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FOREIGN POLICY AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS

A country’s foreign policy and value orientations are not only part and parcel of international relations, but also of its domestic policy. It is true of our country’s policy, too. There is an evident confrontation between the two value pictures of the world. The world looks differently from a side glance, from the point of view of The New York Times or French TV, or from Russian perception.

People are being persuaded that the western world had made a correct civilizational choice, whereas Russia had made a wrong choice and fell out from the Catholic mainstream, which moved forward, having become one of the greatest cultural phenomena. Russia had fallen under the domination of the Mongolians, while Europe had been going forward to the peaks of world science. Free cities emerged, Renaissance, Reformation and religious freedom flourished in Europe at the time when Russia remained a country of serfdom, backwardness, and religious persecution. The West was bringing civilization, while Russia was enslaving Eurasian peoples. Europe gave the world national states and democracy as the main value of the modern world, whereas

Russia was unable to offer any value orientations. Europe and the West put forward the concept of human rights, but Russia and the Soviet Union offered a totalitarian political model. Today the West upholds the rights of minorities, both national and sexual, while Russia, on the contrary, enslaves them. Indeed, the West offers a comprehensive picture of values, and it largely coincides with that seen by any of our liberal-minded people. However, this picture is not true.

Some people think that the civilizational choice is made at the present time. For instance Petro Poroshenko speaks of the civilizational choice for Ukraine. In actual fact, this civilizational choice had been made a long time ago by our ancestors. For Russia it had been the choice of Orthodox Christianity taken from Byzantium, whereas the West had been Catholic, taken from Roman Catholicism, and crowned all European kings.

At the time, when the choice was made between Byzantium and Rome, it looked like the modern choice between, say, Paris and Bantustan. At that time Constantinople was the greatest capital of the world and Byzantium – the greatest empire which was looked upon as the center of the universe. There were quite enough foundations for this view. It was only China that could have been viewed as the rival of Byzantium in cultural level. At the time the population of Rome did not exceed twenty thousand, the power of the Pope was not spread beyond the boundaries of the Vatican. Europe was a rural civilization, in contrast to Byzantine civilization. It did not know Roman architecture, which came later from Byzantium. After it came Gothic architecture. At the time Byzantium was at the height of human civilization in the development level of architecture and science, which had imbibed the fruits of Oriental science and wisdom, and the achievements of the Hellenistic world and western scholars.

There were no libraries in the West at the time. It was only in the 13th century that Europe began to learn sciences through translations of works from Greek, Arabic and Persian. The West learnt of works by Aristotle and Plato through the East. Light was coming from the East, as they said at the time, and it Byzantium was the East from Europe.

Russia had been lucky for it had taken Orthodox Christianity and culture at the peak of their development. We were one of the few nations in the world which could receive the Word of God in the native language thanks to the noble efforts of St. Cyril and Methodius who created the Slavic written language, having transformed the Greek language and added eight letters made to its alphabet. Thanks to the new written language we had learnt scholarly treasures of the time, received the Holy Writ, legends, liturgy, and architecture. Kiev was trying to imitate Constantinople, and not without success. The culture of Kievan Rus was more profound than culture of West Europe of the epoch. All those who have studied Russian chronicles admit that they contained more information than West European ones and had been written by better educated people.

By the 11th century, Rus was almost entirely literate, especially in towns, due to the efforts of the church, which was shown by birchbark manuscripts and graffiti on the walls of our ancient cathedrals.

When Anna Yaroslavna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, had become the Queen of France, having married Henri I, it turned out that she was the most educated person at the royal court, including the king himself, for she knew and could write Latin and several other languages. The Gospels, which she had brought, was used by all Kings of France giving an oath.

The Mongolian invasion was a terrible trial for Russia. Scholars believe that only one percent, even less, of the cultural heritage of Kievan Rus had come down to us. We know of the "Lay of the Host of

Igor.” There had been hundreds, perhaps thousands, of such works, but they have not come down to us, having been burnt or otherwise destroyed in wars. That was a terrible invasion, urban culture was largely destroyed, and Russian became a country of rural culture.

It was a time of serious trials and tribulations for our country. The Mongolian Empire was the biggest empire in human history, much bigger than the Roman or the British Empire at the peak of its flourishing.

The Empire of Genghiz Khan and his descendants included China, Siberia, Central Asia, considerable part of India, the Middle East, Russia and Ukraine. This empire was ruled from China. Byzantium had only one rival in the development level of civilization at the time – China. We were part of the empire ruled from China, and the Russian Prince Alexander Nevsky had gone there, just as many others of our princes, who had to travel almost to the very Pacific coast.

The Russian part of the Golden Horde was ruled in Chinese style, which was more advanced than West European managerial practices of the time. Head tax, population census, and coachman service existed in these parts of the Golden Horde. In other words, society was organized in a way enabling the state to receive taxes regularly. Apart from that, a system existed which provided supplies of forage and built bridges and roads. All this had existed in China for many centuries. In other words, our territory was managed not by Mongolian rules, but by Chinese, Uighur, Samarkand technologies. Highly-developed managerial practices in Russia as part of the Genghiz-Khan Empire lent it advanced imperial experience. So that when the great empire began to disintegrate, its western part did not fall into a vacuum, and ultimately became the biggest power on our planet.

The choice of values at the time was very important. The West offered its assistance to Russia in the struggle against the Mongolian

invader, but Russia did not accept it due to a great difference of values. In the Cenghiz-Khan Empire human soul and beliefs were not violated. Orthodox Christianity was not banned. It became widespread especially after one of our metropolitans had cured the blind wife of a Mongolian khan. The West offered Catholicism and the change of the very foundations of faith. Mongolians could take away life, whereas the West wanted to take away the soul. This was why the Russian warriors led by Prince Alexander Nevsky put up bitter resistance to the Crusaders on Lake Peipus and the Neva River. The watershed in the history of our country was liberation from the Mongolian-Tatar yoke. It almost completely coincided with the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus.

True, this was not a simple coincidence. At the moment western civilization and Europe began to expand actively in all directions: America, Africa, Asia. Suddenly, on the boundary of the West and East a small territory was found, which was called Russia and was smaller than Poland or Lithuania. It had just freed itself from foreign domination, and was ravaged and poor. Besides, it was situated in the farthest northeastern corner of Eurasia.

But that state was destined to become a great power. How and why?

At the time Russia was regarded as something like Africa, which had to be rapidly developed and colonized. However, it had a state structure, which worked and was quite active toward many East European countries. Many embassies were opened – from Vatican to the Sacred Roman Empire of the German nation, the strongest European state at the time. Some of these states offered Ivan III, then Vasily III, his son, the crown from the hands of the Pope, along with Catholicism.

It was actively trying to penetrate into Russia. The marriage of Sophia Palaeologue and Ivan III was in actual fact a Pope's intrigue. Sophia Palaeologue was the niece of the last emperor of Byzantium which fell to the Ottoman Turks betrayed by the West. Now the West hoped to persuade Vasily III to accept Catholicism through his wife whose family entered into a union with Catholics in order to save themselves.

Vasily was thinking about that and even sent a special mission to Rome. But it could not find the Pope at the time because he had been overthrown by a feudal lord and fled. The mission returned to Moscow and told Vasily that the game was not worth the candle. Russia came to the conclusion that it needed the autocracy.

The idea did not mean absolute power, but it meant that Russia will not be ruled by the Mongolians or by Rome. And the son of Vasiliy III Ivan the Terrible became the autocratic monarch (czar) of Russia. But Russia's refusal from western protection and patronage did not go without a trace. The modern image of Russia, which we have been trying to change in the West, originated at that time.

Thus, the development of Russia as a new Africa began. Pilgrims and travelers of various types arrived, and some of them gave their views like "Beautiful and wonderful country whose people are God-fearing, respected their power and have high moral standards."

But negotiations with the West failed. The last embassy of the Sacred Roman Empire headed by Ziegmund Herbertstein left Moscow. Works began to be written in Poland and Germany proving that the Russian people were savage and backward, their fear of God was heresy, and respect for power – slavish psychology. It was at that time that the negative image of our country emerged. In 1528 Ziegmund Herbertstein wrote his "Notes about Moscovy," which were published thirty times in the West in the 16th century alone.

This image prompted westerners to say “No, we are not like this, not so savage, not so terrible.”

Western cities were self-governed, were populated by free people, craftsmen and artisans of various types united on the shop-steward principle. Why then were Russian cities different, not like that? The reason was geographical and it proved quite weighty. A western king had a serious enemy in the person of another western king or duke. Whereas we, Russians, had a different serious enemy, namely, nomadic tribes living in the steppe around our cities. The most cruel thing which could have happened to a western king or duke would have been a tribute to be paid in case of military defeat. In Russia the payment for military defeat was much more terrible: either painful death or slavery.

In the West it was possible to defend oneself from an aggressive or greedy neighbor by the thick walls of one's castle. Whereas it was well-nigh impossible to defend themselves from nomads, except from building military fortresses according to all fortification rules. Thus, hundreds and thousands of Russian city dwellers became the defenders of their native cities arms in hand.

There could be no self-government in these conditions at all, because another social organization and another social model were necessary.

That was the only possible model for survival. And the only alternative – death or slavery. Slave-trade thrived at the time, especially in the Crimea. Genoese and Venetian merchants were quite active buying and selling Russians prisoners brought by nomads from the northern Black Sea shore. Understandably, no free Russian town could exist in such conditions.

Europe lived through the Renaissance became free from church dogmas, it remembered and revived the art of Ancient Rome and Ancient Greece, although there was a wide historical and civilizational

gap between them and medieval Europe. Architecture developed, and great masters emerged and worked fruitfully, but there were none in Russia, because the Byzantine tradition of Godliness had always been considered higher than welfare. Then Renaissance brought capitalist relations along with it; it became possible largely because a market economy came into being.

Russia could not accept naked human body because Orthodox Christianity was against it. Incidentally, the Renaissance existed in the West for comparatively short time. Even Michelangelo lived up to the moment when the authorities banned him to depict nude figures as a result of the Reformation. The Embassy of Vasily III to Italy were aware of mores and morals in Italy and Russians residents did not like life at the Pope's and Medici's courts, whose people weltered in vice.

True, the Renaissance did not bypass us. The Moscow Kremlin was built by Italian Renaissance architects. As to the European Reformation, religious freedom did take place, Protestantism emerged, which opposed to Catholic luxury. But it was also accompanied with religious wars, which lasted for decades. These prolonged bloody wars cost colossal victims. Religious persecutions were rampant. Just one Massacre of St. Bartholomew took away more human lives than the entire reign of terror of Ivan the Terrible. This cruel Russian czar was a virtual *Agnus Dei* as compared with the British Tudors, for example.

The West brought civilization primarily in the form of extermination of many peoples. The Incas and Aztecs had been no inferior to the Spaniards, but their civilizations had been destroyed by the conquistadores thirsty for gold and precious stones. Colonialism gripped the entire planet, it was only Japan, Ethiopia and Russia that remained outside the colonial empires.

Colonialism also meant slave-trade, because to develop the American continent it was necessary to procure more and more

workforce. We do not know the exact figures of people captured in Africa and then brought and sold in America and other parts of the world, but according to record-books by British, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, and then American companies, which were engaged in slave-trade, ten million men, women and children were transported from the African continent. Slave-trade continued in the United States right up to the Civil war in the 1860s.

