

**Comparative Discourse Analysis of Fukuyama's  
The End of History and the Last Man  
Huntington's The Clash of Civilizations and The  
Remaking of World Order**

**Mohsin Azeem**

*M. Phil Scholar:  
Department of English,  
Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan*

**Hassan Azeem**

*M. Phil Scholar:  
Gillani Law College,  
Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan*

**Abstract:**

*Ideology and discourse are closely adjacent to each other as no discourse whether spoken or written is free of certain ideologies. The current study is a comparative discourse analysis of *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) and *The Clash of Civilizations And The Remaking of World Order* (1996) and deals with certain features present in both the texts. This investigation not only explores frequent ideas but also expounds their contradictory nature. Keeping in mind the specific nature, the study falls in the paradigm of qualitative research. For comparative analysis of the texts, Fairclough's *Three Dimensional Model* (1989, 1992 and 2003) is used as theoretical framework. Findings of the study bring several ideologies including fall of communism, Islamic culture and civilization, Turkish modernization and Western ideologies and civilization to the surface. Comparative analysis of these features reveal that ideologies present in the two scripts are entirely opposite to each other and both the works are contradictory in their respective nature.*

**Keywords:** Ideology, Three Dimensional Model, Communism, Modernization, Civilization

## I. Introduction

Discourse and ideology are inter-connected concepts as ideologies are always existent in discourse. This presence allows discourse to perform numerous functions simultaneously. For instance, while discourse fulfills the purpose of communication, it also supports the speaker or the author to convey his/her particular ideologies.<sup>1</sup> The present study is a comparative discourse analysis of Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) and Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations And The Remaking of World Order* (1996). It discusses ideologies present within both the texts and their contradictory nature as the works under consideration are often considered thesis and anti-thesis to each other. As far as the nature and origin of the accounts is considered, both the texts belong to political arena, came forward during the last decade of the twentieth century and deal with changing political scenario of post-Cold War international world order. Fukuyama believes that the fall of Soviet Union ended the previous international bipolar political order and laid the foundations of a unipolar world allowing the rise of USA as sole superpower. It is the start of a new era and human society has reached to the final stage of ideological evolution. The American based ideals of liberal democracy and free market economy are suitable enough to deal with the basic needs of human beings. As a result, there would be no wars and armed conflicts in the future. The author presents several examples where authoritative and totalitarian rule of socialist regimes resulted in the fall of communism in order to justify his theory that American liberal and democratic ideas are the only formal and suitable way to maintain peace and stability at global level.<sup>2</sup> Huntington, on the other hand, proposes the start of a new era of multi-cultural rivalries. The end of Cold War terminated international ideological confrontations but at the same time, it created multi polar world with the rise of new regional and global poles of power. Cultural contentions have replaced ideological conflicts and the present day world has become more unstable and insecure than ever before. Then, the West has lost its socio-cultural dominance as the world is becoming a multipolar entity where non-Western civilizations

are not ready to accept Western cultural supremacy. In these conditions, the world is moving towards a direct conflict between civilizations and serious threats have appeared to global peace and security. The author further believes that cultural clash is far more lethal than ideological conflict of Cold War times because of its multi-faceted nature.<sup>3</sup>

## **II. Literature Review**

History is associated with relativism and it is a fact that history lacks accuracy and there is no concept of absolute truth while dealing with history.<sup>4</sup> The nature of historical evidence suggests that measures to write down correct historical events are most of the times partial whereas biases cover the true face of history.<sup>5</sup> Western people have low regards about the East and always consider natives of the Eastern societies (*the Orientals*) inferior and ignorant. The only exception is perhaps the mysterious and exotic nature of *the Orient* that is esteemed by the Western world. European imperialism and colonial rule are responsible for creating geographic segregation that makes Orientals '*the Others*' in eyes of the Western world.<sup>6</sup>

The examination of European views on the Muslim world explains that Western media always portrays Islamic societies in negative way considering Muslims illiterates, savages and warmongers.<sup>7</sup> The views of various historians on history explain the evolution of history in different cultures. Keeping in mind the evolution of various societies, political ideologies also emerged with the passage of time.<sup>8</sup> Post-industrial economy and industrial boom are practical examples of the victory of Capitalism and this triumph suggests that Capitalism has proved its authenticity and validity in the eyes of its followers.<sup>9</sup>

