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УНІВЕРСАЛІЗМ І ПРОТИСТОЯННЯ ЦИВІЛІЗАЦІЙ У КОНЦЕПЦІЯХ Ф. ФУКУЯМИ ТА С. ГАНТІНГТОНА

**Іван Медвецький. Універсализм і протистояння цивілізацій
у концепціях Ф. Фукуяма та С. Гантінгтона**

Метою статті є порівняльна характеристика концепцій «Кінця історії» Френсіса Фукуяма та «Зіткнення цивілізацій» Самуеля Гантінгтона і їх реалістичності в сучасних умовах. Основою для представленого дослідження є праці Френсіса Фукуяма та Самуеля Гантінгтона. При проведенні дослідження автором були поставлені такі завдання: (1) розглянути та дослідити першоджерела — праці Ф. Фукуяма «Кінець історії і остання людина» та С. Гантінгтона «Зіткнення цивілізацій і зміна світового порядку»; (2) проаналізувати еволюцію їх поглядів; (3) дослідити погляди критиків зазначених концепцій; (4) порівняти концепції між собою та їх практичну реалізацію з моменту виникнення і до нашого часу; (5) визначити реалістичність і реалізацію кожної з цих теорій / концепцій у сучасних умовах.

Ключові слова: модернізаційний підхід, цивілізаційний підхід, «Кінець історії», «Зіткнення цивілізацій».

**Иван Медвецкий. Универсализм и противостояние цивилизаций в
концепциях Ф. Фукуямы и С. Хантингтона**

Целью статьи является сравнительная характеристика концепций «Конец истории» Фрэнсиса Фукуямы и «Столкновение цивилизаций» Самуэля Хантингтона и их реалистичности в современных условиях. Основой для представленного исследования есть труды Фрэнсиса Фукуямы и Самуэля Хантингтона. При проведении исследования автором были поставлены следующие задачи: (1) рассмотреть и исследовать первоисточника — труды Ф. Фукуямы «Конец истории и последний человек» и С. Хантингтона «Столкновение цивилизаций и преобразование мирового порядка»; (2) проанализировать эволюцию их взглядов; (3) исследовать взгляды критиков указанных концепций; (4) сравнить концепции между собой и их практическую реализацию с момента возникновения и до нашего времени; (5) определить реалистичность и реализацию каждой из этих теорий / концепций в современных условиях.

Ключевые слова: модернизационный подход, цивилизационный подход, «Конец истории», «Столкновение цивилизаций».

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UNIVERSALISM AND CONFRONTATION OF CIVILIZATIONS IN THE CONCEPTS BY F. FUKUYAMA AND S. HUNTINGTON

**Ivan Medvetskyi. Universalism and Confrontation of Civilizations in the
Concepts by F. Fukuyama and S. Huntington**

The article is a comparative description of concepts «The End of History» by Francis Fukuyama and «The Clash of Civilizations» by Samuel Huntington and their feasibility at present. The basis for the present research is the works by

Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington. While conducting the research the authors faced the following tasks: (1) to consider and investigate the original works written by F. Fukuyama «The End of History and the Last Man» and S. Huntington «The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order»; (2) analyze the evolution of their views; (3) explore the views of critics on these concepts; (4) compare the concepts and their implementation since the moment they became public till the present time; (5) to determine the feasibility and implementation of each of these theories / concepts in modern conditions.

Key words: modern approach, civilizational approach, «The End of History», «The Clash of Civilizations».

Problem statement. The publication of the concepts «*The End of History*» by *Francis Fukuyama* and «*The Clash of Civilizations*» by *Samuel Huntington* was stipulated by significant geopolitical changes at the end of the XXth century. At the turn of 1980–1990–ies the socialist system in the USSR and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe was ruined, together with the bipolar world order, that was based on the confrontation of two opposing systems: socialist and capitalist. Consequently, there was an urgent need of not only understanding, why it had happened, but also for the sake of understanding, why such risks arise, the ones that open perspectives for the evolution; the understanding of what new challenges the humankind will face in the future. The period, we are discussing, was a favourable moment for different geopolitical forecasts.

The objective of the article is the research of two diametrically conflicting concepts «The End of History» by F. Fukuyama and «The Clash of Civilizations» by S. Huntington and their contemporary implementation and topicality.