While developing in Eurasia Russia did not destroy a single civilization, not a single nation, and it was not engaged in slave-trade. True, serfdom did exist in our country, just as in Western Europe, but it concerned only the Russian people. And it was not spread to new territories which the Russian state annexed and developed. People there had to pay tribute. This was why national oppression of Russians themselves was greater than that of the so-called colonial peoples. Besides, the Russian elite had always been multinational. Moreover, Russian names were in minority. There had never been suppression of titular nations, either in pre-Soviet or post-Soviet time.

Democracy is a great gain of the West, which had originated from the Greek roots. Indeed, democracy did exist in Greece. But of 2,000 Ancient Greek polices it was Athens for a century and a half. Its fruits were used by adult men who comprised the aboriginal population of the city. The overwhelming part of the population consisting of women and slaves could not even dream of democracy. Contemporary people such as Aristotle, Plato and Socrates were very skeptical toward it. For many long centuries after that democracy did not reveal itself in any way until John Locke and Thomas Hobbes began to write about it in the modern world. The great political reform of Britain in 1826 consisted of increasing the number of the country's electorate from 2.5 percent to 4.5 percent of the entire adult male population.

American democracy began with the U.S. Constitution. It concerned adult men having a definite property qualification. There were about 50,000 men who had the right to vote in the United States after the adoption of the U.S. Constitution. Women in 1929, the Afro-Americans received civil rights in the 1960. As to the Indian, who at the time comprised a majority of the population of the North American continent when the Constitution was being adopted, they had never gained civil rights. Of about six million Indians at the time, only one million were left. They were deliberately annihilated. They were consciously destroyed for cleansing the continent.

* * *

For the first time in the history of mankind, elections, based on universal direct suffrage by secret ballot, took place in Russia in the Constituent Assembly in 1917. The elections brought success to two cult radical left parties, so one can not say that it was a good experience. In the first place there was a party of terrorists - the Social Revolutionaries, on the second – the Bolsheviks. It was difficult to expect something different in the conditions of the country. However, no one ever in the world held such elections before.

As for Europe, democracy appeared and disappeared there. For example, elections were held only in six European countries before World War II. That Europe gave us the phenomenon of fascism, not Africa, Asia or Russia. It is a purely European “value”, which has its roots in nationalism. But nationalism is a European “value” that was born, by the German Romantics: Goethe, Heine, Schlegel, by the way. They believed that it was necessary to refer to national roots, came up with the idea of nationalism, the nation-state. And then Nazism sprouted through the idea, becoming the most terrible threat to all humanity.

We can not say that fascism was limited to the territory of Germany and Italy. Was not any European country opposed fascism strongly? And were there any other state, except keeping neutrality? Did some European countries oppose, when Hitler pushed them into an alliance with Germany attack the Soviet Union? He brought all Europe to our land. At that time Europe shared his values. Unfortunately, we are now faced with the residual effects of the fact, that fascism was a very organic in Europe, more organic than democracy.

When did democracy and human rights appear? After the Second World War. No one said before, that Western civilization was determined by democracy, and Soviet civilization was determined by totalitarianism.

Similar theories and concepts emerged after the victory over fascism.

Actually the concept of human rights has been written into the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, created in the anti-Soviet purposes specially. It has been argued that Western values meant democracy and freedom of speech first of all. In fact, there was nothing of this in Europe then, no such values. But they were depicted as the achievements of Western civilization, opposing Soviet Asiatic hordes.

A whole system of intelligent exposure has been created, first in Europe, then on a global scale. Central Intelligence Agency in cooperation with the British MI6 was behind this operation. Today, researchers have access to all archive documents that clarify the essence of the operation. There was not an influential intellectual in Europe by the end of the 1940s, that would not work for the CIA or MI6 anyway. No one! They were neither influential intellectuals, nor they were regarded as dangerous communist elements. The system of total control of the information space was built, and it has been improved all the time.

Is it possible to convince any Western journalist today that he writes about Russia wrong? It is not possible, because the journalist has been through all steps of a special selection. And if he takes this position, he will write what he is told. This system is worked out: people fall into it from childhood, they are invited to various conferences and events, are selected and prepared from college.

We all admire the works of Orwell, but we know now that Orwell wrote all his works for MI6. It was and still is a very good system, from their point of view. Therefore, it is about promoting their own national interests when they talk about promoting democracy. The main interest of the United States is a global hegemony. As a system of political, economic, military impact and a system of environmental impact are created to accomplish it with the assistance of the media and the vast network of non-profit organizations. 15 thousand of non-profit organizations are engaged in foreign policy in the United States, and each of them manages organizations in other countries – Poland, Germany, France, Japan, Turkey, actively implementing practical tasks. This system helps to overthrow regimes in countries, “displeasing” to the United States.

Only about 400 Russian non-profit organizations were financed in the amount of about 4 billion rubles officially two years ago, when the law on foreign agents was adopted. They were much more informal - quite a different order of numbers. Western structures associated with the State Department and the CIA mainly provided funding. Today there are more than 4 thousand similar organizations, and their financing is at least 70 billion rubles officially, but there is much more in cash through the embassies. Victoria Nuland stated that \$ 5 billion spent on the "democratization" of Ukraine, although this figure is underestimated too.

It is not necessary to discuss the rights of minorities too active as a value gap is very large in this area. The rights of minorities are protected better in our country than in the United States. There is more democracy in Russia in many ways: a much wider ideological and political spectrum, more political parties participating in the political process.

Now let's see how we and they can get on the ballot. Municipal filter in Russia in comparison with the procedure of participation in elections in the US is just child's play. 14 parties may participate in the Duma elections in Russia now. There are two parties in the United States, and the difference between them is not greater than between the "United" and "Fair Russia".

As for such indicator as the accumulated wealth, then the accumulation of wealth is not the same as the income of a family. The accumulated wealth of a white family is 20 times more than a black family.

Inmates in prisons are 80% black.

Now, let's speak about the rights of sexual minorities. Homosexuality is a criminal offense in six states in the United States. As for Russia, there is a ban on promoting homosexuality in kindergarten and school. It is seen as a huge encroachment on the rights of citizens.

Thus, the western system of values - is a huge propaganda filter, and Russia opposes its own cultural matrix, more viable. If it seems less democratic to someone, it is explained by the peculiarities of life in our country, which had to fight longer because of its geopolitical environment.

There are two countries in the world that have 500 years of sovereign existence. One of them is Russia, the second - the United Kingdom. But you know our neighbors. As to England, it is the only

Scotland and fish. It's clear that it is easier to exist in the environment in a certain relaxation there. We could never relaxed, unfortunately,. Periods of peace were the exception rather than the rule.

The periods of peaceful existence and development were the exception rather than the rule. Russia (together with its partners in the BRICS) opposes its system of value orientation to the Western system. BRICS is becoming the global community of values. This is 44 percent of humanity, 5 states. There are one and a half times more people in India alone than in all the Western countries combined. If you add China, Brazil, Russia and South Africa, you get a totally different picture of the world, and it is not completely western.

Each of these countries is the center of a single civilization, and has its own view of the world, their understanding of values in contemporary international relations. This is not the promotion of democracy and it is not humanitarian interventions, followed by military action, the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people, or even more than a million, as in Iraq, where democracy promotion has happened. It is not chaos, as in Libya, not ISIS as in Syria and Iraq, not ravaged Afghanistan. It is quite another. It is a system of values, where the primacy of international law is in the first place, the central role belongs to the United Nations and its Security Council in the resolution of international conflicts.

The US just gone mad due to the Crimea, because it was the first time we interpreted what international law is. Until that moment, The US considered themselves only having the right to interpret international law.

This is the value of sovereignty - the ability to make their own decisions inside and outside the state, and not by external clues. Sovereignty is the ability to build a policy on democratic principles in accordance with the interests of the people, not as foreign nonprofit

organizations dictate. This is democracy eliminates the pressure on political process on the part of the forces, representing the interests of others, and not the Russian people. And when we restrict the activities of non-commercial organizations, we do not limit democracy. We protect opportunities for the realization of the normal democratic process in accordance with the will of the majority of citizens. These non-profit organizations represent the interests of the American people and the Central Intelligence Agency, which is behind most of these non-profit organizations.

We stand for the values of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, for the opportunity to build a policy in accordance with their national interests, national traditions, to build as we see the world and our ancestors saw it, in accordance with national culture, our - Orthodox, Chinese - Confucian, India - Hindu, as well as Brazilian or South African. South Africa's foreign policy concept is called diplomacy ubuntu, that is translated into Russian as collegiality, affiliation of the individual to society, unlike the West, professing the aggressive individualism.

When someone objects to a Briton, he raises his voice. He does not listen to your arguments, he simply raises his voice and starts yelling. That's what it is – policy of the West. They do not take the other side, they do not accept anyone as the people outside the Anglo-Saxon world, who should be considered equal to them. No, they just need to raise voice, to impose sanctions, to arrange the pressure, to bring the military bases to borders.

What is there to say? There is an opinion: mine and wrong. That is how the whole number of values of American and British policy is based, unfortunately. They believe that their values are universal for the whole world, and take offense if someone thinks otherwise, moreover, begins to object them.

The value of freedom and democracy. We speak of freedom, but not in the Western sense – compliance with certain rules of law, freedom, as justice as the real truth, that Russia, along with China and other BRICS countries brings to the world. Why are they so afraid of channel Russia Today? The only one channel and thousands of other channels and newspapers are against it. They begin blocking: “Oh, what a nightmare, Russian propaganda!” But this channel only carries the truth, that they fear the most.

But, as we know, what is power? Power is in the truth. So, the enemy will be defeated, and victory will be ours!

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**THE RISE OF THE “ISLAMIC STATE”:
CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES**

The phenomenon of “Islamic State” is the result of a whole complex of factors of global, regional and country dimensions. The rising imbalance of world development in the globalization process, deepening the differences between “city” and “countryside”, where the majority of Muslim countries live, can be referred to the global cause of its occurrence. The increasing gap in living standards between the “golden billion” and the rest mankind is becoming more obvious and frustrating for the general strata of the Muslim population because of the easy access to the global information as a result of the revolution in communications technology. Protest moods are growing on this basis,

particularly among the youth of the majority of inhabitants of Arab and other Muslim states. The stagnation of social and economic development of the most of these countries, the existence of a corrupt leadership in them for decades, the lack of “social mobility” have deprived a new generation of opportunities to apply their knowledge and skills for career advancement, and in many cases just a job. Unsatisfied young people, mostly radical extremist due to their age and lack of political experience, join the ranks of discontented, comparing their standard of living with the west. Protest demonstrations become religious in nature, mainly in Muslim countries because of the weakness of the secular opposition that is under centuries of oppression of authoritarian regimes and the lack of democratic traditions. The protesters see the ideological support to Islamic tenets and call the faithful not to the future but to the past, which threatens a number of countries and entire regions with the fallout of the global historical process as illustrated by the examples of Egypt under President M. Mursi and the current “Islamic State”.