The end of Cold War paved the way for ethnic clashes in the regions of Caucasus and Balkans where disintegration of former Yugoslavia resulted in nationalist and ethnic movements i.e. ongoing encounters in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia. These conflicts are further ignited by America and its Western allies for the sake of their own personal interests leaving the entire region in a very unstable situation<sup>10</sup>. In post-Cold War times, ignition of cultural confrontations in Bosnia

and Rwanda are far more lethal in their respective nature. Millions of casualties during both the crises suggest that neither the leadership is worthy nor the element of serious reaction from opponents is being expected.<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that fault lines do exist among different civilizations and some of these include the areas of Bosnia, Chechnya, West Africa, Tibet and Sri Lanka where cultural, ethnic, religious and racial contentions are quite common.<sup>12</sup> Culture differs from nation to nation and region to region. It is quite significant to keep in the mind that because of issues like Kashmir, Palestine, war in Iraq and Afghanistan, the entire Muslim world is of the opinion that the West is abusing them for the sake of its own political and financial benefits and this is the main reason behind increasing anti-West notions among the natives of Muslim countries.<sup>13</sup>

Failure of socialist ideologies is not the end of ideological encounter as the struggle for ideological platform is still conspicuous in case of armed guerrillas and nationalist radicals. Cultural, ethnic, racial and linguistic disputes have erupted instantaneously in post-Cold War world and grounds of encounters have become more multi-dimensional than ever before.<sup>14</sup> After the fall of communism, a radical wave started across the countries of Eastern Europe in favor of democracy. In very short span of time, majority of the previous communist regimes were overthrown and replaced with democratic governments.<sup>15</sup> Events like September 11 not only frightened the Americans but also the entire world. The clash of civilizations is a real alarm whereas endangered Judeo-Christian values of America and growing Islamic threat are concrete examples of this problem.<sup>16</sup> Triumph of capitalism and American dominance in global international relations is observed by many Americans as the commencement of a utopian era while events like 9/11 clearly indicate that the final stage of human evolution is yet to come and defeat of communist ideology is not the end of the world.<sup>17</sup>

### **III. Methodology and Framework**

Qualitative research methodology is used keeping in mind nature of the present study. Qualitative research design is

being used in vast number of fields from social to applied sciences including the areas of psychology, sociology, history, social work, health and physical education, urban management, public policy, international relations and communication studies.<sup>18</sup> The progression in qualitative research normally depends on development of hypotheses to look further into root causes of problems and to solve these problems with the help of qualitative data analysis. The process involves various policies of investigation and depends on distinctive stages for analysis.<sup>19</sup>

As far as framework is considered, critical discourse analysis is used for its relevance to the research. It is an instrument to carry out any research associated with language. In simplest form, CDA is the practice of finding out hidden agendas, ideologies and associations like supremacy, power, and discrimination extant in language and discourse<sup>20</sup>. CDA proves quite applicable in the study of languages plus many other related subjects like Literary Studies, Anthropology, History, Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics.<sup>21</sup> CDA is the practice of finding out relations of resilience and interconnection during the analysis of texts, speeches and events.<sup>22</sup> For analysis of the present text, Fairclough's *Three Dimensional Model*<sup>23</sup> is used as theoretical framework while its second and third approach suggesting 'discursive features' and 'language as social practice' are given crucial significance.<sup>24</sup> *Discursive practice* deals with (production, distribution and consumption) of written materials while *social practice* surrounds social and cultural structures which produce a communicative event.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Fairclough also used the terms like *text* for language, *discursive practice* for fabrication of language and *social practice* for use of language for constructing socio-cultural ideas. It is significant to understand that there are unseen agendas and socio-political factors behind the production of a speech or text.<sup>26</sup> CDA helps to find out beliefs and notions to clarify intended meanings of a discourse. For instance, Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) investigate the strategies practiced by several political parties in UK where left wing Labor Party and right wing Conservative party blame each other for ongoing financial crisis.<sup>27</sup>

#### **IV. Analysis and Discussion**

As discussed earlier, the current study deals with comparative discourse analysis of both the texts and discusses ideologies present in the two works along with their respective nature. In this section, these ideologies are briefly analyzed to explore the presence of power relations, inequality, hegemony and exploitation in discourse, discussed by Fairclough (1989, 1992 and 2003). In addition, contradictory nature of ideologies in both the text is also analyzed.

