	207
CORE STATE AND FAULT LINE CONFLICTS	207
ISLAM AND THE WEST	209
ASIA, CHINA, AND AMERICA	218
CIVILIZATIONS AND CORE STATES: EMERGING ALIGNMENTS	238
10. From Transition Wars to Fault Line Wars	246
TRANSITION WARS: AFGHANISTAN AND THE GULF	246
CHARACTERISTICS OF FAULT LINE WARS	252

INCIDENCE: ISLAM'S BLOODY BORDERS	254
CAUSES: HISTORY, DEMOGRAPHY, POLITICS	259
<b>11. The Dynamics of Fault Line Wars</b>	<b>266</b>
IDENTITY: THE RISE OF CIVILIZATION CONSCIOUSNESS	266
CIVILIZATION RALLYING: KIN COUNTRIES AND DIASPORAS	272
HALTING FAULT LINE WARS	291
<b>V. The Future of Civilizations</b>	
<b>12. The West, Civilizations, and Civilization</b>	<b>301</b>
THE RENEWAL OF THE WEST?	301
THE WEST IN THE WORLD	308
CIVILIZATIONAL WAR AND ORDER	312
THE COMMONALITIES OF CIVILIZATION	318
Notes	323
Index	353