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THE COMPARISON OF SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON'S "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS" AND IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN'S "WORLD SYSTEMS ANALYSIS"

Ayla KÖSEBEY

Master's Thesis

Supervisor

Asst. Prof. Dr. Adil USTURALI

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The thesis titled “THE COMPARISON OF SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON’S “CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS” AND IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN’S “WORLD SYSTEMS ANALYSIS” prepared by AYLA KOSEBEY and submitted on 18/01/2024 has been **accepted unanimously** for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Sciences and International Relations.

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I hereby declare that all information/data presented in this graduation project has been obtained in full accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare all unoriginal materials and conclusions have been cited in the text and all references mentioned in the Reference List have been cited in the text, and vice versa as required by the abovementioned rules and conduct.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my study to my supervisor Asst. Prof. Dr. Adil USTURALI who kindly helped me whenever I asked him for his help.

ABSTRACT

THE COMPARISON OF SAMUEL P. HUNTINGTON'S "CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS" AND IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN'S "WORLD SYSTEMS ANALYSIS"

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Since it has been published as an article in the journal "Foreign Affairs" in 1993, "The Clash of Civilizations" has been the subject of social science studies. It has been examined under many titles such as "Eurocentrism", "dualism" "historic evolution" or as a "critical theory". Nowadays, civilization-based critiques are done more frequently. At the same time, the world is going through a new economic crisis. Both "The Clash of Civilizations" and "The World Systems Analysis" have vital importance to shape the policy of the future. In this study, the civilizational division which is suggested by Samuel P. Huntington is going to be compared to the work of Immanuel Wallerstein "world systems theory" which has an economic stance to the conflicts. As a starting point, Samuel P. Huntington's book "Clash of Civilizations" is going to be analyzed, and next, Immanuel Wallerstein's "World Systems Analysis" is going to be summed up. Both approaches have their own claims, and both approaches deal with the recent past. While Huntington takes matters from the window of policy, Wallerstein's approach is from an economic point of view. There are accurate cases for both theses. The accuracy stems from the historic recurrence which means "history repeats itself."

Keywords: Civilizations, Core Countries, Systems, West, Periphery.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CARICOM	:	Caribbean Community
CIS	:	Commonwealth of Independent States
EAEC	:	Euroasian Economic Community
ECLA	:	Economic Commission for Latin America
IMF	:	International Monetary Fund
NAFTA	:	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	:	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	:	Non-Governmental Organization
The EU	:	The European Union
The USSR	:	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research is to analyze and to compare the important works of two prominent scholars and "The Clash of Civilizations" and "The World Systems Analysis" in terms of theory, structure of the theory, their stance to modernization, economics, and their solutions to the conflicts around the world. Before comprehending the works of these two academics, we had better look at their lives.

Samuel P. Huntington (1927-2008) was a realist political scientist, and an academic at Harvard University. He discussed that future wars would be fought between civilizations. His book "Clash of Civilizations" focused on the dissolution of the USSR and the post-Cold War era. He influenced Francis Fukuyama, John Mearsheimer, Kris Kobach (Smith, Anderson and Rackaway, 2015). Huntington was criticized for the shallowness of the subject of which states became civilizations nowadays and neglecting ideological motivation of intellectuals upon society (Rubenstein and Crocker, 1994). He is the second political scientist who is cited most among academics.

In the second book of the thesis, "World Systems Analysis" by Immanuel Wallerstein, the modern world is focused on as an interconnected system. The "world-systems approach" developed by Wallerstein is interested in examining the unequal conditions among world states, envisioning the world through the lens of economic exchange relationships. Immanuel Wallerstein (1930-2019), recognized as the founder of the "Fernand Braudel Centre for the Study of Economies, Historical Systems, and Civilizations" in 1976 at Binghamton University in New York, dedicated over two decades of work there. Influences from Frantz Fanon, Fernand Braudel, and Ilya Prigogine were evident in his interests. The topic of McCarthyism, known as a repression era in the USA, was chosen for his MA thesis. Despite criticisms for overlooking the cultural dimension of world systems, his work gained attention and was followed by intellectuals such as Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin, among others.

1.1 THE IMPORTANCE AND PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

Although this research is interested in two main subjects which are "civilizations" and "world systems", its subtitle is culture and economy. Culture and economy are two important

dynamics in today's world, too. Since the path to power is the path to control over the people, economy has a vital importance in shaping cultures.

In the spring of 2022, television news and social media announced the occupation of Ukraine by Russian Military forces. On 3rd August,2022, the speaker of the House of Representatives. Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan at the expense of a war threat of China. An African country Sudan has been witnessing a severe battle between government and rebels. On October 25th, 2022, a coup attempt has occurred in Sudan once more.

All these conflicts have backgrounds which date back in history. As an example, Ukraine-Russia case goes back to 1650s. Ukraine's rule swore to the tsar for his help against Poland. Ukraine became independent but there was always a sharp difference between Orthodox East and West. It can be called a fault line between civilizations. When the USSR dissolved, Russia encouraged Ukraine to be independent. The conflict happened when Crimean Parliament declared its independence from Ukraine. This led to the occupation of Ukraine at present.

As for Taiwan-China conflict, from 1950s to 1990s there were not any diplomatic relations between them. By 1993 their diplomats agreed on the saying 'blood-is-thicker-than-water' and began interactive trade and visits. The conflict occurred when Tiawan leader paid a visit to the USA in 1995, Chinese jets took off around Taiwan. The same thing happened when the House of Representatives leader visited Taiwan, Chinese jets showed off.

Lastly, Sudan conflict and fault line war goes back to 1950s. It broke out in 1956 and 1972 and resumed in 1983. On October 25th, a coup attempt happened.

These three recent events in International Relations show us that conflicts either between states or between fault lines would continue until the world ends. Each conflict has various explanations. Each political scientist solves the problem from his/her point of view.

1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Both social scientists are milestones in international relations with their approaches from different points of views. They have inspired many sub studies such as the anti-globalization movement, post-colonial studies, historical institutionalism, political geography, and new institutionalism.

As for Huntington, his articles "The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations" (1957), and "Political Order in Changing Societies" (1968) were path making of some states to control civil masses (Huntington, 1957). With the dissolution of the USSR, Huntington wrote an article titled "The Clash of Civilizations" in Foreign Affairs magazine in 1993. This was the source of "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order."

In "The World Systems Analysis," Wallerstein emerges as a notable author, shedding light on the world systems or world economy as a system dominated by exploiters who benefit from the labor of millions in struggle. A distinction is drawn between world empires, governed centrally, and world systems, which consist of various states without a unified political management, as outlined by Wallerstein in 1974. When the systems theory is applied to contemporary times, it becomes evident that exploiters maintain control, while states within the world system strive to find their place in the political arena. This book is characterized more as a political stance than as a theoretical framework.

To begin to talk about both works, it is important to emphasize the effect of Fernand Braudel on the authors, Huntington, and Wallerstein. Braudel with his work "Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century" gave inspiration to Huntington. Braudel's leadership in the foundation of Annales School effected Wallerstein deeply, because he founded Fernand Braudel Centre at his university. On a larger scale, Braudel made division of the civilizations and depicted the capitalist system in his work. Wallerstein has written an article on him separately (Wallerstein, 1991). From Karl Marx, Wallerstein got the economic base of the structure of his view. He stressed that all the systems have cleavages, and they are race, class, nation, ethnicity, and gender. This reminds us of Huntington's division of fault lines. He had given inspiration to Noam Chomsky and Pierre Bourdieu for the anti-globalization movement. Samir Amin is one the intellectuals who was impressed by Wallerstein gave literature " Eurocentrism" which was a critic notion among the prominent writers.

Huntington was under the influence of Fernand Braudel. When anyone reads Braudel's masterpiece "On History" can find similarities between Clash of Civilizations and On History. Huntington refers to Toynbee's Study of History and Bernard Lewis' books. He frequently mentions Oswald Spengler's The Decline of the West in his book Clash of Civilizations.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of this thesis is to discuss which one of two theories is more accurate on solving conflicts around the world. At the first place, two books will be analyzed to give an idea of the certain theories. Answers to the questions such "Is a universal civilization possible?", "What are the changes and challenges in civilizations?", "What is the world systems theory?", "How dependency theory emerged?" will be sought in the thesis. Next, there will be a part of discussions of two theories in terms of structure, modernization, economics. Later, solutions of the two authors to the conflicts will be read. The thesis will compare two concrete situations, Bosnian War and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, from the aspect of both theories.

1.4 METHODOLOGY

As for the research method, qualitative approach applied in terms of grounded theory which based on a general approach to the subject. When ‘the world system theory’ was the subject, theoretical narrative method was used in the thesis. For both studies, a philosophical discussion of collected data was chosen. Secondary data sources have been used in the research. The archival data has been searched via the internet.

For exploring the nature of the conflicts throughout the books, qualitative approach best suited.

The first chapter focused on the analysis of Clash of Civilizations with a descriptive and depictive narration. Huntington first sets the framework as the explanation of civilization, conflicts between them, and the solution of these conflicts. The most key area was the definition of the states as core states, member states, lone states, cleft countries, and torn countries.

The near taxonomy seen in Wallerstein as core, semi periphery, and periphery. The second chapter of World Systems Theory starts with the history of scientific research and division of science and philosophy in the West.

2. SECOND CHAPTER

2.1 THE WORLD OF CIVILIZATIONS

In the opening of his renowned book, Samuel P. Huntington proposes the theory that the post-Cold War world is more prone to cultural conflicts than to economic or ideological ones. Vaclav Havel is quoted to emphasize the growing danger of cultural conflicts in contemporary times: “Cultural conflicts are increasingly more and more dangerous today.” (Havel, 1994). Through this, Huntington suggests that culture may supplant ideology as the primary source of division in the post-Cold War era. Whereas ideology once divided the Iron Curtain from Europe, now a line separates Western Christian populations from the Muslim and Orthodox worlds, having shifted hundreds of miles to the East in the post-Cold War period. Additionally, it is argued that culture can act as a divisive force, as observed in the division of the two Koreas or within Chinese societies. Huntington emphasizes the intensification of global policy focus on cultural differences by stating, “the key issues on the international agenda involve differences among civilizations.” (Huntington, 1993).

Huntington refers to Francis Fukuyama: “that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." (Fukuyama, 1992). According to the thesis, the war on ideas is in the end. There might be wars in the Third World countries but not in Europe. This view contradicts Huntington's view because the latter thinks that all civilizations come to an end.

Huntington states that the one world approach came to an end when the conflicts around the world occur in the post-Cold War. Instead of it, the two worlds theory seems more reasonable and more accurate. During the history, people followed this dualism in society, us and them, our society and Barbarians, Muslims, and non- Muslims etc. The emphasis is not on economic differences in these divisions, but it is on the way of life, habits, and values (Northrop, 1946). Even if it was for economic reasons, it was because of the anti-democratic attitude of poor states. The Palestinian Orientalist Edward Said opposed the idea of the division of the East or West. He criticizes the definition of the duality in international relations and defended the idea that it is rather the superiority of the West on the East (Grabar, 1982).

As a realist theorist, Huntington repeats John J. Mearsheimer's view on states which must be powerful and dominant all the time in case of the threats of newly emerged wealthy or powerful states (Mearsheimer, 1990). That is why states keep strong armies, take part in diplomatic affairs or international organizations. Huntington says that when states are getting ready for possible threats, they take into consideration their values, belief systems and their interests. In the post-Cold War era, states cooperate on civilizational base such as Bosnia's first aid helpers were Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iran. Serbians got closer with the Orthodox world, mainly with Russia. Since the relation between states are anarchy, anarchy paradigm is close to reality. Weak states are prone to terrorism and narcotics. They create problems in their territory.

There are also two more paradigms when we handle reality around the states. For instance, to give predictions for the future of states on realist approach may not be realistic. An Orthodox Ukraine would like to join the West, but it might not be less bloody than Yugoslavia. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia succeeded in the Velvet Revolution. These are predictive paradigms which could be wrong ones.

Although civilizational paradigm does not solve all the conflicts around the world, it has reasonable explanations for the situations below.

During a six-month-period:

a. The Confucian-Islamic rapprochement of China and Pakistan while producing missiles and the US sanctions.
b. The war between Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians in Yugoslavia.
c. The Karabakh Conflict between Azeris and Armenians near the Turkish border.
d. The voting for the 2000 Olympics for Sydney against Beijing by the Western states.
e. The bombing of Baghdad by the US and the lament by Arab countries for the hypocrisy of the West.

These are some of the conflicts that happened in a short period of time, and they are accurate for the civilizational paradigm. As Fernand Braudel has said, for the prolonged duality of the post-Cold War era states had to be aware of civilizational rapprochements and divisions for their borders in the future (Braudel, 1980).

The world of civilizations is held in three sections: " What Is a Civilization?", "Is A Universal Civilization Possible?", and "Is Modernization Civilization?"

2.1.1 What Is a Civilization?

According to Huntington, although there are various analyses of civilizations which are derived from the differences in methodology or perspective, it is best described “a society, its culture, and its way of life during a particular period or in a particular part of the world." (Adams, 1996).

In history, there have been hundreds of civilizations between 3000 BCE and 500 BCE. It is an accepted idea that agriculture helped humankind to settle down on a piece of land in10000 BCE. Along the big rivers like the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and Yangtze Rivers ancient people built their cities and civilizations.

Most scholars agree on some principles.

First, while civilization in singular form described as the opposite of “barbarianism”, in plural form it meant as culture and that is the subject of the Clash of Civilizations (Sills, 1968).

Secondly, although Germans think that civilization is modernization, to be urban, mechanics, technology, most researchers think civilization is a cultural entity. It contains values, moral qualities, ideals, and intellectual deeds. There is a broad definition of civilization in “Clash of Civilizations” from Arnold Toynbee, Emile Durkheim, to Max Weber. Huntington appeals to different writers and social scientists’ opinions about civilization such as Wallerstein who said that civilizations were a chain of historic cultures, customs, and structures. In the first place, as Fernand Braudel says civilization was the opposite of “barbarism” (Braudel, 1995) which meant cruel or violent behavior. ("Barbarism," 2023). His definition of “civilization” varies depending on culture, ethnicity, language, lifestyles, and blood.

In the third place, civilizations are the broadest entity. One can describe himself as a Roman, an Italian, a Catholic, a Christian and a Westerner. It has no definite boundaries, beginnings, and endings. It is the biggest “we” concept. It can be said that they are macro-cultures.

Fourthly, they are mortal. There have been some historians who expressed this throughout history like Ibn Khaldoun. The British Historian Arnold Toynbee in his Study of History writes about the rise and decay of 19 to 21 civilizations. He draws the similarities of a person's life to the civilizations to be born, continue to grow when they associate another civilization, and they keep growing by "Creative Minorities" and they decay by the loss of physical and human environment (Toynbee, 1939).