##### **A. The Fall of Communism**

Fall of communism and the end of Cold War is one of the common features present in both the accounts. As the texts were written in post-Cold War era, fall of communism and its impacts over the world are discussed in detail. The only difference is the perception of both the authors regarding this specific event. Fukuyama proposes this event the victory of Western political thoughts and American political ideals including liberal democracy and capitalism. For decades, Soviets were forced to believe that communism and centralized economy is the best available form of government. For this purpose, communist regimes kept the people of Soviet Union and its satellite Eastern European states alienated from the entire world. The author (1992) believes that the Soviet youth always rejected authoritative communist rule in order to spend normal lives but they were deprived of their basic rights and demands.

*“And any number of Soviet young people, despairing of deteriorating quality of life in USSR will tell you that their only desire is to live in a normal country, that is to say, a liberal democracy undistorted by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism”. (Fukuyama, 1992:30)*

These lines explain that the fall of communism is not a sudden event. It is the result of a slow and gradual process demanding changes and freedom for Soviet people. In fact, the author views communism responsible for bringing tyranny and despotism in communist states. The fall of communism in

Soviet Union and its satellite states indicates shortcomings and limitations present in Marxist-Leninist ideology.

In contrast, Huntington rejects Fukuyama and considers the fall of communism not the victory of Western ideals but a separate political event. The ideologies of both the authors become more distinct when Huntington further rejects Fukuyama's ideas regarding universalization of the world under Western or American ideals. He (1996) states that the fall of communism and end of the Cold War is not the final stage of human history but the start of a new era of regional conflicts. The important factor is the changing nature of these new conflicts. Earlier, conflicts were socio-economic and ideological while the fall of communism results in the start multi-faceted cultural conflicts.

*“In the late 1980's the communist world collapsed, and the Cold War international system became history. In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among peoples are not ideological, political or economic. They are cultural”. (Huntington, 1996:21)*

The above mentioned lines reveal that Huntington associates the fall of communism with the end of Cold War international political system and ideological conflicts between socialist and capitalist factions. Comparative analysis suggests that both the authors present opposite ideologies to each other. The fall of communism is viewed by Fukuyama as victory of liberal democracy and capitalism that further leads towards an era of peace and prosperity under the guidance of USA. Huntington, on the other hand, rejects Fukuyama and comes up with the idea of a chaotic world full of cultural rivalries. Earlier, Cold War was the clash of two ideologies but its end initiates an era of multi-dimensional cultural conflicts. The world has become more unsafe and insecure than ever before. Huntington provides several examples where the end of ideological warfare resulted in the start of regional and cultural clashes. The First Gulf War, Bosnian crisis, Rwandan genocide, ethnic clashes in Sudan, Libya, Ethiopia and Somalia are the

examples discussed by Huntington in his relevant account to support the idea that the fall of communism and end of Cold War has triggered multi-dimensional cultural conflicts.

## **B. Islamic Culture and Civilization**

Islam is one of the major religions of the world and retains distinctive cultural and traditional values. Islamic culture and civilization is also discussed by both the authors in their relevant accounts. Like other contradictions, ideologies of the two authors regarding Islamic culture are also contradictory. Fukuyama (1992) proposes that Islamic culture is being altered by Western liberal and democratic thoughts and people living in Muslim states are adapting Western civilization. Moreover, the time of Islamic cultural splendor has ended and Muslim societies are being modernized on Western ideals and culture. Like communism, Islam is also losing its ground and even in major Muslim countries, liberal ideas are prevailing and people have started following Western culture in their daily routine.

