
Book Reviews

Harvard's Huntington promotes descent into barbarism

by Mark Burdman

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order

by Samuel P. Huntington

Simon and Schuster, New York, 1996

367 pages, hardbound, \$26

It is the obsession of leading geopolitical strategists in London, Washington, and other Western capitals, that there exists no greater priority than to mobilize the "Western world" for conflict with the nations that are central to the development of the Eurasian Land-Bridge. This is the region that Sir Halford Mackinder, Britain's leading geopolitical theorist at the turn of the century, coined the "Eurasian heartland," the battle for which, he said, would determine who would control the world. Now, in the late 1990s, with Russia in distress, and, at least for the time being, "neutralized" as an active threat in the eyes of Mackinder's modern descendants, their focus is being drawn to containing, combatting, and countering China, Iran, India, Erbakan's Turkey, and other countries in Eurasia, whose combined population comprises three-quarters of the world's people.

Since 1993, when it was first popularized in an article in the Council on Foreign Relations quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, Harvard Prof. Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" construct has been one of the most discussed variants of this obsession. With its faulty argumentation, obtuse academic style, and hallucinatory invocations of such nonexistent entities as "Confucian-Islamic states," one would have hoped that that original Huntington venture would have been treated with the contempt it deserved, and relegated quickly to the dustbin of history.

As matters transpired, quite the contrary occurred. The article unleashed massive controversy. Perhaps understandably, intellectual spokesmen in the developing sector felt obliged to respond to Huntington, as they saw in the publication of his article in a hallmark journal of the Anglo-American Establishment, an unsubtle threat to their nations, especially

in the era following the Thatcher-Bush war of genocide against Iraq. Since the article appeared, Huntington has toured some 20 countries, to debate his detractors and promote his thesis. It is a sign of the times, that it is almost impossible to attend a conference on strategic issues these days, and not have one or more speakers refer, in one way or another, to Huntington's work.

The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order is the expanded, book-length version of the original polemic. The academic language and multitude of footnotes lends a facade of erudition to a method that is as old as the Delphic Oracle of Apollo in ancient Greece. Simply put, it is the game of self-fulfilling prophecy: Repeat often enough, that so-and-so is your enemy, and you set in motion the processes that, sooner or later, make a conflict inevitable. The substance of Huntington's academic meanderings has no more claim to truth, than the speeches of Nazi Propaganda Minister Josef Goebbels in mobilizing the German population behind the Führer's wars against Nazi Germany's neighbors.

From Kissinger's Harvard, to Bzezinski's NSC

We will outline, below, the specifics of Huntington's polemic, and how absurd and self-serving it is. But before getting there, a few words are necessary, about who and what it serves.

The "clash of civilizations" is a not an article or a book, but a project that goes beyond Huntington himself. It is the "geopolitical war-plan" for an influential, British-run faction in the transatlantic policy establishment. Hence, on the back dust-jacket, there are two hyper-ventilating endorsements, from (Sir) Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski. Kissinger, as this publication has exhaustively documented, has spent his entire career promoting British balance of power, or geopolitical, doctrines, beginning in the 1950s period when he wrote his Harvard doctoral thesis, *A World Restored*. In that thesis, he lauded the "balance of power" diplomacy of British Foreign Secretary Lord Castlereagh and Austria's Count Metternich, at the 1815 Congress of Vienna. In later years, Kissinger was key in setting up the Harvard Department of Government apparatus, where Huntington is, today,

a key figure.

Not surprisingly, in the period immediately leading up to the “clash of civilizations” article, Huntington was parroting Kissinger’s ideas. In early 1991, just as the Bush-Thatcher Gulf War was giving a new shot in the arm to British geopolitical strategy, he wrote an article for the January-February issue of *Survival*, the publication of the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), in which he insisted that American policy toward Eurasia should premise itself on the British geopolitical theories of Mackinder and on the balance of power approach that Lord Castlereagh followed, at the 1815 Congress of Vienna.

As for Brzezinski, it was he, in his capacity as national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter in the late 1970s, who developed the so-called Arc of Crisis theory, according to which the region south of the Soviet Union, would constitute a vast arena of instability, the which instability (“Islamic fundamentalism”, etc.) could be used as a geo-strategic weapon against the Soviet Union. On Brzezinski’s National Security Council staff, in the Carter administration, was Samuel Huntington, as director of security planning. Both Brzezinski and Huntington had come into the Carter administration from the Trilateral Commission, the organization founded and bankrolled in 1974 by David Rockefeller. In 1975, Huntington had been the co-author of a notorious Trilateral report, *The Crisis of Democracy*, which called into question the viability of maintaining representative democratic and constituency-based institutions and movements, at a time when the imposition of austerity measures would “require” post-democratic, or non-democratic regimes.

