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**The Representation of Islam in Samuel Huntington's
*The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World
Order (1996)***

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DEDICATIONS

To my family, my beloved ones and friends

To the apple of my eye Ayham Mohammed Iyes

To all those who trusted me

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ABSTRACT

The representation of anything in literature is indisputably a powerful means that shape and inform public opinions. Muslim communities, for instance, have been contentious subjects in literary representation. With this vein of thought, the present study seeks to examine the representation of Islam by the Western World in certain events and documents, such as the Crusades, the Elizabethan Era, captivity narratives, and traveller's accounts. Its focal point is the confrontation between the Western world and the Islamic World since the emergence of Islam, including the Crusades, Orientalism, and Neo-Orientalism in the Modern Era. After the events of September eleventh, the relationship between the Western world and the Muslim world has been characterized by negative ideological terms, particularly regarding extremism and terrorism. Many thinkers and scholars have been intrigued to study this conflict among whom is Samuel Huntington with his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. This study aims at scrutinizing the representation of Islam in the aforementioned book, and it reveals that the West has purposefully distorted the image of Islam and emphasized erroneous and misrepresentative preconceptions of Muslims. The image of Islam and Muslims in this book is marked by stereotyped connotations of violence, terrorism, fanaticism, and extremism.

Keywords: Representation, Islam, West, Orientalism, Colonialism, Clash, Civilization, Huntington.

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***GENERAL
INTRODUCTION***

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

History has recorded the stages of intellectual and civilizational interactions, as well as clashes, crises, and devastating battles between the West and the East for centuries. The conflicts between the West and the East intensified after Islam emerged as the only religion capable of challenging Western interests on political, military, economic, and cultural levels. In the absence of the Soviet Union, the former ideological adversary known as the "Red Danger," the post-Cold War period was marked by the emergence of Western studies, mostly American, warning of a coming danger known as the "Green Danger," which is Islam, especially after the events of September eleventh, which have reinforced what these studies have said.

Since then, negative images have been dramatically intensified and aggressive campaigns have been waged against Muslim values, traditions, cultures and people. Islam and Muslims have become synonymous to terrorism, violence, extremism, fundamentalism, anti-democratic and anti-freedom. Moreover, the world witnessed the emergence of negative terms regarding Muslims and Islam: 'The Green Danger', 'the Clash of Civilizations', 'Ideological Conflict', 'The Third Millennium Crusade', etc. All these images are employed in order to demonstrate that the West is a victim of terrorism. Thus, any military aggression against the Arab Muslim world is sustained and any legitimate defence of a violated Muslim land is overruled.

One of the studies that promoted a negative perception of Islam was Samuel Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations that appeared in the nineties of the twentieth century and returned to the forefront after the events of September eleventh.

Huntington published an article entitled *The clash of civilizations?* , with a question mark, in the Summer of 1993 in *Foreign Affairs* magazine which received widespread attention and mixed reactions from supporters and opponents. Then, in 1996, it was rewritten as *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* in which he revealed his future vision of international relations and the new foundations and principles that will control them. Huntington focused on the

civilizational clash between Islam and the West, and was centrally interested in the Islamic world, especially as he tried to promote a negative image of Islam.

The fear of Islam and Muslims arose in various regions of the world, leading to the spread of negative stereotypes about them, implying that Muslims are hostile to people of other religions and that Islam is portrayed as a violent religion having bloody borders.

The study in hand seeks to shed light on how Islam is depicted in Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. It deals with an important and very sensitive topic which attempts to anticipate the future of the relationship between Islamic civilization and western civilization in light of American hegemony and control, and in light of the great influence that conservatives have in the United States of America, known for their hostility to Islam and Muslims. This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the predominant characteristics of the historical relationship between the Muslim World and the West?
2. How did Samuel Huntington portray Islam and Muslims in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*?

In order for these enquiries to be met, the relationship between Islamic and Western civilization must be understood, and the negative stereotype that the West has set for the Islamic world must be examined.

To this end, a historical analytical approach was implemented throughout this research. The first chapter provides a theoretical background of the conflict between the East and the West since the emergence of Islam, until the Modern Era. It examines the evolution of Western interest in Islam from its beginning as well as within Orientalism. The chapter covers the Representation of Islam in Orientalism and shows how this perception helped the West realize its colonial and imperial goals in the Muslim world.

The second chapter is an analytical field about the Representation of Islam in *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order*. It presents the author Samuel Huntington and his major works, with particular focus on the historical and ideological development of the notion of the clash of civilizations. It examines his theory, shedding light on the division of the world on the basis of civilizations and the inevitable need of the west to have an enemy. It equally provides an analysis of the Representation of the Islam within the western circle.

CHAPTER ONE
Review of Literature

1.1 Introduction

Throughout history, the West has misrepresented Islam using a variety of tactics and tools, including literature, all of which have been utilized by the west to promote misconceptions. These prejudices helped to create a falsified reputation of Islam and Muslims.

In this opening chapter of the study, the theoretical framework examines the relationships between the Islamic World and the Western World, as well as the origins of the conflict between these two civilizations from the beginning of the da'wah until the events of September eleventh. It gives a detailed study about how Islam and Muslims are portrayed in the West since plenty of ink has been spilled over the question of the Representation of Islam and Muslims.

1.2 The Representation

The practice of representing ideas to an audience is known as representation in literature. It is the process of using linguistic tools to construct meaning and impact how a reader perceives a subject or text. It can also apply to how a community, individuals, and their beliefs are represented. Representation is the process of portraying an object, person, idea, or thing in a new structure or shape rather than depicting it as is. It is a discourse that structures the identity and existence of individuals. It's a technique for separating and classifying society into two organizations: superior and inferior.

In terms of the West's Representation of the East, Edward Said has played a significant role in capturing this phenomenon by publishing his book *Orientalism* in 1978. He has challenged the notion of Orientalism, which believes that the West and the East are vastly different and that the East is inferior to the West. According to Said, Europeans or the West defined themselves as the superior race to the Orient or the East, and the link between them is one of power and dominance (5). Edward said shows that the West distorts the Orient in order to promote itself "For Orientalism was ultimately a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, "us") and the strange (the Orient, the East, "them") (43).

Authors, being novelists or poets, have the power to promote specific ideologies through words in fiction because they can influence what happens in the story and establish a type of hegemony that connects the readers, consciously or subconsciously, to what the authors express. Western people are the party that has supremacy over East culture in works of fiction written by Westerners. This corresponds to Said's belief that Westerners are the source of knowledge about the Orient since they created the Orient, the Oriental, and their world (Said 40). Edward Said also discusses the importance of language. He believed that the Western language is biased. The use of subjective terms that focus primarily on Europe and Europeans demonstrates language inaccuracy:

We need not look for correspondence between the language used to depict the Orient and the Orient itself, not so much because the language is inaccurate but because it is not even trying to be accurate. What it is trying to do, as Dante tried to do in the *Inferno*, is at one and the same time to characterize the Orient as alien and to incorporate it schematically on a theatrical stage whose audience, manager, and actors are for Europe, and only for Europe and only for Europe (71).

The creation of negative perceptions of the Orient was aided by Western racist and colonialist notions. Orientalism explains how colonialists were able to conquer the East and within Orientalism discourse, the Orient has repeatedly and consistently appeared as a stereotypical image, and this is how Orientalism maintained its hegemonic authority over the Orient.

In order to fully understand how the West came to perceive Islam, Muslims and Arabs today, it is imperative to step back in time:

Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps. This problem animates all sorts of discussions--about

influence, about blame and judgement, about present actualities and future priorities(said 3).

1.3 The Western World and Islamic World, a Civilizational Historical Relationship

With regards to civilizational relations between the West and the East, history has recorded peace and productive trade cooperation and stages of intellectual and civilizational interaction as well as confrontations, crises, and destructive wars that have lasted many centuries.

1.3.1 West versus East

It is important to note that Islam's relationship with the West does not originate from current events, but rather from centuries of contact and conflict.

