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MODERN RUSSIA:
IDEOLOGY, POLITICS, CULTURE
AND RELIGION

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In late 2014 a new edition of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation, which appeared almost at the peak of exacerbated global confrontation, was approved. The essence of the conflict is the irreconcilable conflict of states and civilizations, on the one hand, and transnational structures, on the other. The path to the settings of the doctrine was long and its crystallization is still ongoing. The author assumes that a brief history of military doctrine can be started from the mid-1980s, when the Soviet leadership proclaimed the unconditional priority of human values over the national interests. Implementation of this

plan has led to unilateral concessions on our part. The Soviet Union made a number of restrictions, officially proclaiming: inadmissibility of the use of the Armed Forces in military conflicts, that were not associated with the defense of the country and allies directly against external aggression; the inadmissibility of the start of military action against any country first; no first use of nuclear weapons; lack of desire for military superiority.

Military directives were purely defensive in nature and implemented down to the tactical level, disorienting the staff of the army and navy, perceiving them as defeatism. After the defeat of the coup in 1991, compliance with the directives of the doctrine was not in favor, as well as partners of our country did not infringe upon their interests.

Implementation of this plan has led to unilateral concessions on our part. The Soviet Union made a number of restrictions, officially proclaiming: inadmissibility of the use of the Armed Forces in military conflicts, that were not associated with the defense of the country and allies directly against external aggression; the inadmissibility of the start of military action against any country first; no first use of nuclear weapons; lack of desire for military superiority.

The author points out that in August 2008, one and a half years before the adoption of the doctrine, Russia had to participate in the five-day war in the South Caucasus. The U.S. stood behind the regime of M. Saakashvili and was actually one of the parties of the conflict. Actions of Washington have had ideological underpinnings in the form of constant and never stopped striving for the world domination. It should be noted that in late 2010, a few months after the release of the decree of the president of Russia on the approval of the Military Doctrine, the Arab Spring has started, violent regime change has occurred in several countries of the Islamic world. The U.S. openly supported the events, being guided by its vision of the world order again.

Regulations on the world development, characterized by the rivalry of value orientations and models of development, as well as the gradual redistribution of influence in favor of new centers of economic growth and political attraction, were first fixed in the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation of 2014. In fact, the displacement of geopolitical confrontation in the ideological sphere has been fixed. It is correct to assert that Russia is ready to defend its system of values, including through military force.

Policy always exists within the coordinate system "Ally – Opponent". A nation is created per se by its original system of values, different from others. If there is a question of defending them, it means that the opponent behaves aggressively and forcibly imposes his values. Several years ago a book of famous American journalist Walter Russell Mead «Power, Terror, Peace and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk» came out in Russia with the support of the U.S. Embassy. The author explains in detail what the American project of a comprehensive world order is.

The Americans have always believed, beginning with the early years of their history, that their values, both religious and political, must dominate the planet. Institutionally, such installations have already formalized in the 1820s in the form of the infamous Monroe Doctrine, which became in fact the first U.S. military and geopolitical doctrine.

The need for the implementation of trade and economic interests of the United States led the global expansion to ensure the safety of doing business with the support of national military force, if necessary. The author notes that the most competitive advantages for the capital were created. Eurasia has become a sphere of special attention of the United States and its elites. On the territory of Eurasia, in principle, should not be a dominant power, capable of bringing together the resources of the supercontinent and challenge America. In other words, classical geopolitics came into its own.

The U.S. believes wholeheartedly in the inadmissibility of the competition in the world, because it inevitably leads to wars. Therefore, the author writes, The U.S. can not allow the formation of that world order where other countries could be competitors, since such a procedure would allow build a system that could put an end to millennia of conflicts between the great powers.

Washington and the world financial elite are ready to take any steps to prevent the restriction of spheres of influence of the dollar. The term "power of attraction" means values and ideas. Among the fundamental American values are: personal success, self-reliance, free enterprise. The U.S. created a network of military bases around the world to achieve its goals to maintain stability. This is intended to show the superiority of the U.S. to all countries and the futility of trying to compete with it in a military capacity. The power of attraction is a network of economic institutions, which involves other countries into the U.S. economic system so that it would be difficult to leave. America built this power on two grounds: the international monetary system and free trade. Bretton Woods agreement made the dollar as the world currency system, that has facilitated the task of taking the role of locomotive of the world economy for the U.S. itself.

The author writes that the revival of Russia, demonstration of its values and interests and readiness to defend them, the declaration of the desire to preserve their own identity, the application for subjectivity in the world politics, the formation of others centers of the world and the security institutions were unexpected and unacceptable for the West.

It is characteristic, that the U.S. believes that any fact of refusal of a particular country from subjection to American pressure is a public humiliation for the United States.

The author notes that American presidents periodically say publicly about their special relationship with God, and even of communion with him, quoting Scripture. Ultimately, the power and strength of America – in all guises – ensure the maintenance

of its status through the establishment of so-called «New world order», Pax Americana.

The U.S. believes that its world hegemony is natural, that American power supports and protects the peace in the world. Global political strategy of the U.S. is characterized by pragmatism and cynicism.

Russia will be able to get rid of many illusions and unreasonable expectations after reading the American project. There is no difference for our country, who in power is – a representative of the Democrats or the Republicans. Russia will remain an existential opponent of the U.S., under the conditions of existence of fundamental differences in value orientations. The author notes that the Western tradition of Russophobia, implying a priori negative and biased attitude to almost any Russian action has deep roots. Foreign researchers recognize that in the 16–17 centuries, Russia was perceived in the West as a completely alien country, different from the traditional East only belonging to Christianity.