Also most relevant, is that Brzezinski, in his Arc of Crisis doctrine, significantly drew upon the work of Prof. Bernard Lewis, the Oxford-trained British Arab Bureau operative later stationed at Princeton University in New Jersey. Lewis had drawn up a comprehensive design for the breakup of nations in Eurasia. The term “clash of civilizations,” in fact, was *invented* by Bernard Lewis, in an article in the September 1990 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*; Huntington acknowledges that he lifted the expression from Lewis. In that 1990 article, Lewis wrote that “Muslim rage” amounted to “no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage.”

The foundations of ‘Project Democracy’

In the autumn of 1996, Brzezinski was instrumental in setting up a new “Central Asia Institute” at Johns Hopkins University’s School of Advanced International Studies. That institute is handsomely endowed by the Smith Richardson Foundation, whose board includes Zbigniew Brzezinski. Not coincidentally, that same foundation co-funded “my work on this book,” Huntington writes in his preface. The other funder he acknowledges, is the John M. Olin Foundation; Huntington is the director of the John M. Olin Institute for Strategic Stud-

ies at Harvard. The “clash of civilizations” polemic, he writes, grew out of work he did for the Olin Institute’s early-1990s project on “The Changing Security Environment and American National Interests,” the which was “made possible by the Smith Richardson Foundation.”

Indeed, one big happy family.

Those two foundations, together with the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation (which provides funds for the work of the John M. Olin Institute at Harvard), have been, in recent years, the biggest funders of various projects promoting the causes of neo-liberal economics, the “free market,” and “geopolitical” confrontation against development sector nations. These foundations were key “private” funders, of various schemes in the 1980s, that were coordinated by then-U.S. Vice President George Bush, as part of the notorious “Project Democracy” program, out of which grew the international guns-for-drugs apparatus that included the Iran-Contra operations. Smith Richardson also has the dubious distinction, of having provided the funds to a degenerate from the Maoist-leftist swamp, Dennis King, to write an hysterical book-length defamation of Lyndon LaRouche in 1989.

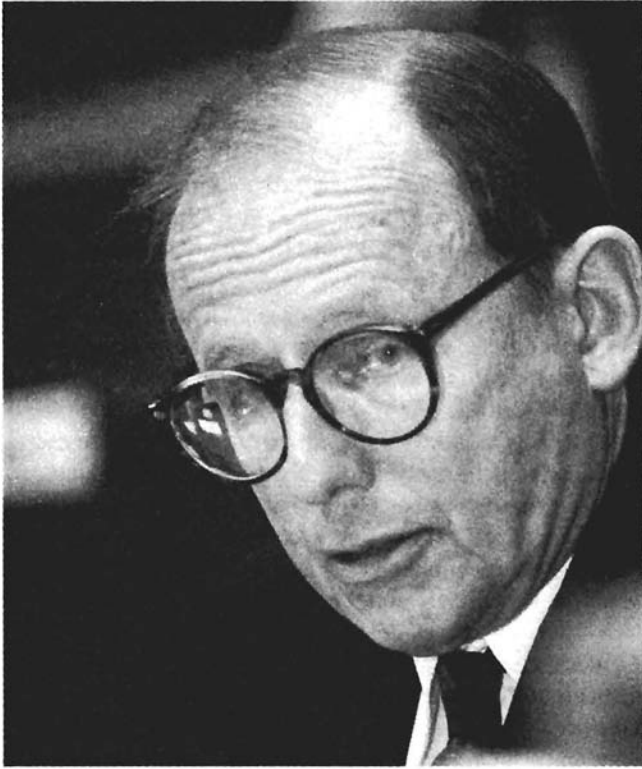
To complete the present picture: Brzezinski has been, through the years, one of the early mentors of Madeleine Albright, the new U.S. secretary of state, ever since she was a student at Columbia University. In 1978, Albright joined Brzezinski and Huntington on the Carter National Security Council, assuming the post of “congressional liaison” for the NSC.