Finally, although there is an agreed description of civilizations, scholars differ in the number of civilizations. Huntington says that Oswald Spengler agreed on 8 civilizations which were Babylonian, Egyptian, Chinese, Mesoamerican, Indian, Greek/Roman, and Magian (Abrahamic Religions). Braudel counts nine civilizations. (Braudel, 1982). The major civilizations in history can be listed as.

Sinic (Confucian): its date goes back to 1500 B.C. When the term Sinic mentioned, most people understand Chinese and Confucianism and that is accurate. It contains Korea and Vietnam, as well.

Japanese: it can be considered as Confucian civilization, but it differed in the period of A.D. 100-400

Hindu: it is called as Indu or Indian which is one of the oldest civilizations that goes back to 2000 B.C. it is the culture of Subcontinent, the geographical subregion of Asia, see South Asia.

Islamic: with the foundation of the first Islamic state in the 7th century, it widely spread Asia, North Africa, and Levant area. It contains Persian, Turkic, and Malay civilizations.

Western: Although it was founded in A.D. 700, it flourished in the 1600s. It contains Europe, North America, and Latin America. In fact, Western civilization is European civilization. Nowadays, it is Euromerican or North Atlantic civilization. It is used as Westernization by the modernization followers in other countries.

Latin American: If religion affects civilizations, Latin America is one of the examples. Though it has some relations with the North America and Europe from the time of colonization, it went quite different from them. Reformist movements such as Protestantism

effected Europe, but Latin America choose to stay in Catholicism. Besides, it has still connections to the indigenous people who are wiped out in the North.

African: beside the Muslim north and Christian south, the indigenous tribes of Africa are intense and crowded. They preserve their ethnicity, culture, and beliefs.

It is important to say the terms East and West are geographical directions. For Japan, West simply means China and for China, the West is India. It can be examined in the Comparative Civilizations Review which publishes analytical studies.

The relations among civilizations can be summed up in three ways. They are confrontation, impact, and interactions.

As for confrontation or encounters, it is realized between the clergy class of representative religions or intellectuals of the time as Jewish priests, Greek philosophers, and Hindu Brahmins in the Axial Age (Jaspers, 1941) which was suggested as an era by Karl Jaspers which includes between 800 and 200 B.C. He insisted that some spiritual knowledge is spread in the Levant, Middle East, China, and Hindu simultaneously. The Axial Age is disputed among scholars because of its historical validity (Smith, 2015) and its lack of discontinuity. While some scholars think there is a spiritual connection between the philosophers of the time, there are geographical separations, communication difficulties, and limited commercial. New ideas and inventions spread slowly between civilizations. Paper is made in China in the 2nd century but arrived in Spain in the 12th century. Another Chinse invention gunpowder invented in the 9th century, but Arabs could take it in 12th century. The most severe contacts happened in invasions. Chinese and Hindu civilization were under the attacks of Mongols. Besides, within civilizations there were severe contacts and wars. Greeks fought each other more than Persians.

As a second relation was impact. The impact of Chinese and Islamic civilizations on the Western civilization in the 11th century was inevitable. With the Renaissance, Europe spread its technology, social pluralism, and commerce throughout the world. In the nineteenth century, Western imperialism invaded the Subcontinent and the Middle East. During World War I, the Ottoman Empire was under attack by Western imperialism, too. Western countries did not widen their territory by importing their values or ideas. They used military force to spread its power (Parker, 1988). Western impact over the world continued to import its

values which were settled with the Treaty of Westphalia around the world. The French Revolution reinforced the nation states principles. Western values, mercantilist economic system, and liberal ideas. With the end of World War II, the Western world has faced the world of ideologies, communism, and fascism.

In the third place, interactions between civilizations were continuous. The image of the 1900s Western world was different from the image of the 1920s. The Non-Western civilizations were uprising, and the myth "expansion of the West" was coming to an end. Oswald Spengler drew attention to the illusion of the West's division of history from their own aspect. Spengler criticized the West's Ptolemaic division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern times and said that history must renew itself (Spengler, 1918). Toynbee and Braudel have similar ideas for the illusion of the created myths around the West. Toynbee urged that progress was inevitable and egocentric illusion of the West would end one day (Toynbee, 1987).

According to Huntington, all civilizations die. When it is at its peak, people think of it as immoral. Is the West exceptional in this? It depends on the conditions. The decline of the West started in the twentieth century. It might continue for a century if it reverses its position in world affairs. Because since the 1500s, it has influenced other civilizations as opening added terms in their civilizations.

How do civilizations decline? When modern technologies do not apply, religion sweeps over the innovative ideas, illiteracy grows, civilizations begin to die (Quigley,1961). Western civilization has problems as low birth rates, increasing drug usage and antisocial behaviours, problems at work ethic, lessening intellectuality. These problems need care, and they are solved. For low birth rates, qualified, talented immigrants would be the choice. If the immigrant groups refuse to assimilate, the US becomes a cleft country.

Huntington also claims that erosion of Christianity makes Western civilization in danger. The USA culturally belongs to Western civilization and politically belongs to American Creed which has principals like individualism, freedom, equality, democracy, constitutionalism and right to have property. In the late 20th century, American identity was under attack of multiculturism which defends the crimes of the USA against Indigenous, and

promotes racist, ethnic, and other subnational cultural groupings. These are threats to the American identity.

There must be a criticism of Huntington's words. When the USA supports the ethnic groups in other countries, it defends to do it for the sake of democracy. When the multicultural sayings in their country appear, they accept it as a threat to their identity.

When 1960s activist movements and 1990s Clinton government supported the multiculturalism and diversity. It stands in contrast with the USA's motto which is "e pluribus unum" which means "out of many, one."

Towards the end of twentieth century, transatlantic community of NATO argued if they accept new countries to their four pillars which were liberal capitalism, free trade, rule of law, and parliamentary democracy. A meaningful integration to the Western civilization can slow its decline and economic collapse.

2.1.2 Is A Universal Civilization Possible?

In this section, I am going to search for the answer if a universal civilization is possible or not in the light of Huntington's book.

A universal civilization is an idea given as a talk by Naipul at Manhattan Institute as everyone has responsibility of his own would make an ideal society and civilization (Naipaul, 1991). This speech must stay as an ideal because of certain reasons.

a. First, every society has the same moral values as justice, equality, love, hate, and mercy. However, this would not explain the changes in human behaviour throughout history. Civilizations are mass cultures containing subgroups, tribes, and nations. Each community’s motivation for behaviour can vary from age to age.
b. Second, universal civilization stands for the literate, modern, urban countries whereas the 19th century showed that there are primitive tribes in the world.
c. Third, civilization meant for some people who visit Davos from every part of the world for the World Economic Forum, speak fluent English, usually bankers, businessmen or white-collar jobs owners. They created a so-called civilization among them which is very limited and special. They generally share the same ideas on liberalism, individual

rights, market economy, and democratic movements. It cannot be said to be a universal civilization (Rockwell, 1994).

d. Fourth, a Western type of consumption created a universal civilization perception. It is also a wrong consideration of civilization. To drink coke and to dress in jeans does not mean to accept Western values. Western values started with the Magna Carta but not using Mac laptops. Saudi young may put on jeans but has the possibility of blowing an American airplane. Besides, American people used Japanese electronics, but no one has turned to be a Japan. It can be said to be universal pop culture but not a universal civilization. This is either of the American movie sector or dissemination of American news in people's living rooms.

What creates an illusion of universal civilization has some clues.

a. Language is thought of as the first thing to create a universal civilization. The Davos Culture created a population who watch CNN and speak English when they communicate. CNN has declared that 55 million people watched its broadcast in 1993 (Huntington, 1996). However, this does not make it the world language because only 7.2 per cent of the population of the world could speak English. The rest 96.8 cannot speak English. On the other hand, 15.2 per cent of the world population speak Mandarin, and the rest could not (Culbert, 1954). Therefore, no language is enough to make a universal civilization. Moreover, with the collapse of Soviet Union, native languages are used freely. Some of the dissolved countries chose Latin Alphabet or their own indigenous alphabet instead of Cyrillic Alphabet. In other words, time and communication means helped to rejuvenate the forgotten languages.
b. Religion is thought to be the second thing to create a universal civilization. Two major efforts are found in this field: Christianity and Islam. Christianity spreads by conversion and Islam spreads by conversion and fertility (Huntington, 1996). In 1980, Muslims increased 16.5 percent and increase year by year. In the long run, the tide seems in favour of Islam, but atheists have increased their percentage to 4 from 1.1 in recent years. Nowadays it is not possible to mention a universal civilization from the aspect of religion.

Another thing to accept the idea of civilization is from the sociologic point of view. Sociology suggests an increasingly globalized world with trade and means of

communication (Robertson, 1987). From the aspect of psychology, one woman can define herself a woman between men, but if she were a doctor among a group of women, she would define herself as a doctor. People describe themselves by what they are not (McGuire, 1988).

2.1.3 Is Modernization Civilization?

Modernization has already been said by Huntington to be industrialization, urbanization, literacy, and wealth. In history, some communities have reached these standards in the territory of Mesopotamian soil ("Babylonia," 2023). Modern societies resemble each other in two ways. One of them is the mobility between modern states and the second resemblance is the ways of production. Modern societies dwell on industry whereas traditional ones use agriculture. Karl Wittfogel drew attention to the hydraulic way of civilization which was gathered around the water or big rivers in his book (Wittfogel, 1959). We can ask if there are resemblances among Western type of modern societies. These are:

Classical legacy; Greek philosophy, Roman law

Catholicism and Protestantism

European languages which were derived mostly from Latin.

Separation of Church and State.

Rule of law which was based on Roman law system.

Social pluralism which was represented by civil society.

Representative bodies which were institutions of modern democracy

Individualism was the most distinguishing mark of Western society.

What are the responses of the rest of the world to the modernization of the West?

The expansion of the West aroused reform desires in the countries. In fact, the response to the expansion of the West was in three different ways.

a. The first group of countries were refusers of both modernization and Westernization. They were mostly Confucian or Islamic societies. Chinese rejection policy was because of their thinking that they were superior to other cultures. In China, the isolation

continued till the Opium War in 1839-1842. As for Islam, Daniel Pipes emphasizes the rejection of media and even tv sets at homes (Pipes, 2017). Pipes mentions that secularization in Islamic societies was unable due to the conflicts between Islam and modernity as the participation of women in modern life, Islamic law, and male superiority in these societies.

b. The welcoming of ideas of modernization and Westernization by the second group, Kemalism, is noted, a term derived from the name of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Criticism is directed towards Kemalism by Huntington for its simultaneous application of Westernization and modernization, which, according to him, resulted in a divided nation where one part adhered to a conservative lifestyle while the other embraced modernization. An oversight in Huntington's critique is identified regarding Turkish history, particularly the reform movement initiated by Mahmud II, often referred to as the “Peter the Great of Turkey,” during the Tanzimat (reorganization) era (1826-1831). Changes implemented by Mahmud II in the military, bureaucracy, clothing, lifestyle, including the relaxation of restrictions on alcoholic beverages, are documented, indicating that the journey towards Westernization and modernization began in the Ottoman Empire prior to Atatürk's reforms. The assertion by Huntington that Atatürk "created a torn country" is contested, highlighting Atatürk's embrace of Western values such as the separation of religion and state, adoption of modern law, social pluralism, individualism, and the elevation of rights for disadvantaged groups like women and children, which extended beyond mere reforms in clothing or technical modernization to encompass cultural modernization. Atatürk's reforms are seen as having predecessors in the Islamic world, such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh, who also sought reforms in their respective countries but did not achieve success comparable to Turkey's, attributed to the latter's cultural and reformist foundation dating back to Ottoman times. While Huntington describes modernization in terms of urbanization, literacy, social institutions, and democracy, asserting that modernization can occur without Westernization, his explanation falls short in addressing the resistance encountered by fundamentalism in Islamic countries, merely quoting Daniel Pipes' statement, “Islam and modernization do not clash” (Pipes, 1990).

c. Muslim countries are the third group which reject modernization and Westernization at the same time. It is because of the cultural codes that Sharia law. To leave Sharia law means blasphemy for the Muslims. Even urbanization and literacy come realized in Islam soil, democracy and social institutions are neglected. Only Iran could manage modernization which meant urbanization, increasing rates of literacy and a limited democracy without Westernization because they add comments to the Sharia law and explain Koran in their way.
d. In short, the world is getting more modern and less Western day by day. Because people can reach the means of technology, which is qualification of modernism but also, they reject Western values as individualism.

2.2 CHANGES AND CHALLENGES IN CIVILIZATIONS

In this section Huntington explains what the challenges and changes in the civilizations. He mentions Oswald Spengler who predicted the decline of the West in his book by the World War I when the Western Civilization was its peak in 1940s. The West has outlived by 100 years since Spengler's book, but the prediction is coming true in recent years by the rise of Far East economies, the rise of life expectancy in Non-Western societies. The British Scholar Hedley Bull suggested the idea that 1900s were the apogee of European and Western civilizations (Bull, 1984). Between 19010 and 1945, Europe was busy with their internal, economic, and political problems. With the end of World War II, the dominance of the USA started.

Huntington sums up the reasons for the rise and decline of the West in a list.

First, he gives a list of rising factors:

a. It has a well-built banking system and control over other currencies.
b. It has international markets and rich customers from other countries.
c. It has military power in high-tech weapons, aerospace industry, and on sea lanes.
d. It dominates the world communication system via the internet.

As for the decline factors of the Westen civilization, they are mostly:

Huntington goes for the decline factors of the West. He mentions the words of Singaporean diplomat as the West would be in decline in a short time with the rise of Japan and China

and continues to give the country names as Iran, China and India would be new emerged leader countries (Koh, 1993). Huntington thought that the dissolution of the USSR gave a kind of victory to the West, but it would not be a long-term victory because Asia was on the rise.

In fact, Huntington lists the decline factors in three matters.

First, the process was slow, but it would speed up in S curve which term is used to define economic growth.

Second, Western civilization has two components. While Europe was in decline after the Post-war decolonization, America has started its rise. Altogether, stagnating populations, unemployment, declining work ethics accelerated its decline both in Europe and the USA (Huntington, 1993).

Some other factors which effected decline are:

Territory and Population: Western civilization ruled the vast piece of land after the First World War. It was nearly 25 million square miles, and it has been lessened in half as 12.7 million square miles by 1993. By the dissolution of the USSR, Muslim territory has risen from 1.8 to 11 million miles square. The shift in the loss of territory of the Western civilization accelerates its end. Similar changes in the population have been seen; in 1900s Westerners were 30% of the population and in 1993 (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1994), its population had decreased into fourth after Sinic, Islamic and Hindu civilizations. Besides, life expectancy has been longed for and infant mortality has decreased in the Third World. People became more literate, more urban, and socially mobilized. According to Huntington, socially mobilized people are more powerful. He confesses an important detail about CIA's interference to the regimes of the countries. He says that CIA was able to bring Shah to the throne when Iranian literacy was about15% in 1953. When Iranians became more literate as 47% of the population, CIA could not operate a coup in Iran (Huntington, 1993).