The analysis of recent research and publications. The world-known works written «*The End of History and the Last Man*»¹ (1992) by *Francis Fukuyama* and «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*»² (1996) by *Samuel Huntington* [14], are the main works on which the present paper focuses on, as well as the research made by their supporters and critics, such as *K. Anderson, E. Bragina*³, *D. Broderick, A. Wolfe, G. Garzarelli, M. Gove, A. Dugin, I. Ingram, M. Korotkova*⁴, *J. Kurth, K. Lamb, A. Lieven, M. Lind, T. Lindberg, G. Piel, B. Pilbeam, G. Rodriguez, P. Skerry, B. Thomassen, J. Fonte, A. Friedberg, S. Holmes, St. Hoffmann* and others.

Main results of the research. As the mankind should forecast its future, in the early 1990s American scientists F. Fukuyama and S. Huntington developed two fundamental, diametrically anta-

¹ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History and the Last Man // Free Press. — 1992.

² *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

³ *Брагина Е. А.* Фукуяма и другие о проблемах экономического отставания и институтах [Текст] / Е. А. Брагина // Мировая экономика и международные отношения. — 2010. — № 3. — С. 122–128.

⁴ *Короткова М. Н.* Популистские альтернативы «Конца истории» Ф. Фукуямы: идеология будущего [Текст] / М. Н. Короткова // Молодой ученый. — 2012. — № 6. — С. 324–332.

gonistic concepts of the evolution of the Planet, which forecast its future. The two global approaches — *civilizational* and *modernization*, have become widely used by modern scholars. Today, the future of the mankind depends on the fact, which of the two theories would be closer to the political realities of the XXI century. The first approach, the theory developed by political analyst and philosopher *Francis Fukuyama*, is illustrated in his work «*The End of History and the Last Man*»¹ (1992). And the second one, the concept developed by Professor of Harvard University, sociologist and political analyst *Samuel Huntington*, is presented in the work: «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*»² (1996).

Let us consider the first of these concepts, the one by *Francis Fukuyama* «*The End of History*». It is based on the realities of the time of the collapse of the authoritarian regimes and the period when new democratic systems were being set up. It was taken as a triumph of the market economy. The actuality of the concept «*The End of History*» lies in an attempt to form a new philosophical and political paradigm of the world. The second one of the concepts is «*The Clash of Civilizations*» by *Samuel Huntington* refers to later events: a wave of religious, national and ethnic wars. The topicality of this concept lies in an attempt to fill a void in the ideological field after the period of the Cold War.

This, first of all, explains the fact, why American scientist *Francis Fukuyama*, rather new personality even among political science community, became known to the world public almost the day after the publication of his work. F. Fukuyama concluded that the era was already over and he outlined some landmarks for the future. Every scientist has found his way out of the situation, and its analysis allowed to define both: general factors and their development trends. Analyzing their works we can conclude, that the general trend of the evolution of views of F. Fukuyama and S. Huntington are reflected in the increasing role of culture in economic and political developments of the states.

Both concepts have become a part of political and philosophical discourse. Their potential allows them, without losing the basics, to become the subject to transformation and to take into account the evolution of the historical process. At that, these concepts due to their value, could become a part of not only professional scientific discourse, but have become widely used at the level of everyday consciousness.

¹ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History and the Last Man // Free Press. — 1992.

² *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

The first of them, the famous work by Francis Fukuyama «The End of History and the Last Man»¹ was published in 1992. It was one of the fundamental works of civilized approaches in the world scientific thought. The author of the work Yoshihiro Francis Fukuyama (b. 1952) is a well-known American political analyst, sociologist, political economy analyst, historian, and a scholar. In 1981–1982 and in 1989 he worked for the headquarters of Policy Planning Division of the US State Department. First F. Fukuyama was an expert on Middle East policy, then a Deputy Director of the European military-political issues. He supervised the projects «New Science Project» and «Telecommunications Project» at the Institute of Advanced International Studies at «Johns Hopkins University», was a lecturer at «University of California» in Los Angeles. Since 1996 till present F. Fukuyama has been a Professor of political science at «George Mason University». He is the author of over 100 works, one of which is «The End of History and the Last Man»² (1992).