Europe was suffering from scientific underdevelopment, stagnation, and cultural decadence at a time when Islamic civilization was in its Golden Age and flourishing in all aspects, cultural, economic, and scientific. (Halak 10). Europe faced political, social, and religious chaos and once it woke up from this Dark Ages it found itself in front of a great Islamic civilization. It took knowledge from it through cultural centers such as Andalusia. Scholars from the West travelled to Spain and Sicily to study Arabic and transcribe Latin manuscripts. Cordoba in the tenth century was the most civilized city in Europe (Arnold 9), and this was the spine of the formation of modern Europe. This led many western writers and authors and Orientalists to recognize the role of Muslims in the formation of their civilization such as Robert Briffault "It was under the influence of Arabian and Moorish revival of culture and not in the 15th century, that the real renaissance took place. Spain and not Italy, was the cradle of the rebirth of Europe."(188) and also Gustave Le Bon:

The barbarism of Europe was for a long time too great for it to be aware of its barbarity. It was only in the eleventh and especially in the twelfth century that some scientific aspirations occurred. When some somewhat enlightened minds felt the need to shake the shroud of heavy ignorance that weighed upon them, it was to the Arabs, the only existing masters then, that they addressed themselves (560)

According to Walter E. Kaegi in his book *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*(1995), the battle of Mu'tah in 629 A.D was the first armed clash between the Muslims and Byzantine military forces (71). This was the prelude to the great conquests of the land of Christians. Many battles followed in the coming years during the Caliphs, leading to Muslim sovereignty. After that, a series of wars had emerged known as the crusades between the western Christendom and the Muslim world.

1.3.2 The Crusades

The Seljuk Turks confronted the Byzantine Empire, the representative of Eastern Christianity based in Constantinople, in the battle of Manzikert in which the Byzantine Emperor Romanus was defeated (Serjani 30)., This battle was the turning point for the Seljuk empire's expansion throughout Minor Asia, as well as the collapse of the Byzantine empire. This threat prompted the latter to appeal to the Roman Church for help.

Pope Urban II took the opportunity to appeal to all Western Christians in Europe to support the Eastern Church and to launch a holy war against Muslims. In the Muslim world, it marked the start of a period of crusades. Wars waged by the Roman Catholic Church which was a landmark in the course of the West's contact with Islam.

Muslims were portrayed with hatred as infidels, pagans, and an accursed race, and also accused of different crimes such as raping women, destroying churches, and persecuting Christian pilgrims (Allen & Amt, 40-42).

The erroneous view of the pope was revealed with cogent evidence that Muslims are not the bad people as it was depicted all this was for the sake of promoting propaganda against Muslims. According to Alexander Vasiliev in his book *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Christians enjoyed religious freedom under Islamic rule. They were allowed not only to keep their old churches but also to build new ones (393). Sigrid Hunke said in her book *Allah's sun over the Occident*:

No compulsion in religion is what the Holy Quran commanded. And by this, the Arabs didn't force the defeated nations to enter Islam. Christians, Zoroastrians, Jews who were before Islam found

an extreme violence towards Religious intolerance. But in Islam, it allowed them with no obstructions from practicing their faith. The Muslims left their places of worship, their religious priests and rabbis without hurting them .(364)

The Crusades, the term that was derived from the "Cross", was eight European military campaigns extended from the eleventh century to the thirteenth century. They were considered a result of a combination of factors such as The Islamic danger and threat created by the European Church in the West, The economic ambitions of colonialism, and the feeling of white supremacy, a mindset that Europe inherited from Greek history (El Nadawi 5-6). The crusades played an important role in the history of the East and the West.

1.3.3 Orientalism

Throughout history, the East and the West witnessed many changes, which resulted in various conflicts. It was necessary to find a way to communicate with the other, and this communication is either for the purpose of dialogue or control and colonization, and this led to the emergence of Orientalism.

After the end of the Crusades, Westerners' attention shifted to the great Islamic civilization because of its prosperous history and civilization, they began preparing for their conquests, intellectually, ideologically, and historically, and they took Orientalism as a starting point for their goals.

1.3.3.1 Defining Orientalism

Orientalism is the study of everything related to the East, the heritage, religions, characteristics of its people, their civilization, and their history, whether for political, colonial or religious motives. It is an intellectual and colonial orientation concerned with the study of the Eastern Islamic civilization with all its achievements, and it was not limited to the East only; it rather reached various countries in Africa, China, and India.

Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* provides various definitions of Orientalism. He sees it as "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the

Occident." (2). He adds that Orientalism is "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (ibid 3). At the same time he views Orientalists as "Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism" (ibid 2).

Orientalism is the study of the East as a whole, with a concentration on Islam and Muslims in particular, and includes the study of the Quran, Sunnah, Sharia, Fiqh, history, language, civilization, and even the life of the greatest Prophet, PBUH. The western impression of Islam and Muslims has been formed through Orientalism.

1.3.3.2 The Emergence of Orientalism

Through the Crusades, the West realized that the East is intellectually, culturally, and economically superior to it and that Westerners must follow the same path that the peoples of the East walked to rise.

It is difficult for historians or researchers to accurately determine the beginning of the emergence of Orientalism. It started with the rise of Islam and military frictions between Muslims and Christians, and then it took a broader and deeper form through successive wars, especially the Crusades. Some scholars find that its emergence went back to the crusades (Koliev 1) others find that the birth of Orientalism dates back to the time When European Christians came to Andalusia, and started studying, in Muslim universities, the Arabic language and Arab-Islamic culture, as well as medicine, chemistry, philosophy, mathematics, and other experimental sciences, and then they translated Arabic books and the Qur'an into their languages (Alachraf 14), there were also priests among them such as the French priest Herbert who was elected to be the pope of the Roman church in 999 A.D alongside with Peter the Venerable and Gerard of Cremona (Alsibai 18).

According to Rudi Paret, the beginnings of Islamic and Arabic studies in Europe go back to the twelfth century when the Qur'an was translated into Latin for

the first time and in the same century; the first Latin-Arabic dictionary also appeared (Alsharqawi 25).

Edward Said states in his book *Orientalism* that the official Orientalism began when The Church issued the decision to establish chairs for the Arabic language in European universities at the Vienna Conference in 1312, and the Church embraced this type of oriental studies (50).

Some researchers say that The term Orientalist appeared first in England in 1779 and then in France in 1799, while the word Orientalism did not enter the dictionary of the French Academy until 1838 (Zaqzouq 20).

1.3.3.3 Motives behind Orientalism

Orientalism represents a prominent phenomenon of interactions and conflicts between East and West. In the motives of Orientalism, or as some call it the objectives of Orientalism, the goal is often a reason for the existence of the motive. Orientalist studies were designed to achieve certain goals.

1.3.3.3.1 Religious Motive

The religious motive is regarded as the most important since the church was responsible for the emergence of Orientalism by supporting Islamic and Arab studies in Europe as has been stated before, and when the Christians began to study the Arabic language and Islamic sciences with great passion, signs of fear and panic appeared on the clergy and this can be observed in Alvaro's of Cordoba saying when he complains that many talented Christian youths of Islamic Spain read Arabic poetry and study the philosophy of Muslims along with Fiqh not to refute it but to master the Arabic language and that is hard to find anyone who reads the Holy books in Latin or studies the Bible and the Prophets (Provencal 101), They were interested in distorting Islam, in order to persuade Christians that Islam is a religion that does not deserve to be spread and that Muslims are barbaric and bloodthirsty people(Alsibai 20). The purpose was to study Islam in order to combat and misrepresent it, as well as to keep Christians away from it.

1.3.3.3.2 Scientific Motive

The East witnessed a historical period of prosperity in science and knowledge at large and had schools and universities which served as intellectual, scientific, and cognitive beacons, while Europe was living in ignorance and darkness. Therefore, the West wanted to take advantage of that to advance. A group of Orientalists was interested in oriental studies out of a love of learning about civilizations, and they had no intention of desecrating or distorting them, and some had already converted to Islam. (Ibid24-25) such as the French Orientalist Alphonse Étienne Dinet, who lived in Algeria and converted to Islam, called himself Nasser Eddine Dinet and devoted all his efforts to defending Islam (ibid 33).

Orientalism helped and contributed to the spread of the Arabic language and culture and Islamic heritage in Europe.

1.3.3.3.3 Economic Motive

Among the motives of Orientalism, there was an economic motive. European countries wanted to revitalize their trade with the countries of the Islamic East, market their products, and search for raw materials for their industries. It was necessary to learn about the East, its nature, the geography of its countries, its people's traditions and beliefs, and how to apply this knowledge to serve the economic goal. As noted by Arberry, a gathering of scholars called for the establishment of Arab Islamic studies at the University of Cambridge with the aim of reinforcing the trading profits with the East in addition to the spread of Christianity (Alsharqawi 34).

1.3.3.3.4 Cultural motive

Orientalism aimed at spreading Western culture and European languages besides the westernization process of the Arab Muslim world. To this end, Napoleon Bonaparte considered hosting five hundred Islamic scholars to live for a period of time in France in order to be acquainted with the French language and traditions. Thus, they disseminate what they acquire from this in Egypt (Matbaqani 24).