Within a short period, Russia has formed a clear position on key issues of world development. This includes the imposition by force of "universal" values, resulting in numerous casualties, regime changes, the abandonment of the traditional political system, the loss of sovereignty. The change of perception on the preparation and application of military force is a legitimate response reaction of Russia on the development of the political situation in the country and abroad. Therefore, the military doctrine is a declaration of Russia vision of goals, conditions, limits, forms and consequences due to the use of means of armed violence, military force.

The military doctrine of the new edition is designed to bring to the target groups (using strong formulation) for what tasks the Russian state prepares the military force, and why and when it can be applied.

The author notes the emergence of a trend in the doctrine, for the recognition of non-military tools used in contemporary

political struggle as a weapon. He considers that counteraction requires joint efforts of the state, society and the individual in the Russian Federation defense. But this idea requires its development, as a number of foreign countries have been implementing officially concept of total social spiritual defense for a long time, which are based on the involvement of all citizens in national defense, defending national values.

There is a coordinated use of, not a regular army (yet), but many of extremist, neo-religious, pseudo human rights organizations, organizations of sexual minorities and others.

At the end of the article the author notes that the military doctrine, as a political document, is designed to target and guide the Armed Forces on a certain mode of action at the same time. This quality is an important criterion for the assessment of such a document, as the military doctrine.

The author of the abstract – N. Ginesina

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The whole of modern civilization is in search of its identity, writes the author. The search for identity indicates a crisis of the functioning form of self-identity, its inability to perform its functions. Identity crisis is the crisis of the basic values on national, religious and social issues. For Russia, the problem of identity is fundamental due to the diversity of peoples,

languages, cultures and religions that make up a particular civilization. Ignoring the specifics of the Russian identity and the desire to copy the Western identity discredits democratic values so necessary for the Russian society. In this connection, occurrence in domestic humanitarian tradition of not only Westernism, but also of Slavophilism, which reflects a number of specific features of Russian civilization, is not accidental. Today's discussions, the debates about the specifics of Russia and its relations with the West and the East are the continuation and intensification of the problems traditional for Russia. Such debates contribute to self-consciousness of the Russian society as a particular social-cultural phenomenon, to understanding of the interdependence of various cultural traditions.

In this connection the thoughts of one of the prominent representatives of the Russian philosophical thought, I. Ilyin, about democracy and the possibility of using Western forms of democracy in the Russian context are of considerable interest. I. Ilyin proceeded from the assumption that all peoples are specific as well as their territories, religions, moralities, cultures, and he considered doctrinaire the call for democracy without taking this diversity into account, only because democratic forms of governance work well in Sweden or Holland. The attempts of directory introduction of American or Western European-style democracy in Russia could not be successful inherently. Fundamental socio-cultural differences between the West and Russia are obvious. Democratic forms of life and democratic form of governance should be prepared by the whole course of civilizational development, including history, mentality and values. Ignoring these circumstances, obvious for any politician of liberal education, some politicians in Russia in the late 1980s and the first half of the 1990s began democratic transformation in the Western manner. The need for broad humanitarian culture as the basis for making optimal management decisions related to the actions of man and society is obvious. The thing is not to

discredit the idea of democracy by unprepared measures for introduction of democratic institutions.

The identity crisis in an extremely metaphysical sense is the crisis of modern man, their basic properties. Globalization, setting in motion the value-philosophical foundations of modern civilization, has put not only and not so much private and economic questions, but rather the question "Who are we?" (Samuel Huntington). Globalization is a metatheoretic concept encompassing many heterogeneous processes occurring in the world. And the more countries and cultures are involved in this process, the more complex are the relations of countries and peoples within the new community. A kind of a model of globalization is the European Union, which brings together dozens of countries, with their traditions, values, rules of law, history. The experience of solving by the European Union of the growing number of problems can help the development of global models of interaction of cultures and peoples in the future. The history of Europe, including both tragic trials and great achievements, demonstrates the potential of the basic values of the European civilization. However, it faces intractable problems too. Therefore, "Westernization", as the core of globalization, faces no fewer problems. Russia is the country, which brought together numerous nations and cultures, and it may also be regarded as a kind of a model of globalization.

The current phase of globalization is unprecedented in history, because the question in this case is to find a model that would unite all people in the world, regardless of civilizational, cultural, religious and national differences. Such challenge is issued for the first time in the history of mankind. The future will tell whether this problem is solvable. Today, the process of globalization confronted the USA claim to world domination in virtue of its economic and military power. This poses challenges to the world, for the "clash of civilizations" could become the end of human civilization. Mankind has entered the new millennium in the context of a universal identity crisis. In this case the

question is not so much about the crisis of individual human manifestations, such as, in particular, forms of identity as a national, cultural, religious one, but about the crisis of human identity. The question concerns the essence of the human "Self".

The fundamental nature of the situation is that the identity of the "Self" as Man is questioned. Such a categorical question about Man is put in the cases where the original, fundamental, sense-making properties of Man are questioned, i.e. the properties that make us human. Today, men do not only destroy the environment, but destroy themselves, their world of values. Making the advantage, the profit their highest value, man drove to periphery of the spiritual space the values of goodness, justice and compassion. This is one of the reasons that led to strengthening the position of religious identity in the modern world. Thus, we can say that at the turn of the millennium mankind encountered a universal identity crisis. We are speaking about the start of breaking the forms of identity in various fields which has been functioning for a long time.