*“The days of Islam’s cultural conquests, it would seem, are over...And while nearly a billion people are culturally Islamic, one-fifth of the world’s population, they cannot challenge liberal democracy on its own territory on the level of ideas”. (Fukuyama, 1992:46)*

Huntington, on the other hand, recommends that revival of Islamic cultural brilliance is going to take place. There was a time when ideologies became more dominant than cultures. After the end of Cold War, restoration of cultural ideologies is taking place and Muslims have started looking back towards their basic Islamic principles.

*“Muslims in massive numbers were simultaneously turning towards Islam as a source of identity meaning, stability, legitimacy, development, power, and hope, hope epitomized in the slogan “Islam is the solution”. (Huntington, 1996:109)*



Thus, Islamic civilization is becoming more prominent and the Muslims are looking towards Islam as fundamental code of life. Comparative analysis reveals that views of the two authors regarding Islamic culture are opposite to each other. Fukuyama proposes victory of liberal democracy over Islamic ideals and believes that Islamic culture is going towards decline while its followers are adapting Western lifestyle. Huntington, on the other hand, recommends the resurgence of Islamic civilization by suggesting that the Muslims are moving back towards Islamic culture for finding out their true identity and cultural heritage. These Muslims have their separate religious, social, cultural and traditional identity. Western ideological expansions tried to eliminate Islamic notions among the Muslims but could not succeed. Then, an Islamic-Confucian alliance is also going to take place for checking out Western cultural advancements in Muslim and Sinic regions of the world.

### **C. Turkish Modernization**

Turkish modernization is another feature present in both the accounts. Fukuyama believes that Turkey is the only liberal and democratic country in the entire Muslim world. ***“The only liberal democracy in the contemporary Muslim world is Turkey” (1992: p, 217)***. Turkish reformation started during the first half of the twentieth century (in 1920’s) when Mustafa Kamal became the first President of Turkey and started modernizing Turkish society on Western ideals. In very few years, Kamal replaced Turkish Islamic culture with Western culture based on liberal ideologies. Fukuyama associates Turkish reformation with victory of Western (liberal, democratic and capitalist) ideals. Turkish modernization is the best example where a non-Western country adopted Western ideals and reformed its culture and lifestyle.

*“...these modernization programs involved... economy, bureaucracy, and military, to education and social policy. The most systematic endeavor in this direction was undertaken by Turkey... Kemal Ataturk, who sought to create a*

*secular society based on Turkish nationalism ”.*  
(Fukuyama, 1992:236)

Fukuyama believes that President Kamal started reformation keeping in mind Turkish nationalism. In recent times, reforms in all walks of life have placed Turkey among the First World developed countries of the world suggesting the validity and legitimacy of Western political ideologies.

In contrast, Huntington (1996) considers Turkish modernization responsible for creating identity crisis among Turkish people. Kemalist reformations resulted in the alteration of Islamic culture and tradition. Kamal selected Western lifestyle for Turkish people but it is nearly impossible to change a particular culture with another one because cultural values form foundations of each society.

*“In the embarking of this course, and rejecting the Islamic past, Ataturk made Turkey a torn country, a society which was Muslim in its religion, heritage, customs and institutions but with a ruling elite determined to make it modern, Western, and at one with the West”.*  
(Huntington, 1996:74)

As a result of modernization, identity crisis prevailed in the entire country when ruling class despite keeping in mind popular opinion continued making Turkish society modern and liberal.

At present, Turkish people are moving back towards their original Islamic identity and culture while their increasing alliance with fellow Muslim states is a practical example in this regard. At domestic level, religious practices have become more common and Islamic identity is replacing Kemalist Turkish nationalism. Despite all preventive measures by establishment and elite class, religious political parties are becoming favorites in Turkish politics and their popular support is increasing with each passing day. ***“The major political parties increasingly felt the need to seek electoral support from revived Muslim tarikas, or selected societies, which Ataturk had banned” (1996: p. 148)***

Comparative analysis of Turkish modernization suggests that Fukuyama considers this event the universal victory of Western ideals where a pure Islamic society adopts secular and liberal thoughts. In contrast, Huntington proposes this event responsible for creating identity crisis among Turkish people. He believes that the only cure is the return towards basic Islamic culture and Turkish people have started this practice after realizing the true nature of their core cultural issues.