1.3.3.3.5 Political and Colonial Motives

The colonial motive is equally among the reasons that prompted Orientalists to learn about the treasures of the East. To gain control and to be able to stay, it was necessary to study the conditions and the history of the East, its languages, and beliefs. For that, they recruited a large number of Orientalists some of whom worked as advisors to their ministries and spied on Muslims (Zaqzouq 48), for example, Thomas Edward Lawrence, known by Lawrence of Arabia. They were the real, hidden aid to the colonial armies that struck the Islamic world, they plundered their heritage, sent it to their libraries in the West, and paved the way for Muslims to head to the West, and even rely on them even in political affairs of concern to Muslims.

1.4 The Representation of Islam in Orientalism

Since ancient times, Western culture has stored perceptions of Islam and Muslims dating back to the beginning of the “da’wah”. The first contact between Muslims and the Eastern part of the Roman Empire had an impact on the rest of Europe and with its defeat; the church became a significant institution in European societies. It took the lead in defending Christendom against the spread of Islam in Europe and distorted its image in Western culture as was the case with Pope Urban II when he portrayed Muslims as pagans and infidels as it was mentioned earlier. His sermon epitomizes the image that the Christian imagination holds about Islam and Muslims, an image that gradually formed over time until its dimensions were completed during the Crusades. A picture that highlights the hateful character of Islam, through its crude representation, provided that it is at the same time drawn in a way that satisfies the literary taste that tends to everything that is strange and hated. Muslims were portrayed as perverse, violent heretics. The violent military encounters between Islam and the Christian West shaped medieval perceptions of Islam.

The Medieval period in the West, in its Eastern and Western parts, was characterized by misleading practice and deception towards Islam. This is clearly seen in the writings of John of Damascus which had a profound impact on Orientalism. He claimed that Islam was nothing more than a Judeo-Christian compilation of an Arian

man named Muhammad who succeeded in deceiving his people after claiming that revelation had been given to him (Alomari 68).

According to The Western thinker Montgomery Watt, Medieval Europeans portrayed Islam as a creed founded by Muhammad (PBUH), a religion of force, moral degeneration, and leniency with desire and sensuous pleasures, as well as a religion of brutality and cruelty (131-132). The Orientalist Gustav Grunebaum comments on the image of Islam in Christian thought in the medieval world:

Side by side with the concept of Mohammed the heretic or the false prophet, Medieval literature in the West cherished the concept of Mohammed the god. In fact, this concept was not renounced completely before the middle of the seventeenth century, when dramatists still occasionally present Muslims as praying to their god Mohammed(48).

The literature of Europe about Islam in the Middle Ages was written mostly by Christian clergymen who relied on many sources such as folk tales, stories of heroes, and holy pilgrims.

The friction between Muslims and Christians during the Crusades, which lasted almost two centuries, had an important role in shaping the image of Islam in the West, and it is seen in their literature. One of the most famous stories is the English story that appeared in the Middle Ages entitled *Richard Lion's Heart*, which was written in the fourteenth century and narrates the events of the Third Crusade in a literary style that depicts the East and Muslims in the Holy Land and Palestine. And it is mentioned in the poem that Richard craved to eat pork, and he was not procured in Muslim countries, so his followers decided to rob a plump young Muslim, they killed him, cooked him, and served him as a pig (Poole 377) portraying Muslims as if they were pigs and worthless of life.

In the *Digby plays* in the fifteenth century, there is a play entitled *Mary Magdalene* that tells the story of Saint Mary and her religious life under Christianity. The character of the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH), called Mahound, appears as a deity worshiped by Muslims (Furnivall 54).

William Langland's *Piers Plowman* was a popular work during the English Middle Ages in which the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) is depicted as the symbol representing the forces of evil and Satan and the Antichrist, who misled the Muslims (Shuqair & Al-Hajji 499), he claimed that the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was a Christian at the center of the papacy in Rome, and when he failed to achieve his ambitions to become Pope in the Vatican, he went to the Arabian Peninsula and called himself a prophet over the Arabs (Ibid 501).

In one of his well-known literary works *The Canterbury Tales*, Geoffrey Chaucer spoke in more than one place about Islam and Muslims and about the prophet Muhammad. In *the man of law's tale*, he talks about the legitimacy and the law of marriage outside the Christian sect and makes it clear that in the view of the man of law, this is an illegal matter in Christianity, and it is not the same as what is started in Mohammed's religion and he used the term Mahoun to refer to him which means the devil (Robinson 77).

The Song of Roland was written to commemorate the Christian victory over the Muslims in southern France and it is said that Saracens; which is the name given to the Muslims; worship a trinity of gods made up of Mahoun, Apollo, and Termagant (Fugitt, the song of Roland), the poem also portrayed them as black skin people and ugly (Friedman 64).

According to Bernard Lewis in his book, *Islam and the west* Muslims and Arabs were called by different names:

Europeans in various parts of the continent showed a curious reluctance to call the Muslims by any name with a religious connotation, preferring rather to call them by ethnic names, the obvious purpose of which was to diminish their stature and significance and to reduce them to something local or even tribal. At various times and in various places, Europeans called the Muslims Saracens, Moors, Turks, or Tatars, according to which of the Muslim peoples they had encountered (7).

Christian attitudes against Islam remained as hostile during the Renaissance as they had been during the Middle Ages. The English writer and philosopher Francis

Bacon is best known for writing Essays and among them an essay entitled *On Boldness* in which he says that the Prophet Muhammad commanded a hill to come to him, but the hill did not move, so he himself went to it (110), and it became a famous proverb “If the mountain will not come to Muhammad, then Muhammad must go to the mountain”.

In Christopher Marlowe’s play *Tamburlaine*, which was one of his famous writings about the East, he talks about the Prophet that after his death he was placed in a coffin suspended in the air between heaven and earth and placed on the Kaaba in Mecca (Elaskary&Khadawardi 13). The Islamic world was portrayed in western literature as a place of mystery and magic and it can be seen in *The Talisman* by Walter Scott.

In Shakespeare’s play *Henry VI*, in Act 1 scene 2, he said that the Prophet Mohammed (PBUH) trained a dove to eat from above its head, then presented it to the people and explained to them that that dove is the Holy Spirit on whom revelation was given to him, and in response to Joan’s proclamations prince Charles responds by saying “Was Mahomet inspired by a dove? Thou with an eagle are inspired then” (Alexander 593).

Shakespeare introduces his audience and readers to many Moors types such as Othello and the prince of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice*, Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*, and Caliban in *The Tempest*. *Titus Andronicus* is considered one of the most violent plays by Shakespeare, in this play, the black-skinned Aaron plays the role of the despicable, refusing to collude with social laws by committing murders, rapes, and massacres ("*Titus Andronicus*: Characters | Spark notes")

In *The Merchant of Venice*, he presented a less evil character. In this play, the Prince of Morocco lines up with the Europeans as one of Porsche's potential husbands, and she was disgusted by the colour of his skin, saying that if he had the appearance of a saint and the skin of a demon, she would prefer to confess his guilt to him rather than marry ("*The Merchant Of Venice*, Act 1, Scene 2), he selects the

golden casket, which later proves to be the erroneous casket. This choice reveals that he is misled by appearances and lacks wisdom, which is a negative trait.

Also, Othello, one of the main characters, a black-skinned general in the Venetian army, known for his courage and nobility, is portrayed as a Muslim who converted to Christianity and kills his wife out of jealousy and suspicion, then commits suicide. He is also subjected to a slew of racist slanders from other characters ("Othello's Black Skin"), he was accused of witchcraft when Barbatanio asserted that his daughter Desdemona could never love a black man, "She is abused, stol'n from me, and corrupted By spells and medicines bought of mountebanks; For nature so preposterously to err, Being not deficient, blind, or lame of sense, Sans witchcraft could not" (*Shakespeare* 23).

Ottoman empire witnessed several battles with European empires during the sixtieth century and seventieth century, as a result of every battle there will be captives some of those were American, others were French others were English. Some of these battles were in the Mediterranean Sea that has been dominated by the Algerian marine. Among these captives, there were some taken to Algeria such as Joseph Pitts and James Cathcart who lived pretty much time there and they have demonstrated their experience in form of captivity narratives.

Joseph Pitts was captured at the age of fifteen and sold as a slave in Algiers. He spent more than fifteen years in captivity and served three owners with whom he traveled to Cairo and Alexandria as well as Mecca and Medina. He tells his story of how he was been forced to convert to Islam in order to be able to go on pilgrimage with his master, showing he never wanted to be so, and also talks about the Turkish cruelty towards him(Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mohammetans*).

James Cathcart was first taken prisoner by the British and then captured by the Algerines. He was brought to Algiers where he would remain a captive for a decade or so. He narrates his story showing that Britain treated him during the revolution worst than North Africa and that the treatment of slaves depends more on the

personality of the master just like the European ones. He was employed in Dey's palace showing that Christian slaves were allowed to go out only on their two chief festivals (Cathcart, *The captives: Eleven years a prisoner in Algiers*).