Identity as a concept is broader than some particular identity – national, religious, professional, etc. The fundamental nature of the analyzed situation is that for the first time not individuals or nations, but Man faced the question of the identity of the "Self" as Man. Actualization of this problem shows that industrial and post-industrial Man of the beginning of the third millennium, who defines the parameters of civilization development, has exhausted themselves, they cannot follow the same path they has followed until now. The problem is that modern people create in this way extremely complicated or insoluble problems of planetary nature. At the same time people give rise to the problems developing according to their own laws and "inaction" is just as dangerous as further progress on the path that led to a system-wide crisis. In such a situation, people are required to act, but to act with regard to the risk of the factors that they gave rise to. People have to realize, if they want to stop destructing themselves and, therefore, the nature, that they are

the main source of global problems. Thus, man should take responsibility for the crisis, which continues to aggravate. The largest contribution to the destruction of nature is brought by industrialized countries. Modern technological development is a source of many global problems. Science and technology in the modern world indirectly contribute to the deterioration of the quality of nature, and in social terms to the destruction of personality.

If you approach in view of the above ideas to the dynamics of civilization processes in Russia at the end of 20 – the beginning of 21 centuries, the fundamental nature of the problems met by Russia, trying to follow the path of Western civilization, taking into account its interests, becomes clear. On this way, it met with the complex issues arising from its history and mentality. The dispute between Westerners and Slavophiles in Russia, as well as the current tension between the West and the East, according to the researcher, can be understood in its entirety only in the context of the problem of identity. The complexity of the phenomenon of Russia is that Russia is neither the West not the East. Russia is heterogeneous within itself. So often the ideas that are considered Western and are supported by one part of the society are rejected by the other part of it, as contradicting to national interests. It prevents Russia from consistent implementation of certain strategic ideas adopted at the national level.

The principal difficulties that Russia met at the end of 20 – beginning of 21 century are associated not only with domestic Russian problems, fundamentally important as they are. The problem is that modern civilization has completed the second millennium not only with a great success in the field of science and technology, spread of democratic institutions, but also with unprecedented global problems, the solution of which determines the fate of mankind. In such a situation competition for natural and intellectual resources is intensifying, aggravating the international tension. Naturally, in a system like this man

often has no possibility to preserve their personality, because they must conform to the rules of functioning of huge bureaucratic organization, leveling their employees, forming man of mass.

The question of the identity of Russia is complicated by many factors, in particular, its multi-religious nature, multi-ethnicity, change of its status in the world and the search for its new place in the globalizing world. These and other factors led to the fact that the ideas of the Enlightenment have not fully become a natural part of the Russian society. Starting from the Modern Time, many countries, including Russia, since the rule of Peter I, take Europe for the basis of the historical development. This often leaves aside the question of the specificity of the European identity and its compatibility with the Russian mentality. F.M. Dostoevsky argued that the Russians have two motherlands: Russia and Europe. Underestimating or ignoring the thoughts of Dostoevsky by Western and Slavophil opponents prevents a deeper comprehension of the problem. Russia, according to Berdyaev, must perceive itself both the East and the West, a connector between the two worlds, not a divider. In fact we are speaking about the different faces of the same European identity, enriched with the originality of the Russian mentality, which is most profoundly expressed in the works by Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy. The "Eastern" Russia is not a disadvantage, but a factor that enriches European identity, expanding the boundaries of discourse, emphasizes K. Delokarov.

However, the situation is complicated by the fact that in Russia not only the "East and West" "meet", but also the world religions such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism. It is in Russia where most attention is paid to the general concept that is contained in the world's religions. Focusing on common conceptual invariants of the world's religions is essential for developing a common approach to global challenges, but also for confronting creation of a unipolar world headed by the U.S. In today's world the problems are multiplying because of the

Western civilization's desire to assign a universal nature to its values. Both "Westernization" and Americanization have exhausted their civilizational resources. On must use the values of not only of science and technology but also those of the world religions. It is within the framework of the world religions that the problems of justice, compassion, morality, so necessary to modern society, functioning by market rules, come to the fore. All this demonstrates the need for a new model of civilization development, combining truth and virtue, material and spiritual, – concludes the researcher.

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PLACE AND ROLE OF ISLAM
IN REGIONS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION,
THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

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The author analyzes the key threats to regional security of the Republic of Daghestan, paying special attention to threats in the information sphere, one of which is the lack of a clearly defined information policy that meets national goals, values and interests.

The author notes that security has always been the most important task of the state, so widely seen in the works of both domestic and foreign scientists. The solution for security management in the Russian regions is recognized as one of the top priorities of regional policy in the last decade. The implementation of this task is shown a conceptual justification for the control of Russian national security at the national level first.

These issues are the core of studies by Russian scientists. These problems are manifested in the North Caucasus in the most severe degree. The collapse of the Russian Federation, as the continued collapse of the Soviet Union, is the aim of a number of political forces in Russia and abroad. In addition to the Chechen radicals, a number of representatives of the counter-elites in Daghestan and other republics of the North Caucasus, advocate for separation from Russia and the formation of independent states or federations of ethnic or religious basis. These circles are supported by certain forces in Turkey and the Middle East, considering Russia as a traditional enemy, as well as historical oppressors of the Muslim peoples.

The author lists the important government documents, designed to solve these problems, and the implementation of them will be a mobilizing factor for the development of national economy, improving the quality of life of the population, political stability in society, strengthening national defense, national security and the rule of law, improving the competitiveness and international prestige.

At present, more and more attention of the scientific community, is given to the problems of formation of the state information policy in special conditions – in conditions of information confrontation of new means and methods of political struggle, which include the operations of information-psychological war, especially dangerous in the information society. Since the target of information warfare is the human consciousness, the information warfare can be defined as a purposeful impact on the consciousness in order to manipulate a person.

State information policy of the Russian Federation in the conditions of information-psychological war is an activity of the system of federal bodies of state power to counter the actions (events) of external information and psychological aggression and operations of information-psychological war directed against the Russian Federation.