The impact of heavy overcome gap in levels of development between the Western and Muslim worlds is enhanced greatly during the transition period to the multipolar system in the evolution of world politics and international relations, when only the expectation is possible from growth of conflicts of interest due to the increased number of actors and the difficulty in finding compromises. In the foreseeable future, “the winners of the Cold War” will continue to strive to consolidate the achievements, often imposing their hegemony by force to peoples of the world. [1] External intervention aggravates numerous intraregional conflicts, complicating the situation. The Arab-Israeli conflict plays an important role in agitating the Muslim world in its seventh decade, the prospects for a lasting and just settlement

of which remain unclear because of the unconstructive position of Tel Aviv and Western capitals.

Propagandists of the Islamic State actively and convincingly outplay the theme of revenge to “the old and new crusaders” and blaming the West for all numerous troubles of the Islamic world, skillfully using modern information and communication technologies. Total unsettlement and increased conflict potential in international relations over the last year has a growing negative impact on the regional situation, intensifying its instability and explosiveness, which is manifested clearly by the example of “Arab spring”. It began as a result of accumulated internal problems in the development of the region, and the response of the world was different. Russia is firmly opposed and opposes the outside, the more armed, interference in the internal processes of transformation in the Arab world since the beginning. The US and their Western partners, caught unawares at first, decided to use the Arab riots in their own selfish interests. The situation in the region has only worsened as a result of their political, economic and military pressure, creating favorable conditions for the growth of extremism and terrorism. The multi-vector external interference has led to serious distortions in the development of individual countries and the entire sub-regions of the Arab world. “Arc of instability” threatening global peace and security and which has been predicted Zbigniew Brzezinski, emerged in the Middle East and North Africa due to the short-sighted policies of the Western powers.

Eight-year clumsy “democratization” of Iraq by the Americans and their Western allies not only ruined the state system of the country and its army (without giving anything in return), but intensified sharply sectarian conflicts that grew into an open bloody feud between supporters of the two main branches of Islam – Sunni and Shia. [2] It has created an enabling environment for the “Al Qaeda” to penetrate

into Iraq in 2003 – just after the US invasion. “Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia” was called as the “Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant” (ISIS), and increased the number of its supporters in two and a half times in the year after the inglorious departure of the Americans from Iraq in 2011 as a result of a mass influx into it Islamists throughout the region and from the rest of the world.

In 2013, Western intelligence services established contacts with this organization (which subsequently gave rise to the ISIS), began to supply arms, finance, deadly “humanitarian” cargoes through third countries and nominees to use the Islamists to overthrow the regime of B. al-Assad in Syria. Russia proposed to include ISIS in the terrorist lists of the United Nations many times, but these initiatives have not found justified the US support.

Islamists passed through true “university of jihad” in US prisons, according to their acknowledgments, and have been released educated and united. Activists of the Baath Party have joined their ranks. As a political foundation of the mingled and multi-religious society of Iraq, the Baath Party has been dissolved by short-sighted and hasty invaders. Baathists, thrown out on the street (often with weapons) and professionally well trained, have provided a lot of success for the IG in the battlefield with the Shiites, Kurds, Christians and other infidels, and then with the “new crusaders”.

The collapse of the state is the result of Western “victorious” campaign to “Anti-dictatorship” in Libya. This country, geographically important and rich in oil and gas reserves, has run into a protracted period of anarchy and fierce tribal struggle for power and become a territory of rampaging thugs of the Islamic State [3]. The execution of 21 Coptic – Christian demonstrated on the Internet in February 2015 in retaliation for the strikes on the positions of the terrorists in Syria and Iraq, made the world to think about the

seriousness and danger of the terrorist threat. Soon the Libyan chaos has begun to spread to neighboring countries, evidence of this was the bloody raid on the Parliament and the Museum of the Tunisian capital.

Four-year conflict that has caused a humanitarian catastrophe in Syria, was another result of short-sighted policy of the United States and their Western and regional partners, tried to push through the “Libyan scenario” in the SAR. Moscow has warned from the outset about the dangers of reckless interference in the internal affairs of Syria, on the inadmissibility of double standards and dividing terrorists into “good and bad” for the sake of geopolitical calculations and interests. A firm position of Russia has saved Syria from military intervention. Successful chemical demilitarization of the CAP, conducted on the initiative of Russian President Vladimir Putin, has showed to the world a convincing example of fruitful international cooperation in the elimination of dangerous military threats. The ability of the Syrian leadership to negotiate and its readiness to cooperate in the search for collective responses to new global challenges have been clearly demonstrated to the world community. At the same time it showed the duality of Washington's policy refusing to deal with Damascus in solving a much more essential problem – in repelling the onslaught of “terrorist international.”

Warnings from the Russian side have not been heard opponents of the Syrian regime. The US and their partners have created a fertile ground for conflict, for transformation of the eastern regions of the Syrian Arab Republic in the “caliphate” under the control of Islamic State, established in accordance with the medieval model. The US provide assistance for mythical “moderate opposition” by encouraging the rebels to overthrow the Syrian leadership. Syria became the main testing ground for terrorist training due to the diligence of “adherents of democracy.” The number of arriving foreign “tourists of jihad” has

exceeded the corresponding figures for Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen and Somalia in the past 10 years [4].

Battle Capturing and Atrocities of Militants

This issue was widely discussed in the world in the first decade of June 2014 after the capture of Mosul, the second largest city in the country with a population of 1.8 million people, by Islamists of ISIS. Thirty thousand soldiers of the government army surrendered the city almost without a fight to troops of the Islamists, which number does not exceed 1000 people [5]. ISIS militants seized more than \$ 400 million in banks in Mosul, becoming one of the richest terrorist groups in the world.

Unlike the leaders of “al-Qaeda”, considering The US as the main enemy, the extremists of ISIS have been concentrated on the fight against Shiites and non-Muslim minorities, requiring them to apply to the real Islam or to pay tribute on pain of death.

Soon militants began to control the province of Nineveh, and some of the captured military vehicles, ammunition and military equipment, including American-made, was immediately transferred to “the Syrian front.” Jihadists moved towards the strategically important oil production centers in the province of Kirkuk and to the south of Baghdad, having hoisted their black flags over Mosul, released from prison hundreds of prisoners (convicted of terrorism, for the most part), smashed government buildings and police stations, as well as Shiite mosques and Christian churches.

They captured another provincial center – Saddam Hussein's hometown of Tikrit. Tribesmen of the executed president have reburied his remains secretly, saving them from possible desecration. Such fears were justified: the militants desecrated empty mausoleum of the former head of Iraq and burned it. [6]

Soon, the largest oil refinery in Baiji was in their hands, its operation had to be stopped due to fighting, and foreign specialists were evacuated urgently. City managed to clear of the Islamists to the beginning of November 2014 only, but they captured it again in December [7].

ISIS militants also captured the center for the production of chemical weapons, and then got access to radioactive material (about 40 kg of uranium compounds), stored in the scientific and educational purposes at the University of Mosul. [8]

Soon extremists approached Baghdad at a distance of less than 100 km, without any resistance of 350,000th of the Iraqi army, on which the Americans spent more than \$ 40 billion. [9]. These considerable funds have been largely stolen. In December 2014 about 50 thousand fictitious soldier was found, money for their provision were stolen by military officials. [10] As a result, ill-trained army troops fled before the civilians throwing military equipment and weapons, including those obtained from the US.

Soon, people feel the “bitterness of” the Islamists regime. Residents of Mosul learned that they had to send their unmarried daughters for “Jihad al-nikah” – “sexual jihad.” Disobeyed this injunction were to be punished under the Sharia law. Single women can register their marriage with the activists of ISIS. Jihadists established the payment of \$ 1,200 for the newlyweds, guaranteed the provision of fully furnished housing for them, trying to gain a foothold in the occupied areas. [11]

A few months later jihadist instruction on handling of captured women, according to which they were allowed to rape regardless of age, came to the world's media. There were instructions: how women could capture as much beating and whether it is possible to trade

captives. This barbaric instruction read aloud after Friday prayers for the residents of areas controlled by ISIS. [12]

The propaganda of Islamists had a certain effect: Some girls and women went mindlessly in search of adventure in the Middle East in order to participate in “jihad al-nikah”, even from Western Europe, and they have become “sex slaves” or victims of gang rape.

In the second half of July 2014 Islamists issued an ultimatum that all Mosul Christians had to convert to Islam or pay a special tax on non-Muslims, or left the city. Thousands of them did so, moving to the neighboring Kurdish autonomy. Terrorists seized the monastery of Mar Benem near Mosul, demanded that the monks leave the sanctuary. [13] Along the way, they blew up the historic mosque of the Prophet Jonah with his burial vault. [14] Then came the turn of other religious minorities – jihadists demanded on pain of death, that the Yezidi Kurds (about 40 thousand followers), who lived there since pre-Islamic times, converted to Islam or pay taxes on non-Muslims. Those who refused, including young people, were executed en masse, and in public (about 500 people) including burying alive; three hundred women were sold into slavery. [15]

Several tens of thousands of Yezidis were forced to flee to the mountains, where found themselves in a critical situation without water and food. Repressions have been continued against other religious minorities: Christians, Turkomans and others. Syria took about 1000 families of refugees, although Islamists from ISIS and other extremists have not left its territory alone, trying to get through in the area of Aleppo to the Turkish border. At the same time jihadists approached the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan – Erbil, where many American and European oil companies have settled, and which had to evacuate their staff urgently [16].

According to Valerie Amos, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, about 1.2 million people in Iraq have been forced to leave their home by the beginning of June 2014, fleeing from the invasion of the extremists. [17]

ISIS militants demolished the boundary markers on the border with Syria, stating visually the creation of a vast Islamic caliphate. They proclaimed captured Rakka city in the east of Syria as the capital of the Caliphate. Expanding the territory of a future state, they captured a number of key checkpoint on the border with Jordan. They declared themselves in Yemen, undermining several Shiite mosques in March 2015. Concerns about the activation of ISIS began to grow also in the political and confessional unbalanced Lebanon after a series of loud attacks. At the beginning of July 2014, jihadists occupied the largest oil fields in Syria, using war trophies, as well as modern American weapons and equipment bought on the black market through corrupt Iraqi military. And their strategic and financial positions have been strengthened even more.

By the time their financial resources have been estimated at \$ 1.5 billion already, received mainly through the sale of oil at bargain prices (\$ 25 per barrel). The oil has been taken out by road tankers or by artisanal pipelines through one-day firms and clandestine exchanges. Such trade – an obvious example of the survival of terrorism in the very lucrative transnational business – did not cause any opposition from the United States and their Western partners and brought extremists up to \$ 3 million net profit on a daily basis [19].

Leaders of ISIS follow the financial strategy, based on their own material self-sufficiency and independence from unstable external funding, unlike Al Qaeda, which arose and developed on the basis of donor inflows, including from the United States. ISIS has consolidated its position as the richest terrorist group for the history of the world

with an annual budget of \$ 2.3 billion due to the abundant revenues from the oil sector, as well as looting of banks, shops, capture of property from infidels, exchange of hostages for ransom (Islamists gained for them by \$ 35 to \$ 45 million according to UN estimates), racketeering entrepreneurs (up to \$ 50 thousand. from each per month), slave trade (especially women), control over drugs trafficking (up to \$ 1 billion in revenue). [22].