While it is still too early in her tenure as secretary of state to make definitive assessments about what Albright will or will not do, in certain policy areas, she is clearly on the Huntington line, as, for example, in her fanatical determination to impose sanctions on Sudan, which she has described as a “rogue state” that sponsors international terrorism. Here, her views coincide with the leader of the international anti-Sudan crusade, Britain’s Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy Speaker of the House of Lords. Cox, *EIR* has discovered, is an enthusiastic exponent of Huntington’s thesis, promoting it in the House of Lords. The office of her Christian Solidarity International organization in Britain, has circulated hundreds of copies of Huntington’s original *Foreign Affairs* article throughout Britain since 1993-94, and treats his thesis as a veritable bible, as it provides a convenient conceptual framework for their propaganda tirades against Sudan, Egypt, Iran, India, and other nations.

From Venice to Toynbee

The substance of his polemic, furthermore, shows Huntington, methodologically, to be a loyal devotee of Venetian-British social-science and psychological-warfare techniques.

The argument is based on a pair of simple or, better, simplistic contentions, presented as self-evident truths. He writes: “The Cold War division of humanity is over. The more fundamental divisions of humanity in terms of ethnicity,



Samuel Huntington, at a meeting of the National Endowment for Democracy (the bedrock of the "Project Democracy" apparatus) in 1987.

religions, and civilizations remain and spawn new conflicts." Later, he states the same point more crudely: "Civilizations are the ultimate human tribes, and the clash of civilizations is tribal conflict on a global scale. . . . Relations between groups from different civilizations . . . will be almost never close, usually cool, and often hostile."

If this smacks of British cultural anthropology, or the modern-day residue of old Venetian diplomatic "play all against all" methods, it is hardly surprising, as Huntington expresses his allegiance to British imperial or Venetian methods on various occasions.

Already on the second page of the book, the "witness" that Huntington summons, to back up his argument, is a fictional "Venetian nationalist demagogue" in the novel *Dead Lagoon*, by Michael Dibdin. This lagoon creature remarks: "There can be no true friends without true enemies. Unless we hate what we are not, we cannot love what we are. These are the old truths we are painfully rediscovering after a century and more of sentimental cant. Those who deny them deny their family, their heritage, their culture, their birthright, their very selves. They will not lightly be forgotten."

Otherwise, Huntington marshals arguments from the modern-day social-scientific descendants of such Venice-manufactured British philosophers as the 17th century's Thomas Hobbes. In one location, Huntington cites a field

of research developed by experimental social psychologists, called "distinctiveness theory." This seems to be a method for inculcating and spreading paranoia. It upholds the idea that "people define themselves by what makes them different from others in a particular context. . . . People define their identity by what they are not. As increased communications, trade, and travel multiply the interactions among civilizations, people increasingly accord greater relevance to their civilizational identity."

Elsewhere, Huntington proudly claims he is drawing upon a field called "British international relations theory."

As for his general notion of the "history of civilizations," Huntington frequently refers to the late Arnold Toynbee, one of the key cultural warriors in British intelligence in this century (see box).

The enemies: economic and demographic growth

It is a short jump from such absurd axiomatic premises, to the "inevitability" of future wars: "In the emerging world, the relations between states and groups from different civilizations will not be close and will often be antagonistic. Yet some interciviliation relations are more conflict-prone than others. At the micro level, the most violent fault lines are between Islam and its Orthodox, Hindu, African, and Western Christian neighbors. At the macro level, the dominant division is between 'the West and the rest,' with the most intense conflicts occurring between Muslim and Asian societies on the one hand, and the West on the other. The dangerous clashes of the future are likely to arise from the interaction of Western arrogance, Islamic intolerance, and Sinic assertiveness."

That is, we in "the West" are locked into conflicts with intolerant Muslims and assertive Chinese. Why must this be the case? Huntington's proof would be laughable, were the author not a distinctive member of a club of geopolitical pyromaniacs: The Asians are threatening us with their "economic growth," and the Muslims with their "extremely high rates of population growth."

He writes: "Asian assertiveness is rooted in economic growth. Muslim assertiveness stems in considerable measure from social mobilization and population growth. Each of these challenges is having, and will continue to have into the 21st century, a highly destabilizing effect on global politics. . . . The economic development of China and other Asian societies provides these governments with both the incentives and the resources to become more demanding in their dealing with other countries. Population growth in Muslim countries, and particularly the expansion of the 15-to-24-year-old age cohort, provides recruits for fundamentalism, terrorism, insurgency, and migration. . . . The early years of the 21st century are likely to see an ongoing resurgence of non-Western power and culture, and the clash of the peoples of non-Western civilizations with the West and with each other."