Economic Product: Western economic product was in its apogee in 1920s. It was 84.2% of world manufacturing output. By 1980, it has fallen to 57% of manufacturing output (Bairoch, 1982). Huntington estimates that in 2020, the biggest economies would be in five different civilizations, and it came true by present. By two-hundred- year time, Western economy

would be over due to diffusion in technology and economic growth in Non-Western countries.

Military Capability: Huntington summarizes military capability in four.

a. Quantitively: number of soldiers, weapon, guns
b. Technologically: the effectiveness of weapons
c. Organizational: discipline, training
d. Societal: praise to the patriotism and willingness to attend to army

In 1920s, the West was the leader in military equipment but with the development in economy, other countries improved their military capability. During the Cold War, the Soviet Union was one of the greatest military forces. After the Cold War, some shifts occurred.

a. First, the Warsaw Pact has been ceased and Soviet forces were reduced. Coherently, the West has slowed down their weapon production and budget for the military expenses lessened.
b. Second, with the end of Cold War, many major weapon programs have been postponed in the USA. Not only the USA, but also France, Britain, Germany reduced their military expenses and purchases.
c. Third, with the economic growth, the Far East became more weaponized. Between 1985-1993, the military spend has been increased 50 percent in South Korea, Thailand, Singapore.
d. Fourth, Third World countries and non-Western countries like Iran, Pakistan, India, Israel has access to nuclear weapons with the technological development.

Finally, since Llyod George, Woodrow Wilson had been designed the map of the world in 1918, the West is losing its control over the world. The Western leaders of the 1990s, Thatcher, Reagen, Kohl have been replacing the Asian or Middle Eastern leaders.

2.2.1 What Is After the Western Civilization?

The world is getting ready for the new indigenous cultures which appeal people with their values, practices, and institutions. Although culture follows power, Joseph Nye introduced a new term as "soft power" which involves others' preferences and willingness. He suggests

the quote as “the best propaganda is not propaganda” (Nye, 2012) altogether, soft power dwells on hard power which means to force others by the means of economy or military power (Copeland, 2010).

In fact, if a culture appeals by its richness, democratic institutions, self-determination, liberal views, others will follow the same culture. In Arab or Islamic world, some young leaders Mohammad Ali Jinnah or Harry Lee who were educated through Western values in Western universities tried to apply the lifestyles of the West. The missing point is that it was not lifestyle, but it was Western values which were to be replaced.

Huntington uses the word “indigenization” for the rejecting Western values in India, Islam soil, Japan or in East Asia. According to him, governments are promoting Confucianism, Hinduization, Asianization (Kobayashi, 1993). As the power of the West declines, these movements will continue around the world.

2.2.2 Can Religion Satisfy People’s Needs?

Huntington summarizes the section as religion fills the place of ideology and religious nationalism takes place of secular nationalism (Juergensmeyer, 1993).

Huntington sincerely quests an answer to this question in the section titled “LA REVANCHE DE DIEU” He mentions the words of a Sudanese Islamist politician “religion furnish people with a sense of identity and a direction in life” (Al-Turabi, 1992). With the dissolution of the USSR’s communist regime, or the collapse of the ideology in these countries revitalized the religion from Albania to Vietnam. In Moscow, the number of churches increased to 250 from 50 in five years. In Central Asia, the number of mosques increased to 10000 from 160 in 5 years period. In Civilization and its Discontents, Freud explains the need for religion infantile wish of fulfilment. Freud says that in childhood the need for a father is immense. When a person reach adulthood, the need for father shifts into God need (Freud, 2002). With the collapse of their states, citizens of the Soviet bloc have felt some emptiness and religion filled this hole. It supports the idea that religion stems from fear and insecurity and it is coping mechanism to face harsh realities of life.

Huntington acknowledges the fundamental challenges within religions, particularly the issue of extremism, but he highlights the emergence of the new iteration of traditional religions

within societies. This iteration is not secularism, but it represents the interpretation of fundamental religion. In other words, it is aiming not for the modernization of Islam but for the Islamization of modernity (Case, 1965). He interprets this religious revival as a reaction to the suppression experienced during the first half of the twentieth century, a period characterized by an emphasis on reason, logical thinking, and science, while myths and religious beliefs were sidelined. The philosopher Sigmund Freud's insight that "Unexpressed emotions will never die. They are buried alive and will come forth in uglier ways" (Freud, 1923) It invoked to elucidate the resurgence of religious practices, such as the reopening of mosques and churches in the former USSR. Huntington describes this resurgence as "A global phenomenon needs a global explanation" (Huntington, 1993), further citing Bernard Lewis's observation that Muslims find their identity in their religion (Lewis, 1988). Additionally, Huntington suggests that a new model of belief has been introduced across all belief systems due to the inability of traditional religions to fulfill individuals' emotional and social needs.

Huntington makes compliment to Christianity that in 1950, one third of population of South Korea converted for “surer comfort” to Christianity from Buddhism because the latter did not afford the harsh reality of modern life. A similar change occurred in Latin America 7 million people changed their sects from Catholicism to Protestantism for the similar reason as the latter could not support the needs of urban life. In China, there are 50 million Christian although government suppresses them.

2.2.3 The Challenge to the Western Civilization Which Comes from Islam

Huntington has already touched upon the topic that is elaborated upon here. He delves into the specifics of the challenge faced. The choice of the term "Resurgence," capitalized intentionally, is to emphasize its significance, placing it on par with terms such as "Reform" and "Revolution." Within all fundamentalist movements, it is observed that the core element originates from a political standpoint. This pattern is consistent in the Islamic movement, following a similar trajectory.

Huntington starts to explain the period’s history from 1970s when technical, engineering faculty students in Islamic countries gathered in student organizations. These organizations were the first step of political Islam. They defended the slogan that “Islam is the solution to

Westernization and decay of the society." They promoted social design as women's covering, prohibiting alcohol. In Egypt, these organizations had 5 markers. They were young, in their twenties. Eighty percent are university students or graduates. They were from technical universities or the medicine department. More than 70% are from lower middle-class children. They spent their childhood in rural areas (Ibrahim, 1982).

In Egypt, Jordan, West Bank and Gaza, Muslim organizations provided health, welfare, education, and other services among people. They built schools, hospitals, kindergartens, clinics, orphanages, and universities. They gained people's sympathy and support in the countries which have forbade religious fundamentalists. From 1970s, religious fundamentalists gained 1 million supporters around Islamic countries (Huntington, 1993). In 1995, each Islamic country was more Islamic politically than fifteen years ago.

To seek the underlying reasons of Islamic movement in most countries lie in the urbanization, education, communication, and networking. It was also a response to Westernization. Another reason was the richness of Saudi Arabia after 1970s. oil rich countries used their riches to revive Islam in so-called secular countries.

Demographic growth in Muslim countries increases as bulge of young generations who are between fifteen and twenty-five. This may lead to some political consequences.

First, young people are eager to protest and social mobilization. In history, "Protestant Revolution" has stated by the young protagonists. In Iran, young generation rose to 20 percent of population and in 1979, Iran Revolution was occurred (Momayezi, 1997).

Second, the rates of unemployment will increase in major Arab countries (Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Syria). Unemployed young people are mostly university graduated, and qualified Youngs. This will lead to disturbance in society and uprisings will occur.

Third, the unemployed and literate young people will move to other countries. Because larger populations need larger sources. An immigration wave will start to the rich countries from Islam countries.

These three assumptions of Huntington came true in the first fifteen years of the 21st century.

2.3 THE WOULD-BE NEW WORLD ORDER

After the post-Cold War, new alignments have been occurred from the view of cultures, identities, ethnic or religious, not by ideologies. People have asked the question “Who am I?” more than “Which side are you?” Every state asked this to themselves, and new states have been emerged around these questions like Bosnia, Tajikistan, Croatia, and Serbia 1990s were the years of identity crisis. People wanted to feel secure beside the one which are like them against the unknown. The neutral states Sweden, Norway, Austria can join the Union whereas Muslim countries Turkey and Bosnia are rejected to join the Union. With the end of Warsaw Pact, Slovakia, Poland, and Baltic states have cultural chains with Europe and they are nearer to Europe than Russia as cultural codes. In a way, Catholic and Protestant countries are looking for countries like them.

From the aspect of Islam, Muslim countries are in search of religious ties like Chechenia, Bosnia, Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. They are kin to support and contain the conflict. In searching identity, Huntington claims that blood and belief are the determining factors. That is why countries come together or go far apart.

Huntington asks the question if political decisions always follow the culture or civilizations. He answers that it does not. To adjust power balance, they need to cooperate with other civilizations such as Francis who helped Ottomans against Hapsburgs. Nowadays, Greece and Turkey are taking place in NATO, but although they are coherent in their attitude towards other countries, they might live conflict. It appears more in multicivilizational organizations like ASEAN (ASEAN, 2015) which has more cultural problems in the long term.

Huntington asks why cultural commonality unit people and cultural differences separates them. He answers in five ways.

First, people have more than one identity; they can belong to their clan, ethnic group, nationality, religion, and civilization.

Second, economic crisis and relocation force people to move together. When they move together, they choose similar identities.

Third, any level of identity is meaningful in relation to another identity. People always put themselves against the other: we and them. This feeling continuously repeats itself. The reasons for the lack of intra and extra relations between civilizations:

a. To feel different and superior
b. Trust problems against other civilizations
c. Language problem
d. Lack of communication, and social behavior

With the development in the means of communication, intra civilizational acts happen more than the former ages.

Fourth, conflicts differ in civilizations. They are mostly cultural as Hindu and Muslims want to build a temple or a mosque or use of Masjid Aqsa by Jews or Muslims. They can be ideological as materialistic ideology of communism or liberalism. It can also be territorial as Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians.

Fifth, conflict is everywhere. It is human nature to find an enemy for motivation, a rival for success. Since civilizations are like humans, they need the same components <for development.

Organizations For Trade and Security

Huntington says that civilizations cooperate by gathering in economic or security organizations. Trade between regions caused some regional organizations like ASEAN or culture reproachments like CARICOM which means the Caribbean Community (Oscar, 2009). NATO is on the other hand is security organization which carries the Western values among the member states. Huntington claims that regionalism is a new issue of the 1990s because each country has a regional security issue.

Within a region economic association is in four ways: free trade, customs union, common market, and economic union.

The European Union has established a common market. ASEAN and NAFTA (Burfisher, 2001). (North American Free Trade) have free trade markets. Such multicultural organizations give birth to narrower cultural organizations like EAEC (Mamlyk, 2014). Its

aim was summed up in the quote of Malasia's Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad "Americans flock together, Europeans flow together. We Asians must flock together as well" (Azia, 1991).

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the establishment of new regional organizations was observed. The success of these organizations has been seen to depend on the reputation and power of the founding country. For instance, when Israel proposed the formation of an economic organization within the region, it was met with refusal from Arab countries (Wall Street Journal, 30 September 1994; New York Times, 17 February 1995). Conversely, a country with sufficient strength, such as Japan, has been capable of initiating a trade movement comparable to the European Union. Huntington repeatedly highlights Japan's isolation in matters of trade or organizational affiliations. Ultimately, he concludes that cultural connections play a significant role in determining economic outcomes.

2.3.1 Core States as Civilizational Order

In the post- Cold War era, the big states stand for the core state and the rest states are the member states. Each civilization has a core state except Islam and African civilizations. The conflicts around member states are solved by the core states. Huntington resembles the core states to the elder members of the family. It is more effective than the United States because the latter is limited in a regional problem (Huntington, 1993).

During the Cold War, the world was divided into two. America was the largest, and most preferred county regarding its rival the USSR. NATO members and others like Pakistan, Thailand, Taiwan were followers of the USA. On the other hand, Soviet Union was a heterogeneous group, mostly by Orthodox world except Greeks. By the end of the Cold War countries have been gathered around unions. The EU core states were Germany, France circled a hard-core state, and the rest members around the hard-core states. The brain team was Germany and France in monetary, defense policies. The European Union went on enlarging till the seven circles. Then, a question appeared in mind: what is the Eastern line of Europe? The answer came from politicians. The last line was drawn in the fourth century by Catholic and Orthodox Churches and the creation of Holy Roman Empire in the tenth century (Brown, 2015). When it is mentioned as Europe, it started from Finland to Croatia as Christian Europe, but Soviet Union has blurred the line during Cold War years. When the

Western Europe is mentioned, the line is clear cut as Catholic and Orthodox worlds. Western Europeans were suspicious if they reknit the ties with Eastern Europe. Pierre Behar expressed that a new fault line has been emerged in Europe by religions (Behar, 1992).

One of the components of Western civilization was institutions. The European Union is a Western institution and Eastern Europe is waiting to be accepted. NATO, too, is about to enlarge for security sakes. Its enlargement underlines Russia's role as the core state of Orthodox world. The expansion of NATO was a message to Russia that the latter could accept Baltic States are out of its world and Russia must not interfere to their policy.

As for Turkey's NATO membership, Huntington claims that it carries some problems as Welfare Party has an Islamic base and against Westernization. Also, Turkey's the EU pending membership is problematic because Christian world does not want its presence.

For Greece, it is not a Western country, but it has classical heritage of Western world. It put press to its neighbor to Macedonia and Western governments opposed it for this blockade. Huntington says that Greece carries some anomaly with its stand in the Western world.

2.3.1.1 Russia as a core state

As a core states of Orthodox states, Russia should be examined very carefully. It has a tsarist past and Communist imperialism. With the collapse of the latter, Russia tried to keep peace and stability in the Balkans, Central Asia, and Caucasus. Its relationship with its former states will be held one by one.

First, Slavik Orthodox states are culturally near to Russia. Slavic Balkan states Bulgaria, Serbia has good relations with Russia. For Romania and Moldova, they are separate states after the Cold War, but they could be reunited later. Russia's economic pressure on them did not let this union.

For Georgia, in history Russia helped Georgians against Turk invasion. They founded a state after the Cold War. The same thing with Romania and Moldova happened with Georgia. Its economic problems ended with its membership of the CIS.

The Commonwealth of Independent States or CIS is not mentioned as much as NATO or European Union. Huntington idealizes Western organizations, but he hardly mentions other

civilizations' organizations. He says one of the heritages of Western civilization is "representative bodies which were institutions of modern democracy", but he rarely mentions Eastern institutions. In 15th century, in Anatolia there was an organization called "Bacıyan-I Rum which was founded by women in Central Anatolia (Havlioglu, 2017).

As for the CIS, it is a wide ranged Russophone intergovernmental organization ("Commonwealth of Independent States," 2017). it was founded in 1991 by Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. After a few months, new members, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan signed the Alma Ata Protocol and joined the union. Georgia joined two years later. The debt of Georgia is paid by the membership. Russia takes the states under control through economic pressure and making them join the CIS.