Considerable financial resources of Extremists allow both contain combat units (each jihadist receive up to \$ 600 per month), and actively strengthen their position among various strata of the local population, providing a rich set of free services in the field of medicine, education and charity, as well as the formation of the administrative structures. Military and economic acquisition of jihadists and generous social bonuses attracted fresh forces into their ranks, if not more than 4 thousand Sunnis were in 2013 in the LIH, mostly former soldiers of the army of Saddam Hussein, then about 80 thousand militants of various nationalities fought by the end of 2014: 50 thousand – in Iraq, 30 thousand – in Syria. [23] Islamists have attracted teenagers of 12–13 years in the training camps and fighting detachments, often using them as “human shields.” They took into account the socio-economic despair of young people and the lack of prospects in life, long-standing unresolved Middle East conflict, used the Koran postulate that people killed in battle for the faith, go straight to paradise.

ISIS terrorists systematically killed children from ethnic and religious minorities, using mass executions, beheadings, crucifixion and burial alive, according to the report of the UN Committee on the Rights of Childhood, published in early 2015. By September 2014, almost 700 children were killed or maimed as a result of the criminal actions of the ISIS only in Iraq. It was reported on human trafficking as slaves, who were exposed on markets with price tags as well as the systematic

sexual violence against them. Sometimes minors were kidnapped, and sometimes their own parents were forced to send their children into the hands of jihadists. Adolescents made bombs, and then undermined themselves, because often were used as suicide bombers. Children of eight years and even younger received military training. ISIS activists also conducted the psychological preparation of children. They were near adults not only as observers, but as murderers, attending executions and these records were presented on the Internet.

Islamists used world experience in the field of agitation and propaganda based on modern technology to attract recruits from abroad into their ranks. Their video and printed materials (often with performances of captured Western hostages) were presented in five European languages and were quite popular in social networks, on the Internet.

Internet experts of ISIS created networks of the thousands OF automated twitter-accounts to spread propaganda of jihad. According to the US Congress, there were more than 45 thousand ISIS accounts only in autumn 2014. [27] At the beginning of January 2015, “hackers of jihad” managed to hack accounts on Twitter and Youtube of the US Central Command (Central Command) responsible for operations in the Middle East. According to Western media, about 3 thousand citizens of countries in Europe, the USA, from the republics of the former USSR, including Russia joined the Army of the Caliphate as a result of the activity of ISIS in the global information field. [29] At least 95% of the jihadists were not citizens of the SAR. Many of the “tourists of jihad” soon joined the ranks of suicide bombers. However, a growing number of neophytes were disappointed and wanted to return to their country with the growth of resistance to jihadist terrorism in the world. Islamists responded with hard repression and executions on such decadent mood. “The soldiers of the Caliphate” formed the military

police for the detection and prosecution of traitors [33]. At the end of December 2014, there were reports in the international media about the execution of hundreds of “apostates” in Racah as a warning to other mujahideen. In March 2015 another four dozen deserters were executed near Mosul. Islamists dealt cruelly with those fellow believers who did not share their views: in the beginning of September 2014, they beheaded I. Azau, the preacher, who arrived in Syria to return home the young Muslims from Belgium, fighting on the side of jihadists. [34]

Thus, the worst predictions of Moscow come true: terrorism in the Middle East has gained more and more cross-border nature because of the mindless indulgence of the West and its partners, undermining regional and global stability, the fight against it was complicated significantly.

Proclamation of “Islamic state”

Leaders of ISIS announced the restoration of Caliphate, that disappeared century back, and the renaming of their group in the “Islamic state”, deliberately omitting any geo-referenced to its location, on the first day of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan (29 June 2014). The leader of ISIS, an Iraqi AB Al-Baghdadi was declared the “Caliph of all Muslims” under the name the Caliph Ibrahim. Western media immediately named him as the new Bin Laden.

The appearance of this figure on the political scene of Iraq (teacher of Sharia in the past) was caused by the occupation of the Western coalition in 2003. Sunni al-Baghdadi (real name: Ibrahim Awad Ibrahim Ali Al-Badri Al-Samarrai, who was born in Fallujah in 1971), passing military school in Afghanistan, joined the ranks of the resistance and gradually moved to the leading positions.

He was arrested by the Americans in 2004 and stayed in prison “Camp Buka ”, Iraq, about a year, where he associated with leaders of

the local branch of “Al-Qaeda”. Then the future “Caliph” was released under mysterious circumstances. According to a former employee of the National Security Agency US E. Snowden, al-Baghdadi had been recruited by the CIA, and also collaborated with the British and Israeli intelligence services. This did not prevent the Americans to evaluate his head in the \$ 10 million in the future. [35]. They have repeatedly declared his liquidation, but these reports proved to be wrong every time. [36].

After taking a high post, “Caliph” called on all Muslims to jihad. The proclamation of the quasi state did not meet understanding of many Syrian Islamist groups, including “al-Nusra Dzhabgat”, which announced the proclamation of the Caliphate as an empty and useless act, both legally and logically”.

The head of the World Union of Muslim scholars, Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi Yu, did not support the new “Caliph”, also saying that the Islamic caliphate could not be created by force. The occupation of the country and killing half of the population was terrorism. [37] “Caliph” met sharp opposition in official circles of the Arab countries. Many have taken preventive measures to strengthen the borders. Saudi Arabia has deployed additional troops on the border with Iraq and has built a system of fortifications along the entire northern border of the kingdom from Kuwait to Jordan.

Delayed and Lopsided Reaction of the West

After the execution of the American hostages, Washington awoke and created a “coalition” to fight ISIS, without asking the consent of Damascus, against all norms of international law, to carry out air raids on positions ISIS on Syrian territory. It has been proved by experience that some raids from the air would not be enough without a ground operations, and thus cooperation with the Syrian army.

By the end of January 2015 it managed to clear 700 square kilometers only from Islamist militants. ISIS continued to control 50 thousand square kilometers of territory and 350 settlements. It will be very difficult to knock them out, according to Western military experts. [38]. Iran is another important factor of regional policy, providing strong support to its neighbor in the fight against ISIS. Despite persistent Moscow's proposals on bringing Iran to solving common antiterrorist tasks, the Western coalition ignore it. [39] According to experts, the restoration of the combat capability of the Iraqi Air Force will take time and significant costs. The central authorities in Baghdad are forced to rely on autonomous Kurdish forces “Peshmerga” and the Shiite volunteers and fear the rise of separatist sentiments and religious hatred in the country. [40]

As a result, ISIS continues to hold a substantial body of the occupied lands and equal in size in Belgium with a population of 5–7 million people, and increase the number of supporters, despite incurred losses in manpower and technology. In early 2014, reporters learned about the secret meeting of the leaders of the IG and “Al Qaeda” in a village in northern Syria, where Islamists allegedly agreed to cooperate against common enemies – Jews and the “new crusaders”. The Egyptian group “Ansar Bayt al-Maqdis”, operating in the Sinai, and the “Boko Haram” terrorizing Nigeria, swore allegiance to caliphate.”

Emissaries of ISIS were spotted outside the Middle East – in Afghanistan and on the southern borders of the CIS states. Islamist trail was discovered in demonstrative murder of prominent opposition Boris Nemtsov in Moscow.

The bloody assault in the editorial office of the weekly Charlie Hebdo in Paris caused quite a stir in Europe and around the world. At the beginning of January 2015 the extremists have committed

a terrorist act in retaliation for repeated provocative publications of sacrilegious cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad despite protests from Muslims.

Growth of the ultra-right sentiments, aggressive nationalism, xenophobia, religious intolerance in Europe has become a dangerous reaction to the outbreak of Islamic radicalism. As a result, the global risks deepening the inter-civilization gaps have increased significantly.

Moscow has offered to hold a comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon of ISIS, and international terrorism as a whole, under the auspices of the UN Security Council and with the participation of the countries of the Middle East, the African Union, the Arab League, the five permanent members of the Council and other concerned parties. Longstanding conflicts should be discussed, such as the Arab-Israeli, for example, because the unresolved Palestinian question allows terrorists to receive “moral support” and recruit new members” [41].

Constructive Course of Moscow

The Russian side proposed to return to the fold of international law, and to implement all anti-terrorist activities in strict accordance with the UN Charter and resolutions of its Security Council as an alternative to the dual approach to the fight against ISIS and other extremist groups from the West and its partners.

The UN Security Council, with the active participation of Russia, expanded and strengthened international legal framework for combating terrorism. July 28, 2014 the Security Council, on the initiative of the Russian Federation, adopted a presidential statement prepared by an acute and urgent problem of contraband oil trade with terrorist organizations in Syria and Iraq.

UN Security Council sent to all parties a clear and clear signal about the inadmissibility of any such deals with terrorists. The

statement indicated that the sanctions measures can be employed against violators of the ban. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of Syria and Iraq confirmed in a document that includes their sovereign control over all natural resources.

Moscow supported the new anti-terrorist resolution 2178, adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on September 24, 2014. This document is based on a wide integrated approach, and provide for additional obligations of States in the fight against foreign terrorists.

In December 2014, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation recognized the following anti-terrorism resolutions of the UN Security Council, that ISIS and “Dzhabgat en Nusra” groups are terrorist organizations. The activities of these organizations were banned in Russia, and the entry into their ranks or their support were attracted criminal liability under Russian law.

The position of Deputy Minister for Counter Terrorism in the Russian Foreign Ministry was introduced by presidential decree in order to further the development of Russia cooperation with the international community in the fight against terrorism.

February 12, 2015, Russia initiated the adoption of resolution 2199 by the UN Security Council to stop the financing of terrorist organizations by the illegal trade in oil and oil products from the territory of Syria and Iraq for tighter overlap the main channels of the material feeding of extremists. All States were obliged to bring to justice those who assisted the terrorists.

Provisions, aimed at the prevention of other sources of income, including the smuggling of precious metals, as well as cultural goods from Iraq and Syria, were included in the resolution also. It has acquired even greater urgency and sharpness after extremists of ISIS destroyed a unique collection of statues and sculptures of the Assyrian

epoch (IX–VII century. B.C.) in the museum of Mosul at the end of February 2015. Then extremists ruthlessly razed to the ground the ancient cities of Iraq – Nimrud, Hatra and DurSharrukin that were irreplaceable historical heritage of world significance.

According to the Russian side, the international co-operation should be based on rules of international law, without politicization and division of terrorists into “good” and “bad” than the Western countries led by the US have sinned and sin. Moscow convinced that the Syrians have to solve their problems without external interference, provided an opportunity for a meeting between representatives of the opposition and the ruling regime in January 2015, during which the ten principles were developed to establish an inclusive inter-Syrian dialogue, and a sequel was planned in the Russian capital for beginning of April, 2015. Russia perceives with concern the brutal oppression of Christians and adherents of other faiths by Islamists. Joint statement by 65 States “In support of the human rights of Christians and other communities, particularly in the Middle East”, pronounced at the initiative of the Russian Federation, Holy See and Lebanon in the course of the 28th UNHRC session.