He received worldwide recognition after the publication of the article «The End of History»³ (1989) It was published in the journal «National Interest», and then in the book «The End of History and the Last Man»⁴ (1992) which solemnly proclaimed the final and irrevocable victory of liberal democracy all over the world. The phenomenal success of F. Fukuyama, which became quite unexpected, was explained by the fact that the world, being changed literally right before our eyes, needed a high-level theory, that could explain what had happened and what should be expected. His work hit the target, moreover, many people came to the same conclusion, but it is only F. Fukuyama who could interpret such feelings, public mood and debates into a clearly meaningful, complete form.

The concept «The End of History» displays a clearly defined political and philosophical nature. Liberal democracy appears in F. Fukuyama's work as not only the latest, but the best, most perfect mode, aimed at achieving greater wellness, implementation of all positive things historically developed.

The theory developed by F. Fukuyama was significantly more sophisticated, than it was assumed, but it can explain the following: the disintegration of the Soviet Union means the end of the bipolar world, it was substituted by unipolar world, within the framework of which the USA will become a leading State, and liberal democracy will be a common political form in the world, and the adjusted capitalism and consumerism will gradually penetrate into every corner of the planet. So, according to the theory by F. Fukuyama, we will witness «the end of history» and during an indefinitely long period of time the world order will not be the subject to fundamental changes. This bold theory together with his

¹ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History and the Last Man // Free Press. — 1992.

² *Там само.*

³ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History? // The National Interest. — Summer 1989.

⁴ *Fukuyama F.* The End of History and the Last Man // Free Press. — 1992.

obvious political commitment, who did not only predict, but who was an ardent advocate of the West, brought a worldwide fame to the author. It caused a debate among political analysts which lasted for many years, but F. Fukuyama had to introduce to his concept a lot of corrections and adjustments.

First, when he realized new challenges of the time, he tried to stay within the framework of his original concept and explain it with the help of the sources of the «end of history» (craving for recognition, economics and research). However, these schemes appeared ineffective. For example, he tried to explain intensification of religious and national conflicts, failures of the transition period, fail of the democratic wave with the help of cultural developments. Culture itself has become a necessary condition for effective economic development (modernization) and liberal democracy.

A new wave of religious and national conflicts in the mid-1990s, from the societal point of view, made philosophers to doubt F. Fukuyama's conclusions. He tried to rehabilitate his concept, presenting a number of his new works to the world, namely: «*Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*»¹ (1995), «*The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order*»² (1999), «*Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution*»³ (2002), «*State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st century*»⁴ (2004), «*America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy*»⁵ (2006), «*Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States*»⁶ (2008), «*The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?*»⁷ (2012), «*Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*»⁸ (2014) and others, which revised various terms and provisions of «*The End of History and the Last Man*».

The real cause for international conflicts, in F. Fukuyama's opinion, was a «weak» state, being not able to cope with the problems of modernizing communities. In the early 1990s the researcher was an active advocate for the least governmental role in

¹ Fukuyama F. *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* // Free Press. — 1995.

² Fukuyama F. *The Great Disruption: Human Nature and the Reconstitution of Social Order* // Free Press. — 1999.

³ Fukuyama F. *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution* // New York, NY : Farrar, Straus & Giroux. — 2002.

⁴ Fukuyama F. *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st century* // Ithaca, NY : Cornell University Press. — 2004.

⁵ Fukuyama F. *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and the Neoconservative Legacy* // New Haven, CT : Yale University Press. — 2006.

⁶ Fukuyama F. (edited by) *Falling Behind: Explaining the Development Gap Between Latin America and the United States* // New York, NY : Oxford University Press. — 2008.

⁷ Fukuyama F. *The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?* // Foreign Affairs. — January / February 2012.

⁸ Fukuyama F. *Political Order and Political Decay: From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy* // New York, NY : Farrar, Straus & Giroux. — 2014.

the society. Rather significant centralization of power, in his opinion, led to the suppression of civil society and deformation of market relations. However, at the beginning of the XXI century F. Fukuyama reviewed his position and acted as an active supporter of a «powerful» state. He began to support the idea of the interference of «powerful» countries in the lives of «weak» ones and he even supported changes of regimes in order to «strengthen» them (as a kind of state formation). It should be noted that the work by F. Fukuyama «The End of History and the Last Man» admitted a possibility of solving the problems of historical and post-historical worlds from the standpoint of strength.