Among the travel books that depicted the orient is what Thomas Shaw wrote portraying his journey to Algeria in which he spent twelve years studying the geography of Algeria discovering its territories and cities, and writing down everything he saw there. He indulges in the same stereotypes of the Arab Bedouins as thievish and treacherous merely raiders, he also portrays them as evil and violent Orientals, ignorant and savages as well as superstitious whereas their land is a sort of paradise on earth (Shaw, *Travels Or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*). And also what Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote about the life of Muslims in Istanbul. As a woman, she had the chance to penetrate women society hidden to male observers and saw how they lived. She rejected the image of the cruel Turks and appreciated their friendly attitude towards her, their traditions, and clothes and she declared that Muslim woman is more free and respected than European ones (Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*).

Antoine Galland published the first translations of *The Arabian Nights* in the early 1700s. The Arabs are shown as inhabitants of a magical and mysterious world filled with jinns, and exotic scenes of harems, princes, and slaves, as well as fantastic stories such as Ali Baba's and Sindbad's (The image of Arabs in the sources of American culture).

Arabic themes were immensely popular after the release of *The Arabian Nights* in English. William Thomas Beckford's *The History of The Caliph Vathek* was published in 1786 in which Al-Wathiq ibn Mutasim is the inspiration for the title character. The story is about an Arabian Abbasid caliph known for his greed and his palaces, each dedicated to one of the five senses. He is portrayed as cruel and the son of a witch who derived him into the evil side and sold his soul to Eblis. Lust and violence are important aspects of the novel. The story revolves around the themes of lust and violence.

George Gordon Byron presents a clear picture of how he perceives Muslims and Islam in his poem *The Giaour* published in 1813. The term Giaour refers to someone who is not a member of the Islamic religion. It resembles the Arabic word Kafir, which signifies non-believer. The major plot is around Leila, a member of her lord Hassan's harem who falls in love with the Giaour and is murdered by Syed Hassan; she is punished by being drowned in the sea by Hassan. Women are portrayed as miserable, humiliated creatures, and maintained as sexual slaves. The Giaour, on the other hand, regards Leila differently; she is immensely admired and respected (Al-Leithy 90).

1.5 Orientalism and Colonialism

The colonial expansion in the Islamic world played a major role in determining the nature of the European view of the East, especially after the mid-nineteenth century. Colonialism benefited from the Orientalist heritage. On the other hand, Western control of the East played a role in strengthening the position of Orientalism. The period of huge progress in Orientalist institutions and in its content coincided with the period of European expansion in the East. The nineteenth-century witnessed the seizure of large areas of the Islamic world by Western colonialists.

After the settlement of the East India Company, Britain, politically, conquered India and became officially annexed to the British crown in 1857. In the same year, Algeria was plainly colonized by France which had already begun the invasion in 1830. Prior to this, the Netherlands took over the East Indies (Indonesia) at the beginning of the seventieth century via the Dutch India Company. Then, Egypt and Tunisia were colonized after 1881. Colonialism increasingly split Islamic countries, and the Islamic world eventually became confined from the east and west. (Zaqzouq 43).

Thomas Shaw's *Travels Or Observations Relating to Several Parts of Barbary and the Levant*, published in 1738, was a dedication to the king of Britain but it was used by France to colonize Algeria (Made in Algeria, a Genealogy of a Territory 19). Traveller's Accounts generally have a very faithful description when it comes to the geography of the Orient but they have stereotypical images of the people. This

geographic precision was done on purpose to help colonialism by providing an accurate depiction. The British officer Thomas Edward Lawrence known by Lawrence of Arabia, who played a prominent role in the Arab revolution in 1916 against the Ottoman Empire, is a glaring example of the identification of some Orientalists with colonialism. He was given the nickname "Lawrence of Arabia" and he prepared maps of Sinai to facilitate the British takeover of it.

What indicates the existence of the relationship between Orientalism and colonialism is that many Orientalists held prominent positions in colonial governments, such as Jean-Joseph Marcel (1776-1854), a French Orientalist who took over the supervision of the campaign's printing press and also worked as a translator during the French campaign against Egypt in 1798. (Albadawi 528).

Louis Massignon was also a well-known French Orientalist who travelled throughout the Islamic world, studying Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and other languages. He worked as a lecturer at the ancient Egyptian University and one of his students was Taha Hussein. He also edited the Muslim World magazine. He worked as an advisor in the French Colonial Ministry (Ibid 529).

What indicates the existence of the relationship as well, is the existence of oriental colleges, institutes, and centers that were established to serve colonialism such as the Institute of Oriental Languages in Berlin, an institute whose mission was to obtain information from the eastern countries and about the peoples and cultures of these countries for colonial purposes (Alsharqawi, 22) and The American RAND Corporation which is a research institution established after World War II in 1946, under the supervision of the US Air Force. About 1,600 researchers and employees work in the institution, most of whom hold high academic degrees. The RAND Corporation is considered one of the most important intellectual institutions influencing decision-making in the current US administration, especially with regard to the Middle East region (RAND Corporation).

The Orientalist movement as a whole was used to counter the perceived Islamic threat. This movement was necessary in order to find and comprehend the

characteristics of Islamic thought in order to make the colonization of Islamic peoples easier.

1.6 Neo-Orientalism

On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the Orientalists holding their international conferences, which were held every three to five years, a major conference was held in the French capital, Paris, in 1973. The result was in favour of cancelling the term Orientalism, and agreeing to change the name of the conference to the "International Conference on Human Studies on Asia and North Africa".

The new Orientalism began its era in the seventies of the last century with a torrent of offensive writings on Islam, in conjunction with movements that talk about Islamic identity and awakening, which was considered a direct challenge to the West, and it was the start of a new era in which Islam represents the enemy's identity and meets the American need to detect danger and engage in combat.

Following World War II, the United States of America assumed global leadership as a superpower, and European studies on the Islamic world piqued their attention. Following issuing an act in 1952 encouraging institutions to build departments of Arab and Islamic studies, and from the specialists who were brought Hamilton Gibb, who founded the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Bernard Lewis, who became dean of Middle Eastern scholars; and Von Grunebaun, who established a center at the University of California, Los Angeles, American Orientalism saw a full resurgence after the mid-twentieth century (Alghamidi 21).

Many books and researches feeding the American Ego were published, such as Fukuyama's *End of History*, and Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations?*, and *The Clash of Civilizations And The Remaking of World Order* on the American victory, with the danger of the defeated enemy remaining, which was expressed as "global terrorism", until the events of September eleventh which is a turning point in the history of Orientalism.

1.7 The Events of September 11, 2001

Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is remembered as one of America's darkest days. The United States of America, like the rest of the world, awoke to a magnificent dramatic scenario that no one could have predicted and had only happened a few times throughout history. Millions of people watched live two civilian planes penetrate the World Trade Center in New York, and within an hour they had turned into a pile of rubble. The center consists of two towers; the third plane fell over the Pentagon, while the fourth plane fell over Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

These events are the most important and influential element affecting Western attitudes about the Islamic world in the twenty-first century. Whereas, under the influence of Western media and Western politics, and even from most of the Western academics, Western public opinion has been mobilized more than ever before in the tendency to consider Muslims, the Islamic world, and Islamic movements as a party primarily responsible for the events.

assumptions of "Islam and the West," "Good and Evil," and "Dialogue and Clash" appeared between the West, led by the United States, and the Arabs and Muslims who have suddenly become accused of being a source of terrorism and anti-progress. Shortly after the events, the accusation was attached to Islam and Muslims, and they were officially recognized as the enemy. US President George W. Bush declared the war against terrorism and Al-Qaeda, Under the name "The New Crusade", With the blessing of most of the world's regimes, from America in the west to China in the east, passing through Western and Eastern Europe, not to mention the Zionist entity, the matter did not stop with the regimes or politicians' statements but also included the media, publications, books, and even international human rights, international, and scientific institutions (Amine130).

The United States of America announced days after the events, and before the investigations were concluded, that the perpetrators of these atrocities were members of Al-Qaeda organization, which is backed by Afghanistan's ruling Taliban ("President Bush Addresses the Nation ", Thursday, Sept. 20, 2001, Atlanta). On October seventh, 2001, considered a place of refuge for international terrorists, the

United States of America invaded Afghanistan under the pretext of fighting terrorism, and the invasion resulted in the establishment of numerous military bases throughout Afghanistan. In 2002, it launched a wide media campaign against Iraq, accusing it of possessing weapons of mass destruction, despite the fact that the commission's examination and the final report had not yet been finished, the United States and the United Kingdom invaded Iraq in March 2003.

Both Huntington and Fukuyama promoted the so-called clash of civilizations and the end of the world, after the collapse and disintegration of the former Soviet Union. In the early nineties of the last century, the promotion that Islam is the next danger to the West after communism, and accordingly a new thought must be imposed instead.