Inconsistent approach of the Western countries to solve global and regional problems leads to the duality and contradictions in the choice of strategic allies in the fight against ISIS. Russian Foreign Minister, Sergey Lavrov, noted that on the one hand, the Western countries try to isolate Russia, punish it for the independent foreign policy, for the protection of the countrymen (any self-respecting state is obliged to do so). On the other hand, they are interested in building cooperation with Russia on key issues on the international agenda: the Iranian nuclear program, Arab-Israeli settlement, the fight against international terrorism, recognizing that solution of key issues of our time is impossible without the active participation of Moscow.” [42]

Summit on Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) was held in Washington in late February 2015, which was attended by representatives of sixty countries and international organizations, it became a clear recognition of constructiveness and reasonableness, of the Russian course for political solution of regional conflicts as a tool to deactivate the Islamists. A document outlining common approaches to the organization of work with a particular emphasis on combating the spread of radicalism among young people at an early stage, was adopted at the end of the conference. Prospects for international anti-terrorist cooperation have been overshadowed by illogical threat of the US Secretary of State John Kerry to include the head of the Russian delegation Alexander Bortnikov in another anti-Russian sanctions list.

The sharp cooling of the global political climate in connection with the intensification of Washington's hegemonic aspirations does not suggest a quick establishment of effective international cooperation in the fight against ISIS and other international terrorist groups. However, security and stability in the world will be exposed to all the great threats without international cooperation. The gradual awareness of this danger leads to ever greater understanding and support of the international community to the consistent course of Russia for its attenuation, elimination of terrorist danger by active consolidated operations of the entire world community in the framework of international law and in strict accordance with the UN Charter.

The terrorists desecrate one of the world's leading religions of their barbaric acts and bring discord, division and hostility in the Islamic environment. The growing opposition to the terrorists in the Muslim world, including the Muslim clergy, will contribute to the solution of this strategic task. Non-recognition of "Caliphate" by leading theologians, the active involvement of Jordan and Egypt to antiterrorist struggle, clearly indicate such sentiments in the region

whose nationals have become the innocent victims of the executioners of ISIS.

Experience shows that military ways are not enough to combat terrorism, and American leadership and influential figures such as Secretary of State John Kerry and CIA Director John Brennan admit it under pressure from the harsh reality in recent years. The international community, as proposed by Russia, should work together to find effective means of solving many, especially the acute, socio-economic problems of the Islamic world, generating this dangerous and disgusting phenomenon.

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**ISLAM IN THE SYSTEM OF POWER-RELIGIOUS
DIALOGUE IN THE NORTH CAUCASUS: REALITIES
AND PROSPECTS.**

**Problems and prospects of the Muslim way
of life in the North Caucasus**

The problem of finding an optimal model of social relations was actualized in the adjustment period, considering the principles of transparency and democracy in connection with the religious revival, that has been often referred to as a religious renaissance. The atheistic principles were dominated in the ideological sphere during the Soviet period of Russian society, the change of ideological orientations has occurred in the post-Soviet period. Such changes have been particularly strong in the orientation of the Muslim population to restore religious institutions liquidated earlier, as well as in strengthening the role of Islam in almost all spheres of public life.

The interests of various ethnic and religious groups are consistent and mutual understanding between different religious and ideological groups is achieved during the confessional policy of the state. An effective system of relations between the state and religious associations allows neutralize the ideologues of religious and political extremism. The process of obtaining a sustainable model of state and

confessions relations in the Russian Federation still remains incomplete. Position of the government on the concept of state-confessional relations remains unclear until now. In 2001, two projects were proposed for consideration by the authorities almost simultaneously, but none of them was adopted at the state level.

The reason is the absence of a consolidated position of the society regarding the methods and mechanisms of relations between the state and religious associations. The need of joint efforts by the state and religious organizations to overcome the existing problems is emphasized in the scientific, a set of clear criteria for confessions are encouraged to develop to acquire the status of state-recognized. At the same time there is a position that denies the model state and confessions relations, which is issued as a policy of consolidation of the state and confessional interests.

One of the basic principles is the separation of areas of competence of secular and religious institutions, their non-interference in the internal affairs of each other in the framework of a secular state. But this does not mean that the state should refuse to cooperate with religious organizations, where the common interests coincide and overlap. It is clear that public policy is aimed at supporting the “Russian” of Islam. It is clear that public policy is aimed at supporting the so-called Russian Islam. The Russian president says in the “Ufa thesis” that the new socialization of Islam should be seen as the development of the traditional Muslim way of life, thinking, attitudes in accordance with the contemporary social reality.¹

For the first time in the history of Russia the head of state announced the need to recreate the traditional Islamic theological school, recognized by the majority of Muslim scholars in the world. Perhaps the implementation of the political will of the head of state will not be quick and easy, but aimed at preserving Russian spiritual space,

strengthening of civil and patriotic feelings on the part of the Muslim population, harmonization of inter-religious and state and confessions relations within the power-Islamic dialogue.

Implementation of religious policy in this line should solve the problem of the politicization of Islam as an attempt to transfer part of the current spiritual and ideological issues in the political plane. The Muslim religion has always acted as an important regulator of social and political life in the North Caucasus region. There is no separation of the religious and secular life in Islam. In principle, any Muslim can share his knowledge, reaching a certain level of religious knowledge, if the population of the area accepts him as a religious leader.

Discussions between scholars (alims) on various issues of Islam are not unusual in such circumstances. But the post-Soviet period was characterized by the absence of constructive and mutually respectful tone of these discussions, because of the proliferation of unconventional flows to the region, with clear political overtones (Salafism, “Wahhabism”). Spiritual Administration (“Ulama Councils”) represent the majority of Muslims as the traditional clergy of Russian regions. These official religious organizations advocate for the spread of Islamic ideals and values, but not for the destruction of the constitutional foundations of the state.

The formation of two types of relationships between the government and religious organizations can be seen in Chechnya and Dagestan. The dynamics of religious processes is typical to other entities in the region and makes possible the analysis of these relations.

So, the basic trend toward a cooperative model in Chechnya lies in the fact that the clergy is actively involved in the solution of many important social problems, it takes part in the meetings, together with government and municipal governments. Senior management of the republic attracted religious leaders and organizations to solve public

problems, creates the conditions for the involvement of religious communities in building civil society, to overcome the religious isolationism.

At the moment religion becomes a legitimate factor in social and political life of the Chechen Republic. Representatives of the government refer to the fundamental values of Islam, thus emphasizing their importance and commitment to them. If we start from the following obvious facts – the right to freedom of conscience and freedom of religion at the constitutional level in the Russian Federation, as well as the priority of religious forms of consciousness for the most people in the North Caucasus², it becomes clear that it is extremely difficult to ensure the spiritual consolidation of the society and to solve urgent state problem without dialogue between the authorities and religious structures.

The range of opportunities for social and partnership activities between the institutions of government and religious organizations in the secular state is very wide – from joint use, protection and restoration of cult objects, the use of state television and radio broadcasting for the religious and enlightenment programs, to participation in the educational process, raising the level of social protection and material security of the poor. Recognition and support from government agencies will promote the effective management of the company, combines the religious and ethical values of the peoples of the Caucasus, civil and legal norms of the Russian state. This can lead to ethno-political stabilization in the regions of North Caucasus Federal District, as well as the most effective socialization of religious communities, will create more favorable conditions for attraction of religious communities and faithful people in building civil society, to overcome the religious isolationism.

The practice of state-confessional relations is often much broader than the theoretical provisions on the separation of religion and state. There are certain legal contradictions: it is difficult to differentiate a person (who is an adherent of a particular religion) on officer shall and citizen. The interpretation of a law depends on the personal preferences of officials. A separation model of state-confessional relations in the Republic of Dagestan does not imply a liberal standard of this model. The power-religious contacts are not systemic in nature and mostly confined to the sphere of counteraction to extremism.

According to experts, there is no effective system of relations between religious leaders and the authorities of the Republic of Dagestan, so to propagate traditional Islam among young people is not easy, and the numerous communities are politicized, Wahhabi religious expansion expands on the background of these difficulties³. At the same time, the process of political and legal decisions, regarding Islam in the social space of the republic, is not finally completed. Passivity of the state structures is the result of the social doctrine absence concerning relationship between government and traditional religions on the background of the constitutional provisions on the separation of religion and state.

Different understanding of legislation and state religious policy is observed under these conditions, from the claim that religion is a private matter of citizens, to increasing the social role of confessions in modern society. There are contradictions in the social space, and the official clergy is forced to play the role pressure groups to promote the interests of the faithful.

However, the process of social partnership in the sphere of state - confessional relations acquires clearer contours and bilateral nature, that does not allow return to the segregation model, and prevents the intervention of officials in the internal affairs of religious organizations.

Constructive communications between the authorities and the clergy promote inter-faith dialogue, reducing of radicalism among young people.

The official clergy considers the spread of Islamic norms and ideals in society as a priority, without corruption, social injustice, bribery, impudence, immorality, terrorism, extremism, murder, boorishness, cynicism, ignorance. Islamic clergy applies political, social and ideological potential for overcoming religious ignorance and building an Islamic society, but not disassembly of the constitutional order⁴.

The idea of the low cultural level of the North Caucasus' natives, as one of the reasons for ethnic conflicts in Russia, has been often expressed in the information environment. Islam provides the moral and legal consciousness of a person, as part of the culture of Russian peoples and ethnic groups. Therefore, religion is essential to the society as a means of educating the internal responsibility, spirituality, morality and tolerance.

An effective solution to ethnic and religious problems depends on the explanatory work of religious scholars and religious officials. In December 2014 the head of Dagestan noted the importance of the spiritual improvement of society, the formation of high moral principles of young people, during the meeting with the religious leaders of the North Caucasus and other Russian regions. He thanked for the consistent support and ensuring the safety and stability, emphasized the importance of teamwork, which would be a significant contribution to the strengthening of peace and inter-confessional consent.

The state is not interested in the existence of insoluble contradictions in the Muslim community. But the ambitions of certain religious leaders do not contribute to the consolidation of all religious communities in the Republic of Dagestan, although the dialogue

between the different currents of Islam has never been stopped completely. Authorities have made a significant contribution to the organization of conferences with the participation of well-known religious leaders, received recommendations on jihad and the applicability of the term “territory of peace and Islam” to Dagestan and other subjects of the North Caucasus.

Such conferences do not prevent the spread of religious and political extremism, but make a significant contribution to increasing awareness of young people and reducing threats to public safety. Declaration adopted by the religious forums on the most pressing issues, including the participation of the International Union for Muslim Scholars (IUMS), prevent the spread of the ideas of religious and political extremism in society and contribute to the constructive development of the state – confessional relations.

The Republic of Dagestan can become an example for other regions in terms of the integration of the Muslim way of life in the modern Russian state. The invaluable experience of power-Islamic dialogue is accumulated in this framework, positions of the parties are coordinated, compromises teamwork are settled, including the overcoming of extremist and radical manifestations in society, while maintaining the principle of non-interference in each other jurisdiction.

Expert proposals for the socialization of Muslim communities in modern Russia

L. Syukiyaynen highlights the legal culture of Islam, the Sharia, its positive potential from the standpoint of the state. Islamic law acts as an instrument of legitimization with respect to the positive legislation, having an authority in the eyes of Muslims. The fact that current legislation does not conflict with the values of the Sharia is extremely important for them⁵.

B. Bobrovnikov concludes that adat, Shariah and Russian regulations are not always compatible. There are contradictions between them in the field of criminal law, the right to personal status (family and hereditary) and land relations, as well as litigation. He claims that the political manipulation of the Shariah in the absence of a clear religious policy is much more dangerous to Russian statehood⁶. Problems of Muslim garments according to the canons of Islam, the organization of halal food, Islamic banking, the absence or insufficient number of mosques are reasons to manipulate the consciousness of the youth. All of these issues are in the bosom of the Russian legislation does not contradict it and must find a solution.