F. Fukuyama predicted that most of the Third World countries will remain economically backward, and will probably serve for many years the arena for political, economic and even military conflicts. Consequently, F. Fukuyama offered the United States a new foreign strategy: «realistic Wilsonianism», which denied interventionism, and cautiously regarded the idea of nation-building and welcomed the multilateral approach in international relations.

Further on, F. Fukuyama formulates, seemingly paradoxical conclusion that the middle class is not always interested in supporting liberal democracy. In such countries as Thailand and China, the middle class understands the threat posed by the poor, that's why they feel positive for authoritarian regimes which protect their interests against the former. This fact allows political analysts to explain a new wave of authoritarianism, which came after the third wave of democratization, and which, in its turn, was described by the famous American political analyst S. Huntington.

Today, the Chinese model cannot by any means be called a liberal democracy. The country is still governed by the Communist Party, which cannot admit even a hint of a possibility of transfer of power in other hands or a free market economy, as the Western civilization is promoting it. Is China successfully combining the authoritarian regime with a partially market economy and thus can be a serious alternative to liberal democracy? According to F. Fukuyama, it is not because:

➤ *Chinese model is stipulated by a specific culture, not suitable for transfer to other countries;*

➤ *Chinese authoritarianism cannot be reconciled with the policy of respect for the rights and freedoms which, ultimately, can lead to the protest process.*

F. Fukuyama draws attention to the decrease of the middle class in developed countries. This problem, in terms of political science, is associated with the development of technology and globalization processes in the world. In 2001 F. Fukuyama was appointed an expert of the Presidential Council on Bioethics. The result of this work is his above-mentioned work «*Our Posthuman Future*»:

Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution»¹ (2002). In this book the author for the first time contemplates the question that science is not only a powerful unifier in the field of promotion of liberal democracy, but it is also a dangerous source for future conflicts. For the first time F. Fukuyama recognizes that modern technology can change human nature and restore the course of «post human» history. The development of science also leads to the invention of mass destruction weapons.

Analysing the later works by F. Fukuyama we can see the evolution of his ideas. So, the principal difference of the article «*The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?*»² (2012) from the book «*Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution*»³ (2002 p.) is his statement that a further development of technologies and global transformations favour a decrease in the number of the middle class. The technological development, in F. Fukuyama's opinion, leads to the substitution of highly-skilled labour by machinery, that means to the reduction of work positions. He thinks that in the process of globalization the middle class in developed countries competes with the middle class of developing countries and loses this competition.

Therefore, there exists a necessity to form a new ideology of the future, which, in F. Fukuyama's opinion, should possess the following elements:

✓ *Firstly*, protection of the values of liberal democracy (first of all, of freedoms and rights of people, right to private ownership);

✓ *Secondly*, positive attitude to global markets, but only to that extent, when they promote the development of the middle class in developed countries never blocking that process.

Real mechanisms of achieving the set tasks facing the field of ideology for the future in F. Fukuyama's opinion are the tasks of building of a powerful state. The process of building of a powerful state in the countries of The Third World is stipulated by solving the tasks, connected with poverty, immigration and terrorism, guarantee of rights and freedoms for people, economic development. In Western countries such a powerful state is capable of controlling the processes of technological development, and to solve the problems, connected with the protection of liberal democracy and to F. Fukuyama, it means, first of all, the protection of the middle class.

Summing up the above-mentioned ideas, we think, that F. Fukuyama reviews evolutionary his concepts in correspondence

¹ *Fukuyama F.* *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution* // New York, NY : Farrar, Straus & Giroux. — 2002.

² *Fukuyama F.* *The Future of History: Can Liberal Democracy Survive the Decline of the Middle Class?* // *Foreign Affairs*. — January / February 2012.

³ *Fukuyama F.* *Our Posthuman Future: Consequences of the Biotechnology Revolution* // New York, NY : Farrar, Straus & Giroux. — 2002.

with *the challenges posed by time* and in correspondence with *the reasons that gave rise to those challenges*. Generally, the political analyst and philosopher reviews his theories, namely:

- He gives up the idea of accelerating of expansion of democracy, state building, and western unilateralism;
- He interchanges accents in his explanations of inevitability of «the end of history»;
- He rethinks his initial treatment of the character of the relations between economy, politics and culture.