The author notes that the relevance of this study is due to events that are happening in the world today: in Ukraine, the emergence of "Islamic State", the consequences of "color revolutions", the events in the Arab East. Analysis of the impact of the above events requires special attention to the development and implementation of state information policy in the country as a whole, and in the Republic of Daghestan.

Many scientists and public activists concluded that the reason for the continuing terrorist threat in Russia in general and in the North Caucasus Federal District, in particular, is the activity of terrorist and religious-extremist underground, fueled from abroad. Gang leaders aim to overthrow the secular authorities in several regions of the country and to create a pseudo-theocratic state with Sharia form of government.

The terrorists have launched large-scale promotional activities for the dissemination of terrorist ideology, aimed at providing support for them among the population and in the recruitment of new members of gangs, in order to achieve this goal.

The author considers the other reasons for extremist and terrorist activities as well. According to the expert and mass surveys, dissemination of ideas of extremism and terrorism in the country is the result of: social polarization and poverty of a part of the population; corruption and crime. They are followed by: the decline in production and unemployment violation of social justice and inequality before the law, management inefficiencies, the discontent of the population, of the power elite struggle for power, complex religious relations.

Currently, there are two parallel competing approaches in the North Caucasus to counter the armed underground. One is based on the stringent security practices and intolerant religious policy, and most clearly be seen in Chechnya. In another, "soft measures" are actively used, and religious policies are more liberal. This model is most clearly realized in Daghestan.

The author concludes that the opposition to the ideology of extremism consists of a complex of organizational, socio-political, awareness-raising measures to prevent the spread of opinion in society, ideas, reasons, aimed at a radical change of the existing social and political institutions of the state.

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The author believes that the relevance of referring to the theme of women is caused by negative developments in Russian society today, which is undergoing the crisis of the family institution, the depreciation of family, spiritual and moral values.

It is impossible to overcome these tendencies without using the potential and historical experience of different faiths and peoples. The theme of women in Islam is relevant at all times

and therefore the aim of this work is to study the image of the present Tatar woman of a Muslim.

The thesis of the lack of rights of women in Islam is perceived as an axiom, though it is far from the truth and comes from misperceptions of Muslim traditions and values by Europeans. It is forgotten that women were placed in a subordinate position to men until recently in Western civilization. The image of a Tatar woman is usually associated with the so-called purdah, existing in a subordinate position in her family and having limited social rights. The belonging of the Tatars to the Islamic world has contributed to the consolidation of the stereotype in the public mind to a great extent.

The theme of women in the Tatar literature was further developed in the national journalism. The author notes that the social and creative activity of Muslim intellectuals led the theme of women in a number of pressing social problems of the Muslim world, demanding immediate solution.

The author writes that Moses Bigiyev believed that Islam could be proud of deference and respect for a woman, having a number of advantages compared to other religious systems.

R. Fahretdin and Z. Kamali paid close attention to the benefits that Islam gave women in comparison with other religious laws and regulations in the era of Jahiliyyah (ignorance). Islam abolished in a number of inhuman rules and customs, gave women the right to divorce under certain circumstances, which is not found in other religious systems. Thus, the intellectuals believed that Islam, has reformed the family and marriage relations, improving their legal and ethical framework.

Muhammad Al-Nazhip Tuntari listed the rights of women, established by the Islamic religion:

1. Equality of rights – a man and woman are equal.

2. The right to obtain knowledge. Men and women are equal, and the acquisition of knowledge is an obligation, from the point of view of the Islamic religion. In ancient times, there were

many women among scientists, even those who were muftis and issue fatwas, taught various Islamic disciplines.

3. Cultural law. Here women and men are equal, too. A woman can engage in trade, give gifts, pay waqf without the permission of her husband. She has the right to dispose of the selection means.

4. The right to participate in public life, women can participate in important public affairs, they can express their opinion. Shariah has allowed women to participate in public and political affairs.

5. The right of participation of women in wars and battles. Even if it is not necessary for women, but in the early centuries of Islam, many women took part in the wars.

6. The right to choose a spouse.

7. The right to give divorce belongs to a man, but a man and woman have the same right to divorce in displaced situations.

8. Polygamy.

9. The right to inheritance and testimony. Muhammad Al-Nazhip Tuntari said that a man had has the ability to lead. Leadership involved the ability to manage the house, to manage resources, the ability to lead the family business. In conclusion, Muhammad Al-Nazhip Tuntari warned about the non-fulfillment of the duties of men. If men did not follow the duties assigned to them, then women would not comply with their obligations, and would be forced to perform the duties of men, which contradicts their natural essence.

The author concludes that each of these Muslim intellectuals examined a number of issues, among which are the following:

1. The contribution of Islam in changing attitudes towards women.

2. Problems of the hijab, the inequality in inheritance laws and testimony in court.

3. The essence of female nature.

4. Problems of the relationship of husband to wife. Polygamy and talaq (divorce).

5. The moral qualities of wife and her responsibilities.

The author of the abstract – N. Ginesina

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Today's media and social situation in Europe is characterized by marginalization of the Islamic discourse, – said author. Marginalization means removal of the Moslem thought to the periphery of intellectual space. Such a situation is relevant for the secular states where Islam is not related to the state ideology and Moslems are a minority. Marginalization manifests itself in the following: first, creation of a negative image of Islam, support of Islamophobia (Islam is sometimes just ignored as a subject of no interest); second, Moslems are not involved in the intellectual elite activities connected with generation of meanings; third, the Islamic discourse receives no representation at the grassroots level, it is not integrated in the actual agenda.

