

# Islamophobia and a new world civilization

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## What is Islamophobia?

In their report to the 46th Session of Human Rights Council of the United Nations, Professor Imran Awan and Dr Irene Zempi, the special rapporteurs on freedom of religion or belief, define Islamophobia as *"A fear, prejudice and hatred of Muslims or non-Muslim individuals that leads to provocation, hostility and intolerance by means of threatening, harassment, abuse, incitement and intimidation of Muslims and non-Muslims, both in the online and offline world. Motivated by institutional, ideological, political and religious hostility that transcends into structural and cultural racism which targets the symbols and markers of a being a Muslim."*<sup>1</sup>

I criticize this definition for two reasons. First it locates the cause of Islamophobia in psychology and is a-historical. It does not take the history of Islamophobia into account. Islamophobia is about fear, prejudice and hatred. The consequence is provocation, hostility and intolerance. It becomes structural because of institutional, ideological, political and religious hostility. It targets the symbols and markers of a being a Muslim.

I provide another definition of Islamophobia in my forthcoming book *Decolonizing The Mind - a guide to decolonial theory and practice*.<sup>2</sup> I regard Islamophobia as part of racism. I define racism as *"a global system of economic, political, social and cultural institutions that organise the relationship between human beings on the basis of superiority and inferiority."* The defining characteristic is not biological race and not even ethnic group, but the organization of relationships between human beings on the basis of superiority and inferiority. The principle of this organization can be race or ethnic group, but colonialism started with religion as the organizing principle. Although the term racism contains "race" as the core concept, the system should not be limited to race. It is about superiority/inferiority that is linked to race, but not limited to race. There are three forms of racism: theological, biological and cultural racism. Islamophobia is part of the third form: cultural racism.

I take inferiority/superiority as the basis for my definition rather than psychology and placing it within an institutional framework. That framework is a colonial world civilization.

My second critique is that the policy and practical implications of the definition of Awan and Zempi are insufficient. Psychological analyses end up in policies against hate crime. Social movements have no role to play. It is up to the government to prosecute hate crimes. A decolonial approach puts the initiative in the struggle against Islamophobia on social movements. They need a clear analysis of the nature of Islamophobia.

## Three variants and phases of racism

I will explain my decolonial theory of racism.<sup>3</sup> I argue that racism has developed in three variants and more or less in three stages. The variants are linked to the concept of the authority of knowledge production. Today, universities and research institutes are regarded as the authority of knowledge production: the sources of valid knowledge. The concepts that they produce are embedded in the educational system and in culture (media, art, cultural institutions such as museums). They are the foundations on which policies of governments and other administrative institutions are built. It was not always like that.

Racism as a institutionalized system of superiority and inferiority developed with colonialism in the following variants.

- Theological racism: the concept of superiority/inferiority that is argued from theology and is linked to theologians as the authority of knowledge production.
- Biological racism: the concept of superiority/inferiority that is argued from philosophy and the natural sciences and is linked to philosophers and natural scientists as the authority of knowledge production.
- Cultural racism: the concept of superiority/inferiority that is argued from the social sciences and is linked to social scientists as the authority of knowledge production.

### **Theological racism**

The Spanish invasion of Abya Yala (America) started in 1492.<sup>4</sup> *"We came here to serve God and the king, and also to get rich"*, writes Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492–1584), who participated as a soldier in the invasion of Mexico under Hernán Cortés and wrote an account of the events.<sup>5</sup> In the first 150 years of colonialism there was no scientific thought in Europe beyond Christian theology. The theologians decided on what valid knowledge was. The primary justification of colonialism was done with reference to the Bible and the Church. The arguments why colonialism was needed and necessary were rooted in concepts of Christian theology.

The codification of racism in Christian theology took place during the debate of Valladolid in 1550. The background of the debate was the deteriorating situation in Abya Yala. The population declined at a rapid rate due to the brutal exploitation of the indigenous population through a feudal type of institute called the *encomienda*. In 1524 the king of Spain had established the *Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies* as a body to administer the occupied territories in Abya Yala. Some priests had lobbied in Spain to introduce legislation against the *encomienda*. Bartholomé de Las Casas (1484-1566) played a leading role in this lobby.