Not only political analysts or historians understand in 2015, that F. Fukuyama was mistaken in many things: even instead of the USSR that was a crucial obstacle on the way to the worldwide domination of liberal democracy in accordance to his theory of «the end of the history», we witness regimes of different extent of authorization, of little democratic character.

The concept by F. Fukuyama was a challenge itself, and the answer to this challenge was a concept developed by his colleague Samuel Huntington. It is important to mention that Samuel Huntington also recognized the modernization approach, analyzing «waves of democratization» in his work «*The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*»¹ (1991) and others.

Samuel Phillips Huntington (1927–2008) is worldwide known American sociologist, political scientist, economist, scholar, held numerous positions during his career at universities, research institutions and government agencies. His work is marked with numerous awards for his research in the fields of political science, sociology, journalism, economics. He was elected President of the American Political Science Association (1985–1987) and a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Conceptual works by Samuel Huntington are: «*Political Order in Changing Societies*»² (1968); «*The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*»³ (1991); «*The Clash of Civilizations?*»⁴ (1993); «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*»⁵ (1996); «*Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*»⁶ (2004) and others.

The name of Samuel Huntington, a prominent American political analyst of the 1990th is not that recognizable if to compare it with the name of Francis Fukuyama, though the title of S. Huntington's basic work is «*The Clash of Civilizations and the*

¹ Huntington S. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* // University of Oklahoma Press : Norman and London. — 1991.

² Huntington S. *Political Order in Changing Societies* // New Haven and London: Yale University Press. — 1968.

³ Huntington S. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* // University of Oklahoma Press : Norman and London. — 1991.

⁴ Huntington S. *The Clash of Civilizations?* // Foreign Affairs. — Summer 1993.

⁵ Huntington S. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

⁶ Huntington S. *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* // Simon & Schuster. — 2004.

Remaking of World Order»¹ (1996). It is a worldwide known work, referred to by many political articles, especially if they contain the forecast of the future for the Earth.

It was S. Huntington who contrasted alternative civilizational approach developed by F. Fukuyama with his modernisational one in his famous work. It first appeared in 1993 in the journal «**Foreign Affairs**» with the publication of the article «The Clash of Civilizations?»². And later, the book under the title «The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order»³ went public in 1996. It was S. Huntington who suggested the forecast that appeared much more realistic than F. Fukuyama's theory. A number of S. Huntington's forecasts, first of all, his forecast of a much more higher influence of ethnic, religious, linguistic and other differences on global politics, and in his opinion these differences are based on old sacred traditions. This forecast got impressive verification very quickly. Today, the world witnesses more clearly the barriers, splitting various civilisational types.

According to the theory, developed by Samuel Huntington, the place of empires, which fought for their world in 19th-20th dominance in 20th-21st centuries is taken by other players, nine civilizations, namely: Western, Islamic, Hindu, Shinsen, Orthodoxy, Japanese, Latin American, African and Buddhistic. The fact that during the former centuries the Western civilization was predominant among others is very important, because in the 21st century the balance should move towards Asian and Latin American civilizations. The world will transform into a system of blocks, uniting the peoples and countries that are very close culturally. We should mention some very important explanations concerning civilizations: Orthodoxy, for example, as well as Hindu, according to the concept developed by Samuel Huntington, means cultural values, not religious. In other words, it not necessary to belong to the Orthodox Church, some other values allow to belong to the Orthodoxy.

In this new world we will see serious and dangerous conflicts, started not by social classes, not by the poor and the rich, not by some specific economic groups, but by the communities belonging to opposite cultures. Cross-cultural and ethnic conflicts and wars will take place within civilisational frames, but acts of aggression of one country against another one, or between groups of countries, belonging to opposite civilizations pose threats due to its escalation.

¹ *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

² *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations? // Foreign Affairs. — Summer 1993.