Islamophobia has become a real problem of the Western media after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the conflict in the Middle East and a number of scandals with cartoons. Since

the beginning of zero years in the Western discourse Islam is closely associated with terrorism, extremis, medieval worldview and unwillingness to integrate. This reflects the ethno- and Eurocentrism of the West, which does not receive a different value system. However, in recent years in Europe there has appeared a positive trend to remedy the situation: in particular, wind-down of Islamophobic rhetoric and increase of Moslem media representation. In Russia, the situation in this respect is more favorable, though sometimes excesses occur here too, including in the federal media (usually in connection with the problem of integration of immigrants).

Another manifestation of marginalization is the fact that Moslems are not involved in the intellectual elite activities connected with generation of meanings. Activity of the elite plays a crucial role in forming up of intellectual space and determining the development strategy of the society. Since Moslems are in the minority in these countries, they cannot include Islam in the development strategy. In Russia, in the period of intellectual revival of the 1990s – beginning of zero years the elite was mostly interested in the heritage of Russian classical philosophers – Slavophiles, essentialists, Eurasianists. At the same time the issue of updating the Moslem theological heritage was not brought up. M. Bigiyev, Sh. Mardzhani, G. Kursavi – their names are almost unknown to the Russian intellectual elite. Only recently, thanks to the efforts of Islamic scholars, this subject has begun to gain popularity, in particular, the concept of the Russian Islam, development of I. Gasprinsky's ideas, is being elaborated.

Finally, the third factor of marginalization is the lack of the Islamic discourse at the grassroots level. It means that it is absent in everyday discourse, e.g. in the discourse of the media. Islamic subjects are ejected from the media it causes a sense of alienation among the Moslem population. And it plays into the hands of those radicals, who emphasize the negative attitude of society towards Moslems, the absence of a strategy of integration, the lack of willingness to recognize their identity. The growth of

radicalism is thus ensured by ignoring Islamic topics in intellectual and media space. Fighting radicalism by force alone is useless. It is necessary to remove the cause, not the consequence. The reasons for the growth of radical sentiment are numerous. It is necessary to minimize them where possible. Of course, to overcome the marginalization of Moslem discourse in non-Islamic countries is possible. To do this, you need to change the rhetoric, broadcasted in the media, to ensure Moslems access to the media, to promote the education of the Moslem elite and its integration into the general intellectual elite, to include Islam in the development strategy of the society, to ensure representation of the Moslem discourse at all levels. Without all this, Moslems may face alienation, which is fraught with the growth of radicalization. Globally, according to D. Mukhetdinov, radicalism leads to two things: the fall of intellectual level of Moslems and the lack of understanding of the fact how Islam can exist in a modernist society. The marginalization of the Moslem discourse does not resolve these problems, but turns away from them. The paradox lies in the fact that the potential of the Arab-Moslem culture is not sufficient for their resolution. Therefore, the Moslem population needs help from the people who have got European education. Radicalism can be defeated only by enlightenment, modernization and development of tolerance.

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ISLAM IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

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The author writes about the consequences of the crisis in Syria -resurgence of radicalism and unprecedented strengthening of the international terrorism, notes the need for a unified, collective strategy to counter jihadists, based on international law, underlines the role of Russia in resolving the situation.

The Russian position on Syria did not meet understanding in Western countries and in the region for a long time. Many countries, obsessed with the idea of overthrowing B. Assad, relied on the radical forces opposed to official Damascus. Western members of the UN Security Council blocked the Russian initiative, aimed at condemnation of the terrorist attacks.

However, the seizure of vast territories in Iraq, Syria and Libya by the militants of Islamic state, the destabilization of the situation in the Sinai Peninsula, cruel executions, terrorist attacks

in Europe, the risks of obtaining access to weapons of mass destruction, merging of terrorism with illegal trade in arms and drugs, an unprecedented wave of migration from Libya , Syria and Iraq to Europe and the penetration of jihadists there – all this has led some opponents of B. Assad to adjust their positions.

A number of important the UN Security Council resolutions have been adopted on the initiative of Russia in order to counter the further expansion of the jihadists. However, the countries failed to go to a really effective interaction at that time. The U.S. position was one of the main reasons, as it could not give up the task of overthrowing the Assad regime, but at the same time did not dare to take steps to combat terrorism, which could be interpreted as promoting "regime" of B. Assad.

The U.S. has developed its own "strategy", creating the so-called moderate opposition to fight the jihadists. But any opposition should be formed within the country. Quite another thing, when people have been trained and armed abroad, and then sent to a state with destructive purposes. The only result was a mass surrender into captivity to terrorist organizations or deserting of Washington trained and equipped militants. The success of the following attempts of the U.S. creation of an armed front in Syria on the basis of the Kurdish Democratic Union Party is also in doubt. In addition, relations with Turkey have been complicated by the U.S. actions.

The U.S. formed a temporary coalition against Islamic State, and started bombing their positions. The result was the expansion of the territory controlled by the militants, as well as some softening of relations between Islamic groups and their calls to unite against the common enemy – the United States. The trend of merging of terrorism with international organized crime, illicit trafficking in weapons and narcotics has received additional impetus as a result of the West intervention in Iraq and Libya and the destabilization of Syria.

Moscow had to make a decision about the beginning of the antiterrorist operation in Syria as a result of a number of factors

that could affect the national security of Russia. NGOs and mass media (that were under the U.S. control) immediately started a campaign for demonization of the RF in the public opinion. The U.S. admitted the military operation of Air Space Forces of the RF in Syria, but considered it as a direct threat to the U.S. leadership in the region and in its international affairs.