When it comes to the Muslim republics in the Central Asia, they are highly dependent to Russia which stands for economic and security stability there.

As for Ukraine, it was the most important counterpart with nuclear weapons and economic relations in the Soviet Union. Though Ukraine has a fault line between the East and West, it has been convenient with Russia most of the time. its fault line draws a thick line which separates Orthodox, Russian Ukraine from the West which belong to Pope. In the Western part, Ukraine language is spoken whereas in Eastern part Russian is widely spoken. Huntington estimates that Ukraine and Russia have three ways in the future.

First, social scientist sees the possibility of a future war between Russia and Ukraine in 1990s. according to Huntington's "Civilizations Theis" he predicts no war between them which comes untrue.

Second possibility in Ukraine-Russia relations, Ukraine as East and West will be separated. Crimea which has 70% Russian population has separated from Ukraine. Russian Nationalists agree to accept Eastern part of Ukraine. One military man said: East may welcome, West may go to hell.

Third assumption is Ukraine will stay united, cooperate with Russia. In this situation it would be like French-German coalition in Eurasia.

In short, Russia symbolizes the core state of Orthodox bloc in European and Slavic world.

2.3.1.2 China as a core state

Historically, China has been consisted of three zones; Han China, outer zone for non-Chinese but near cultures like Uyghurs, Mongols and last zone is for the rest. In modern China, not so many things change. China stands in the area as a core state of Confucian societies who share the same blood, race, and culture. This cultural sincerity brought economic easiness to work. Trust and confidence are reflected in business agreements. China is on the way of becoming a new world power. Economic power leads to political power, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore do not deny their Confucian ties and getting better and better relations with China. In 1990s, the three of Four Asian Tigers were Chinese origin: Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan. They were focused on technology and education and became successful till the 1997 crisis (Woodall, 1998).

Confucian success, according to Huntington, relies in the "bamboo network." which means relations affect work and connections. Chinese agreements depend on trust each other. They do not sign agreements or contracts, but they rely on trust and personal relationships. It is called "guanxi" in their language.

When the West reduced the trade with China after the Tiananmen Square, Chinese countries helped each other and did not cut the relation. These times, China became the biggest of expanding markets in the world. Diaspora Chinese were the richest in the countries they lived. For example, in Thailand, Chinese people were 3% of the population but owned 70% of the country's private domestic capital.

As for Taiwan, China had conflicts with it from 1950s. China has not recognized Taiwan for30 years. By the 1980s, their relation restored, and they reminded each other of the sentiment of "blood is thicker than water" and they began to trade each other. In that period more than 4 million Taiwanese visited China. Economic growth of China caused better relations.

Chinese growth has some components; they are labour maintained by China, communication network by Singapore, marketing and services by Hong Kong, technology is maintained by Taiwan. These components made China a core state in the Southeast Asia.

2.3.1.3 Islam without a core state

Another civilization Islam occupies a big field among the World civilizations. Unlike the West, it is not apt to nation states which are the highest peak of civilization as a state model. According to Huntington, Islamic societies are ruled by the motivations: first is family, clan, or tribes and the second is culture and religion. They cannot come through with it.

The uprising of Islam in 1970s and 1980s is due to several reasons. One of them is economic wellbeing of Gulf countries especially Saudia Arabia which supported Islamic movements around the world financially. Second is increasing of educated young generations in Islamic countries. They are mobilized youth and communicate around the world with other Muslim youth. And last, means of communication helped to improve the relations between them (Metcalf 1986).

All these attempts cannot help Islam civilization unite for two reasons.

One of them is there are too many leading countries in this ideology. In history too, the caliphate has been shared by different tribes more than three times. The second caliphate was Umayyad caliphate in the seventh century and the third caliphate was Abbasid caliphate and the last was Ottoman caliphate. They cannot unite around one tribe because it is the war of thrones. Nowadays, the same problem occurs as Saudi Arabia starts an organization and Egypt starts the second and Sudan tries to put the third.

The second reason is the absence of a core state because of the reasons mentioned above. Ummah is used instead of nation, but the former one is too loose to be gathered. No unity can be achieved.

2.4 CLASHES OF CIVILIZATIONS

As the book is called "Clash of Civilizations", Huntington identifies the future clashes of civilizations by three terms. He says that in future clashes would be because of "Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance and Sinic assertiveness."

The statement "Western arrogance" is explained by him in the coming pages. Huntington claims that inconsistency lies in the fact that America wants to imply its Western values, but it has a declining power over the world countries. With the collapse of the USSR, the USA

gained a kind of confidence and felt the triumph of liberal values which are limited government, human rights, the rule of law, free markets, democracy, and individualism. Besides, it puts sanctions and economic forces on non-Western people for the sake of "Free World" which has a subtle meaning to legitimize its presence in other countries internal affairs.

Non-Westerners watch Western attempts to spread their universal ideology as imperialism. Their struggle is to get rid of Western democracy, economic or political dominance.

Western assertiveness can be categorized in three fields.

a. West's relation with Islam and China
b. West's relation with weaker civilizations like Latin America and Africa.
c. Its relations with Russia, Japan, and India.

West's relation with Islam has started with the new regimes of Islam countries to the fundamentalist ones in 1970s. Huntington thinks of the future if Westerns institutions or Islamic or Chinese values would be dominant in the 21st century.

According to Huntington, the realist theory, core states of the non-Western countries come together to make weaken the Western impact. It means a common enemy creates common interest. This theory works when China and Islam come together in military or economic affairs. Although they have fewer common things between them, they gather for the common enemy as Stalin and Allies came together against Hitler. The interactive efforts between and against the West can be summoned in three fields.

Nuclear Weapons

Human Rights and Democracy

Immigration

Weapons: Military strength stems from political and economic development. When countries become strong, they improve their military power. Asian countries get richer and get high weapons as usual. On the other hand, Huntington expresses that the United States has the capability of bombing any place around the world. Because the US had a long effort and spent a lot of money to improve these conventional weapons. The core states of the

civilizations want these weapons to make their region stable. Huntington claims that Iraq was about to create a nuclear weapon to invade Saudi oil in a few years if the US was not intervened. Thus, non-Western countries tried to get nukes. Indian state man expressed that no country would fight against the US until they get nuclear weapons. In the Cold War, it had the mission of equalizer (Aspin, 1992).

From the weak states' point of view, if you do not have conventional or nuclear weapons, you create terrorism. For this reason, nuclear power and terrorism are the weapons of the weak. In the post-Cold War era, the destruction of these weapons has been talked about, but non-Western states continued to create them. Iran claims that if Israel has nukes, Iran must have, too.

These developments lead China to help Islamic states to create conventional and nuclear weapons. It helped Libya, Syria with heavy missiles via Iran. Between 1980 and 1990, Iran and Pakistan were the best purchasers of Chinese weapons. Even a Sino Chinese agreement had been signed in 1990s to transfer technology and nuclear cooperation. With the pressure of the US, China has been suspended some weapons to Iran. After ceasing Iran, North Korea has started to help these countries. In the end, Pakistan and have developed their own nuclear weapons.

With the end of Cold War, the US attempts to reduce these conventional and nukes but it did not have the same intention as the rest of the world. The US's struggle to hold down the weapons may slow down the buyers and sellers, but it will not cease. Because trade and commerce on weapons affect Western countries' economy. Besides, core states of the regions would want to secure their area.

Until the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty has been signed seven Muslim members (Syria, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, Libya, and Malesia) and an African country (Nigeria) in 1995, North Korea worked on making nuclear bomb and South Korea has not stood against it. South Koreans thought that if two Koreas would unite, they will have a nuclear bomb too. Although the US warned North Korea to stop the attempt, North Korea declared that they had two nuclear bombs. The US was not successful in stopping Iran, India, or Pakistan, either.

The treaty offered to cease nuclear attempts for twenty-five years, but no country has agreed to make the period longer. Egypt claimed Israel would not stop, so they would not. Each

country has its reasons to cut the prolongation of the treaty. So, the struggle of the US for non-proliferation of nuclear power did not work effectively.

Human Rights and Democracy: Huntington declares the words of the State Secretary of the US, James Baker announced that the US would bring democracy to the non-democrat countries. He claims that democracy is most successful in the countries which are Catholic or Protestant Christians. This declaration and claim have some problematic in it.

Is it the responsibility of the West to bring democracy to the countries? Why did the US attain this job itself? Non-Western countries might accept this attempt hostile and a kind of occupation.

With this motivation, The US intervened the internal affairs of the countries in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan and in the Balkans.

Without The US intervention, with the rapid economic growth some countries made their conditions better and applied democracy. In East Asia, Central and Southern Europe, Western institutions worked well for stabilization of democracy. Even in the Orthodox societies, democracy could be applied, but not in Islam societies. In the post-Cold War era, the West aimed to establish democratic life around the globe. In 1995, with the rapid growth in economy in Asian societies caused to deny these Western values and human rights subjects which were the product of Western civilization. It was because of the self-confidence of economic wellness. The most realistic statement came from Richard Nixon in 1995 who said that within two decades Western human rights issues would make Chinese laugh at them (Nixon, 1994). Huntington draws attention to the fact that if democracy comes to Asian countries, it will be because of the middle class.

The clashes of civilizations appeared in the World Conference on Human Rights which was attended by 171 nations, 800 NGOs and 7000 participants (Boyle, 1995). No abuses of human rights mentioned by country names, nor no rules adopted (Riding, 1993). According to Huntington, it was the confrontation of universal and cultural locality, economic civil rights, and political civil rights. Most participants knew the world was more Asian, African, and Arab in 1995 than the time Universal Declaration of Human Rights was declared in 1948 when it was more Judeo Christan.

The revenge of the West in Vienna Conference was taken in the selections of 2000 summer Olympics. China was a strong candidate and lobbied the other governments. On the other hand, the United States Congress, the European Parliament, and human right organizations stood against Chinese bloc. In the end, China was not chosen, Australia has won the race by the support of Western bloc.

Finally, democracy has some paradoxes to bring the fundamentalists to the governments. In the Cold War, the West must choose to cooperate with anti-communist juntas which were the partners of the West. In the post-Cold War era, the Western assumption was that elections would bring pro-Western governments. Unfortunately, the assumption brought non-Western governments and the West must choose to cooperate with either the non-Western governments or undemocratic regimes.

Immigration: Immigration is the third counterpart of the West with the rest of the world. Immigration reached its peak between the late 19th century and early 20th century. 55 million Europeans immigrated and 34 of them went to the USA. When it comes to 1990s, 100 million are legal immigrants, 19 million were refugees, and 10 million are illegal immigrants. This new movement has some reasons as the wealthy situation of the West, transportation easiness, fast communication, decolonization, and newly founded states. The new immigrants were mostly from non-Western countries. Turks' population reached 1.6 million people in Germany in 1990s. In fact, it was because of the labour need in Germany after the Second World War. In 1995, 4 million Muslims were living in France. The high fertility rates made the number higher. Near the end of the Twentieth century, Muslim population in Europe was 13 million Muslims. The only rule in migration is once it starts, no one can stop it. Each immigrant teaches the easiest ways to the newcomers.

The consequence of the immigrants to Europe was the rise of the hate against Muslims, the rise on the votes of right wing, anti-immigrant parties. In France, Jaques Chirac announced that immigration should stop. In Germany, similar voices from the right-wing parties have aroused. Europe did not want any immigrants anymore. Besides, they went to reduce the numbers by eliminating. Europeans suffer from Muslim refugees, and on the other hand, the US suffer from Mexican immigrants who can come easier than Muslims and have community near the border. Both nations are resistant to assimilation because they want to carry out their traditions.

Huntington foresees that by 2025, Muslim immigrants would be less. Unfortunately, his assumption failed because of the Arab Spring in 2000s.

2.4.1 Civilizational Conflicts

Civilizational conflicts are held in two sections by Huntington. First, the conflict between fault lines which were described the groups within two different civilizations, and the second the conflict between core states. Both are never friendly, rather hostile. However, core states rarely use weapons against each other, they would use fault line groups to fight. Most conflicts are for:

a. Shaping global developments
b. Arm races.
c. Economic power
d. Territory problems
e. Values and culture
f. Protecting its people

These issues are universal and seen at all ages. But when these conflicts are between civilizations, they cause wars. Core states fight each other with two reasons:

a. They sharpen the war between fault line groups and the fight grows bigger.
b. From changes of power within civilizations

The rise of China in a global scale shifts the distribution of power among civilizations. Huntington has severe criticism about Islam. He says that even Marxist and Liberal conflicts was less superficial when it is compared to Islam's (Huntington, 1993). He gives the history of the Arab Islam enlargement through jihad from the seventh century to eighteenth century. He quotes of historian Bernard Lewis on the Moorish invasion of Spain and the Ottoman besiege of Vienna as the two threats of Islam towards the West (Lewis, 1993).

2.4.2 Western Colonialism

Huntington admits that by the fifteenth century, the rise of Christians has become realized. The weak attempt of Vienna by Ottomans in 1683 caused the loss of the reign in Balkan

countries. The shifts were in the pro of the West. Orthodox Russians ended Tatar rule which lasted two centuries, and they advanced the Black Sea and Caucasus.

When it comes to Western Imperialism and colonialism, it is necessary to mention the Berlin Conference. It was held in Berlin in 1884 and concluded in 1885 regulating colonization rules over African states (Katzenellenbogen, 1996). European leaders looked like they were there for trade, but it was more to civilize Africans and partition of it. It started the New Imperialism period which reflected ongoing new raw material sources and imperial exploitation under the ethos of "civilization mission" (Louis, 2006).

With the end of the World War I, Britain, France, and Italy established their rule on the Ottoman territory. The sick man of Europe has been divided between these three. Since the founder of Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk built a new state as Republic on the ruins of Ottoman Empire. The Turkish Independence War was the war against Western Imperialism and led foundation of a new republic.

2.4.3 Is Islam a New Threat to The West

According to a survey held in the USA, people who were asked if Islam was a threat to their culture replied yes by 65 per cent. Why do people are afraid of Islam? There are some replies to this question.

First, Islam population accelerates too fast. There are too many young, illiterate, and uneducated people who are ready to flee to a Western country.

Second, Islamic resurgence gave a kind of false confidence to them. They are not democratic, nor carry Western values.

Third, Western pressure to spread its democracy bred a kind of terror among Muslims.

Fourth, the collapse of Soviet Union caused to new states which has Muslim populations.

Fifth, encountering with each other showed the differences and this caused conflicts.

Social scientist Bary Buzan insisted that a new Cold War merged between Islam and the West in 1991 (Buzan, 1991). Like Buzan there are many social scientists who emphasize the cultural difference between two civilizations.