³ *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

S. Huntington explains and proves that the mistake of the population of our planet lies in the fact that the civilization considers that these values, which are really noble, could be ever universal, acceptable for every nation and in all times. Really, the American example is unique; it cannot be exemplary for the developing countries on their way towards modernization. The world is a home for different peoples, and for different cultures, and it is even more important. And, sometimes, it is difficult for them to understand each other. The West holds an important place among civilizations and, sometimes, it negatively influences them. Along with a relative strengthening of some civilisations, we see that the West attracts less and less, and other civilizations begin trusting their own native cultures more and more.

The West and particularly the USA, taking a missionary role, believe that non-Western peoples should themselves come to the understanding of democratic values, free markets, limited governmental role, human rights, individualism, rule of law, and implement the above-mentioned values into their institutions. And really, certain (minority) representatives of other civilizations accept and promote the above-mentioned values, but the attitude of non-Western cultures towards them lies within certain limits: from high skepticism to absolute opposition. The things that the West considers to be universalism, other cultures take for imperialism.

S. Huntington never shared the very optimistic ideas of the whole American establishment. He did not believe that the world was moving to a bright future governed by American ideals. In his work «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*»¹ the scholar forecasts that the 21st century will be marked by bloody wars against civilizations, blatant wars between civilizations.

Islamic states and China serve as examples of implementation of great cultural traditions, which radically differ from the western ones, and in the eyes of Islamic and Chinese people their traditions outshine the western. The might and insistence of these countries are growing in contrast to the West, and the conflicts of interest and values are increasing and are becoming more and more serious. The Islamic world has no single nation that could be a leader, that's why the attitude towards the West in Islamic countries is different. But, with the beginning of the 70-es of the last century there appeared a very consistent tendency in the Islamic world, characterized by fundamentalism, by the transition of power from pro-Western governments to anti-Western, by waging undeclared wars between a number of Islamic groups and the West and by weakening of the security system, which happened during the period of «the cold war» in the relations between a number of

¹ Huntington S. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* // Simon & Schuster. — 1996.

Islamic states and the USA. The most important question lies in the basis of differences: what role will belong to the specified civilizations in comparison to the West? Will there be global institutions, power distribution, politics and national economies in the 21-st century that could reflect Western values and interest or will they form mainly under the influence of values and interest of Islamic states and China?

Growing anti-Western attitude in the Islamic world is accompanied by an increasing concern of the West about «Islamic threat» that primarily comes from Islamic extremists. The Islamic world is looked upon as a source of proliferation of nuclear weapons, terrorism, and Europe considers Islamists as unwelcome immigrants.

The West, in S. Huntington's opinion, will still remain a powerful civilization in the near future but it is losing its dominance in contrast to other civilizations. Inasmuch as it strives to lay down its values and ensure protection of its interest, non-Western communities are facing a choice. Some will attempt to take the Western way, to become a part of it or to «join» it. Other countries, which are under the influence of Confucianism and Islam, are striving to expand their own economic and military might and be capable of «reasonably» opposing the West. That's why the central vector of the global politics during the period after «the cold war» lies in the place where the might and culture of the West merges with the might and culture of «non-Western civilizations».

The end of the cold war released the USA from the principal enemy, and with that it is taking away the most important criterium for the definition of the country's own identity and this fact brings confusion to American conservatives. This circumstance favours the evolution of S. Huntington's theory. So, in his work «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*» he speaks of a new source of identity: *culture* and, correspondingly, multicivilisational world paradigm, relevant to it. The scholar states that *culture and various types of cultural identification determine international models of solidarity, disintegration and conflict*. Despite the announced «cultural and historical» approach S. Huntington considers that the basis of various civilisational wars consists of classical problems of international politics (struggle for power, territory, wealth, etc). In the first place cultural differences stipulate their character.

In his book «*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*» S. Huntington writes about some inside inclination of people towards cultural values. In particular, he notes, that culture itself, is a serious obstacle to the advancement of democracy; he arrives at a conclusion that there exists some global misunderstanding between civilizations, finally leading to conflicts. Thus, during evolutionary changes of his beliefs, S. Huntington has

come to another model of foreign relations: to multicivilisational one, radically reviewing interrelationships of economics, politics and culture, and he started denying the idea of the advancement of democracy and appealed the West to self-isolation. We should specially underline plastic thinking of S. Huntington and note rather wide framework of his concept, that made possible to renew the civilisational theory adjusting it to the calls of the time.