Exactly a month after Russia started to bomb the positions of the terrorists in Syria there was a meeting of the so-called Syria's Support Group on the level of Foreign Ministers with the participation of 19 countries and regional organizations. For the first time the conditions that Russia has long been put forward for the organization of international cooperation in the solution of the conflict, were respected.

Representatives of the Russian Federation emphasized that the fight against terrorism had to be built on the basis of a common strategy. There are all epy mechanisms, such as structures of the UN first and foremost. Efforts should be made of all the actors on the implementation of a global counter-terrorism strategy, the Security Council decisions, and the use of the potential of the UN Security Council.

The author of the abstract – E. Dmitrieva

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The author writes, that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union at the turn of 1980–1990-s have seriously affected the state ideology of Turkey, which was dominated by the concept of the Turkic-Islamic synthesis at the time. This concept was based on the pro-Islamic and pan-Turkic ideas, i.e. political Islam and pan-Turkism was perceived and implemented together. Turkey was supposed to perform a particular mission of the integration of Turkic-speaking Muslim CIS countries in accordance with the concept.

Strengthening the military-political and economic alliance with the West under the new conditions, Turkey hoped to use it to solve its own ambitious plans in the Eurasian region, so that the new state, the Russian Federation, constantly maintained the tendency to disintegration. Turkish politicians had no doubt about the support of the West.

During the 1990s Muslim orders, communities, Jamaat, have declared themselves in Turkey again, being represented by influential financial groups and foundations, and the Islamists holdings. The Islamists were active not only in trade, construction; industry but also in the information space in these years. A conglomerate of Muslim capital and jamaats in the field

of information in Turkey and in the region as a whole has shown unprecedented activity and scope.

The activities of Turkish political Islam in the fields of culture and education in the 1990s were aimed directly at the post-Soviet space, at the Turkic peoples professing Islam. Followers of Islam openly turned to propaganda of separatist ideas in the Russian Federation and to promote Islamism and pan-Turkism in the new states of Central Asia.

In January 1992 (immediately after the collapse of the USSR), the Agency of Turkic Cooperation and Development – TIKA was established at the Turkish Foreign Ministry to coordinate at the national level, the activities of scientists of Turkic Republics: historians, philologists, linguists in the name of unity of all Turks, who professed Islam. The Agency has established a thematic edition magazines in Turkish, English, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, Uzbek languages, started implementation an extensive program of cooperation with the Turkic republics, assisting them in the implementation of various educational, scientific, social and other projects. With regard to the activities of Islamists in Turkey, Jamaat by F. Gyulen especially succeeded in this, promoting the so-called "concept of service» (hizmet'). According to some Turkish authors, this concept was originally recommended to the Islamic world by the U.S. intelligence.

Missionary activity of F. Gyulen's jamaat, was put into effect not only in Central Asia but also in the regions of Russia with a Muslim, Turkic population and even in Moscow. The Turkish editions when it was reported that the company jamaat created a "school empire" – training centers in Yakutia, Tuva, Khakassia, Bashkortostan, Chuvashia, Tatarstan, Dagestan, Moscow, in Central Asia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Romania, Moldova, Albania, Ukraine (including Crimean) and elsewhere. Translations Gülen's books in the Russian language, calling for the interfaith interaction, protection of the moral precepts of human values appeared in the RF. At the same time the idea was

carried out as if in passing, but patiently and persistently, that the only "true religion" is Islam for today.

Gülen spoke about the true purpose of his "selfless" educational service in the region, combining sophisticated sacred subject of Islam as a faith and unselfish appeals to the movement of Turkish businessmen and bearers in the steppes of Central Asia, which he called "a sacred stream in the name of Islam."

Criticism of Gülen in Turkey forced the Office of Public Prosecutor to start a judicial investigation into his anti-constitutional activities. Documents showing that the Gülen linked to the CIA, were presented to the court.

On Web sites of Gülen (living in the U.S. for a long time) advertised its "educational" activity "for peace in the world" for a long time. Over time, Gülen has made the United States almost a home overseas "base" for "educational" activities jamaat. No wonder he said that he ruined Russia due to its schools, and "one day he will conquer America."

Ultimately, the organization "Citizens against the lobbying of special interests in public schools' became interested Gülen's activity in the U.S. and found a lot of evidence of duplicity in the activities of the Turkish Islamists – adherents of Gülen.

The missionary spirit of the Turkish Islamists was interwoven with the activity of pan-Turkic ideologues, and coincided with some of the theses of the relevant official authorities of Turkey at that time almost literally.

The idea of Turkic globalism after the collapse of the USSR was accepted in the Turkish Foreign Ministry positively. Pan-Turkists met with particular enthusiasm the emergence of independent Turkic states in the Eurasian foreign policy towards Turkey in the 1990s. Other influential representatives of Turkish intellectual elite, historians, political scientists have expressed similar views then.

Is there a difference between a Turk and Türk? The idea of a single Turkish nation was repeated in a number of publications over and over again. Turkish Republic term has been used

increasingly instead of the long-established concept of Turkic Republic.

The author writes that Turkey has formed a powerful front of Russian political confrontation in Eurasia and the imposition of anti-Russian sentiment to a third party – the CIS countries. Extreme Islamism and extreme Turkism have been dominated at the same time, addressing not only to the new Turkic states, but to the Russia Turks.

In conclusion, the author emphasizes that the ideological expansion has been fruitful at the turn of the century, carried Gülen congregation in the "concept of service" and in accordance with the ideology of Islamo-Turkish synthesis.

At the same time, the establishment of a Turkish or a Turkish political union under their patronage in Eurasia failed, and the final word has been said as a democratic society in the country, and the public of new states of Eurasia. The latest example – a sharp conflict between the two former allies in government – party AKP and the Gülen jamaat, the struggle for the presidency in elections in August 2014, where the party of moderate Islamists and radical nationalist party were bitter political rivals, supporting different candidates for the post.