Following the September eleventh attacks, American scholar Samuel Huntington expressed his views once more, calling for a clash of civilizations to be rooted in the events in New York and Washington, supporting his argument contained in his 1993 book *The Clash of Civilizations And The Remaking of World Order*.

1.8 Conclusion

The way Islam is understood nowadays, and specially from the Western world, is founded on Orientalist intellectuals' perceptions. Negative impressions of the Muslim world are inherited attitudes from the old school of Orientalism. These biased attitudes, which still affect Western thought in some ways, are profoundly founded in colonialism and Orientalist study.

The first chapter covered the relationship between the west and Islam from the first military friction to the events of September eleventh. The West spreads nearly all the same stereotypes against Islam and Muslims down to the Middle Ages. This happened during the Crusades and the Arabs expansion in Europe until the Third Millennium. The West kept a fixed perception of Islam and Muslims as a peculiar "Other" or rather "Enemy" whether the contact occurred centuries ago or recently.

CHAPTER TWO

Representation of Islam in Huntington's Book

2.1 Introduction

The world today is very complex, and most people crave simple explanations for complicated issues. When they do, they will want to read what someone like Huntington has to say, telling them that if they are from the West, they are white, which means they belong to the blessed part of humanity, and they must face the challenges that come from other cultures and religions.

The theory of the clash of civilizations by Samuel Huntington was one of the topics that caused a groundbreaking around the world, especially after the events of September eleventh, and the circumstances aided in the spread of this theory, as it came after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, and was preceded by many statements by some Western officials emphasizing the danger of Islam and considering it as the next alternative enemy.

The second chapter of this work is an analytical study of how Islam is represented in Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order*. It starts with presenting the author and his major works, and then it shifts to a historical overview of the notion of the clash of civilizations. It deals with the theory and Huntington's division of the world besides The West's Perpetual Need of the Enemy and finally, it provides an analysis of how Islam and Muslims are represented in the book with a critique of the theory.

2.2 Samuel Huntington's Biography

Samuel Phillips Huntington was born on April eightieth, 1927, in New York City to a middle-class Episcopalian family of writers. The son of the journalist Richard Thomas Huntington and writer Dorothy Sanborn Phillips. John Sanborn Phillips, his maternal grandfather, was a well-known publisher. Huntington graduated with exceptional distinction from Yale University at the age of eighteen. He received his master's degree from the University of Chicago. and a doctorate in political science from Harvard University, and began teaching when he was twenty-three years old when he joined the faculty at Harvard University from 1950 to his retirement in 2007 Except for the period of time between 1959-1962 when he was an assistant

professor in Columbia University("Who Was Samuel P. Huntington? Everything You Need To Know").

Huntington returned to Harvard University in 1962 and spent several years teaching there. He also served two terms as Chairman of the Department of Government, and worked as a foreign policy consultant for Hubert H. Humphrey's 1968 presidential campaign and as the National Security Council's Coordinator of Security Planning from 1977 to 1978. He was the Director of the Harvard Center for International Affairs from 1978 to 1989. He was the American Political Science Association's president. . Huntington served as president of the Harvard Academy of International and Regional Studies from 1996 to 2004. He died of heart issues at the age of 81(Ibid).

Huntington published his first book in 1957, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* in which he looked at the relationship between political power and military professionalism. He questioned the development orthodoxies of the 1960s in his second book, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, published in 1968. He discovered that in underdeveloped countries, the most important issues were a lack of government order and control. (Ibid).

In 1970, Huntington and Warren Demian Manshel co-founded the journal *Foreign Policy*. Previously, the journal was published quarterly, but it is currently released bimonthly. In *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, published in 1991, he examined the global pattern of countries transitioning from authoritarian to democratic political systems during the 1970s and 1980s. Huntington presented his very controversial thesis *The Clash of Civilizations?* in 1993, in which he projected that the globe will be divided into seven or eight great civilizations based on religious, historical, traditional, and cultural values, with conflicts arising between them (Ibid).

He published *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* in 1996, based on his essay *The Clash of Civilizations?*. When it was first published, the

book created a lot of controversies; however, following the events of September eleventh 2001, it has gained a lot more popularity. *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* Was his most recent book released in 2004 in which he examined the risks to a cohesive American national identity (Ibid).

2.3 The Clash of Civilizations

In what follows, an attempt is made to shed light on the phenomenon of the clash of civilization. And of course, within this vein of thought the notion of civilization will be briefly dealt with.

2.3.1 A Historical Overview

The notion of the clash of civilizations is credited to Samuel Huntington, but the concept of a clash of civilizations predates this theory. This phrase was previously utilized by other intellectuals such as Bernard Lewis, a British Orientalist, who contributed to the dissemination of the concept of a clash of civilizations via his article *The Roots of Muslim Rage* in 1990, in which he stated

It should by now be clear that we are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both. (9)

And Al-Mahdi Al-Manajra a Moroccan futurologist, economist, and sociologist, as Samuel Huntington admitted in the tenth chapter of his book that the origin of the idea of the clash of civilizations was taken from Al-Mahdi Al-Manajra, and Al-Manajra himself transmitted this recognition in his book *The Value of Values* where he said:

Huntington admits in the tenth chapter of the book "The Clash of Civilizations" that I was the first to use the phrase "civilizational war"; It is not only acknowledging the role of cultural values in the outbreak of future crises and wars, but it calls things by their names and identifies areas whose values will enter into conflicts with Judeo-Christian values. Which in his view represents a danger to the future, and in my

opinion, the "war of values" does not necessarily mean "A war between religions "(12).

2.3.2 Civilization

The term civilization is thought to have originally originated in 18th century France, by Victor Riqueti, Marquis de Mirabeau, in his book *L'Ami des Hommes* (1756). Since then, it has been linked to the West's attitude of superiority ("World History Connected | Vol. 6 No. 3 | Cynthia Stokes Brown: What Is a Civilization, Anyway?"). Despite the fact that historians, sociologists, and anthropologists have long used the term civilization, it is yet to be defined in clear, simple, and explicit terms. Albert Schweitzer in his book *The Philosophy of Civilization and Ethics* states that "We can first define civilization in general and say that: civilization is the spiritual and material progress of individuals and masses alike" (34).

Ibn Khaldun appears to be the first to propose the concept of civilization in Arabic or Islamic heritage, when he presented two terms: Hadarah and Umran. He defines civilization as "The necessary character of human social organization or civilization" (45).

According to the Algerian thinker Malek Bennabi " Civilization is the sum total of moral and material conditions that allow a particular society to allocate to each of its members in every phase of its existence, from childhood to old age, the necessary assistance for it in this or that phase of its development" (Alkhatib 26).

Huntington's definition of civilization is as follows: "A civilization is [...] the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species"(43) and thus, civilization is the highest level at which humankind can be classified. He also dealt with the issue of boundaries. He stated that:

Civilizations have no clear-cut boundaries and no precise beginnings and endings. People can and do redefine their identities and, as a

result, the composition and shapes of civilizations change over time. The cultures of peoples interact and overlap(43)

2.4 Samuel Huntington's theory of The Clash of Civilizations

Samuel Huntington, a political science professor at Harvard University, released the article "The Clash of Civilizations?" in the summer of 1993. in the Journal of Foreign Affairs, It was a response to his student Francis Fukuyama's thesis entitled "The End of History and the Last Man", where he talked about the end of history and that by the end of the Cold War liberal democracy will be the dominant form of regimes around the world ("Were Fukuyama, Mearsheimer Or Huntington Right About The Post-Cold War Era?").

The article was written shortly after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, and US President George W. Bush's announcement of the start of a new international order ("Bush's Brave New World: A New World Order - A New Military Strategy – Peace Research Institute Oslo")and coinciding with the bombing of the World Trade Center in February 1993, for which 10 Islamists were convicted. Which prompted Huntington to expand the article into a book entitled *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* in 1996.

Huntington states in his article that the cold war is over, and that future conflicts will be between civilizations rather than ideologies:

It is my hypothesis that the fundamental source of conflict in this newworld will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The greatdivisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation states will remain the most powerful actors in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future (22).

He also mentioned in the book that:

In the post-Cold War world, the most important distinctions among

Peoples are not ideological, political, or economic. They are cultural. Peoples and nations are attempting to answer the most basic question humans can face: Who are we? And they are answering that question in the traditional way human beings have answered it, by reference to the things that mean most to them. People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations, and at the broadest level, civilizations (21).

In his book *Religious Extremism*, Nassim Belhoul said that Huntington attempted in his book to justify what he wrote in the article with a significant expansion in the explanation of his thesis by presenting a set of four issues.