By 1550, Las Casas had persuaded the king to instruct the *Council of the Indies* to convene a special committee of theologians and jurists to make a judgement on the question whether it is lawful for the King of Spain to enslave the Indigenous people.

The *Council* formed a jury of fourteen experts (the *Junta*) to sit on the case. Las Casas would present his case. The *encomenderos* in Abya Yala and their supporters in Spain recruited a renowned scholar, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1494-1573) to defend their position. Their confrontation is known as the famous Debate of Valladolid.

The central question in the debate was: *"Is it lawful for the King of Spain to wage war on the Indians, before preaching the faith to them, in order to subject them to his rule, so that afterward they may be more easily instructed in the faith?"*<sup>6</sup>

Sepúlveda argued that Christians are superior because of their religion and the Indigenous people are barbarians. Las Cases argued that Christian can behave like barbarians, as they did in the brutal murders in Abya Yala. They have a choice. They can act like barbarians and choose the side of Satan or act like proper Christians and teach the Indigenous people the word of God by peaceful means. Las Casas argument was not about respecting the Indigenous people, but about colonizing them in a Christian way, a more humane way.

The debate laid down the structure of the arguments for colonization that would be used the next 500 years of colonizing. The structure of the argument is as follows:

- The West has a superior economic, political, social and cultural system. In the 16th century it was the Spanish colonial system with Christianity as its ideological basis. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century it is the US and European imperial system with Liberalism as its ideological basis.

- The West has a duty to civilize the uncivilized. The Christians have a duty to Christianize the uncivilized. The Liberals have a duty to promote capitalism and individual freedom in the rest of the world.
- War is in the final analysis a just means to achieve the end of civilizing the uncivilized. War is a just means for Christians to Christianize the uncivilized. War is a just means for the West to liberate Iraq from its dictator that oppresses his own people or Afghanistan from the Taliban.

### **Biological racism**

Between 1650 and 1850 fundamental changes occurred in Europe. A fierce ideological struggle took place over knowledge production in Europe between Christian theology and science. Philosophers were at the forefront of that struggle. They articulated the need to produce knowledge on the basis of observation and reasoning instead of the Bible. They promoted the ideas of natural and social laws instead of divine laws.

In physics, astronomy and chemistry scientists had discovered natural laws. European philosophers argued that such laws existed in the biology of human beings. And they created an image of Africans that was thoroughly racist. They would have the Nazi's look like amateurs. The most prominent and leading thinkers of European Enlightenment hold the most horrific views on black people that are currently common in right-wing extremist circles. Africans were like cattle and were treated like cattle during their enslavement in Abya Yala. Superiority and inferiority were now argued from biology. There are inferior and superior human races. In my book I give extensive quotations from leading philosophers of the European Enlightenment that espouses these views: Charles de Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778), David Hume (1711-1776), Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), George Hegel (1770-1831).

There is a link between the rise of biological racism and the rise of the trans-Atlantic enslavement of Africans. The first shipment of Africans who were kidnapped in Africa started in 1515, but the massive kidnapping and enslavement of Blacks took off from the midst of the seventeenth century and reached its peak in the midst of the nineteenth century. The European enslavement had transformed human beings into cattle. Like cattle they were bought and sold, and their monetary value was registered in the bookkeeping of the enslavers. When the enslaver died, they were auctioned together with his or her furniture and other cattle. The ideological justification of this system was found in biological racism. And it was articulated by the most prominent scientists and philosophers of White Enlightenment during the period of the European enslavement.

The negative image of Africans as animals or biologically inferior people portrayed by the founders of the White Enlightenment stands in sharp contrast with the positive images of Africans in Europe before 1650. Black people lived in Africa before the rise of the European enslavement. They were pictured in hundreds of paintings as normal respectable human beings. I give some examples of this in my book. Trinidadian history Eric Williams was correct in pointing out: "*Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery.*"<sup>7</sup>

### **Cultural racism**

Three major changes took place since the second half of the nineteenth century that impacted the nature of racism: the abolition of legal slavery, the colonization of Asia and the rest of the world and the rise of the social sciences. The abolition of legal enslavement in Abya Yala occurred in the course of the nineteenth century. In 1804 Africans in Haiti under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture (1743-1803) abolished enslavement after a successful revolution that started in 1791 and led to the independence of Haiti on January 1, 1804. In 1838 the British abolished legal enslavement in their colonies, followed by the French in 1848, the Dutch in 1863, the US in 1865, the Spaniards in 1866 (Cuba) and 1873 (Puerto Rico) and Brazil in 1888. Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822.