Since there are differences between the rules of Sharia and the Russian legislation, it is necessary to find the most appropriate solution in the framework of a secular state on all controversial issues (eg, collecting a commission of experts from both fiqh and Russian law).

Mutilation as a punishment was not applied practically in Dagestan, but replaced by fines according to adat, and then – corrective labor under Russian law with the accession to the Russian Empire.

The norms of Islamic law for crimes against morality (hudud) are not applied in almost all modern Islamic countries. Indonesia, the largest Muslim country in the world, is a secular state and its legal system is mixed: there are rules of customary law (adat) and / or Islamic law only in the field of family and marriage, inheritance, land ownership, along with the legal norms, established by classic European models.

Today, the government tries to realize all the provisions on freedom of religion identified in the Russian legal field. Russian Muslims have to understand that the problem of socialization of their communities into a single Russian civil society can be solved in this way.

Thus, it becomes possible to prevent a broad wave of political manipulation of sharia and the use of its mobilization potential against the Russian state, but on the contrary, to turn into a factor that strengthens it. Therefore it is necessary to consider the compatibility of the historical religious traditions of the North Caucasian peoples with modern Russian realities.

E. Suslova believes, that the problem of controllability of processes in the religious environment is achieved by respecting the rights of individuals. Any Russian citizen (regardless of affiliation to one or another confession or not belonging to any) should feel that the state protects his interest, and to feel that Russia is his homeland⁷.

B. Avyutsky suggests that a comprehensive solution to the problem for both Chechnya and the entire North Caucasus region can be found through the postmodern geopolitics linking local situations with global processes. Russian tradition can be adapted to local conditions, that is already happening in Dagestan and parts of Karachay-Cherkessia and avoid a categorical refusal to the basic principles of the Russian civilization⁸.

Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor A. Magomedov considers it necessary to take some meta-structure within which secular and religious culture will get along without conflict. Human personality becomes internally richer and the social, political behavior more flexible by adopting a new model that will significantly weaken the destabilizing climate in Dagestan society⁶.

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SCO: NEW CONTOURS OF EURASIAN INTEGRATION

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization became larger and more significant structure in the emerging multipolar world after the admission of new members to the organization at the SCO summit in Ufa on July 9–10, 2015. Its activity is not limited to the Central Asian region, but goes beyond it, covering the Middle East and South Asia.

Geography of SCO has expanded significantly, which is important from the perspective of its transformation from a regional into an inter-regional organization.

Unipolarity has never been established in international relations. Unipolarity has never been established in international relations. However, attempts were made to reach it quite often – for various reasons and in various formats¹. But the logic of international developments indicates that effective responses to numerous challenges and threats can be found only by joint efforts.

International relations pass through a difficult transitional phase in the last quarter of the century. Systemic violations “of key principles” of the UN has become a feature of this transformation, resulting in disregard for the fundamental norms of international law, the use of double standards, the direct intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states, including the use of force.

Commitment to global domination and readiness to use military force unilaterally are declared in the new edition of the recently adopted the Strategy for Homeland Security to implement the US interests². Support for the concept of a multipolar world is growing among the international community. Dozens of large, medium and small states, political, religious, social, economic movements, organizations, associations oppose the US hegemony³.

There is significant formation of new international financial institutions on this background, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (ABII), New Development Bank (NDB BRICS) and a pool of foreign exchange reserves of the BRICS. The Bretton Woods institutions have been unable to carry out internal reforms and too susceptible to the influence of a limited number of countries and the founders, ignoring appeals for developing countries to restructure.

In 2014, the US Congress has blocked plans for reform of the IMF, approved by the members G20. This was a clear signal that one should not rely on internal reforms more⁴. Created financial institutions are intended to supplement the existing international financial system, but their priorities are more in line with the realities of the XXI century.

Russian diplomacy consistently advocates for the collective methods of solving international problems by relying on the international law and the central coordinating role of the UN, for a genuine partnership between the main centers of power on the basis of respecting the right of peoples to determine their own future.

Multipolar world and a new dimension of the SCO

A large number of the mechanisms of multilateral cooperation work in the Eurasian space. A network has been developing between the various international organizations. The issue of conjugating of two major projects – the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEC) and the Silk Road Economic Belt – has been discussed during the SCO summit in Ufa, and the working group has been established.

This initiative would take place under the auspices of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which would serve as a catalyst for development of economic cooperation within its framework⁵. The SCO would become a powerful structure with a real economic component in the conjugation the Chinese project for construction of a network of pipelines, roads and railways costing tens of billions of dollars and the Eurasian Economic Union under the auspices of the SCO⁶.

Today, such flexible network formats of cooperation, aimed at promoting the common interests of member countries, are becoming more popular. The results of the SCO summit in Ufa confirmed this. “The strategy of development of the SCO to 2025” has been validated

by the results of the summit, which defined the main directions of cooperation within the organization for the next decade.

The decision to expand the organization became a historic event: India and Pakistan became full members of the SCO, Belarus got the status of an observer State, the list of partners in the dialogue was expanded – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cambodia and Nepal became partners of the SCO. There is a growing interest in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization from others states seeking to establish a partnership with it. Thus, the SCO is entering a new level of development and becomes an important center of power in the emerging multipolar world.

India and Pakistan got membership in the SCO: interests of new entrants

Extension of this or that integration structure due to admission of new members does not mean increasing its efficiency. A good example is the integration process in the European space, where the European Union (bloated after the collapse of the USSR) has found itself facing a growing number of problems that have been created both of its new members – states of Eastern Europe, and oldies – Greece and other countries, met the financial crisis.

It is necessary to imagine how the solution of the summit in Ufa on the admission of India and Pakistan as full members, adjacent to the southern boundary of the organization, increase the efficiency of the SCO. It should be noted that the SCO activity will spread to the range of countries located outside Central Asian region.

India's joining to full membership of the SCO means accession to its partners in the BRICS – Russia and China, but in the framework of the Eurasian region. Delhi seeks to develop relations with the countries – members of the SCO, which have long-standing historical

ties with it. India takes special interest in developing cooperation in the security sphere, in particular in the fight against terrorism.

India also believes that participation in this organization will lead to the less strained relations with Pakistan. This prevents the penetration of religious extremism and terrorism from Pakistani territory. Delhi hopes that SCO will create the necessary conditions for peaceful coexistence and allow to develop cooperation with all members of this organization, including Pakistan and China.

Participation in the SCO opens up additional opportunities for India to develop relations with the countries of Central Asia. The strategy of “Connect Central Asia policy – CCAP” was presented in 2012, which provides for the establishment of universities, hospitals, IT-centers, joint ventures, the development of air links to promote trade and tourism, joint scientific research and cooperation in the field of defense and security⁷.

Pakistan hopes to get the support of partners in the field of security, becoming a full member of the SCO. Islamabad takes an ambiguous position regarding the Taliban. On the one hand, it has been fighting with their most radical groups, but on the other – it tries to dialogue with the forces under its control. Pakistan is interested in receiving support in the political, military and financial areas by the SCO to counter extremism and terrorism on its territory.

Participation in SCO is also interesting for Islamabad to solve its economic problems, particularly in the energy sphere. The construction of gas pipelines across its territory due to lack of domestic energy resources (Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India and Iran – Pakistan – India), could be implemented within the framework of SCO projects.

Pakistan seeks to participate in future projects of the SCO for the construction of transport corridors through its territory to provide

the output of Central Asia to the sea. All these projects on establishing transcontinental land communication are performed simultaneously with the efforts of the SCO⁸.

Interests of the SCO Observer States

Observer states, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Iran and Belarus are potential candidates for membership in the SCO, although Mongolia, Afghanistan and Belarus have not yet submitted an application for membership in the organization.

Mongolia received this status in the SCO before other observer States, in 2004. However, Ulaanbaatar does not seek to boost its membership in this organization, but tries to keep a balance between Russia, the US and China, as it is necessary to ensure the sovereignty and national security, according to the Mongolian leadership.

In addition, participation in the SCO allows Mongolia to develop multilateral cooperation with all its neighbors. Lack of extremist groups, significant reserves of its own oil and intensification of ties with the West affect its interest in joining the SCO to a certain extent.

The leaders of Russia, China and Mongolia started the format of trilateral summits at the SCO summit in Dushanbe in September 2014. In July 2015 the leaders of the three countries discussed the formation of a tripartite economic corridor at the SCO summit in Ufa. The Chinese project “Silk Road Economic Belt”, Mongolia's initiative “Steppe way” and the Russian project “Trans-Eurasian Railway” can be interfaced and Mongolian-Chinese-Russian joint venture for rail transport logistics is planned to create⁹.

Apparently, the observer status in the SCO and active cooperation with Moscow and Beijing in the trilateral format seems to be optimal for Ulan Bator nowadays.

Iran has a desire to join the SCO on a number of external and internal causes. Hostile relations with Israel and the US, which does not hide the desire to change the current Iranian regime, are still the main external threat. Iranian authorities understand that coups d'état – whether it is “color revolution” or “Arab Spring” – are inspired and supported from abroad and do not exclude the possibility of interference of external forces in the political life of the country using the existing opposition, separatist sentiments of the Azerbaijani and Kurdish minorities¹⁰.

Iran's interest in joining the SCO can be regarded as a desire to obtain international support in the fight against extremism and separatism. The agreed definitions of terms such as terrorism, separatism and extremism were recorded in the Shanghai Convention in 2001, which is extremely important, since the absence of agreement in definitions is often one of the reasons for the impossibility of international cooperation in combating these phenomena¹¹. Tehran needs international support due to the hostility of the Sunni monarchies of the Persian Gulf to it as well, which are annoyed with the actions of Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps in Iraq (against the Islamic state), and the activity of Shiite groups in Syria and Yemen.

Iran has long sought to take a leading position in the Gulf region, and membership in the SCO would increase its relevance and credibility. Moreover, the joint participation in a perspective structure as the SCO, will promote further development of relations and cooperation between Tehran and Moscow, which corresponds to its national interests.

Iran has a favorable geostrategic situation. This country offers access to the open seas and serves as a crossroads for the east-west and north-south trade flows coming from the Central Asian States¹². Therefore, joining the SCO as a full member and the participation in

major infrastructure projects will help to strengthen its position in Central Asia, even where they still leave much to be desired (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan).

There is a pragmatic interest in developing cooperation with the SCO from Kabul, despite the fact that the position of Afghanistan is determined by taking into account the views of Washington. Contact group SCO-Afghanistan, established in 2005, has not led to practical results¹³. Awareness of the need to exit from US custody is brewing in the leadership of the country, the more that the main control functions, including questions of maintaining stability and combating terrorism, have almost been transferred to the Afghan side. In other words, the main burden of the fight against terrorism (with the Taliban) fell on the shoulders of Afghans today. This requires a more independent policy that meets the interests of the country. Kabul needs a real economic and political support from the SCO in this situation already.

It was decided to assign the status of an observer state to the Republic of Belarus at the SCO summit in Ufa – before this country was a SCO dialogue partner for five years. Firstly, the interest of Belarus in the SCO, is defined by the prospects of development of economic cooperation and the desire of Minsk to take part in major infrastructure projects. Transit of goods from China to Poland goes through Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus today. This is one of the branches of the future “Silk Road Economic Belt” and the volume of transit goods will be significantly increased after the implementation of the project.