The first one is that International politics has changed to become multi-polar and multi-civilizational. Modernity is not the product of global civilization, as modernity theorists believed; Huntington opposed Karl Deutch, the author of the theory of communication, and Rostow and Galbright opposed the proponents of convergence theory (34).

The second one is the change and difference in the balance of power between civilizations; Huntington talks about the relative influence of the West, which has begun to diminish. He sees that Asian civilizations have become more powerful in various economic, political, as well as military fields and that the Islamic world has become a real force and is a threat to the civilizations that are adjacent to it. In his opinion, Huntington has presented a set of statistics that show the decrease of Europeans in relation to the total number of the world's population, and in return the number of Asians and Muslims has increased (34).

The third one is the rise of Islam, and he mentioned in his book the Islamic expansion in terms of geography and population, as Islamic countries accounted for roughly 21% of the world's inhabited area, and Muslims accounted for one billion people, as they controlled a large portion of the world's oil and gas reserves, and that Huntington was concerned that the Islamic world would be unable to meet the challenges of economic development (35).

The last one is the emergence of a new international system based on civilization, which includes economic groups with a shared identity, and this is the key to their success. Huntington cited the Caricom group, which consists of 13 former British colonies, as an example (35).

2.4.1 Why civilizations will clash?

Huntington has demonstrated that cultural identity is becoming more important, and that conflicts will arise along the cultural fault lines that divide these civilizations. He mentioned a set of factors that lead to a clash of civilizations:

- The differences are great and real between civilizations, including the values, customs and social relationships(25).
- The world has become a smaller place, and interactions and frictions between civilizations have intensified, increasing civilizations' knowledge of themselves and their differences from other civilizations(Ibid).
- The West's duplicity reinforces the emergence of civilization awareness. Despite the fact that the West is at the pinnacle of its dominance, there is a trend in non-Western civilizations to return to their roots "A West at the peak of its power confronts non-Wests that increasingly have the desire, the will and the resources to shape the world in non-Western ways"(26).
- The processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from longstanding local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity (Ibid).
- Aside from economic and political differences, which can be negotiated and often resolved through compromise, cultural differences are not negotiable and do not have open intermediate solutions. Some countries may have been unbiased or aligned according to their perception of their interests and ideology during the Cold War, but in the new world, every country will be required to respond to the question Who are you? As a result, its position is determined by cultural identity (27).
- Economic regionalism is becoming more prevalent(Ibid).

2.4.2 Huntington's division of the world

The book's central thesis is that the Cold War-era conflicts and wars have ended as a model in favour of a new type or model of conflicts and wars that will dominate the next century, in other words, that global politics will enter a new era of conflict in which culture will be the dominant driver" The central theme of this book is that culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilization identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration, and conflict in the post-Cold War world. "(Huntington 22).Huntington also states in his article *The clash of civilizations?*that"Conflict between civilizations will be the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world"(22).

Huntington presented a new map for world re-division based on cultural identity. As the world was split into a definite number of civilizations, the majority of which are religious spaces, it predicted battles of another kind that upset the balance of power:

In sum, the post-Cold War world is a world of seven or eight major civilizations. Cultural commonalities and differences shape the interests, antagonisms, and associations of states. The most important countries in the world come overwhelmingly from different civilizations. The local conflicts most likely to escalate into broader wars are those between groups and states from different civilizations. The predominant patterns of political and economic development differ from civilization to civilization. The key issues on the international agenda involve differences among civilizations. Power is shifting from the long predominant West to non-Western civilizations. Global politics has become multipolar and multicivilizational (29).

Huntington divided the world into seven or eight major contemporary civilizations:

- ❖ Chinese or Confucianism Civilization: The Chinese People's Common Culture and Chinese Societies in Southeast Asia, Including Korea and Vietnam (Huntington 45).
- ❖ Japanese civilization: Some scholars agree that Japanese and Chinese cultures belongs to the same civilization, while others recognize Japan as a separate civilization(Ibid).

- ❖ Hindu civilization: is considered the core of the dominant culture in India(Ibid).
- ❖ Islamic civilization: It originated in the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century, and it is spread in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula and Central Asia, and the Arabs, Turks, Persians and Malays belong to it (Ibid).
- ❖ Western civilization: centers in both Europe and North America(Ibid 46).
- ❖ Latin Civilization: It includes the countries of Central and South America, and the majority of these countries are Catholic.Huntington states that " LatinAmerica could be considered either a subcivilization within western civilization or a separate civilization closely affiliated with the west and divided as to whether it belongs in the west"(Ibid).
- ❖ Orthodox civilization: centered in Russia, separated from the Christian world in the West(Ibid).
- ❖ The African: He stated that it is a possible civilization, despite the fact that most civilization scholars do not recognize a distinct African civilization(Ibid).

Huntington states that “ Religion is a central defining characteristic of civilizations”(47) and that “the crucial distinctions among human groups concern their values, beliefs, institutions, and social structures, not their physical size, head shapes, and skin colours ”(42), however, Huntington justifies not classifying Judaism as a civilization by saying that “Most scholars of civilization hardly mention it. In terms of numbers of people Judaism clearly is not a major civilization” (48).

Huntington spoke about Western civilization rather than Christianity, knowing that he used Orthodox for Russia, as he acknowledges that the West and Russia are not the same, although being descended from the same civilization:

The most compelling and pervasive answer to these questions is provided by the great historical line that has existed for centuries separating Western Christian peoples from Muslim and Orthodox peoples(158).

Western Christianity includes Catholicism and Protestantism, which is the most important historical characteristic that distinguishes Western civilization from other civilizations "Catholicism and Protestantism. Western Christianity, first Catholicism and then Catholicism and Protestantism, is historically the single most important characteristic of Western civilization"(70).

Huntington considers the West to be unique and Western civilization to be superior to all other civilizations in the world. "The West obviously differs from all other civilizations that have ever existed in that it has had an overwhelming impact on all other civilizations that have existed since 1500"(302). Furthermore, he believes that the West is and will remain dominant in terms of influence and power in the twenty- first century(82).

2.5 The West's necessity of the enemy

Huntington established his theory by emphasizing the necessity of enemies "For peoples seeking identity and reinventing ethnicity, enemies are essential, and the potentially most dangerous enmities occur across the fault lines between the world's major civilizations"(22). In this section, he presents a vision that focuses on the need to find an alternative enemy to the Soviet enemy.

As a result of the end of the Cold War, the absence of the enemy by the collapse of communism that led to the so-called "threat vacuum", the West is in a state of anxiety and fear. This caused ambiguity in defining his identity because the enemy was no longer clearly defined as expressed by Jean-Christophe Rufin "We were very scared. The failure of the Soviet enemy on whom we had counted for forty-five years to terrorize us had plunged the democracies into a great melancholy" (Renard).

In his book *Deterring Democracy*, Noam Chomsky describes the American situation after the Cold War's end by:

A political cartoon pictures a snowman with a helmet and a rifle, melting under a bright sun while an anxious George Bush holds an umbrella over him to deflect its rays. The snowman is labeled "Cold

War," and the caption reads: "Not permanent? What'll We Dooo?"The dilemma is real (103)

In this context, Huntington emphasizes the importance of finding a hostile and adversarial party to the United States of America:

..."Without the cold war, what's the point of being an American?". If being an American means being committed to the principles of liberty, democracy, individualism, and private property, and if there is no evil empire out there threatening those principles, what indeed does it mean to be an American, and what becomes of American national interests?.(The erosion of American national interests)

In the absence of the enemy, he believes that the West's ideas of democracy, freedom, and private ownership are worthless. He sees the Islamic civilization as the new enemy as did others. Statements were made by some Western leaders and scholars at the end of the Cold War to demonstrate the West's official view of Islam and the Islamic world as the next enemy such as the French Marxist historian, sociologist and Orientalist Maxime Rodinson, in his book *The Western image and Western studies of Islam* where he states that "the Muslims were a threat to Western Christendom long before they became a problem"(Ghazali).

According to Bush Junior Vice President James Danforth Quayle, in a speech delivered in 1990, Islam, Nazism, and Communism are among the key problems that Western civilization must face(Yazdani, US Policy towards the Islamic World).

During the Cold War, the West used Islam and Muslims as a weapon against communism. The United States of America provided weapons and support to the Afghans in their fight against the Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan. In the absence of any American opposition of Pakistan's attempts to arm itself with nuclear weapons at the time, as was the case in the post-Cold War period, the US position towards Pakistan was identical (ibid 5).

America established an alliance with Islamic groups in the Afghanistan war against the Soviets, and this was reflected in America's policy during the presidency of Ronald Reagan "in Afghanistan, the freedom fighters are the key to peace. We

support the Mujahidin. There can be no settlement unless all Soviet troops are removed and the Afghan people are allowed genuine self-determination”(Reagan).