As a contradiction some rich Arab countries like Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Gulf Sheikdoms need Western protection. This is a vicious circle of the rich, but no one mentions the violation of human rights in these rich Arab countries. In Amnesty 2022 Report, they are subtitled as death penalty, censorship and freedom of expression, corporal punishment, detention, and killing and disappearances ("Saudi Arabia," 2023). This is saying of the capital follows no rules. A rich country can buy a protector and can go on with violations. The USA declared five terrorist countries as Libya, Syria, Sudan, Iran, and Iraq. They were accused of being close nations which are suspected of urban terrorism. As a contradiction, 9/11 terror incident's some terrorists were Saudi Arabian.

2.4.4 The Rise of Asia

As a multicivilizational region, East Asia draws attention to its rapid economic growth. There are four core states of four civilizations, Russia, China, Japan, and the US in the area. Indonesia and India are other powers in different ways. This rise of economic wealth causes conflicts in the world:

First, economic growth brings weapons which are never wanted by the around countries.

Second, economic wealth damages the balance in the region, it might cause conflicts.

Third, this may lessen Chinese hegemony in the area which is wanted to rule by China.

Even if China did not ask to bandwagon it, there was no community in Asia to show an international society. In the West, there are many organizations as NATO, The EU, The IMF, but in Asia, ASEAN is hardly held by Asian countries. There are two conflict zones between two Koreas and two Chinese. Although they were remnants of the Cold War, they could cause problems nowadays.

Huntington claims that the post-Cold War is the cause of territorial and ideological problems. Western Europe has been peaceful in recent years, but Eastern Asia has problems. As an American scientist said West's past would be East's future (Friedberg, 1993).

2.4.5 American Relations with Other Civilizations

The relation between the US and Asian countries can be held in two sections.

First, relations before the Cold War

Second, relations after the Cold War

When we talk about the relation with the Asian countries and the US, we must emphasize the role of Russia on these relations. Russia was a threat to the world and the US must communicate with Asian governments. The US and Japan were mutual friends since 1950s and the rapid growth of Russia made China and the US contact each other in 1970s. Although they were in need to each other, the relation was always antagonistic, because of shared values of the core states, western values as democracy, oppose authority, equality, liberty was in contradiction with the Asian hierarchy, the supremacy of the state over society, obey culture. The increased communication revealed the cultural differences between two civilizations, and this caused stress in each society.

The collapse of the Soviet Union finished the Cold War and second tour started between the US and Asian countries especially Japan, and China. The end of the USSR gave the USA some kind of self-confidence that their liberal values are accurate, and others must follow them. On the other hand, China and other Asian societies were growing economically and this growth gave them some confidence in their culture. The sources of the conflict were in the values each society had. As for Japan's economic growth, it did not follow Western economic logic. Its growth was independent from Western free market rules because Japanese markets were quite unique. The US sanctions were not effective on them. The decline of American power made Asian countries proud of themselves and decline American hegemony.

Chinese Hegemony: emerging new powers destabilizes the area which the state locates When a state grows in a rapid way, around states behave in two ways: either they unite and try to balance the newly emerged power, or they submit the new power and accommodate it. So, Chinese region power must be held from two aspects:

a. Band wagoning
b. Balancing

Band wagoning: it needs trust and sincerity among members and the core state. China has grown too big in the region. It has played an important role in developing economies of Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and Philippines, they would react as:

a. Support Chinese territory including Tibet, Uyghur, and Taiwan.
b. Accept Chinese power in the South Sea
c. Support China against West
d. Accept Chinese military power.
e. Accept use of Mandarin instead of English
f. Be open to possible immigrants from China.

Band wagoning happens between nearby cultures and civilizations. The South Sea countries are mentally near Confucianism. For China, band wagoning is more important than balancing, because for China, hierarchy is the symbol of their culture. All the countries in the Far East have common things with China. Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam, Indonesia shares more similar culture with China than they have with the West.

Balancing: it would be done by Japan and the USA's military cooperation, because for Japan to combat with China would cost a lot if it chose to do it by itself. For America, it would make its place strong by allying Japan against China in the Far East. Allying with the USA might not be a problem because Japan is mostly like China. It accepts the hierarchic status and tends to band wagoning (Tsuchiyama, 1994). Therefore, a bigger power is acceptable for Japan to balance the powers in the region.

In the future, the possibility of war is acceptable, because the USA might stop Chinese hegemony in the region. This might lead to cooperation of Sino Islam encounters. Muammar al Qaddafi wished China to be victorious in 1994 (Sermon, 1994).

As for Latin America and Africa, relations with the USA differ from time to time. There are no core states in these civilizations. The rapid spread of Protestantism in Latin America makes them Catholic Protestant societies, yet there are serious problems between them as drug smuggling, immigration, economic integration. NAFTA is a solution but cannot solve the distribution of wealth problem. However, the problem between Latin and the West is smaller when it is compared to Sino or Islam.

Unfortunately, African and the West relations are going weaker and weaker. The attempts to decolonize Europe at their speeds and their relation to the West are getting worse unlike Latin America which is getting Westerner year by year.

2.4.6 Swing Civilizations

These are civilizations between two different cultures. There are three swing civilizations. It can be said that they are trans civilizational Cold War alliances.

Japan: it has military ties with the US, but at the same time Chinses culture takes its attention.

Russia: it stands in Eurasian balance against West. At the Cold War, China has played "Chinese Card" for the West. Now, Russia plays "Russian Card" between China and the West. It swings between Sino Islamic civilizations and Western civilizations. Yet, its rapprochement with the West has some problems:

a. NATO and the EU will expand their borders and Russia must accept it.
b. The West must recognize Russia as an Orthodox leader in the Orthodox countries.

If arrangement occurs between the West and Russia, there will be peace in the international arena. Because Chinese growth threatens Russia in the area. Siberia is under attack of the Chinese immigrants.

Russia's relation with Islam differs from country to country. Its Central Asia presence is to prevent fundamentalist Islam in Turkic countries. With Iran, Russia helped to build nuclear reactors and sold Iran submarines. Besides, they cooperate against Turkish unity in Central Asia. Moreover, Russia fights with Chechnya which has fundamentalist Islam fractions. In the future, Russia's status with Islamic countries would not be so bright according to the past events.

India: it is the third swing civilization beside Russia and Japan. Like many international subjects, India' situation should be considered in two ways. In the Cold War times, it was an ally of the Soviet Union. Its relations with Pakistan were confrontation on nuclear weapons. Pakistan backed Islam countries in post-Cold War era. India swinged between Russia and China which were core states of two different civilizations. When Sino China reproachment occurred, India began to buy Russian weapons. Its relationship with the US was problematic

on human rights, and Kashmir. In fact, core states' relations with the other civilization are always problematic due to the third party.

2.4.7 Transition Wars

Late 20th century has witnessed two transition wars: Afghanistan and The Gulf. Both were invaded by different civilizations. First, Afghanistan was invaded by Russia because its regime called Soviet troops for the aid. In return, the US armed the rebel groups of mujahedeen against Soviet soldiers. The war caused Muslim financial support for the jihad and Muslim countries raced in financial help with each other. During the war, 25 000 volunteers came to Afghanistan to help mujahedeen. Although the West has been accepted infidels, its money and weapon has been used against the enemy. At last, the war has been won by mujahedeen and Soviet troops have left the country. The victory has been seen as the victory of Islam over the infidels.

Second transition war was the Gulf War which was the invasion of Saddam Hussein of Kuwait. This caused the Arab League to vote the US intervention by the acceptance of fourteen Arab countries. While Muslim governments agreed on the Western intervention, public opinion was different. In Arab countries, resistance against intervention appeared. It was seen like "Crusaders" and "Zionists" war.

2.4.8 Fault Line Wars

They are wars between tribes, groups, and different religions. They can be quite bloody and violent for the domination over the people or the domination of territory. It can be confused with the communal wars which are made within the same religion whereas fault line wars confrontation of different religions.

They can easily flame and take off, always ready to blow up. Because religions are source of the conflicts at fault line wars. When a fault line war started, it might grow bigger and bigger with the attendance of kin groups. Communication and transportation make people mobilize and gather around the fault line wars.

2.4.9 History is Alive and Repeats Itself

Huntington emphasizes the repetition of the fault line wars in history. He says that in the Subcontinent, North Caucasus, in the Balkans, in Sri Lanka, Africa, Palestine have witnessed these fault line wars in the past and will witness in the future.

Huntington questions why people of fault lines fight with each other. For ages people used to live in peace in these areas. What makes them make fault line wars?

The answer lies in the rapid rise of the demography. If a group's population climbs high, a crisis starts there. This is an inevitable rule. In Lebanon, Shi'ite population rose high, and Maronite Christians lessened. Shi'ite Muslims changed the laws. In Russia, Chechens grew 26% high in 1980s and immigration and unemployment have started. The same result appeared in Kosova in the 1990s. Muslim population reached 90% and Serbs stayed about 10%. This caused Serbs to take dangerous cautions as to make ethnic cleansing.

2.4.10 Kin Country Syndrome

In the Cold War period, Third World countries had to choose one of the two superpowers. They might have felt secure in this way. When the Cold War ended, countries began to search for the core state of their civilizations. Therefore, when a fault line war appears, the possibility to turn into inter civilizational war is easier than in the past.

States or groups may take part in fault line wars. They are the first participants of the war. There are always secondary and third participants of the fault line wars. Tertiary participants are usually the core states of civilizations. For example, when the groups in Azerbaijan and Armenia are the first participants in the conflict of Nagorno Karabakh. Secondary participants are the governments of these groups, and the third participants are Russia and Turkey.

The first helpers of the first participants are diaspora citizens of each country. They are often "more Catholic than Pope." In the 1990s, the Bosnia War is an example of this. In the primary and secondary level Croatian Government, Bosnian Government and Serbian Government took part in the fight. At the tertiary level, participants were Turkey, Russia, Germany, Vatican, Austria, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan. Even Pope has started a Crusade against

both Serbian Communism and Islamic fundamentalism. Yugoslav wars witnessed a big mobilization of outside kin members.

2.4.11 Stopping Fault Line Wars

Because the fault line wars stem from the proximity of different civilizations, they hardly end. There are two ways to stop them.

a. They may get tired of fighting.
b. A third-party country can mediate and can end the fight.

Fault line wars usually do not end by the secondary or tertiary participants although they never take part as primary factors. If the primary groups have no core states, the fight might not end easily. The war in Sudan expanded in 1956 and carried in 1972. Neither Arab world, nor Africa has core states. Halting fault line wars depends on the desire of core states which take part in the fights as tertiary participants.

3. THIRD CHAPTER

3.1 WHAT IS WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

The popular terms of the 1980s were "globalism" and "terror". The former one is accepted by Western social scientists as a phenomenon. To fight another phenomenon "terrorism", "globalism" is introduced as the only way out in modern history to cope with it. However, there is a different way to understand the "world-systems". It was created throughout history and one who wants to study this system must relearn whatever is taught at school or society. In short, it can be said that world systems theory indicates three important turning points in life.

a. 16th century which is the birth date of capitalist society
b. 1789 French Revolution which established central liberalism
c. 1968 Revolution which gave hope of leaving central liberalism.

Within the book "World Systems Analysis: An Introduction", one can find an introduction to a new thinking system.

3.2 HISTORY OF WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

All new systems dwell on the accumulation of old systems. World Systems Theory is also built on the cumulative knowledge of the past. Unlike "Clash of Civilizations" it dates to the 18th century. The capitalist world has already had two centuries. The vast improvement in collecting capital caused people to seek modern technologies. Thus, new discoveries are needed to search for the raw material, and this leads to intellectual and scientific improvement. Within the new knowledge, people began to question the old sayings of the Holy Book because it was insufficient to fulfil people's demand of reality. In this age philosophers appeared but we must not forget that till the end of 18^{th} century, philosophy was part of science. For instance, Kant was giving lectures on both metaphysics and astronomy.

In the 18th century, philosophy and science is divided into two. The division between philosophy and science was the reason for the foundation of modern universities. University is a Middle Age foundation, but in today's meaning, it goes back to the 18th century. Professors were not clergy men; they were mostly scientists. In the Middle Age, university

had four departments, theology, medicine, law, and philosophy. In modern universities it is divided into two, human sciences and nature sciences. They conflicted with each other for revealing the truth. Nature scientists defended the idea that truth must be examined through experiments whereas human scientists defended in hermeneutics.

1789 French Revolution caused a big change in universities if social reality was a subject of human sciences or natural sciences. Because French Revolution revealed two things: politic changes are continuous and sovereignty is on people, not in monarchs (Fehér, 1990). As a result, a new branch has emerged, it was social sciences. It dealt with the nature of changes or what causes social changes. They have not been answered yet. Leopold Ranke (Leopold von Ranke) has suggested the idea that history should be written as it happened, not praising the monarchs in the 19th century. He said that a historian should use archives which were kept by diplomats and politic leaders. Most historians followed the hermeneutics way, but new historians were empiricists. The latter defended the idea that each historical event is unique and must be considered in its age. These historians were mostly in five countries: Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, and Italy. In the 19th century history was these five countries' history.

Unfortunately, history has less things to say about today. In these countries 'universities, three different branches have been founded economy, political science, and sociology. Liberal ideology is interested in three fields in 19th century: market, state, and people. They believed these three branches have diverse ways. On the other hand, these five domain countries, Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, and Italy have been colonizers of African or other countries. In universities, two new branches are needed. They were anthropology which aimed to study the primitive tribes and ethnography aimed to study cultures.

Moreover, the world does not consist of these five countries or primitive tribes. There were would-be "high civilizations" which were consisted of Eastern civilizations such as Iran, Islam, Indian and Chinese. To study their language, religion, culture some Orientalists have emerged in the West. The West has not accepted them as modern civilizations because they haven't had technology.

These studies lasted till the 1940s, which was the date of big changes in history. In most societies a university degree has become more important than before.

Between 1945 -1970, four important discussions prepared the World Systems Theory:

a. Core- Periphery Model: It was developed by the Third World academics who defended the idea that international trade was not the trade of equals. It was on behalf of the powerful states, and they were core states. On the other hand, David Ricardo published his book including "comparative advantage" (Ricardo, 1817) in 1817. The book says that if two countries as England and Portugal were producing two goods with identical quality must trade these two goods, both would have advantages.

b. The second theory was "Asiatic Mode of Production" (Tőkei, 1979) in 1850s. Karl Marx defined this system to describe autocratic and bureaucratic empire of the East. It was in fact, "High civilizations" of Orientalists.

c. The third one was about the discussion which was based on the transition from feudalism to capitalism. It was important because it carried a political message, and it could be a signal to the transition to socialism from capitalism. The discussion is mostly held by a Marxist writer Paul Sweezy who thought that England was a part of Mediterranean area and changes in the area would affect England economy.

d. The fourth discussion was about the Annales School which almost dealt with the nomothetic social science.

All these discussions were held independently. When the argument continues, a new development happened. It was 1968 social uprisings. The protestors were defending the rights of minorities, indigenous people, and discrimination between genders.