His description of the basis for "the Muslim threat" is an

Toynbee's geopolitics of 'social insects'

The Arnold Toynbee, whom Huntington claims as an intellectual forebear, was the nephew of an influential late-19th-century British imperial ideologue (young Toynbee's namesake, in fact), and was a member of Britain's Political Intelligence Department during World War I. Then, he became the Director of Studies of the leading British think-tank, the Royal Institute of International Affairs ("Chatham House"), where he served for the three decades from 1925-55.

Much of Huntington's polemic, in fact, reads like an updated variant of a series of BBC lectures given by Toynbee in 1952, gathered together under the thematic title, "The World and the West," in which Toynbee put forth the Manichean view of an emerging conflict, sparked among peoples and nations angered by Western "aggressions," ready to commit acts of bloody revenge. This would bring a "clash of cultures," of "cultural claims and counter-claims," the which process, he asserted, could only be resolved by adopting the empire-sharing arrangement of the second century A.D., when religious cults worshipping

Isis, Osiris, Mithra, and Cybele, were brought in to control the situation.

Inclusively, Toynbee used such polemics, in waging his endless war against Western Judeo-Christian civilization of the Golden Renaissance, using verbiage and arguments similar to those used, today, by Britain's Prince Philip and his World Wide Fund for Nature. Toynbee, in his famous multi-volume *Study of History*, for example, inveighed against the "parochialism and impertinence" of the West to believe that "progress" is inevitable, or that there was unity to history.

In 1973, at the age of 84, Toynbee summarized his life's work, in the book, *Mankind and Mother Earth*. Toynbee excoriated the existence of the sovereign nation-state, insisting that "what has been needed for the last 5,000 years . . . is a global body politic composed of cells on the scale of the Neolithic-Age village-community—a scale on which the participants could be personally acquainted with each other, while each of them would also be a citizen of the world-state. . . . At this time in our history, we human beings might be tempted to envy the social insects. These have been conditioned by Nature to cooperate with each other on the grand scale. The individual bee or ant or termite subordinates and sacrifices itself in the service of the community." For man, it is more difficult, because "he is also a soul which possesses consciousness."

inverted variant of the Nazis' *Lebensraum* thinking: "Larger populations need more resources, and hence people from societies with dense and/or rapidly growing populations tend to push outward, occupy territory, and exert pressure on other less demographically dynamic peoples. Islamic population growth is thus a major contributing factor to the conflicts along the borders of the Islamic world between Muslims and other peoples."

'A march into Tiananmen Square'

At one point in *The Clash of Civilizations*, Mackinder fan Huntington exchanges socio-babble for straight British black propaganda, comparing the presumed threat from China today, to that represented by "Wilhelmine Germany," in the period leading up to World War I. He writes: "If it continues, the rise of China and the increasing assertiveness of this 'biggest player in the history of man' will place tremendous stress on international stability in the early 21st century. The emergence of China as the dominant power in East and Southeast Asia would be contrary to American interests as they have been historically construed."

With no explanation given for what "historically construed" is supposed to mean, and keeping in mind that every fiber of Huntington's being is opposed to the Christian-

humanist principles on which the American Republic was founded, we are then assaulted with the leading question: "Given this American interest, how might war between the United States and China develop?" We then enter a phantasmagoric world, in which China goes to war with Vietnam, and is later joined by Japan, against the United States. Before you know it, we have India fighting Pakistan, the Arabs fighting the Israelis, followed by Russia-China conflict, nuclear missiles ending up in Bosnia and Algeria, a nuclear strike on Marseilles, and complicated Balkans/Aegean war scenarios. The United States, Europe, Russia, and India find themselves "in a truly global struggle against China, Japan, and most of Islam," but we can be thankful that it ends up with an "eventual march of Russian and Western forces into Tiananmen Square."

Whew!