Conclusions. In order to analyse such a number of works dedicated F. Fukuyama's and S. Huntington's beliefs, it is necessary to classify and systematize them. Of course, to show all reactions to the works written by scholars, we'd need separate historiographic research. As it is not the exact objective of the paper, the author is limiting the field of his research to defining only those fundamental points, the analysis of which is necessary for achieving the set tasks and objectives.

An important and specific feature of the historiography of the above-mentioned research is lack of comprehensive works dedicated to S. Huntington's and F. Fukuyama's books, and to their main concepts in the process of their evolution, and it again stresses the topicality of the research. Consequently, the historiography presents some clusters of articles and reviews, «provoked» by some works by F. Fukuyama and S. Huntington, and the issues of the evolution of their opinions are in the centre of attention.

It is necessary to state the importance of the following debatable historiographical positions on the research. The first position is: the historiographical review displays that most authors who research the works by S. Huntington and F. Fukuyama, are interested, first of all, in their political, geopolitical, culturological and even futurological aspects of their works. At the same time, paradigmatic character of their concepts make us pay attention to philisiphical and political content of their works. The second position: most often the objects of comparative analysis are the first two works, widely known books writtwn by F. Fukuyama and S. Huntington. Doing that we nearly miss the later works written by both authors and correspondingly the evolution of their concepts.

Francis Fukuyama. All the works, written by F. Fukuyama, one way or another, touch the problems of the «end of history». They are the answers to the challenges and reflect the evolution of his opinions. That's why the basis for the classification of the sources will serve the challenges, the concept of the «end of history» faced:

- We can mark a number of works, dedicated to the «cultural» challenges;
- We can mark a number of works in which F. Fukuyama attempted to interpret the reasons for polarization in the relations between the USA and the EU;
- We can mark the answers to the challenges made by Islamic fundamentalism and global terrorism.

Samuel Huntington. The works by this scientist can be divided into four groups, namely:

➤ *the first group contains the works*, in which S. Huntington presents a conceptual model of interstate relations. It is the work «The Clash of Civilizations» and related articles. He also refers to this group other works that describe new ideas and principles of foreign policy;

➤ Of no less interest are the works belonging to *the second group*, in which S. Huntington stands for his point on the formation of multicivilized world;

➤ *The third group contains a number of papers*, which were specified intentionally and were dedicated to the episodes of the Iraqui War, Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism;

➤ *And finally, Group 4 focuses on the issues of identity*; they manifest more clearly the evolution of the opinions of the political analyst.

It is necessary to point out that though some principles of *Samuel Huntington* and *Francis Fukuyama* have undergone some evolutionary processes, their main philosophical and political and correspondingly, ideological opinions have preserved their initial characteristic features. The evolutionary segment of data allowed to define unchangeable center of theoretical schemes developed by the authors; and to highlight the liberal belief of F. Fukuyama and a conservative one of S. Huntington. And the present time proved that less known concept by S. Huntington is more realistic than more popular concepts by Francis Fukuyama. The analysis of either of these concepts will be of great interest for researchers in future for rather long period of time. Though the opponents often doubt the correctness of the above-mentioned concepts in connection with different situational changes, but, in the long run, one of them is being implemented into practice, and the other one has already become a «historical event».

Medvetskyi Ivan.

UNIVERSALISM AND CONFRONTATION OF CIVILIZATIONS IN THE CONCEPTS BY F. FUKUYAMA AND S. HUNTINGTON

The article is a comparative description of concepts «The End of History» by Francis Fukuyama and «The Clash of Civilizations» by Samuel Huntington and their feasibility at present. The basis for the present research is the works by Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington. While conducting the research the authors faced the following tasks: (1) to consider and investigate the original works written by F. Fukuyama «The End of History and the Last Man» and S. Huntington «The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order»; (2) analyze the evolution of their views; (3) explore the views of critics on these concepts; (4) compare the concepts and their implementation since the moment they became public till the present time; (5) to determine the feasibility and implementation of each of these theories / concepts in modern conditions.

Key words: modern approach, civilizational approach, «The End of History», «The Clash of Civilizations».

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The article was received by the editorial board on 10.11.15