When the world comes to 1970s, a new talk about World Systems has started. The new historical system was against national history, national economy, and national policy. World systems can be categorized into three fields: mini-systems, world- empires and world-economies.

The world economy was a capitalist one. On the other hand, in world-systems theory, core and periphery were in continuous relation. In a capitalist society, there is a flow of capital

gain from periphery to the center. Fernand Braudel, who was the second-generation Annales School, put the difference between free market and monopoly. He said that capitalism started in the 12th century. He said that the only monopoly was capitalism (Wallerstein, 1991). The free market was never capitalism. World-systems theorists do not believe in the necessity of wage labor was only way in financial registration. The most severe critiques were from the four approaches:

a. Nomothetic positivists stated world-systems theory narrative, far from test for experiments.
b. Orthodox Marxists found it unaware of class war.
c. State autonomy defenders believed that world-systems theory neglected the center.
d. As for cultural particularisms, world-systems neglect the culture center identities.

Nevertheless, world-systems analysis is a big narrative theory. It defends a unique discipline to explain the world, but it does not deny using all other disciplines.

3.3 MODERN WORLD- ECONOMY SYSTEM AS CAPITALISM

As Braudel said, world-economy or capitalist system is a geographic area where free market takes place without a hegemonic system. He added that capitalists do not like free market unlike Karl Marx and Adam Smith (Wallerstein, 1991). The only time to keep them together is partnership. They can produce a common culture and it is called geo culture. And it would lead to monopoly. Capitalism is not only selling and buying things, but also accumulating things. The world economy is a function of the capitalist system. It has long roots in history. Therefore, it became a part of the world system.

If we think in reverse, capitalist system can only be in world-economy. And it is necessary to hold ties with the politics. They work with the government. They need cooperation with every part of society e.g., markets, classes, individuals or as Weber said statue-groups (Weber, 1946). Max Weber argued that society is made up from three parts: class, status, and party. These were distribution of power in society.

If we start with markets, capitalists do not want free markets where there is a flow of commodities. They would like a monopoly where they would decide the price, So, they can create a large margin between commodity and price. They use patent rights to earn more.

This is how they create oligopoly. They can use other methods to create monopolies such as subsidies and tax deduction.

To cooperate with capitalists, firms are another field. In history, firms always moved upwards, but they ascend two up and descend one back. This is the movement of the firms. Of course, they cooperate with the governments.

Modern world-economy system is full of core and periphery states. Core states struggle to stay in the core and periphery states try to move to the core. For example, 1800s, textile was particularly important for England but when it comes to 2000s periphery countries such as South Korea, India gained more importance. When there is vast production, prices will go down and configuration will be needed.

Next field of capitalist system is workers. They live in households with 3 or up to 10 people. It is necessary to live together because when they add their Money to the family budget, they can live well. In this situation, workers do not rise to the system because there are other household people to support him. As for the income, it can be in various ways; Money gifts, wages, being a vender or renting an empty place to a renter. Most Americans cannot live without these incomes.

All these firms, household of workers, status groups are under the pressure of the norms. One of them is universality and the other is racism and genderism. These two opposite norms surrounding society. Universality is a positive norm and is related to world-systems. It seeks justice and equality everywhere. On the other hand, racism and genderism are negative norms. Both these norms are necessary for the world-systems theory.

3.4 HOW DEPENDENCY THEORY EMERGED

Dependency theory emerged after World War II as a search for the poverty of the underdeveloped Latin countries and as an opposition to the “modernization theory” which was popular in 1940s among the thinkers like Karl Deutch and Seymour Martin Lipset. The latter believed that modernization would bring democracy to the countries (Lipset, 1959). Modernization simply defended the vast use of technology in communication, transport, and other means of technology. When the “dependency theory” was first mentioned in two papers in 1949, scholars aimed to determine the poverty of Latin Americans. They found

some problems in trade like to be far from the world market or lacking investment in technology. Both situations caused the exploitation of the developed countries of these relevantly poor countries. The common idea was that underdeveloped countries are systematically exploited by developed countries. Without underdeveloped countries there could be no developed countries. This idea was accepted by both liberals and Marxist at the same time. Some Marxist writers as Paul Sweezy, Immanuel Wallerstein, Walter Rodney, and Andre Gunder Frank discussed the idea of underdevelopment. One of "dependency theory" Rodney believed that Africa is also the center of exploitation by Europe in terms of raw material, cheap labor. Wallerstein developed "World-systems theory" which is like dependency theory under the effect of Annual School and Marxist approach. His definition core, periphery, semi periphery stems from dependency theory.

3.5 ARE STATE SYSTEMS RISING

A modern state is the sovereign state. It institutionalized at Westphalia Treatment in 1648. European countries after the Renaissance set a rule system between states. In modern concept, a sovereign state has seven important claims.

a. Border and customs rules.
b. Owning property rules
c. Workers' wages are declared.
d. A set of rules about firms
e. Sectors which would be monopoly
f. Tax rules.
g. Sanctions towards other countries

First, sovereign countries are recognized by other countries. It is important because there are certain countries that are either accepted or neglected. Cuba and the USA are two countries and they accepted each other as sovereign countries. China and Taiwan are accepted as one country in the United Nations because of Chinese diplomacy. But the last one is the sovereignty of Northern Cyprus. They have not been accepted as a sovereign country. Therefore, declaring sovereignty is an important claim between states.

The ideology of a capitalist state is laissez-faire which means states must not interfere with firms' deals, in literal meaning "let them do" It became popular with the magnum opus of Adam Smith's "The Wealth of Nations".

To examine the seven rules of a state, we start with the border rules. They can be in three different areas.

a. Importing or exporting goods
b. Importing or exporting capital
c. The movement of immigrants

As for property rules, it is secured in a capitalist state to accumulate capital.

The most detailed bureaucracy means the strongest state. Therefore, workers' wages, working hours, working conditions are explained well in contrast.

As for the firms, they follow the rule "laissez-faire" which means state must not interfere firms' deals. It was the doctrine of the 19th century which meant economic liberalism (Gordon, 1955).

States would decide the monopoly sector. For capitalism, it is necessary to accumulate capital. Monopoly is important for states.

As for the tax income, most firms accept the be taxed but the amount would be arranged firmly. And lastly, states do not behave alone in the world. There are always other states to deal with. Foreign firms in a country may put pressure on the governments using their own states. They are powerful companies. In the USA steel producers forced the government to ease their import and export. On the other hand, proletarians should be organized to cope with the big system.

All these rules were after the French Revolution. It caused two significant changes in history.

a. Policy is open to changes; it is not stable.
b. The sovereignty of people. People are more powerful than states.

It led three ideologies in the society: conservatives, liberals, and radicals in powerful states. What was the definition of a powerful state? It can be said to collect 80% taxes. If they

collect less than 20%, they become in a weak state and behave in a dictatorial way. Weak states are the center of terrorism and illegal things. States become the only way to earn Money from bribes and this leads to coup possibility. Therefore, the state army becomes more important in weak states. All these things are because of the weakness of the states.

If landowners become powerful, they build their own sovereignty. These are the mafias part of capitalist states. They try to legalize after they make a lot of money. But at least one generation tries to accumulate capital in an illegal way. The coming generation tries to behave legally. These mafia deals never end. One finishes and the other starts in weak states. To cope with the mafioso organizations, states support nations. Nation states arrange their own history, a long chronology of victorious wars and treaties. Three ways to create a nation state are schools, military service, and official ceremonies. Any government use being a nation state is in fact a weak state. It uses this to show off its power. Powerful states do not need to show off. They use the leader of a weak state and put pressure on him to arrange student exchanges and media deals. They simply give bribes to the weak state leaders. Weak state leaders would be content with the protection by a powerful state.

The weakest states are colonial ones. They do not have sovereignty and are under the control of a powerful state. When the states were established, there were some tribes in other parts of the world. Powerful states-built satellite states to manage and exploit them.

The end of a powerful state is to build an empire-state. However, it is not as easy as it seems. There are three attempts to build an empire-state which were of Charles V and the two others were of Napoleon in the 19th century and Hitler's in 20th century. They were very powerful attempts but all of them were defeated and were unsuccessful.

On the other hand, it is easier to build hegemony. It suits with the capitalist system whereas world-empires kill it. World empires do prevent accumulating vast capital. When a state turns out to be an empire-state, firms directly act against it. Hegemonic states are different. They accumulate vast capital, and they protect stability, and this stable environment attracts firms who want to invest.

The next problem is that hegemonic states end in one day. They create a forceful army which has highly costly investments to protect their hegemony. Other states do the same. They try to build a hegemonic state. In the historical arena, one is erased and the other rises. For

capitalism this or that state does not matter. The important thing is to accumulate a vast amount of capital.

3.6 CRISIS IN THE WORLD-SYSTEM

There is a difference in the meaning of difficulty and crisis. Crisis means a time of great danger, difficulty, or doubt when problems must be solved, or important decisions must be made. In crisis, people and governments should stay out of the problem and look out of it. The world has been in crisis since the 1968 shock in the system. It showed people that the liberal system is collapsing.

We are living in a capitalist world-economy. Capitalists are in search of rising prices and lowering the cost of raw material. When they raise the prices, they must be careful of their rivals. They want to give minimum wages to the workers, but this causes purchasing power to go down. Some capitalists do not make wages so low, because they want to revive the market. Besides, it is not easy to predict customers' priority in purchasing.

Every capitalist must think about three conditions.

a. Worker wages
b. Cost of raw material
c. The tax which his government will demand.

As for wages, employers want to give minimum wages. The rise will be a decision of workers union and government. Worker unions are crucial in state organization. There is another thing in deciding minimum wages. It is the rate of unemployed people. All these things are effective in giving the wages.

The second one is the cost of production. Employers may build the factories in the rural areas to lower the cost but unfortunately the logistics would be expensive. In rural areas people sell their land and move to the cities. This situation will lead to a worker's deficit. What makes high costs are the price of machines and raw materials. Moreover, pollution and waste management are problems of the capitalist system. The government must have plans for these problems. The government may want employers to pay for their waste and this will also make the prices high.

The last thing in a capitalist society is taxing. It becomes more important than yesterday because offshore accounts would easily smuggle the Money. Taxing is important for the democratic states because of health, education, and stable income. States must guarantee these because of taxing.

All these leads to a new concept in world politics. It is called neoliberalism or in policy “Washington Treaty”. It meant to trade capital and materials in a free movement. There was a meeting in Davos to introduce IMF and WTO and the world needed them in the future. There was also another organization called World Social Forum which was founded by the left wing to oppose neoliberalism.

3.7 HOW THE WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY APPROACHES TO THIS CONFLICT

Initially emerging as a development theory aimed at highlighting global inequalities, particularly in the Third World (Robinson, 2011), the World Systems theory has been a focal point for critics seeking to understand the future of current conflicts. It is preferred by its originator to be referred to as "an analysis" rather than a "theory", drawing parallels with Marx's critique of capitalism and its anticipated rise in the 16th century. The ideal future, seen through a Marxian lens, is suggested to lean towards socialism, indicating a vision for a socialist world (Babones, 2015). This analysis does not categorize the process as either evolutionary or cyclical but calls for social change and criticizes capitalism, encapsulating the notion that what ascends must also descend.

In the 1980 edition of "The Modern World System", cycles of economic fluctuations are identified as Kondratieff Cycles and logistics cycles, integral to the capitalist system and described as asymptotes that never converge. Identified within this system are three critical asymptotes: the wage-labor market, the increasing cost of raw materials, and the escalation of taxation. While the issues within the capitalist system are clearly outlined, a definitive solution is not provided. Attention is instead drawn to anti-state movements and their role in supporting liberal governments across various domains, including labor, racial/ethnic equality, and the women's movement.

4. DISCUSSIONS

4.1 CIVILIZATIONS THEORY VERSUS WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

Both books have strong claims on the dynamics of the global political system which was reshaped in the post-Cold War era.

Huntington claims that ideologies have ended, and new conflicts based on cultural divisions, in other words, on civilizations. The emphasis is not on economic differences in these divisions, but it is on the way of life, habits, and values (Northrop, 1946). He suggests that if the conflict were due to economic reasons, they were the result of lack of democracy or human rights.

Wallerstein is more accurate in his ascertainment that the conflicts are the result of the capitalist core states which continuously exploit the periphery's raw material, agriculture products and natural resources.

Huntington agrees on the definition of Wallerstein's civilization description. According to Huntington, civilization is a society, its culture, and its way of life during a particular period or in a particular part of the world (Adams, 1996). Wallerstein does not contradict this idea. He says that civilizations were a chain of historic cultures, customs, and structures. What they do not agree on is the prediction of world policy.

The era they suggested their theories is not too far from each other. Huntington mostly defines the policy of the 1990s and the future world. His assessments deal with the post-Cold War era whereas Wallerstein proposed his theory in 1970s.

When Huntington claims his theory, Soviet Union has been dissolved of communist regime. It gave some confidence to the Western social scientists that they began to defend the end of history thesis. According to the thesis, ideologies come to an end, history will go as liberal. Huntington does not agree with this idea because he knows that history repeats itself. In the past there were civilizations which rose, lived for a period and sunk. The fate of present civilizations would be the same. The interactions between civilizations were alive in the past and so are at present. These relations can be summed up in three. First, it was confrontation

of the clergy to share knowledge. Second was the impact of Islam and Chinese on the Western world. And the last was interactions between civilizations which were continuous.

Instead of civilization term, Wallerstein uses "World System". He gives a detailed description of the world systems like Huntington has given about civilizations. He explains his theory in three eras:

a. 16th century which is the birth date of capitalist society
b. 1789 French Revolution which established central liberalism
c. 1968 Revolution which gave hope of leaving central liberalism.

Like civilizations, all history is the accumulation of the past. The capitalist world has already had two centuries. The vast improvement in collecting capital caused people to seek modern technologies. Thus, new discoveries are needed to search for the raw material, and this leads to intellectual and scientific improvement. Within the new knowledge, people began to question the old sayings of the Holy Book because it was insufficient to fulfil people's demand of reality. In this age philosophers appeared but we must not forget that till the end of 18th century, philosophy was part of science. For instance, Kant was giving lectures on both metaphysics and astronomy.

In the 18th century, philosophy and science is divided into two. The division between philosophy and science was the reason for the foundation of modern universities. University is a Middle Age foundation, but in today's meaning, it goes back to the 18th century. Professors were not clergy men; they were mostly scientists. In the Middle Age, university had four departments, theology, medicine, law, and philosophy. In modern universities it is divided into two, human sciences and nature sciences. They conflicted with each other for revealing the truth. Nature scientists defended the idea that truth must be examined through experiments whereas human scientists defended in hermeneutics.