By the second half of the nineteenth century practically the whole globe had been colonized by seven countries of Western Europe: Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Britain and Germany. Denmark and Sweden hold small insignificant territories in the Caribbean. The world had now become an interconnected global system of economic, political, social and cultural institutions: companies, states, armies, populations, communities, educational institutions.

The shift to the Orient brought about a shift in the narrative of racism. The West acknowledged that great civilizations of Asia and East Asia existed, but they were considered to be inferior to Western civilization. In biological racism superiority and inferiority were argued from biological characteristics (skin colour, hair texture, physiological appearance). From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards the mechanisms of oppression and exploitation were based on using indigenous elites and the colonization of the mind together with the instruments of political rule (divide and rule) and military oppression and intimidation. The West now controlled not inferior human beings, but inferior cultures.

The abolition of enslavement in Abya Yala and the shift of Western colonization to the Orient in the second half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by the rise of the social sciences in Europe. This is the third factor that explains the change from biological to cultural racism.

A new generation of thinkers articulated a new form of science that searched for historical laws of societies in the same way as natural scientists searched for natural laws: August Comte (1798-1859), Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), Max Weber (1864-1920) and Karl Marx (1818-1883) laid the foundation for Eurocentric social sciences. In their footsteps followed numerous scholars who ultimately built the structure of social sciences that produced the narrative of cultural racism.

Cultural racism was based on the argument of superior and inferior cultures. All human beings are biologically equal. But not all cultures are equal. There are superior and inferior cultures. The concept of superiority and inferiority is based on two arguments: the argument about social evolution and the argument of rational thinking originating in Europe.

The first argument goes as follows: human societies evolve in stages of development from low to high. European society is the highest phase of development of human societies and therefore it is superior to non-European societies. The theories of phases of development of human society invariably end with Western Europe as the historical outcome of social evolution.

The second argument in cultural racism is based on the notion of European rationalism. This argument holds that Europe possessed certain cultural properties that enabled their superior development. August Comte uses a theory of historical phases in social evolution that is based on how knowledge is produced. In the societies that are in the theological phase, explanations of natural and social phenomena are sought in the work of supernatural beings. In societies that are in a metaphysical phase the explanation is sought not in supernatural beings, but in abstract forces that influences nature. In the positivist phase the explanation is found in positivist science. European culture due to the work of the Enlightenment succeeded in separating the church from the state and knowledge from religion. This unique characteristic makes European culture superior to other cultures where rationalism and reason is held back in favour of superstition, rituals and belief systems. Rationalism is about logical reasoning and proof. Rationalism is the basis of science. Science developed in Europe because of this peculiar property of European culture. And this enabled the rise of technology, modernity, progress and capitalism.

## Islamophobia

Since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, more specifically the last quarter, a specific form of cultural racism gained worldwide importance: Islamophobia. Islamophobia should be located in the third phase of the development of racism. Islamophobia is a form of institutional racism that propagates the inferiority of Islam in comparison to the superiority of Western rationalism.

The stereotypes of barbarism that were used in the Valladolid debate are now applied to Muslims. Las Casas defines a barbarian as *"any cruel, inhuman, wild, and merciless man acting against human reason out of anger or native disposition, so that, putting aside decency, meekness, and human moderation, he becomes hard, severe, quarrelsome, unbearable, cruel, and plunges blindly into crimes that only the wildest beasts of the forest would commit."* He adds that they are *"cruel, savage, scottish, stupid, and strangers to reason."*<sup>8</sup>

Islam is equated with barbarism. Stoning people to death. Cutting their hands off. Decapitating human beings. This is modern barbarism and is linked to Islam. They are a threat to modern Western civilization which has its roots in Christianity. It is not about culture anymore, it is about civilization.