How such an evolution of events is coherent with "American interests," is beyond any sane person's comprehension. Needless to say, among Huntington's goals, is to polemicize against any effort by the Clinton administration to achieve positive, viable relations with the countries along the Eurasian Land-Bridge route. At one point, he attacks that direction in U.S. policy, today, which seeks to "develop close relationships with the core states of other civilizations, in the form of . . . 'constructive engagement' with China, in the face of the

natural conflicts of interest” between the United States and China. What Huntington insists on, instead, is that the United States and Europe, the refuges of “the West,” must impose technological apartheid on China and other countries, by acting, as he puts it, “to restrain the development of the conventional and unconventional military power of Islamic and Sinic countries,” and “to maintain Western technological and military superiority over other civilizations.”

On Jan. 28, Huntington gave an interview to the German daily *Hamburger Abendblatt*, calling on Europe to join with the United States, in a common front against China.

Is it ‘the West,’ or the British Empire?

If Huntington’s depiction of Chinese (Sinic), Islamic, and other civilizations is incompetent, his depiction of “the West” borders on the ridiculous. For all his talk of “Western civilization,” Huntington displays no understanding whatsoever of—or is viscerally opposed to—those features, dating from the 15th-century Golden Renaissance, which allowed “the West” to catalyze the vast increase of world population, by developing, and then proliferating science, technology, and human progress around the globe, over 500 years, from the latter 15th century, up through the third quarter of this century.

In essence, his “West” is the British imperial system and the 18th-century Enlightenment. He uses terms like “Euro-American civilization” and “Western Christendom” interchangeably with “Western imperialism.” Such an identification, of course, neatly fits into a “clash of civilization” construct, as it allows “the West” to be the perfect enemy-image for the other, “non-Western civilizations.” Hence, to demonstrate what he calls “European expansion” and the “onslaught of the West,” he writes: “In 1800, the British Empire consisted of 1.5 million square miles and 20 million people. By 1900, the Victorian empire upon which the sun never set, included 11 million square miles and 390 million people.”

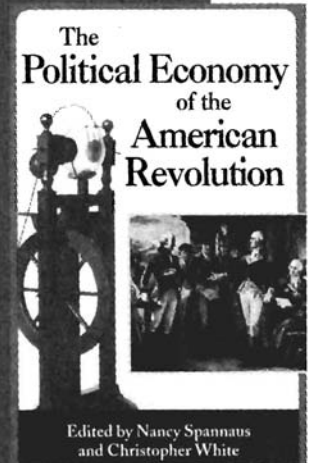
Huntington gets so carried away with the wonders of “British parliamentary democracy,” that he tells his readers that democracy and representative institutions grew from the strength of the feudal aristocracy. From this, flows his observation that “Japan and India had class systems paralleling that of the West (and perhaps as a result, are the only two major non-Western societies to sustain democratic governments for any length of time)”!

As Lyndon LaRouche has repeatedly stressed in recent months, what we call “the West” has been a not-very-peaceful coexistence of opposites, in which a tradition growing out of the 15th-century Golden Renaissance has co-existed with, while being under assault from and parasitically undermined by, an oligarchy originating out of Venice and achieving full expression in the 18th-century Enlightenment. The Renaissance tradition upholds the conception that man is made in the image of God, and is capable of participating in, and further perfecting, the work of the Creator. For those looking for an antidote to Samuel Huntington, it might be parenthetically

noted, that the Renaissance tradition also effectively resolved the problem of clashes between cultures, religions, and civilizations, more than 500 years ago, when Cardinal Nicolaus of Cusa wrote his dialogue *De Pace Fidei (On the Peace of Faith)*, a philosophical manual for reconciling all cultures around the highest conceptions of mankind, which are common to them all. The Venetian, or British Enlightenment tradition holds that man is a two-legged beast, that there is no fundamental distinction between man and animal.

Within the various non-Western civilizations that Huntington enumerates, the same tension exists, historically and in the present, between cultural tendencies coherent with the Western Renaissance view, and the opposite Enlightenment view. *This* is the real clash of civilizations, rather than Huntington’s Hobbesian construct. When he calls “the West” to rally behind its “values,” and defend itself from Chinese, Islamic, and other “civilizational” threats, he is invoking that paranoid, bestialist reflex that was injected, like a plague, into Western civilization by the Enlightenment and its offshoots. And, as the American Republic was founded on the basis of a philosophical and political war against the Enlightenment system of the British Empire, it can only be concluded that Samuel Huntington, while carrying an American passport, is a propaganda agent for that “civilizational” enemy of the United States today, the British Empire in its modern-day, updated incarnation.

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- that Washington and Franklin championed Big Government?
- that the Founding Fathers promoted partnership between private industry and central government?

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