1789 French Revolution caused a big change in universities if social reality was a subject of human sciences or natural sciences. Because French Revolution revealed two things: politic changes are continuous and sovereignty is on people, not in monarchs (Fehér, 1990). As a result, a new branch has emerged, it was social sciences. It dealt with the nature of changes or what causes social changes. They have not been answered yet. Leopold Ranke has suggested the idea that history should be written as it happened, not praising the monarchs

in the 19th century. He said that a historian should use archives which were kept by diplomats and politic leaders. Most historians followed the hermeneutics way, but new historians were empiricists. The latter defended the idea that each historical event is unique and must be considered in its age. These historians were mostly in five countries: Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, and Italy. In the 19th century history was these five countries' histories.

Unfortunately, history has less things to say about today. In these countries 'universities, three different branches have been founded: economy, political science, and sociology. Liberal ideology is interested in three fields in 19th century: market, state, and people. They believed these three branches have diverse ways. On the other hand, these five domain countries, Great Britain, the USA, Germany, France, and Italy have been colonizers of African or other countries. In universities, two new branches are needed. They were anthropology which aimed to study the primitive tribes and ethnography aimed to study cultures.

Wallerstein is against the division of West's Ptolemaic division of history into ancient, medieval, and modern times and said that history must renew itself (Spengler, 1918). According to Wallerstein, the world does not consist of these five countries or primitive tribes. There were would-be "high civilizations" which were consisted of Eastern civilizations such as Iran, Islam, Indian, Chinese. To study their language, religion, culture some Orientalists have emerged in the West. The West has not accepted them as modern civilizations because they haven't had technology.

Wallerstein continues to the classification of "World Systems" These studies lasted till the 1940s, which was the date of big changes in history. In most societies a university degree has become more important than before.

4.1.1 The Structure of Civilizations in Huntington

Huntington compares the Cold War and post-Cold War era. He says that in the Cold War, states were allies, satellites, and neutrals. In the post- Cold War period, its structure has been changed. He divides countries from the civilizational theory as:

a. Core states.

b. Lone states
c. Cleft countries
d. Torn countries

Core states: they are the leading countries of civilizations. However, its number may vary over time. Ottoman Empire was a core state of Islam civilization. Huntington says that core state and member states must use the same language for effective leadership. Therefore, Turkey must not be a core state of Islam anymore. Saudi Arabia with its wealth and for being the center country of Makkah is a core state of Islamic civilization. Turkey can be a core state for the Turkic states in the Central Asia. Spain, too, can be a core state of the Latin world but Spanish state chose to involve Europe. Brazil wants to be core state of Latin America, but it is like Iran in Islam world. Mexico has chosen to be replaced in the North America, too. African countries have the core state problem. Nigeria could be a leader country, but corruption and lack of political instability prevent it from the leadership. According to Huntington, South Africa has more features than others to be a leader.

Lone states: they are unique by their culture and language. Haiti and Ethiopia are good examples for this. Haiti has Voodoo religion, separate language and do not intermingle with other neighbors. Ethiopia, too, Amharic language and Coptic Orthodoxy stand alone in Africa. The best example to lone countries is Japan. Japan has different culture from Confucianism. They are even recognized by their appearance in a different country.

Cleft countries: they carry two distinct civilizations in it. Most countries carry more than one ethnicity. In cleft countries two or more civilizations are deeply divided and one of them apply its language, flag, and system. In Sudan the north is Christian, and the south is Muslim. Chrisitan- Muslim division is very clear in most African states like Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. In Cold War, communist regime held these cleft countries together by the authoritarian regime. By the post-Cold War, Yugoslavia, North Caucasus, Crimea, and Ukraine are divided into new entities.

Torn countries: they belong to a different civilization, but their leader wants to shift the civilization into a new one. In other words, the dominant culture has been replaced by another civilization. Huntington criticizes Kemalist revolution which made Turkey more modern and Western.

4.1.2 The Structure of World Systems Theory

a. Core- Periphery Model: It was developed by the Third World academics who defended the idea that international trade was not the trade of equals. It was on behalf of the powerful states, and they were core states. On the other hand, David Ricardo published his book including "comparative advantage" (Ricardo, 1817). in 1817. The book says that if two countries as England and Portugal were producing two goods with identical quality must trade these two goods, both would have advantages.

b. The second theory was "Asiatic Mode of Production" (Tőkei , 1979) in 1850s. Karl Marx defined this system to describe autocratic and bureaucratic empire of the East. It was in fact, "High civilizations" of Orientalists.

c. The third one was about the discussion which was based on the transition from feudalism to capitalism. It was important because it carried a political message, and it could be a signal to the transition to socialism from capitalism. The discussion is mostly held by a Marxist writer Paul Sweezy who thought that England was a part of Mediterranean area and changes in the area would affect England economy.

d. The fourth discussion was about the Annales School which almost dealt with the nomothetic social science.

All these discussions were held independently. When the argument continues, a new development happened. It was 1968 social uprisings. The protestors were defending the rights of minorities, indigenous people, and discrimination between genders.

When the world comes to 1970s, a new talk about World Systems has started. The new historical system was against national history, national economy, and national policy. World systems can be categorized into three fields: mini-systems, world- empires and world-economies.

The world economy was a capitalist one. On the other hand, in world-systems theory, core and periphery were in continuous relation. In a capitalist society, there is a flow of capital gain from periphery to the center. Fernand Braudel, who was the second-generation Annales School, put the difference between free market and monopoly. He said that capitalism started in the 12th century. He said that the only monopoly was capitalism (Wallerstein, 1991). The

free market was never capitalism. World-systems theorists do not believe in the necessity of wage labor was only way in financial registration. The most severe critiques were from the four approaches:

a. Nomothetic positivists stated world-systems theory narrative, far from test for experiments.
b. Orthodox Marxists found it unaware of class war.
c. State autonomy defenders believed that world-systems theory neglected the centre.
d. As for cultural particularisms, world-systems neglect the culture centre identities.

Nevertheless, world-systems analysis is a big narrative theory. It defends a unique discipline to explain the world, but it does not deny using all other disciplines.

4.2 CONFLICTS FROM THE ASPECT OF TWO BOOKS

Conflicts from the aspect of "Clash of Civilizations" and "World Systems Analysis" is summed in under the sections "Modernization" and "Economics as Challengers."

4.2.1 Modernization

Both writers have different perspectives of modernization. According to Wallerstein, dependency theory is more accurate to describe exploitation which was identified as modernization. Dependency theory emerged after World War II as a search for the poverty of the underdeveloped Latin countries and as an opposition to the “modernization theory” which was popular in 1940s among the thinkers like Karl Deutch and Seymour Martin Lipset. The latter believed that modernization would bring democracy to the countries (Lipset, 1959). Modernization simply defended the vast use of technology in communication, transport, and other means of technology. When the “dependency theory” was first mentioned in two papers in 1949, scholars aimed to determine the poverty of Latin Americans. They found some problems in trade like to be far from the world market or lacking investment in technology. Both situations caused the exploitation of the developed countries of these relevantly poor countries. The common idea was that underdeveloped countries are systematically exploited by developed countries. Without underdeveloped countries there could be no developed countries. This idea was accepted by both liberals and

Marxist at the same time. Some Marxist writers such as Paul Sweezy, Immanuel Wallerstein, Walter Rodney, and Andre Gunder Frank discussed the idea of underdevelopment. One of "dependency theory" Rodney believed that Africa is also the center of exploitation by Europe in terms of raw material, cheap labor. Wallerstein developed "World-systems theory" which is like dependency theory under the effect of Annual School and Marxist approach. His definition core, periphery, semi periphery stems from dependency theory.

Modernization has already been said by Huntington to be industrialization, urbanization, literacy, and wealth. In history, some communities have reached these standards in the territory of Mesopotamian soils. Modern societies resemble each other in two ways. One of them is the mobility between modern states and the second resemblance is the ways of production. Modern societies dwell on industry whereas traditional ones use agriculture. Karl Wittfogel drew attention to the hydraulic way of civilization which was gathered around the water or big rivers in his book (Wittfogel, 1957). We can ask if there are resemblances among Western type of modern societies. These are:

Classical legacy; Greek philosophy, Roman law

Catholicism and Protestantism

European languages which were derived mostly from Latin.

Separation of Church and State.

Rule of law which was based on Roman law system.

Social pluralism which was represented by civil society.

Representative bodies which were institutions of modern democracy

Individualism was the most distinguishing mark of Western society.

4.2.2 Economics as Challengers

Huntington knows that Western civilization have come to an end because of demographic and economic problems. He summarizes his view on the East Asian countries and their development in economy. He mentions that this growth has started with Japan in 1950s. It can be said that Japan was the leader of the countries which are called the Four Tigers, Hong

Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore. China, Malasia, Indonesia, Vietnam, India followed them.

East Asian economic development started with the defeat of Japan in the World War II. Before this, they were proud of their culture, mental system, and tradition. In fact, they had Meiji Restoration which has reformed institutions, borrowed Western techniques, and practices (Kerr, 1994). It was a period that to disengage Asia and join to the West. The Second World War has changed Japanese ideals. With the defeat, they idealized the West but the economic crises in Western economy, stagnating populations, unemployment and declining work ethics made Japanese turn into their roots in 1980s. Later they become more Asian and less Western.

A similar development happened in China. With the collapse of Chinese Dynasty, three possible intellectual policy was introduced to China.

a. First, Sun Yat Sen's "Nationalism, Democracy, and People's Welfare.
b. Second, Liang Chi, Chao's "Liberalism"
c. Third, Mao's "Marxist-Leninism"

China has chosen Mao's policy with the effect of Soviet Union. Mao launched a campaign as "The Great Leap Forward" from 1958 to 1962 (Perkins, 1914).

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, China has started to question the future of their economic welfare, they were either to turn inward or turn westward. Toward the end of the 20th century, it was not reasonable to turn to the West. So, they decided to apply their own political system: being capitalist in economy, being traditional in policy. This caused anti-Americanism and boosted Chinese nationalism. The popular trend was Confucianism and governments promoted this (Self, 1995). When Average Annual GDP Growth of China was 6.1 in 1970, it became 12.2 in 1970. (World Bank, World Tables 1995, 1991).

The development of China and Japan gave confidence to Asian countries. Singaporean Diplomat Tommy Kohn declared in 1993 that Asian Renaissance has started through East Asia (Koh, 1993). In fact, it has four components:

First, the metaphor which was uttered by a Japanese journalist in 1993 as "When the USA sneezes, Asia gets cold." turned into "even The US gets high fever, it won't make Asia

cough." This statement shows the confidence which was the result of speedy economic growth of East Asia after 1980s.

Second, Asian are proud of their culture and feel it superior to the Western civilization. They cooperate in work, and they say it stems from their culture which praises dignity, justice, and unselfishness. They stand against individuality. Malaysia's Prime Minister emphasized this solidarity in his speech once as "This work ethic is born out of the philosophy that the group is more important than individual." (Mahathir, 1993).

Third, emerging Asian growth is not one of ideologic nor totalitarian paranoia. Growth takes power from Confucianism which preaches unity, dignity, ethics, and family. Eat Asians mostly share this value.

Fourth, the high confidence led East Asians to promote their culture and ignore Western culture. Their economic prosperity caused the importance of their value system. They began to think their culture is universal. Huntington says that powerful countries feel universal, weak countries feel (Huntington, 1993).

Wallerstein claims that after the French Revolution, two significant changes happened in history.

a. Policy is open to changes; it is not stable.
b. The sovereignty of people. People are more powerful than states.

It led three ideologies in the society: conservatives, liberals, and radicals in powerful states. What was the definition of a powerful state? It can be said to collect 80% taxes. If they collect less than 20%, they become in a weak state and behave in a dictatorial way. Weak states are the center of terrorism and illegal things. States become the only way to earn Money from bribes and this leads to coup possibility. Therefore, the state army becomes more important in weak states. All these things are because of the weakness of the states.

If landowners become powerful, they build their own sovereignty. These are the mafias part of capitalist states. They try to legalize after they make a lot of money. But at least one generation tries to accumulate capital in an illegal way. The coming generation tries to behave legally. These mafia deals never end. One finishes and the other starts in weak states. To cope with the mafias organizations, states support nations. Nation states arrange their

own history, a long chronology of victorious wars and treaties. Three ways to create a nation state are schools, military service, and official ceremonies. Any government use being a nation state is in fact a weak state. It uses this to show off its power. Powerful states do not need to show off. They use the leader of a weak state and put pressure on him to arrange student exchanges and media deals. They simply give bribes to the weak state leaders. Weak state leaders would be content with the protection by a powerful state.

The weakest states are colonial ones. They do not have sovereignty and are under the control of a powerful state. When the states were established, there were some tribes in other parts of the world. Powerful states-built satellite states to manage and exploit them.

The end of a powerful state is to build an empire-state. However, it is not as easy as it seems. There are three attempts to build an empire-state which were of Charles V and the two others were of Napoleon in the 19th century and Hitler's in 20th century. They were very powerful attempts but all of them were defeated and were unsuccessful.

On the other hand, it is easier to build hegemony. It suits with the capitalist system whereas world-empires kill it. World empires do prevent accumulating vast capital. When a state turns out to be an empire-state, firms directly act against it. Hegemonic states are different. They accumulate vast capital, and they protect stability, and this stable environment attracts firms who want to invest.

The next problem is that hegemonic states end in one day. They create a forceful army which has highly costly investments to protect their hegemony. Other states do the same. They try to build a hegemonic state. In the historical arena, one is erased and the other rises. For capitalism this or that state does not matter. The important thing is to accumulate a vast amount of capital.

4.3 SOLUTUONS TO THE CONFLICTS FROM BOTH ASPECTS

Neither Huntington nor Wallerstein found solutions to the conflicts around the world. They both have detected the problems.

As for Huntington, he foresees the decline of Western civilization. There are two possible threats for the world: The economic rise of China and the demographic rise of Islam. He suggests precautions to slow down this decline.

According to Wallerstein, to create a geoculture which means diversity in language, religion and culture can be cure of capitalism and its nuisance. He gives a detailed description of geoculture in history, but in the end, he says that labor unions know systems' fault better and they help to the improvement of the society.

4.3.1 Implications on the West by Huntington

It is claimed by Huntington that for the West to rejuvenate itself, certain precautions must be acknowledged:

Firstly, it is essential for statesmen to recognize the emergence of a stronger East and a rising confidence among Eastern nations. The perception of universalism by the West is often viewed as imperialism by the rest of the world. Furthermore, it is noted that the West lacks the dynamic forces of growing demography and economy that are seen elsewhere. This reality must be acknowledged by Western intellectuals.

Secondly, Huntington believes that American foreign policy remains entrenched in Cold War paradigms, continually perceiving Russia as a potential threat. Nonetheless, the expansion of NATO is deemed necessary to preserve Western values in Western nations, which are considered unique globally. These values include the defense of the rule of law, individuality, freedom, equality, and enlightenment.

