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The End of History and the Last Man

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The conclusion of the chapter describing Canada's centennial effectively closes out Paul Hellyer's tumultuous period as minister of national defence. The remainder of the book is devoted to his attempt in 1968 to win the leadership of the Liberal Party. While it cannot be denied that *integration*—as opposed to *unification*—has resulted in some economies and increased efficiency, can it be considered successful, since the ensuing savings originally pegged for capital programs did not occur?

Damn the Torpedoes is an interesting, although superficial, memoir of Paul Hellyer's tenure as defence minister during one of the most chaotic periods in Canada's history. It is a timely book, appearing in an era where the armed forces are being subjected to increasing scrutiny and challenge as to its relevance in the society of the 1990s. Whatever comes to pass, Hellyer purports that unification "established Canada as a world leader in military organization"; perhaps, but so singular a leader that none has chosen to follow.

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Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press, 1992. 418pp. \$24.95

In his 1989 National Interest essay "The End of History," Francis Fukuyama argued that the "motor of history" (a continually inflating

fulfillment of desire) was driven by man's struggle for recognition juxtaposed with the logic of modern science. The subsequent collapse of world communism has now provided the backdrop for an expanded analysis of human history and predictions of the future of world conflict.

Fukuyama's thesis builds on Plato's famous tripartite division of the soul: desire, reason, and *thymos*—*thymos* being loosely defined as an individual's self-esteem and desire for recognition. With this in mind, he examines each of the world's major political regimes to determine which ones can best satisfy all parts of the soul. Fukuyama states that authoritarian regimes, either of the communist left or the totalitarian right, might satisfy needs and desires, but ultimately fail to fuel man's *thymos*. Authoritarian regimes of the left fail because of their attempt to defy nature by making all men equal in every respect, not just in the eyes of law. Rightist regimes with a master-slave orientation are failures as well. The recognition given to the master by the slave, who is of no value, does not satisfy the master's *thymos*. Fukuyama concludes that only liberal democracy—in the style of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson—has the capacity to satisfy all three parts of Plato's definition of soul in a stable, balanced way.

The author's examination of history, particularly modern history, demonstrates that liberal democracy is steadily gaining acceptance in our world. He provides excellent empirical data to support his conclusion,

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including a chart showing the growth of liberal democracy from the French Revolution to the present. Fukuyama does not naively imply that this growth is constantly positive; he recognizes that there are setbacks—much like the cycles of the stock market—but states unequivocally that the trend is positive.

The essence of his thesis is that liberal democracy satisfies man's thymos better than any other regime and thus removes war from the context of international relations. Fukuyama thus arrives at the optimistic conclusion that the coming world of liberal democracy will no longer provide a catalyst for war, and since history is punctuated by war, a war-free world will mark the "end of history." He does not, however, fall into the trap of predicting when this might occur, and he clearly states in his concluding chapter that man is not yet there.

Fukuyama draws heavily on classical philosophers: Plato and Aristotle, as well as on Kant, Hegel, Hobbes, Locke, Nietzsche and Marx. In his expression of Hegel's concept of the "last man," he closely follows the works of Alexandre Kojève, Hegel's twentieth-century interpreter—so much so that the reader may think he ought to be reading Kojève instead of Fukuyama. This minor distraction aside, Fukuyama has written not only an interesting and optimistic thesis but an exciting, readable, educational blend of great philosophers and contemporary international relations theory.

Lively, thought provoking, and profound, *The End of History and the Last Man* is outstanding reading for students of the fundamental issues of human destiny, foreign policy, and the future of conflict and war.

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Nuechterlein, Donald E. *America Recommitted: United States National Interests in a Restructured World*. Lexington: The Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1991. 268pp. \$28

This book might be classified as "analytical political science." It is the third in which Nuechterlein has used what he calls "the National Interest Matrix" to organize and categorize the interests of the United States, its regional allies, and its potential enemies. With the matrix it is possible to harmonize and gain perspective about much disparate data and fact. However, the categorizations of necessity involve judgment calls; therefore, different users could obtain different results.

The author states that the U.S. government has four long-term national interests that influence how it views the external world and the United States' place in it. In the absence of a reference, one must ascribe the definitions to the author. They are as follows: (1) defense of the United States and its constitutional system; (2) enhancement of the nation's economic well-being and promotion