#### **D. Western Ideologies and Civilization**

Western ideology and culture is again another feature present in both the texts. Both the authors define the West and its essential features according to their own perceptions. Fukuyama believes that Western political ideologies are universally acclaimed and their recent worldwide adaptation reveals their cogency and authenticity. Moreover, no other ideology is legitimate enough to compete with Western notions in political arena.

*“As mankind approaches to the end of millennium, the twin crises of authoritarianism and socialist central planning have left only one competitor standing in the ring as an ideology of potentially universal validity: liberal democracy, the doctrine of individual freedom and popular sovereignty”. (Fukuyama, 1992: 43)*

It is significant that Fukuyama only talks about liberal, democratic and capitalist ideals without discussing Western culture and civilization. In reality, both the ideas are strictly associated. When Fukuyama discusses victory of political ideologies, he also proposes the success of Western civilization as both the concepts are closely inter-linked. In this way, Fukuyama recommends victory of the West and its essential philosophies and further explains Western ideological and cultural dominance over the rest of the world. Huntington, on the other hand, rejects these thoughts and comes up with the idea of possible decline of Western civilization.

*“A major war involving the West and the core states of other civilizations is not inevitable, but it could happen. Alternatively the gradual and irregular decline of the West which started in the early twentieth century could continue for decades and perhaps centuries to come”.*  
(Huntington, 1996:302)

The entire course of history suggests that when a civilization reaches to its apex, its slow and gradual decline starts. Western civilization reached to its zenith during the twentieth century and its gradual decline has started. At present, there are two possibilities. Either this gradual decline will continue in the future or Western civilization would restrict this disintegration and stabilize its position among other civilizations. On the other hand, conflict between core states of non-Western civilizations and the West would only trigger the decline of Western civilization. Synchronization and peaceful coexistence between Western and non-Western civilizations is necessary for the maintenance of global peace and survival of Western civilization. Comparative analysis reveals that the opinions regarding the West and its essential features are contradictory. Fukuyama suggests the victory and global acceptance of the West and its political ideals while predicts the start of a new era of Western ideological dominance. Huntington, on the other hand, observes global rejection of Western culture and ideologies and foresees possible decline of Western civilization in the years to come.

## **V. Conclusion**

The present study revealed that ideas presented by Fukuyama and Huntington in their relative accounts are opposite to each other. The fall of communism was discussed by both the authors in their respective works but the analysis revealed contradictions present in their views. For instance, Fukuyama considered the fall of communism the success of American liberal and democratic ideals. Huntington, on the other hand, suggested fall of communism the start of a new era of regional and global, multi-dimensional conflicts that would prove more deadly and horrific than hostilities of the Cold War

times. Then, analysis exposed more contradictions when the two authors explained Islamic ideologies and civilization. Fukuyama proposed that the days of Islamic cultural and ideological conquests are over and the Muslims have started following Western codes of conduct and civilization. On the other hand, Huntington proposed the revival of Islamic civilization and provided examples where the Muslims started returning towards their basic foundations keeping in mind true essence of their Islamic civilization. Turkish modernization was another major ideology extant in both the accounts and its comparative analysis also reported contradictions between ideologies of the two authors. Fukuyama suggested Turkish modernization the victory of Western political ideals as these thoughts laid the foundations of modern Turkey. On the other hand, Huntington accused Turkish reformation responsible for making Turkey a torn country and creating identity crisis among Turkish people. Huntington also proposed a sudden shift in Turkish society where the Turks have started returning towards their Islamic civilization keeping in mind their magnificent Muslim heritage where once they were considered the saviors of Islam.

Another common feature existent in both the accounts was Western ideologies and civilization and like previous features, both the authors also had contradictory views regarding this idea. Fukuyama associated fall of communism with the success of Western political ideologies and considered these political ideals suitable enough to fulfil demands of people. Huntington, on the other hand, suggested a possible decline of Western civilization and the revival of certain non-Western civilizations in various regions of the world. Huntington further proposed that in order to preserve its present place and restrict the possible decline, Western civilization must acquire friendly relations with other civilizations of the world.

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