The author of the abstract – N. Ginesina

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The author analyzes the traditionally stressful relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Negotiations between Sergey Lavrov and John Kerry on Syria, held last year and culminated in the adoption of the UN Security Council resolutions on the situation in the Middle East last December raised hopes for peace in the region, but they were short-lived. At the beginning of 2016, a crowd of angry Iranians smashed the embassy and Consulate-General of Saudi Arabia in Tehran and Mashhad, prompting the Saudi Ministry of Foreign Affairs to announce the rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The author notes that the Iranian masses allow themselves to forget about the rules of international law from time to time, abusing and even killing foreign diplomats. The embassies' massacres have remained an integral part of the Iranian political culture.

The Middle East was on the verge of the next conflict between the traditional rivals. Relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia did not become worse once. There have been many contradictions between the two countries since the days of the

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* A quote from the Quran (84–24) in the translation of Ignatius Krachkovsky.

Shah, and their striving for regional dominance intensified disagreements. The situation has changed significantly since 1979, when the Iranian leadership adopted a policy of "exporting the Islamic revolution", widely used by the Saudi establishment for the mobilization in the face of the Persian threat until now. Since then the two countries have entered the era of open confrontation, occasionally punctuated by short "thaw".

The author writes that the balance of power in the region was broken after the "Arab Spring", when the most powerful militarily and geopolitically countries have had to fight for their own survival. As a result, new actors, including Saudi Arabia, have become challengers to occupy the leading position.

Starting positions of Riyadh were (and still are) not too strong in the battle for regional leadership. Saudi Arabia had no army like the Iranian or Turkish and political authority like the Egyptian. Also, there is no religious authority. Thus, the Saudi elite decided to build a foreign policy in response to the efforts and initiatives of Iran. Arab-Iranian (i.e. Sunni-Shiite) opposition has become the axis around which the foreign policy strategy of the Saudi rulers was built in recent years. Iran, from the point of view of Riyadh, is the main threat not only to the Saudi leadership in the Middle East, but also the very existence of the kingdom.

Riyadh set a course for overgrazing Shia and Sunni, as well as inciting inter-confessional hostility. Shia have been declared the main target of the kingdom: they had to be provoked into responses, and as a result, much of the Sunni world would appear under the patronage of Saudi Arabia.

It is obvious that today the two questions deliver a major concern for Saudi Arabia: Syria and Yemen. Two unfinished revolutions of the "Arab Spring" in Syria and Yemen, have confused maps of many actors, defending their interests in the region.

President Assad has resisted, and an uncompromising position on the Syrian issue of the Saudi leadership has deprived

the kingdom of possibilities for any future maneuver. The survival of the Syrian regime means a serious problem for Riyadh: Arabian world considers the loss of Saudi diplomacy in Syria as a strategic defeat to Tehran and doubt the ability of Saudi Arabia to contain expansion by Iran in the region. In other words, the kingdom is forced increase its presence in Syria.

If the loss in the Syrian situation means decrease in political weight only, the Yemen fiasco threatens the territorial integrity of the Kingdom, as Saudi province of Jizan and Najran are considered to be Yemeni native lands in South Arabia. Riyadh sought a compromise that would suit all the warring parties. The formula the transitional period proposed by the diplomats of Riyadh, was the basis of the peace initiative, signed within the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf in November 2011, taking into account as much as possible the interests of all concerned actors. However, the kingdom cope with the assigned them the function of impartial arbiter less, drawn into the Yemeni conflict on the side of one of the antagonists.

The prospect to get a hostile regime on its southern borders, backed by the Iranians, has not left the kingdom other alternatives but the beginning of military operations in Yemen. Thus, Saudi Arabia has been bogged down in one more conflict with unpredictable ending, and Iran became its indirect enemy again.

Riyadh started for the practical implementation of the agreement on the Joint Defence and Economic Cooperation signed in the framework of the Arab League in 1950, being one on one with the Persian threat and taking into account the efforts of the Obama administration to diversify their political contacts in the Middle East. However, the Saudis had to fight against the strengthening of Iranian influence in Yemen on their own, supported by mercenaries from around the globe.

Saudi Arabia made another attempt to consolidate allies around themselves in the region in December 2015, when Riyadh announced the creation of "Islamic" coalition against terrorism.

However, it is obvious by now that Saudi Arabia will be able to achieve real participation of all member countries of the coalition in its work and their willingness to accept any obligations in the future. Today, there is only one really functioning mechanism of collective security at the disposal of Riyadh – military Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf. They even managed to prove their worth in practice, when a joint military contingent GCC "Peninsula Shield" was introduced into the territory of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

The Kingdom is forced to remind itself and others constantly about the Iranian / Shiite threat because of the inability to assert its prestige by means of force. The image of a powerful enemy allows Riyadh to neutralize internal risks and assert claims to leadership in the Arab and ideally, in the Sunni world. Saudi elite feels the weakness of its position, and as a result aggravates the contradictions between the two countries, without abandoning these provocations, such as the recent mass executions of Shiite preachers. The author notes that the death sentences in Saudi Arabia are just as commonplace as the Friday prayers.

As one of the most closed societies in the world, the Saudi government does not provide too much information for direct political analysis. However, the change of generations in the power already promises the political instability. Al-Saud dynasty was established as a result of wise matrimonial policy of the founder of Saudi Arabia. Today it is not clear which of the vast number of king-founder grandchildren will inherit the throne after the death of all his sons. Arabian kingdom will be vulnerable due to the fact that the tribal demarcations play a crucial role in the process of transfer of power from the old to the new ruler.