Some Western politicians have made statements that shed light on the history of the West's views on Islam and the Muslim world. Following the events of September eleventh. The president of the United States George.W.Bush declared that establishing a broad international coalition to fight terrorism was necessary, and that his war on terrorism would be the first crusade of the twenty-first century, reflecting the West's hostility toward the Islamic world and showing that it is a religious war.

It seems that the West found this enemy in Islam as a civilization, culture and religion, and considered it the alternative enemy to communism, as the ideal enemy for The United States of America should be different ethnically and culturally and possess military power, which is the case in the Islamic world, given that some Muslim nations possessed nuclear weapons in the 1990s, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Libya:

The Soviet collapse has also aggravated the single most awesome threat of modern times: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. These weapons and the ability to develop and deliver them are today acquired by middle income countries with modest populations such as Iraq, Iran, Libya, and Syria(Thatcher).

2.6 Representation of Islam in Huntington's *the Clash of Civilizations and The Remaking of World Order*

In his book, Huntington raised the aspects below relating to the representation of Islam.

1.8.1 Islam vs. Western modernity and secularism

According to Huntington's theory, the most dangerous collision will occur between Islamic and Confucian civilizations and western civilisation " 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(183). He considers that the Islamic civilization will enter into an alliance with the Chinese

civilization, to form the biggest and most violent challenge to Western civilization.

The next confrontation of the West will come specifically from the Islamic world

The underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilization whose people is convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power. The problem for Islam is not the CIA or the U.S. Department of Defence. It is the West, a different civilization whose people are convinced of the universality of their culture and believe that their superior, if declining, power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world. These are the basic ingredients that fuel conflict between Islam and the West (217).

Huntington believes that there was a religious resurgence over the world in the late twentieth century, which worsened religious differences and led to the rise of fundamentalist movements. This revival is a reaction to secularism, moral relativism, and self-indulgence, and it reaffirms the values of discipline, work, mutual aid, and human solidarity. (98). According to William McNeill "reaffirmation of Islam, whatever its specific sectarian form, means the repudiation of European and American influence upon local society, politics, and morals". This suggests that the strongest manifestation of anti-Westernization in non-Western societies is the awakening of non-Western religions; however, The awakening here is a rejection of the West and the disintegrating relative secular culture associated with it, rather than a rejection of modernity (101).

The reason for capitalizing the letter R in Resurgence, according to Huntington, is because it refers to a significant historical event that impacted one-fifth or more of humanity, and that it is as important as the American, French, and Russian revolutions (109). He defines it as "a broad intellectual, cultural, social, and political movement prevalent throughout the Islamic world" (110). It is a movement that rejects Western concepts and looks to Islam for answers. It represents acceptance of modernity, rejection of Western culture, and a return to Islam as the guide to modern life "Islam for us is not just a religion but a way of life. We Saudis want to modernize, but not necessarily westernize" (Ibid). One of the factors that contributed to the resurgence of Islam was the oil boom of the 1970s, which considerably

expanded the wealth and power of many Islamic countries, allowing them to reflect the direction of their control and dependence relationship with the West(116).

2.6.2 The causes of Islamic terrorism and violence

The causes of Islamic terrorism and violence, according to Huntington are:

- ❖ Islam was spread through the sword and praises fighting, and Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, was a great fighter and military leader and that the Quran and other Islamic pronouncements contain few prohibitions against violence, and Nonviolence is not a notion found in the Islamic creed or practice “Islam has from the start been a religion of the sword and that it glorifies military virtues.” (263).
- ❖ Non-Muslim minorities in Islamic countries, as well as Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries, face challenges “Indigestibility, however, works both ways: Muslim countries have problems with non-Muslim minorities comparable to those which non-Muslim countries have with Muslim minorities” (264).
- ❖ Islam does not differentiate between religion and politics, but does establish a border between Dar al- Islam and Dar al- Harb, that is, the region of peace and the region of war “Even more than Christianity, Islam is an absolutist faith. It merges religion and politics and draws a sharp line between those in the *Dar al-Islam* and those in the *Dar al-Harb*”(Ibid).
- ❖ In Islam, there is no basic state, which makes it impossible to impose positions and find solutions in conflict resolution because it lacks a prominent center, Islam is a source of global instability “A more persuasive factor possibly explaining both intra- and extra-Islamic conflict is the absence of one or more core states in Islam”. (Ibid).

- ❖ The demographic boom in Islamic civilizations, as well as the availability of large numbers of young people aged 15 to 30, explains the militarization of Islamic communities(265).

2.6.3 The elements that increased the struggle between Islam and the West

There are elements, according to Huntington, that have increased the struggle between Islam and the West in the late twentieth century:

- The growth of the Islamic population has resulted in a large number of unemployed and disaffected young men who have become recruits for Islamic causes and put pressure on neighbouring societies such as the migration of young Muslims to western countries.
- The Islamic resurgence restored Muslim's faith in the nature and capacity of their civilization as well as their distinct values in comparison to those of the west and his vision of the future predicts that Islam will triumph:

In the long run, however, Mohammed wins out.... the proportion of Muslims in the world will continue to increase dramatically, amounting to 20 percent of the world's population about the turn of the century, surpassing the number of Christians some years later, and probably accounting for about 30 percent of the world's population by 2025(66).

- The West's continuous efforts to popularize its values and institutions in order to maintain its military and economic dominance and to intervene in conflicts within the Islamic worlds have generated strong hostility among Muslims in the west.
- The collapse of communism.
- With increased interaction between Muslims and Westerners, one develops a new sense of self and how it differs from the other “the increasing contact between and intermingling of Muslims and Westerners stimulate in each a new sense of their own identity and how it differs from that of the other (211).

2.6.4 The conflict between the Islamic civilization, and World civilization

According to Huntington, the conflict between civilizations varies in intensity and area, but the most violent and tense is the conflict that spreads between Muslims and others, and considered that Muslims have hostile and violent relations with their neighbours. Despite representing approximately a fifth of the world's population, Muslims were the most heavily involved in brutal conflicts in the late 1990s (255-256). He re-used a controversial phrase from his 1993 article, "Islam's bloody borders", and used statistics on conflicts around the world to support his argument. According to a set of figures he gave, Muslims were involved in 26 of 50 ethnopolitical conflicts in 1993-1994 and 15 conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims while the total of conflicts between other civilizations is twenty (Ibid).

Huntington refers to Arab resistance to the Israeli occupation as a clash of civilizations, a war between Islamic civilizations and Jewish for control of the Middle East (255).

He contrasts Islam to the West, claiming that, unlike Islam, the West's total number of conflicts was four, with two intra-civilizational and two inter-civilizational conflicts. It also demonstrates that Muslim confrontations always result in a large number of casualties and losses. He also mentions that According to a 1993 census, published in *The New York Times* there were 59 ethnic conflicts, with 28 of them between Muslims and the remaining 21 involving Muslims and other civilizations (257). According to Huntington, Muslims intervened in group violence more than others, and they gained a proportion of Two-thirds to three-quarter in civil conflicts which made him conclude that "Islam's borders are bloody, and so are its innards" (258).

He referred to the danger of Islam, with its extremist culture and beliefs, to Western civilization. He also claims that Islam itself, not only Islamic radicals, is a threat to Western civilization and the history of Islam confirms this:

Fourteen hundred years of history demonstrate otherwise. The relations between Islam and Christianity, both Orthodox and Western, have often been stormy. Each has been the other's Other (208).

2.7 Critics

Huntington attempted to reinforce his ideas and strengthen his theory through the interpretations he included in his book, which he devoted to solidifying his theory; however, numerous thinkers, including Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, and others, have criticized his theory.

Edward Said argues in his book *The Treason of Intellectuals* that Islamic civilization receives more hostile attention than other civilizations. He replied to the huge trend of Huntington's Clash of Civilizations idea in *The Nation* magazine with an article titled *The clash of ignorance* in which he explained that his argument for the clash of civilizations is based on a hazy concept Huntington refers to as cultural identity, he is particularly interested in the struggle between Islam and the West (156).

He also argues that Huntington tried to make his ideas more accurate when he published his book, but all what he did was confuse himself and reveal that he was a clumsy writer and a foolish thinker (158).

Noam Chomsky commented on the theory, saying that after the Cold War "everybody is flailing around for some paradigm, some big idea you can use to control people," he also questioned how a conflict with Islam can exist when Saudi Arabia, the world's most fundamentalist Islamic state, is the West's most powerful ally (Noam Chomsky-clash of civilizations).

Huntington explicitly condemns the West by saying

the West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion (to which few members of other civilizations were converted) but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do (51).