Participation in this project opens up opportunities for attracting investments and the prospect of creating a large logistics center on the territory of Belarus. It would be quite logical for Belarus to join its partners in the Eurasian Economic Union in the framework of the

Shanghai Cooperation Organization, taking into account plans for conjugation of the EAEC, “Silk Road Economic Belt” and the SCO.

What will the SCO get from expansion?

As noted above, the decision to initiate the procedure for full membership in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization was adopted in respect of India and Pakistan for today. Iran, as observer States, also has applied for full membership in the SCO.

What will the SCO win from adopting new members? It makes you wonder whether the adoption of a group of countries in the SCO a burden for the organization or not, as these countries are not equal by level of development, adhere to different political orientation, their interrelations are not always friendly? Will there be a number of problems that have a negative impact on the activities of the SCO?

China opposed the adoption of India in the SCO until a certain time: the complex bilateral relations have the reason for that. But relations between the two countries are improving in recent years. The idea that India is an independent center of world politics is the basis of Modi government's foreign policy strategy. An important part of this strategy will be the search for ways of understanding with China – in the sphere of foreign economic relations and foreign policy¹⁴. Both countries clearly understand now that they need not competition but cooperation and strategic partnership to achieve mutual benefit and common development. India is capable of becoming the third center of power in the SCO, since it has a powerful emerging economy. India is interested in developing cooperation with the countries of Central Asia. Going to the SCO summit in Ufa, N. Modi visited Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and returning from the summit, he visited Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan. Strengthening the influence of India in Central Asia will mean maintaining stability in the region and a

counterweight to the growing influence of China and the West. This corresponds to Russia's interests, especially taking into account the negotiations on the conclusion of the Agreement on free trade zone between India and the EAEC¹⁵.

Negotiations are conducted on the establishment of mechanisms for financing joint multilateral projects in the SCO framework over the past five years already. No result is due mainly to the lack of consensus among the SCO member states regarding the model of formation of these mechanisms. China has become almost the sole source of external borrowing for Russian Banks and companies after the introduction of sanctions against Russia. Beijing is stepping up credit expansion in Central Asia. Many projects in Central Asia are financed directly by China, in the absence of the Development Bank for the SCO member states, so that Moscow can not control this process, but also to learn about the details of agreements¹⁶.

The process of creating the Development Bank of the SCO can be successful in joining the negotiations of the Indian economy. In turn, the creation of a Special Account (Development Fund) and the Development Bank will provide a stimulus to intensify economic cooperation within the organization and make it more attractive in the international arena.

Acceptance of India and Pakistan into the SCO as full members is important to stabilize the situation in Afghanistan. India is among the ten largest donors to Afghanistan for the period 2002–2009 and has spent about \$ 434 million in the framework of assistance to the country according to the organization of Global Humanitarian Assistance¹⁷.

Pakistan is interested in the implementation of the Turkmenistan – Afghanistan – Pakistan – India (TAPI) gas pipeline project, but combat actions have intensified in the Afghan-Turkmen border during the last year. Potentially, the pipeline can pass through the territories under the

control of “Taliban”¹⁸. Pakistan can play a key role in the Afghan settlement, since it has considerable political weight in the region. India and Pakistan are vitally interested in the fight against ethnic nationalism, separatism and religious extremism, their participation in the activities of the Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure (RATS) of the SCO will enhance its effectiveness.

Unresolved territorial disputes between India on the one hand, and Pakistan and China, on the other hand cause some concerns. But the peaceful resolution of disputes and strengthening confidence appear among the basic principles of the SCO. The interaction between India, Pakistan and China in the SCO framework should promote a constructive dialogue between the countries. ASEAN experience is optimal to strengthen confidence building measures between the members of the SCO, which is going through a gradual build-up of positive mutual interests¹⁹.

The adoption of Iran in the SCO will be solved with the implementation of the agreements reached with the “six” on Iran's nuclear program and the removal of UN Security Council sanctions against Tehran. Iran is an important partner for the SCO. Iran has the capacity to assist in resolving the situation in Afghanistan, having a long border with this country and using its considerable influence in the western provinces. Teheran de facto has occupied a central place in the process of lifting the Afghan economy by channeling funds for the restoration of land routes and in agriculture and energy – the most important sectors for Afghanistan²⁰.

Iran can play an important role in the functioning of the SCO Energy Club, and in the development of major infrastructure projects, having significant reserves of energy and transit potential. Moscow and Beijing are concerned about the possible strengthening of the US position in the changing character of power in Iran, so they are seeking

new forms of rapprochement with Tehran. Of course, the acceptance of new members to the SCO requires the solution of some organizational issues and certain reforms. It may be necessary to introduce English as the third working language.

The SCO is already facing a number of challenges related to the implementation of multilateral projects under the strict principle of consensus. The mechanism of decision-making can be a serious challenge for the organization²¹. Adoption of new members may exacerbate existing contradictions. The current decision-making system can significantly reduce the effectiveness of the SCO at the start of multilateral projects and the creation of mechanisms for their financing. Perhaps the SCO will have to withdraw from the rigid adherence to consensus in the future and adopt decision-making mechanism, acting in ASEAN – it is fixed in Articles 20 and 21 of the Charter of the Association²².

Admission of new countries in the SCO will require some reforms, but will be a good incentive for other states, including current observer states and dialogue partners, will encourage them to join the SCO, that will raise credibility of the organization even more.

Multidisciplinary cooperation between Russia, India and China within the SCO reduces the possibility of extra-regional forces to play on the contradictions between them, gives impetus for the solution of long-standing territorial and other bilateral issues, turns resources at solving common security issues and the implementation of large-scale energy and transport projects²³.

All this can be effective only in establishing mechanisms for financing joint multilateral projects within the organization and implementation of programs of economic cooperation, that the new member states the SCO are interested. The implementation of the “Strategy of development of the SCO to 2025” in practice and

initiatives will be of great importance for conjugation EAEC “Silk Road Economic Belt” and the SCO. Thus, both “countries-beginners” and organization itself will benefit from the reception of new members to the SCO. It is assumed, that all the mechanisms, that are currently established within the organization – economic, political, anti-terrorism – will work in full force and have the expected effect.

In this case, the SCO, as an integration structure, will be an important part of the emerging multipolar world, and will be attractive to other potential candidates, that follow the activities of the organization and share its principles and objectives.

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TURKEY AND THE WAR WITH AN ISLAMIC STATE: GEOPOLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECT

Introduction: Historical significance of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire for Asia Minor

Turkey is a major international actor, and one of the candidates for regional leadership in the Greater Middle East¹, in particular, in Asia Minor. Turkey has the right to be called so not only because of the military-political and economic reasons, but also due to the historical reasons. Turkey is a country with an imperial past, this is the last “Caliphate” united the Muslims of different ethnic origins from the Western Balkans to the Arabian Peninsula. In comparison with the Islamic Republic of Iran, another leader of the Islamic world, that “has died quietly” as a state under the control of the Russian and the British Empires since the 19th century and began its revival only after the Islamic revolution of 1978, Turkey has controlled a number of “problem” regions from the Western Balkans to Asia Minor for a long time and quite successfully, being shattered and weakened by internal factors and external influences. Attempts to destabilize the Greater Middle East through the collapse of Turkey occurred in the 19th

century, when Britain and France tried to commit “first world perestroika” of the 19th century, destroying the Ottoman Empire using a rebellious Egyptian emir Muhammad Ali (according Fasih Badarhana, a senior researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the deputy head of Research Center “Arab dialogue”). A. Manachinsky, an orientalist, notes that the “powder keg of Palestine” was founded as a result of secret agreements in the course of signing the contract, “Saika-Picot” about the separation of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire in May 1916. [2, p. 40]. The collapse of the Soviet Union becomes the “second world perestroika” in the opinion of the aforementioned scientist. But according to the author of the article, the Russian-Turkish war of 1877–1878 should be considered “the second world perestroika”, when the Ottoman Empire had lost control of the Western Balkans, which had led to the global geopolitical catastrophe – the First World War, laying the foundation of all military conflicts of Asia Minor and the Middle East in the 2nd half of the 20th century. Redistribution of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire had led to the creation of the Arab national states in the territories, inhabited by different ethnic and religious groups, including non-Arab origin. The consequences of such redistribution of lands in Asia Minor are observed in Syria and Iraq. Thus, the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire have become the “third world perestroika”, and the transformation of Asia Minor (as well as the Greater Middle East as a whole) in the “zone of instability” and “Eurasian Balkans” was one of its consequences [1, p. 65]. The war with the radical organization “Islamic State of Iraq ante” or “al-Dawla al-Islamiya al-Iraq al-Sham” (ISIS) is the biggest and also the most violent example of the region balkanization.

ISIS: Another Attempt of the World Reorganization

When Turkey and the Arab monarchies presented a united front in the civil war against Bashar al-Assad, the legitimate President of the Syrian Arab Republic, then not only long-standing principle of Turkish foreign policy “no problems with neighbors” has been violated [24], but also a new common enemy of all region – ISIS – has appeared.

ISIS epitomizes Islamic fundamentalism, which has adopted effective policy and PR-technologies, as well as the principles of network warfare, although it was originally created as a counterweight to Islamist organization “Al-Nusra Front.” In addition, ISIS engaged in illegal trade in oil and oil products: according to the Ministry of Oil Industry of Turkey, ISIS revenues from the sale of Iraqi oil are amounted to \$ 1 million / day during the first two weeks of July 2014 [25]. Terrorist activities of ISIS can lead to a revision of the boundaries of the Greater Middle East, formed after World War I, as published in Foreign Policy, [17; 16], i.e. after the “third world perestroika” resulted of the collapse the Ottoman Empire.

Terrorist activities of ISIS are aimed at further destabilization of Syria and Iraq, which are the “soft underbelly” of Ankara, so the situation is dangerous for Turkey as from the position of regional security and from the economic perspective, because a further escalation of the conflict will affect the investment attractiveness of the region and, as a result, the capital may flow into “more stable” regions. There is a geopolitical explanation for anxiety Ankara. Nowadays there is a change in the world order: the mortgage crisis in the US in 2008 and the consequent “New Great Depression” have demonstrated the failure of the world economic system, based on financial capital. Russian President Vladimir Putin noted in his speech at the plenary meeting of the discussion club “Valdai” that if change of the world

order is not accompanied by a global war or a global clash, then a chain of intense conflicts of a local character.[3] In fact, the situation with ISIS in Asia Minor and the broader Middle East is quite logical on the background of the failure of the financial capital model: the similar financial crises in 1913 and 1929 resulted in two world wars and the collapse of the existing world order system for that period. The collapse of the world order on the basis of the First and Second World Wars resulted in strengthening the position of finance capital through infusion of investment in the destroyed economy based on the industrial capital (obvious example – the Marshall Plan for Europe after World War II).

For today there is a similar situation in the world: the US economy, based on financial capitalism and built on speculation and the principle of “casino” (according to D. Henderson, economic expert, USA) [12], begins to give way, and the proof is the emergence of China on the first place in the world in terms of GDP and the transition of the USA into the second place. The logic of the United States and other countries, which economies are based on financial capital, becomes clear: to create the conditions for countries with industrial capital, under which they will be dependent on countries with financial capital (like after two world wars).