Huntington personifies civilizations as all of them rise, grow up and die. To preserve and prolong the life of the Western civilizations:

a. To cooperate with the European Union and NATO under Western values.
b. To Westernize Latin America
c. To limit the power of China and restrain Islam.
d. To accept Russia as the core state of Orthodoxy.

If the West moderates its ventures, and safeguards its culture, it might lengthen its end.

4.3.2 A Possible War in The Future

Huntington foresees a future war between Islamist and non-Islamist fault lines. The war would be a global war if the core states would attend it. Another possibility is the rise of

China and intolerance of the USA to this situation. The USA might escalate its military power in Japan. China may claim that it is in his sovereignty. It may invade Vietnam and Vietnam may call the USA for the assistance. Since China and the USA have nuclear weapons, they do not use in the beginning of the war. India finds the chance to devastate Pakistan. Pakistan calls Iran to the aid. Russia is afraid of Chinese hegemony and becomes an anti-China country. Japan begins band wagoning with China. Turkey runs for the aid of Pakistan and Greece and Bulgaria invades European part of Turkey.

Huntington reflects his anxiety about nuclear power in the world. Most countries would like to have nuclear weapons. The power was from East to the West, this would change from West to East. To avoid a global war, core states of the civilizations must not interfere the conflicts around and must stay wise. This might be the best solution for the future of the world.

4.3.3 Is A Global Empire Possible

Huntington claims that a multicultural civilization is possible, but a global empire is impossible. Cultures are relative but morality is absolute. In all societies killing is forbidden. Law and order are the basic features of civilizations. Yet, there is barbarism, transnational crimes, drug cartels, organized crimes. This can be explained by the manifestation that history goes up in spirals. There are Dark Ages and Enlightenment. What are the future civilizations must do is to enrich their civilizations with science, art, literature, philosophy, music, and technology.

4.3.4 To Create a Geoculture by Wallerstein

According to Wallerstein, in World Systems which means world economy at the same time, there is no homogeneity either in policy or in culture. It is cumulative form of many institutions. He finds a solution to the ferocity of capitalism as to set ideas and values.

The basic institute is market. Wallerstein defined geoculture as ‘a set of ideas, values, and norms widely accepted throughout the world-system and that constrained social action thereafter’.

To create a geoculture, Wallerstein first explains the definition of ideology. Ideology means a set of ideas that an economic or political system is based on. The emerging ideas were conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism.

The first ideology, conservatism defended the idea that only elites should have been educated and the country must be in the hands of educated leaders. They hated the idea of democracy. Their defenders were Edmund Burke in England and Joseph de Maistre in France. They did not like changes. They wanted to preserve the good old things. What fears the conservatives was the limitless changes. Therefore, they were anti-revolutionists. Besides, they did not support democratic ideas such as equality and individual rights.

There was a group of people who defended the sayings what conservatives uttered. After the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1794, liberals were on the stage. They believed in change; in education they supported science instead of theology or philosophy. In all fields, experts must have taken roles and jobs. As it is seen it was an important ideology for social changes.19th century was mostly about these two ideologies. Then, there was the World Revolution. It was the first revolution of the modern age. It ended in defeat but for a while it held some uprisings and seemed successful. This uprising caused a new ideology as radicals. Radicals called themselves socialists in the beginning. They were against conservatives, and they thought liberals were very coward in some radical changes.1848 Revolutions (Merriman, 1996). Happened in many countries and defeated by the system. It was called “Springtime of the Peoples” in Hungary, Germany, France, Italy, and Poland. Unfortunately, all of them are busted by their systems. In fact, it was a flame and turned off very quickly. All these three ideologies had lessons from Spring of Nations. Radicals did not want to be supporter of liberals and conservatives. To hold an uprising was like a flame easily to be put off. So, they began to make organizations. Liberals became aware of preaching wisdom, and they had to do in political arena.

The period between 1848 and the First World War was utterly a liberal one. They defended stability in income, accessibility to health and education. The motto of the liberals was “liberty, equality, fraternity “The third slogan was about creating a nation. But how would it be created? It had been created through primary schools, military, and national days. Primary schools did their best to create a nation because they taught the national language. At the end of 19th century most countries in Europe had their own national language.

Creating a nation led people to arouse imperial feelings. Governments used this to hide their own mistakes. In former ages Pope or state policy was arousing empire feelings. Average men thought of having an empire state.

By this time, radicals were busy making their on-labor unions during the 19th century. They founded the Socialist Party and Labor Party. This movement of radicals made states angry. Because they were against the system. Anti-system supporters helped liberal states in a different way. It may seem paradoxical but radical groups or labor unions knew the system's faults. This helped governments to correct their missing issues. Labor unions were not only organizing but also women unions, racial unions, religious unions have started in the Western countries such as England, France and the USA.

In short anti-system movements were consisted of a) labor b) racial/ ethnic c) women movement. None of them could spread their power to the governance. This struggle continued from the 1830s to 1970s. There is an old saying that "potentia absoluta omnino corrumpit." Which means "absolute power corrupts absolutely." The labor unions balance the harsh reality of the capitalist system by seeking justice, equality, solidarity, and unity in society. From this point, creating geoculture within the world system is an essential component of modern society.

5. COMPARISON

5.1 BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA WAR AS A CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS

Although the Soviet Union had a velvet revolution in 1991, its remnant Yugoslavia has had a painful disintegration. Former Yugoslavia meant “the Land of South Slavs” in Sloven language though there were six different ethnicities: Slovens, Croats, Serbs, Montenegro, Macedonians, and Bosnians. Until it was founded in 1918, its governance changed from Kingdom to a part of Ottoman Empire.

The initial inhabitants of Bosnia were the Illyrians, dating back to the fifth century. By the seventh century, invasions by Serbs commenced, leading to their occupation of the land. While the Croats and Serbs were baptized into Christianity, the Bosnians refrained from converting. The advent of Ottoman rule saw Bosnians readily embracing the dominant religion, a practice that persisted until the empire's dissolution. Under Turkish sovereignty, certain privileges were afforded to them; for instance, Muslim mosques were constructed taller than churches, and the taxes imposed on them were not as burdensome. Additionally, the right to bear arms was reserved exclusively for Muslims, denying this privilege to non-Muslims. This historical precedence of Muslim dominance might have sown the seeds of discord and diversity among these three religious' communities. During Josip Tito's leadership, efforts were made to secularize the state, facing opposition in 1972 from a young leader, Aliya Izetbegovic, who was against secularization. The year 1991 marked a pivotal moment as Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence, followed by Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992, signaling a similar declaration by Bosnian Serbs.

At the beginning Croats and Bosnians acted together and then Croats turned back to them. The saddest massacre in Srebrenica happened and seven thousand people are executed by Serbs. This made the Western world to be aware of the war in Bosnia. Then, a NATO attack occurred in July 1995. It was a huge military attack that ended in September 1995.

Bosnia-Herzegovina War is a concreate evidence of Huntington’s “war of civilizations” or as subtitle “related countries syndrome” It appeared three different religious identity but backwards there were three biggest civilizations. Orthodox supported Serbs, Muslims supported Bosnians, Catholics supported Croats. As countries, Russia was back of Serbia,

Vatican and Germany were back of Croatia and Turkey, Saudi Arabia were back of Bosnia. When Croats and Slovenia declared its independence in 1991, Germany was the first county to recognize the new state.

Before the conflict started in Yugoslavia, people were indifferent to their ethnicity or religion, they were simply Muslims that they do not go to mosque, Catholics or Orthodoxies who do not go to the church (Huntington, 2001). Alija Izetbegovic's extremely ambitious leader has published Islamic Declaration (Baker, 2015) in Bosnia in 1990. This was scary for other ethnicities to accept the hegemonic power of Muslims once again after the Ottoman sovereignty. The independence declarations of states came afterwards. During Bosnian War between 1992 -1995, Saudi has helped 1 billion dollars beside the military army and warriors from Afghanistan, Turkey, Malesia, Pakistan, and Iran. Iran was the supporter of Bosnian Muslims from the very beginning to gain the confidence of Bosnian Muslims. It was a jihad call in the 20th century.

When Muslims gathered in Bosnia, Serbian Prime Minister, Aleksander Vucic, said that for every killed Serb they would kill one hundred Muslims (Aleksander, 1995). It was cruellest saying during the war. Then the Muslim slaughter has started. Volunteers from Russia, Greece and Romania joined the Serbian Army. It became a real clash of civilization.

5.2 UKRAINE-RUSSIA WAR IN THE ASPECT OF WORLD SYSTEMS THEORY

Immanuel Wallerstein defined capitalism as to accumulate money to buy capital. This meant that spent money did not always make one capitalist. Its date goes back to the 16th century whereas Fernand Braudel says it started in the 12th century. It is reasonable to think its start as 16th century because new discoveries had been realized and raw materials as gold, silver have been brought to the five big countries of capitalism which were England, Holland, Italy, France, and Spain. In history, there were important crossroads such as The French Revolution, the 1968 Uprising. With the French Revolution, liberalism has started all over the world but by the 1968 Uprisings liberalism seemed that it has an end. Capitalism could not fulfil the rights of minorities, gender gap, animal welfare, environmental deeds.

A modern state is a capitalist state in search of raw material and free markets. Wallerstein divided the world as core, periphery, and semi- periphery. The theory was published in 2021.The core consists of developed countries such as the USA and other Western blocs.

They become powerful by exploiting periphery and semi-periphery sates. As for semi-periphery countries, they have some wealth and poverty at the same time. Their weakness comes from their states, bribe sector, smuggling and other degenerated situations. India, Brazil, Turkey, Russia can be considered as semi-periphery countries. And the last point of the division is periphery countries. They have raw materials, cheap labor, and emerging markets. Their poverty is mostly because of lower status in education and using less technology. They are exploited by both the core and periphery.

From this aspect, we can consider Russian-Ukrainian War. Russia was a semi-periphery country in the 19th century. As for Ukraine, it was called as “small Russia” It has deep roots with Russia. With the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Bolsheviks established Ukrainian People’s Republic. It continued till the USSR’s dissolution in 1991. It always had a peaceful relation with neighbors till the annexation Crimea by Russia. Ukraine became a semi periphery country of Russia with its agriculture products. It is called “breadbasket of Europe”. Not only grain but also gas and coal mines were producing the necessary source for Russia. Its fossil fuel subsidies were 2.2 billion dollars in 2019. (OECD, 2022).

As it is said, the conflict started with the annexation of Crimea by Russia.

The "Clash of Civilizations" theory proposed by Huntington does not align with the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. This is because Ukraine and Russia share similarities in ethnicity, language, religion, and customs, suggesting they are part of the same civilization rather than opposing ones. However, it's crucial to acknowledge the internal division within Ukraine between its eastern and western regions, differentiated by language, history, and cultural affiliations. This division is historically rooted and persists in the present, with Western Ukraine leaning towards European integration, while Eastern Ukraine maintains closer connections with Russia.

If Huntington's theory were applicable, a fault line war, as described in his hypothesis, would be expected in Ukraine due to these internal divisions. Yet, the conflict transcends such a simplistic interpretation, underscoring the limitations of applying the "Clash of Civilizations" framework to this situation.

In contrast, Wallerstein's "World Systems Theory" provides a more fitting lens through which to view the conflict. According to Wallerstein, the core-periphery dynamic, where a

dominant (core) country seeks to exploit a less economically developed (periphery) country, is evident in the relationship between Russia and Ukraine. With a significant GDP, Ukraine represents an asset to Russia, justifying the latter's interest from an economic standpoint.

The ongoing war in Europe, persisting into the 21st century, could indeed be seen as a regrettable chapter in human history, especially in an era that prides itself on modernism and progress. The conflict underscores complex geopolitical dynamics that cannot be neatly categorized by civilizational clashes but rather involve historical legacies, economic interests, and political ambitions.

6. CONCLUSION

World- system has been struggling between two systems. We can call them Davos and Porto Alegre worlds. Two important ideologies meet in these cities. World Economic Forum in Davos and World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. It can be called “Clash of Civilizations” two different ideologies and lifestyles, concepts, people and so on. At least, two important norms will be sought in them.

a. Freedom
b. Equality

As for freedom, it is important if the masses could reach free information and vote freely. People must act in certain deals. Most countries cannot fulfil this. Besides, the freedom of minorities is not mentioned in most countries.

As for equality, people must be equal economically and socially for politic equality. Otherwise, there can be no equality. Today people are more reactive and capable when they are compared to people in 1700s. The current system with all odds is a good heritage from the past.

Passing from one system to another is always painful. It is questioning the old times of old knowledge patterns. We have three duties.

a. Being an intellectual
b. Having moral norms
c. Being political creatures

These three are different but they are quite related to each other. None of them can be neglectable. Our duty is hard but for a better future it must be accomplished.

Theories are defined as a formal set of ideas which intend to explain the reasons behind occurrences or existences. They guide the possible facts rather than the achievement in objectives. Thus, theories such as the "Clash of Civilizations" and "World Systems Theory" serve humanity towards a better future. Despite their differing approaches, these theories have been able to uncover the weaknesses or strengths of the countries they examine. It might not be incorrect to suggest that Huntington adheres to the realist theory, while

Wallerstein adopts a constructivist approach. The former aligns with the steps of realism in international relations, such as state centrism, an anarchic system, rational self-interest, and power. Huntington, from the outset, references the novel by Michael Dibdin, which states, "there can be no true friends without true enemies," highlighting his belief that the most formidable enemies lie within fault lines and positioning the USA at the world's center. In his work, the term "West" is mentioned over one thousand five hundred times. On the other hand, Wallerstein's stance in international relations can be viewed as constructivist, focusing more on constructed elements like identities and interests rather than what is naturally given. Wallerstein's discourse centers around individuals from everyday life, such as household members and workers, challenging Marxist notions of a singular income source by suggesting the existence of numerous undocumented income avenues. His perspective is both realistic and constructivist.

Both authors have significantly contributed to human history and international relations through their theories. While Huntington advances political science, Wallerstein engages the intellectual realm of neo-Marxist thought. Despite their divergent genres, they each address the situation from their viewpoint. Wallerstein's analysis of world systems, which transcends 19th-century capitalism, is considered a unique evolutionary process applicable to all countries, emphasizing social conflicts, class struggles, and a dialectical understanding of conflicts. Conversely, Huntington initially focuses on Western democracy, addressing global issues like fault line wars and challenging prevailing beliefs, including those about religions.

Indeed, it was difficult to compare these two books of political science, but common issues like culture and economy made the comparison easier. While Huntington is accepting cultural division as the source of conflicts around the world, Wallerstein accepts the exploitation of the rich states of the poor states: or in his terms, core states' exploitation of the periphery as the source of the conflicts. Former chapters gave the analyses of the two books that explained the authors' vision of the world whereas the discussion chapter made the points clear.

From this point, this thesis fulfilled its goal to display the conflicts around the world from the "civilizational theory" and "world systems theory".

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