In his interpretation of the hostile relationship between Islam and the West, Huntington ignores the United States' absolute bias toward Israel's occupation of the Arabs, as well as its continuing support for an occupying force in a strange land, which originated the Palestinian cause with all its negative consequences.

Furthermore, despite his declaration of the role of religion in separating civilizations, Huntington remained silent in his classification of the Jewish religion.

The West is the one who started the colonial regime in the nineteenth century and completed it in the twentieth century by supporting the Zionist occupation, and the one that controlled the oil and its sources, so, it is rather a clash of interests than a clash of civilizations.

The economy received little attention from Huntington and he did not stop there with his analysis of oil and its impact on global policymaking and strategy, because American policies toward the Middle East are primarily focused on securing the uninterrupted flow of oil from the Middle Eastern.

Since he was one of the Pentagon's consultants in 1994, when his piece was the subject of worldwide debate, Huntington's writing has a political and economic motivation toward America and the West.

Huntington accuses Muslims of terrorism, extremism, and starting wars, while The West was responsible for launching the Crusades and the two World Wars, as well as killing the Native Americans, and driving millions of Africans like animals to America.

It is clear from Huntington's book and its representation of Islam and Muslims that he knows nothing about Islam, because Islam is a religion of peace, not of war and violence. Islam allows people to choose their own religion and does not use violence or force others to convert "There is no compulsion in religion..." (Al Baqara 256). Islam also enjoins justice among people, and it also enjoins justice with enemies "O believers! Stand firm for Allah and bear true testimony. Do not let the hatred of a people lead you to injustice. Be just! That is closer to righteousness. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is All-Aware of what you do" (Al-Ma'idah 8). Islam also considers killing a person as a sin and it is for "Do not kill the soul which Allah has forbidden, except by right. And whoever is killed unjustly- We have given his heir authority, but let him not exceed limits in (the matter of) taking life. Indeed, he has been supported (by the law)" (Al Israa 33).

Islam treats non-Muslim citizens living under Islamic rule fairly and coexists with each other, as is the case in many countries such as Egypt, Syria and others.

2.8 Conclusion

The West has long attempted to fight Islam by promoting a distorted view of Muslims in which it considers them to be a group of religious extremists that engage in terrorism and violence against others. However, the truth is only a manifestation of the notion of the need to find an alternative to the Soviet enemy, as well as the need to promote American economic interests by removing some hostile regimes.

The second chapter of this research dealt with Samuel Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations and it specially analyzed the Representation of Islam in the book. The book did not go unnoticed around the world, raising debate about whether it was based on academic study or intelligence work, especially because the author was close to the White House and one of its policymakers.

***GENERAL
CONCLUSION***

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In the post-Cold War period, the West initiated a fierce campaign against Islam and Muslims, whether in media, politics, or academia, and this practice noticeably intensified following the events of September eleventh.

The Accumulation of historical factors such as the rise of Islam, the colonial era and the events of September eleventh led to shaping the position of the West towards the Islamic world. This negative perspective manifests itself through the distortion of Islam and its symbols, which has resulted in the rise of the Islamophobia phenomena. Interests and perhaps nostalgia for the Crusades prompted the West to take these events as an excuse to move forward towards perpetuating the notion of the clash more than ever.

This study dealt with the representation of Islam in Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. The theory assumes that the existing conflict will be based mainly on cultural differences, and that Islam will be the enemy of Western civilization.

The first chapter of the study focused on the relationship between Islamic civilization and the West, from the emergence of Islam and the Crusades to Orientalism and its significant contribution to colonialism and neo-colonialism. It started by presenting the origins of the conflict between the two civilizations, defining Orientalism and its various motives, displaying how Islam and Muslims were portrayed within Orientalism, demonstrating the connection between colonialism and Orientalism, and discussing the transition from Orientalism to neo-Orientalism. Subsequently, it addressed the events of September eleventh and their repercussions on the Islamic world.

The second chapter of this research work underwent an analytical study about the Representation of Islamic civilization in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. It started by introducing Samuel Huntington with a brief overview on his major works. It shifted to a historical survey of the notion of the clash of civilizations. It touched on his theory within which he divided the world in terms

of civilizations, and the reasons behind the clash. The study also dealt with the West's permanent need for the enemy .It also analyzed the book's representation of Islamic civilization.

Summing up, the conflict between the West and the East is a continuous process that determines all the relations of the history between these two parts of the world. Since ancient times, the West deliberately distorted the image of Islam and accentuated the false and misrepresentative stereotypes of Muslims which have had negative implications on the process of justice and peace.

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الملخص :

إن تمثيل أي شيء في الأدب هو بلا منازع وسيلة قوية لتشكيل وإعلام الآراء العامة. كانت المجتمعات المسلمة، على سبيل المثال، موضوعات مثيرة للجدل في التمثيل الأدبي. من هذا المنطلق، تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى فحص تمثيل الإسلام من قبل العالم الغربي في أحداث ووثائق معينة، مثل الحروب الصليبية والعصر الإليزابيثي وروايات الأسر وروايات المسافرين. نقطة محورها هي المواجهة بين العالم الغربي والعالم الإسلامي منذ ظهور الإسلام، بما في ذلك الحروب الصليبية والاستشراق والاستشراق الجديد في العصر الحديث. بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من أيلول/سبتمبر، اتسمت العلاقة بين العالم الغربي والعالم الإسلامي بعبارات أيديولوجية سلبية، لا سيما فيما يتعلق بالتطرف والإرهاب. كان العديد من المفكرين والعلماء مفتونين بدراسة هذا الصراع بينهم صموئيل هنتنغتون بكتابه صراع الحضارات وإعادة تشكيل النظام العالمي. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التدقيق في تمثيل الإسلام في الكتاب المذكور أعلاه، وتكشف أن الغرب قد شوه صورة الإسلام عن قصد وشدد على المفاهيم المسبقة الخاطئة والمشوهة للمسلمين. تتميز صورة الإسلام والمسلمين في هذا الكتاب بدلالات نمطية للعنف والإرهاب والتعصب والتطرف.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التمثيل، الإسلام، الغرب، الاستشراق، الاستعمار، الصدام، الحضارة، هنتنغتون.

Résumé:

La représentation de quoi que ce soit dans la littérature est incontestablement un moyen puissant qui façonne et informe les opinions publiques. Les communautés musulmanes, par exemple, ont été des sujets litigieux dans la représentation littéraire. Avec cette veine de pensée, la présente étude cherche à examiner la représentation de l'islam par le monde occidental dans certains événements et documents, tels que les croisades, l'ère élisabéthaine, récits de captivité, et récits de voyageurs. Son point focal est la confrontation entre le monde occidental et le monde islamique depuis l'émergence de l'islam, y compris les croisades, l'orientalisme, et le néo-orientalisme à l'ère moderne. Après les événements du 11 septembre, la relation entre le monde occidental et le monde musulman a été caractérisée par des termes idéologiques négatifs, en particulier en ce qui concerne l'extrémisme et le terrorisme. Beaucoup de penseurs et de savants ont été intrigués d'étudier ce conflit entre lequel est Samuel Huntington avec son livre Le Choc des civilisations. Cette étude vise à scruter la représentation de l'Islam dans le livre susmentionné, et elle révèle que l'Occident a

délibérément déformé l'image de l'Islam et mis l'accent sur des idées préconçues fausses et déformées des musulmans. L'image de l'Islam et des musulmans dans ce livre est marquée par des connotations stéréotypées de violence, de terrorisme, de fanatisme et d'extrémisme.

Mots-clés : Représentation, Islam, Occident, Orientalisme, Colonialisme, Clash, Civilisation, Huntington.

Summary :

The representation of anything in literature is indisputably a powerful means that shape and inform public opinions. Muslim communities, for instance, have been contentious subjects in literary representation. With this vein of thought, the present study seeks to examine the representation of Islam by the Western World in certain events and documents, such as the Crusades, the Elizabethan Era, captivity narratives, and traveller's accounts. Its focal point is the confrontation between the Western world and the Islamic World since the emergence of Islam, including the Crusades, Orientalism, and Neo-Orientalism in the Modern Era. After the events of September eleventh, the relationship between the Western world and the Muslim world has been characterized by negative ideological terms, particularly regarding extremism and terrorism. Many thinkers and scholars have been intrigued to study this conflict among whom is Samuel Huntington with his book *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. This study aims at scrutinizing the representation of Islam in the aforementioned book, and it reveals that the West has purposefully distorted the image of Islam and emphasized erroneous and misrepresentative preconceptions of Muslims. The image of Islam and Muslims in this book is marked by stereotyped connotations of violence, terrorism, fanaticism, and extremism.

Keywords: Representation, Islam, West, Orientalism, Colonialism, Clash, Civilization, Huntington.