*"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,"* says Samuel Huntington.<sup>9</sup> He envisages a clash between civilizations. He writes: *"Western culture is challenged by groups within Western societies. One such challenge comes from immigrants from other civilizations who reject assimilation and continue to adhere to and to propagate the values, customs, and cultures of their home societies. This phenomenon is most notable among Muslims in Europe, who are, however, a small minority. It is also manifest, in lesser degree, among Hispanics in the United States, who are a large minority. If assimilation fails in this case, the United States will become a cleft country, with all the potentials for internal strife and disunion that entails. In Europe, Western civilization could also be undermined by the weakening of its central component, Christianity."*<sup>10</sup>

Huntington regards Western civilization as a superior civilization to non-Western civilizations, although he does not say that explicitly. But throughout his books on the clash of civilization it is clear that this is the way he sees it.

## The colonial world civilization

I define a civilization as a society with a specific cultural base. This base is a set of ideas about how a society should be organized via institutions: social, economic, political and cultural institutions. There is a difference between a civilization and an empire. A civilization is a collection of economic, political, social and cultural institutions in a society with a common cultural base. The common cultural base is a combination of a variety of elements: language, religion, cosmology, knowledge production. An empire is a political unit that operates from a specific geographical center (a country, an urban center) and controls nations and communities outside that center through an elaborate system of economic, political, social and cultural institutions. The common cultural base for the Western civilization is Christianity and later the European Enlightenment.

Western colonialism created a civilization of a unique type: a world civilization with a variety of empires of Western nations that rule the world in the last five hundred years. Previous empires did not cover the globe, although they were very extensive. The Mongol empire was established by Genghis Khan in 1206 and lasted till 1368. It covered parts of modern-day Russia, China, Korea, southeast Asia, Persia, India, the Middle East and eastern Europe. The total land mass was roughly the size of the African continent (30 million km<sup>2</sup>). The Roman Empire (31 BCE till 476 BC) covered at its height around 5 million km<sup>2</sup>. The British empire was the largest empire in the world covering 36 million

km<sup>2</sup> over all continents. Western civilization became truly global because its different empires (Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Belgian, British, French, Italian, German and the US) together covered the whole planet, unlike previous empires. Every corner of the world in some period of its history was or still is under direct or indirect control of a European power.

The view of world history from the European Enlightenment is that the history of mankind reached its zenith in the Western civilization. It was codified in the term "modernity". It is associated with terms like "progress", "reason", "freedom", "rise of science".

A linear view of world history - a common view in Liberalism and Marxism - claims that Western civilization pretends to be a universal civilization. All societies will end up like the Western society either in its capitalist form for the Liberalism or in its communist form for Marxism. Every society should become a "modern" society. It also means that Western civilization is unique. No other society knew science, freedom or rational thinking. Only the West has realized these achievements. Science started in the West. Before the rise of the West human beings were not thinking rationally.

With universalism and uniqueness came superiority. Terms like modern, progress, reason, freedom and scientific knowledge are presented as neutral terms. But their subjectivity becomes apparent when we look at the opposite. The contradiction of modern and progress is backwardness. The other side of reason is unreasonable or irrational or in the worst case just crazy. Outside the West people did not appreciate freedom and were content with being oppressed and exploited. The dichotomy of modern and backward opened the door for racism, because now superiority and inferiority could be linked to biology and culture. The Western civilization started as a white civilization. Outside the West the civilizations were founded by people of color. So there is a connection between the linear view of world history and the concept of superiority and inferiority. In order to maintain Western civilization as the apex of human history it is necessary to distort the actual history of mankind. The colonization of the mind is a fundamental basis of Western civilization.

Since the end of the twentieth century superiority/inferiority is not limited to culture, but extends to a larger unit, namely civilization. Western civilization that has permeated every part of the globe is considered to be a superior civilization based on universal knowledge of the European Enlightenment.

An crucial element in maintaining their superiority is the colonization of the mind. Mental slavery, or the colonization of the mind, is the process of subjugating the mind of people so they willingly accept the political narratives of the colonial powers and behave accordingly. It is a process of manipulating the mind of people. There are two layers of the colonization of the mind.