By a strange coincidence, ISIS situation is developed in the region, where economies are based precisely on industrial capital. Turkey has felt the negative impact of the systemic crisis of financial capital to its economy even before the crisis of the world order: in 2013, experts noted that linking of Turkish business to the banking system of the EU have created problems to fulfill their obligations for Turkish operators and financial groups (the reason – financial instability EU market) [10]. ISIS armed forces came to the southern and south-eastern border of Turkey on a number of areas, so the imposition

of a direct conflict clearly has two objectives: geopolitical – reformatting of the Greater Middle East and the entire Eurasian continent through it, and economic – returning to the era of financial capital domination at the expense of weakening or destruction of industrial capital positions, including Turkish.

2. Turkey, Iraqi Kurdistan and ISIS: Economic Points of Contact

The escalation of the conflict in Iraq has demonstrated unproductive policy of an alliance with radical Islamists in the fight against Syrian President Assad since the attack of ISIS units on the city of Mosul in early January 2014. President Erdogan and the Davutoglu government do not intend to involve Turkey into a military confrontation with militants of ISIS, despite Ankara's imperial past and the concept of “neo-Ottomanism”, elevated to the level of state policy², but they use the military forces of Iraqi Kurds – Peshmerga.

Turkey has to participate in the fight against ISIS, at least indirectly, because of the Iraqi Kurdistan, since Ankara extends the scope of cooperation with it and tries to play an increasing role in the internal politics of this autonomous region of Iraq, and Iraqi Kurdistan acquires the status of “strategic depth” – territory of neighboring state, entering into a zone of immediate interests of another international actor. [4] Turkey considers Iraqi Kurdistan as its “strategic depth” in Iraq that can be described as “hydrocarbon policy” [4, pp. 232–235], i.e. a combination of geopolitics³ and oil and gas economic interests: Ankara and Arbil have been negotiating the construction of gas- and pipelines to Turkey since the beginning of this year, ignoring the official prohibition of the Iraqi authorities and in spite of all the protests from Washington and Baghdad. [7] Oil and gas interests of Turkey in Iraqi Kurdistan are explained with the aspiration of Turkey to diversify

the sources of oil and gas for the Turkish industry. Today, 58% of all gas supplies to Turkey come from Russia. [14] Also, Turkey is objectively interested in further diversification of gas suppliers due to excessively high price of Iranian gas, which is the only alternative to the Russian, in terms of the volume of deliveries for today⁴ (\$ 505 / 1000m³ at the price of Russia's \$ 400 / 1000m³) [26], and potential gas supplies from Iraqi Kurdistan would do Ankara less dependent on Tehran and Moscow, including on issues of geopolitics.

Ankara was in a difficult position regarding participation or non-participation in the campaign against ISIS due to the problem of energy security. Turkey has been accused of illegal deliveries of Kurdish oil to the international market, particularly in Israel, and Turkish Energy Minister has been even forced to provide explanations. [22] Recently there have been accusations against Turkey in secret collaboration with the militants ISIS regarding resale of the oil, produced in the occupied fields in northern Iraq, as well as the supply of diesel fuel from Iraq's oil, produced in refineries, controlled by ISIS, in Syria. [25]. In this regard, Ankara reluctantly has provided for the Peshmerga a pass through its territory to the Syrian frontier city Kobanov, beleaguered by militants of ISIS.

3. Economic reasons for non-participation of Ankara in the military operation against ISIS

Turkish President Erdogan made it clear during his visit to France that the Turkish armed forces would not be directly involved in battles with ISIS [11, c. 1]. The main efforts of Erdogan and his prime minister Davutoglu were aimed at resolving the corruption scandal, that occurred ahead of the elections in 2014, so Ankara has avoided military settlement of the situation at the borders of the southern and south-western Anatolia, populated by Kurds mainly, disloyal to Ankara

(opposed to Kurds in Iraq). In our opinion, this is not the only reason for the reluctance of Ankara to join the active opposition to ISIS. Using the Peshmerga creates a counterbalance to military forces of the Syrian Kurds, that will be able to obtain political weight and return to the issue of creating a Kurdish autonomy in northern Syria again in case of a successful military campaign. This situation represents a serious problem for Turkey [15], because it creates another precedent for Kurdish autonomy and provides the ground for the Turkish Kurds' requirements to create a similar autonomous region in Turkey. Thus, Ankara is trying to play ahead, taking an indirect part in the fight against ISIS. It is common knowledge that politics is the most concentrated expression of economics. Analysis of materials from leading Turkish media has proved that indirect participation of Turkey in the fight against ISIS can be explained by its difficult economic situation. [9; 19; 24]. The analysis allowed to identify the following economic reasons for non-participation in active opposition to ISIS:

Decline of the Consumer Confidence Index

Consumer Confidence Index (CCI) is an indicator of readiness of the population to the cost of purchase of consumer goods. According to the Turkish national statistical agencies, the indicators of the index decreased onto 4.6% in October in comparison to the same period in September. Analysis of the data showed that there was a reduction of all categories of consumer confidence in Turkey:

a) Index of Expectations of the General Economic Situation for 2015 fell by 10% in October in comparison with the same period in September. This means that the number of people expected economic improvement over the next 12 months, decreased in October, which means a reduction of objective factors of potential growth of the Turkish economy;

b) Index of Unemployment Expectations over the next 12 months decreased in October by 6.3% in comparison to the same period in September. The reason for the fall is the result of increasing the number of people, fleeing rising unemployment. These fears are substantiated, because the unemployment rate was 9.8% in July this year, that is more than 3 times higher than the permissible level of the EU, where Turkey has been trying to join unsuccessfully for more than 50 years;

c) Index of Expectations of growth in household income over the next 12 months decreased by 1.1% in comparison with those in September;

d) Index of Growth of Savings increased by 9.4% on a monthly basis. This is a pessimistic forecast, because indicator is only 26.1 points (the forecast is considered to be optimistic for the index in the range of 100-200 points). General Dynamics is downward for 10 months in 2014, growth in the consumer confidence index was registered only in September [23].

Loss of Four Positions in the Ranking of Business Activity of Doing Business in 2015

In 2015, Turkey will fall by 4 positions in Doing Business rating of the World Bank in the light of the escalation of the conflict in the southern borders of Turkey, in spite of the fact that Turkey has improved indicators in the framework of rating to 3 points in 2014 [21], and the outlook for index of business activity of Doing Business is expected positive until the end of 2014 [20]. Subsidence of Turkey's position can have the following negative effects: first, it may adversely affect the level of its investment attractiveness, and secondly, 'it may lead to an outflow of capital from the country.

General Aggravation of External Economic Relations Due to the Shortsighted Foreign Policy of Ankara

According to the Turkish Exporters Association, Turkey's exports to Iraq was reduced in 2014 because of the terrorist activities of ISIS. As a result, suppliers of the United Kingdom have taken Turkey's niche. It was a strong blow to the positions of Turkish exporters, as Iraq is the second largest market for Turkish goods.

Turkey has reduced the trade turnover with Egypt and Syria because of the foreign policy conflict. The Turkish economy has not recovered from the fall of trade with Damascus by 69% so far since the beginning of the civil war in Syria. Egyptian media are calling to boycott Turkish products because of Erdogan's support, which was provided to President Mohammed Mursi (now deposed) and the Islamist organization "Muslim Brotherhood" in Egypt. In addition, the Egyptian authorities have declared the non-renewal of the Agreement on International Trade for the above reasons, which expired in April 2014. Non-renewal of the agreement means rise in price of goods transportation up to \$ 12,000 for a truck, that will reduce the competitiveness of Turkish goods in the end.

Disappointing forecasts of experts about the prospects for the export of Turkish goods, ousting of Turkey by the United Kingdom from the leading positions in Iraq, and the increasing presence of China in the countries of Asia Minor, may lead to a significant deterioration in the Turkish economy, and will be an additional argument for the movement of capital in the "more favorable regions", that quite corresponds to the plans of international actors, whose foundation of the economy is financial capital.

Conclusion

Analysis of the geopolitical situation in Asia Minor considering the economic situation in Turkey indicates Ankara's reluctance to be drawn into an armed conflict with ISIS due to the further aggravation of its economic indicators. Study of changes in the world order in historical aspect showed that weakening of the positions of Turkey led to the escalation of conflicts in the region of Asia Minor on a regular basis. Thus, Ankara restricts itself by diplomatic statements only and providing the Iraqi Peshmerge with the passage through its territory to the besieged Syrian Kurds, as a result of the above mentioned situation, combined with internal political tensions due to the corruption scandal, miscalculations in foreign policy, accusations of economic cooperation with ISIS and concern because of the worsening of the Kurdish question in Turkey. So Turkey is determined to prevent the reduction of its investment attractiveness and falling income levels of its citizens.

Ankara undermines its prestige of the international actor, a contender for leadership of the entire Greater Middle East. This situation is beneficial to the Islamic Republic of Iran, it will strengthen its international position in the fight against ISIS, depriving Ankara the opportunity to diversify oil and gas supplies from Iraqi Kurdistan, (where the positions of the pro-Iranian movement “for change” steel reinforced), or the ability to achieve revision of gas prices from Iran.

Turkey faces the threat of another global perestroika” with the consequent collapse of its economy based on industrial capital. Radical revision of its foreign policy and rapprochement with international actors such as Russia, China and Iran (designated as the major players in opposition to financial capital in the “Valdai speech” of Vladimir Putin) can change the situation for Ankara. It is believed that Turkey can not go for rapprochement with Iran because of the historical, ideological and geopolitical reasons, however, such a precedent took

place in 2010–2011. Ankara acted as guarantor of the transparency of the transaction for the purchase of Iran's uranium ore in Brazil and showed a trend of displacement of its foreign policy towards Asia [18]; then it showed the real strength of Turkey and caused “serious concern” in the West. Last year, Erdogan twice put ultimatums to the European Union, announcing a possible revision of Ankara's foreign policy and a choice of his country's course to join the SCO instead of the policy of the EU.

Erdogan's statements about the rapprochement with the SCO, the strengthening of economic cooperation with Russia amid escalating economic and geopolitical confrontation between Moscow and the West [6], as well as the situation around ISIS, gives reasons to make an assumption about the possibility of another rapprochement of Ankara with the ideas of Eurasianism. This will enable Turkey to take its rightful place in the emerging Eurasian geopolitical center of power in the new multipolar world.

Notes

- ¹ The term “Greater Middle East” is used in the modern theory of international relations for combining of regions of North Africa, the classic Middle Eastern and Central Asia, [5] in one concept
- ² Despite the failure in Bulgaria [24], the implementation of the policy of “New Ottomanism” in the Balkans based on the concept of soft power has been successful as a whole [13].
- ³ It is about realization of the concept of “new Ottomanism”: Erdogan achieved the political subordination of Iraqi Kurdistan before his election as President, forcing official Arbil close all Turkish schools in the territory of the subject of Iraq, opened at the expense of Fethullah Gulen, his main political and ideological opponent [8].
- ⁴ There is Azerbaijani gas at \$ 330 / 1000m³, but its volume is not enough to meet the needs of the Turkish economy. [26]
- ⁵ Ranking of the World Bank, responsible for the comfort of doing business in 189 countries.

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