The first layer is the basic and deepest layer and is about the production of knowledge. The second layer has to do with the mechanisms of indoctrinating colonial concepts into the mind of the people.

## **A decolonial response: Decolonizing The Mind (DTM)**

In different parts of the world a new decolonial movement is growing that challenges long time narratives in knowledge production and social struggle and transforms activism and social movements. There are three factors behind the decolonial movement.

1. The fall of the west and the rise of the rest.
2. The collapse of the socialist bloc and the demise of Marxism.
3. The crisis of Western civilization.

Decolonial theory as an explicit theory of liberation is only a few decades old. It has produced valuable concepts in different disciplines of science. Many important contributions have been made to philosophy (epistemology) and social and cultural

theory, but fewer on economic and political theory. These contributions are more or less independent from each other and have different basic concepts. Yet, in my view, as a theory it still has some serious limitations. In order to overcome these limitations I propose to develop decolonial theory as a comprehensive, coherent and integral theoretical framework. Western Enlightenment has produced two such frameworks: Liberalism and Marxism.

A comprehensive, coherent and integral theoretical framework has the following characteristics:

1. It is comprehensive because it has produced concepts of how to look at the most important dimensions of a society: a world view, economics, politics, social relations including relations with nature, and culture. There are other important aspects of a society, but these dimensions are essential to make a framework comprehensive.
2. It is coherent because its concepts don't contradict each other. They are consistent and logical.
3. It is integral because the concepts of the different dimensions are not just lumped together but are related to each other from a basic concept. In Liberalism it is "individual freedom" and in Marxism "class struggle". In decolonial theory it is "mental slavery and decolonizing the mind (DTM)".

Outside the West different civilizations have developed comprehensive, coherent and integral theoretical frameworks. One example is the Islamic civilization. In Islam the basic concept is Tahwid, the oneness of Allah. The concept is not just a declaration of faith that there is one God and one God only. It is also a statement of the kind of society that can be built: the Ummah. This is a community of believers that is united under the guidance of one God, regardless of race, ethnicity, nation, gender and other social characteristics. Members of the Ummah should relate to each other on the basis of solidarity. The Islamic worldview is based on the belief that life and existence came into being as a result of the will, desire and design of the Allah, the creator. But humans are endowed with reason, with which they can develop nature and society. Regarding nature Islam holds that humans are the vicegerent of Allah on earth. All the resources of this world are at their disposal as a trust, not as a property. Regarding human society the core concept on which a society is based upon is justice. Justice is a moral category that denotes how a society should be organized on the basis of fairness and the more or less equal distribution of rights and duties.

In Islamic economic theory private ownership of means and production and the market are considered legitimate parts of an economic system, unlike in Marxism. Islam recognizes that there are differences between people that may lead to differences in their ability to earn and, hence, in the amount of wealth they may accumulate. But the rich have the duty of giving to the poor and needy. The Islamic economic system should provide for a balanced structure of relationships in the community, as what the rich are giving is regarded as what the poor are entitled to. Unlike Liberal economic theory where greed (maximum profit) is the basis for operating an economic system, in Islam the economic system is based on the moral values of social justice.

In the political theory of Islam an Islamic state is based on Islamic law, which in itself is based on the Quran and the Hadith. There is no separation of religion and politics as in secular states. On the contrary, politics is based on theology. Political institutions function on the basis of developing a religious community and serving this community in every aspect of life (economics, social relation, culture etc). The relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims in a Islamic society are structured according to the principles of the Constitution of Medina. The Constitution was drawn up in 622 in Medina after the prophet Muhammad arrived following his migration from Mecca. Non-Muslims were guaranteed the same political and cultural rights as Muslims. They have autonomy and freedom of religion. This is not a nation-state, but a pluriversal state.

In contrast to Liberal cultural theory in which individualism and materialism form the basis of Westernized culture, Islamic cultural theory is based on the notion that Allah has

ordained human beings to live a life of moral conduct that combines individual growth with social responsibility. Humans are encouraged to develop culture and science within the context of the guidance of the Quran and Hadith. There is no contradiction between science and theology, as has developed in the West between Christian theology and science.

I have given this brief description of the main points of the Islamic theoretical framework as an example of a comprehensive, coherent and integral framework from a non-Western civilization.

## **The fight against Islamophobia**

The fight against Islamophobia is a fight of a world wide decolonial movement that asserts that Islamophobia has its historical roots in colonialism and we all have a duty to fight for a new world civilization that replaces the old oppressive colonial world civilization. An important element in this fight is the need to decolonize our mind.

Decolonizing The Mind (DTM) consists of three dimensions:

1. The critique of the Western colonization of the mind and thus Eurocentric knowledge production.
2. The development of an alternative comprehensive, coherent and integral knowledge production.
3. The translation of this new knowledge into viable policies to build a new pluriversal world civilization.

The Muslim communities, both in the global south and the global north, have a big advantage. They can operate from a position of strength because they already have a comprehensive, coherent and integral framework from which they produce knowledge. They don't have to be in the defensive and ask for protection against hate crimes. They can move to the offensive and bring their contribution to the struggle for a new world civilization. Muslim activists and intellectuals should get involved in the struggle for decolonizing the mind.

We are in a pivot time in world history. The west is in decline: economically, politically and culturally. The Sun is setting not just for the Western Empire, but for the Western civilization.

Our sense of time can deceive us when we talk about history. The difference between 1918 and 1970 is 52 years. In half a century the world has changed dramatically. There were two world wars and one pandemic (Spanish Flu). Much of the global south was politically colonized by the global north. By 1970 the majority of the global south was politically independent. Internet and personal computer, let alone mobile telephones, did not exist in 1970.

The difference between 2022 and 1970 is same as the difference between 1970 and 1918. And in this period there also have been dramatic changes in the world. China and India has risen from the ashes of the colonial period to become major economic and political players on a world scale. The Soviet bloc has dissolved and out of those ashes the Russian Federation has risen as a major military power. Iran has become a major geopolitical force. We are experiencing a pandemic (COVID-19). The Internet technology has changed the world in a way nobody could have foreseen.

Yet, when we compare 1918-1970 with 1970-2022 it feels as if the time distance between 1918 and 1970 is far more bigger than the time distance between 1970 and 2022, probably because we are still in one generation that lives through the current era. We feel as if the period 1918-1970 is closed, while we still seem to be living in the second period.

Imagine how the world would look like in fifty years, say in 2072. Can we imagine a change that is so drastic that we regard the period of 1970-2022 as a period that we

have closed as humankind? I think we can, if we just set ourselves to decolonize our minds. And the Muslim communities can make an important contribution to that change.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Religion/Islamophobia-AntiMuslim/Civil%20Society%20or%20Individuals/ProfAwan-2.pdf>, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hira, S. (2023): *Decolonizing The Mind - a guide to decolonial theory and practice*. Amrit Publishers. The Hague. The book will be launched on January 15th 2023 in Amsterdam during the Genocide Memorial Day.

<sup>3</sup> Based on chapter six of my book.

<sup>4</sup> America was named after Amerigo Vespucci (1454-1512). He was an Italian who travelled with Spanish and Portuguese invaders and mapped the continent, which he claimed to be a new continent. As an act of resistance the Bolivian Aymara leader Takir Mamani proposed the use of the term "Abya Yala" for America in the official declarations of governments and official institutions.

<sup>5</sup> Cited in Hanke, L. (1951): *Bartholomé de Las Casas. An interpretation of his life and writings*. Springer. The Hague, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Clayton, L. (2011): *Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Conquest of the Americas*. Wiley-Blackwell. Chisester, p. 129-130.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, E. (1944): *Capitalism and slavery*. Univ. Of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Las Casas, B. de (1552): *In defense of the Indians. The defense of the most reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartholomé de Las Casas, of the order of preachers, late bishop of Chiapa, against the persecutors and slanderers of the peoples of the new world discovered across the sea*. Northern Illinois Univ. Press, p. 32-33.

<sup>9</sup> Huntington, S. (1996): *The Clash of Civilizations*. Simon & Schuster. New York, p. 20-21.

<sup>10</sup> *Idem*, p. 266.