"Al-Qaeda", more than ten years working in Saudi Arabia, promises even more serious challenges for the kingdom. The sleeping cells of radical Islamists, interacting with influential

religious leaders and having communications to the state apparatus, are the result of its activities.

The author notes that the feature of current conflicts in the Middle East is their rather rapid transformation from the local to the regional and sometimes international. Relations between Riyadh and Tehran, as well as the situation in the region as a whole will only escalate in the near future. Their further aggravation makes illusory any hopes for a diplomatic resolution of the old Middle East conflict. Both countries are in a phase of fierce struggle for regional leadership, and a defeat in this confrontation could be fatal for each of them.

The author of the abstract – E .Dmitrieva

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The author notes that the Sunni-Shia conflict is a major threat to stability and security in the Middle East. One of the countries most affected by the Sunni-Shia conflict is Iraq. The case study of the Iraqi conflict is of great practical and scientific value for identifying mechanisms and causes of religious conflicts in the modern Middle East. In addition, this article presents the analysis of the situation with the purpose to find out whether the religious conflict conceals deep socio-political contradictions of religious overtones.

Iraq is the birthplace of Shiism. It is on the territory of the country that the main shrines of the Shia Esnaashari are to be found: Najaf with the Imam Ali's tomb and Karbala with the tomb of Imam Hussein. According to demographic data, the Shias make up about 62.5% of the population of Iraq and the Sunnis about 20%. However, this proportion was not always like that. Historical research shows the predominance of the Sunnis until the XVIII – beginning of XIX century. Demographic changes in Iraq were due to several factors. First, the period of chaos and instability in the history of Iran , which began after the overthrow of the Safavid dynasty in 1722 caused migration to Iraq of many members of the Shia clergy and representatives of the Iranian culture. Respectively, the possibility of the Shia propaganda and religious education in Iraq increased. Second, in the XVIII–XIX centuries there was observed an influx of funds from the Shias of India and the sultans of the state of Avadh (1722–1859) to this country that raised the economic potential of the Shia community. Third, in the nineteenth century in Iraq, large-scale migrations of Bedouin tribes and their transition to residency were changing the demographic balance. In the course of this process Shia preachers of Najaf and Karbala managed to proselyte many Arab tribes.

Despite the numerical superiority before the beginning of the XXI century the Shias has a subordinate status in Iraq and were not admitted to power in the country. During the Ottoman era, this was due to the commitment of the Turkish administration to the Sunni Orthodoxy. The British who turned Iraq into their colony under the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916, placed a bet on the Sunni dynasty of the Hashemites and Bedouin tribes and clans of Northern Iraq supporting it. After the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq in 1958, the situation did not change. Officers of the Iraqi army came to power, and military service in that period was considered the prerogative of the Sunni.

The situation has not changed radically after the Baath party came to power in the result of the July revolution of 1968. However, the period of the Baathist reign should not be treated as the era of suppression of the Shias by the ruling Sunni minority, as some of the Western scholars represent it. Representatives of the Shia community accounted for almost half of the Baath party. Among the party leaders there were a few bright representatives of the Shia community. The Shias were not subjected to any particular discrimination in Iraq. The only exception was the Iraqi force structure: army and security forces, where immigrants from the Sunni community, especially from Tikrit clan, the one Saddam Hussein belonged to, dominated among generals and senior officers. Not only Shia activists were subjected to political repressions in Iraq, but also Communists, Liberals, and even sheikhs of the Sunni tribes not enough loyal to the Baathists. At the same time, the Baathist regime, being totalitarian, did not allow strengthening the position of the highest Shia clerics and Shia political parties. Control over them was intensified after the Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran, which Saddam Hussein considered a threat to his rule. The fear of "exporting the Shia revolution" from Iran was the main reason for the war against Iran unleashed by Bagdad (1980-1988). In March-April 1991 the Shia uprising flared up in the southern provinces of Iraq. It was caused mostly not by religious, but rather socio-economic reasons. After the hardships of the Iran-Iraq war, the masses of the Iraqi people were waiting for improvement of living conditions and political liberalization. The uprising was suppressed by the Republican guard.

In the attempt to rally the people of Iraq around themselves and to improve relations with the conservative monarchies of the Persian Gulf, the Baathist leadership of Iraq in 1994 initiated the campaign of "cultural Islamization". It included compulsory study of the Koran in schools, clubs for increasing Islamic literacy among the members of the Baath party, construction of new mosques. However, the "Islamic revival" touched only the Sunni

Iraqis. Shia mosques and religious education were not encouraged for fear of disloyalty of the Shia clergy. During this period the ideas of the Wahhabi and Salafi preachers began to spread in Iraq

The American occupation of Iraq in 2003, radically changed the socio-political situation in the country. The politics of Washington is responsible for the emergence in Iraq of the sectarian conflict which grew into a civil war. After the overthrow of Saddam Hussein by the Americans all the government institutions in Iraq including the army, the police and the Baath party were dismantled. In the conditions of absence of the civil society and secular opposition in the country self-organization of the Iraqis began to concentrate around religious centers. In the case of the Shia community the "assembly point" was the highest Shia clergy residing in Najaf and Karbala, in the case of the Sunnis – the Association of Muslim Ulema, becoming more and more radicalized, and extremist organizations.

Consolidation of the Iraq Shias was going on around several religious parties closely related to clerics. These were "Dawa" ("the Islamic Call Party"), the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, the movement of "Ahrar" of Moqtada as-Sadr. The Islamic Call Party originated in Iraq in 1957 as a response to the spread of leftist sentiments in the country and the growing popularity of the Communists and Baathists. In 1980–1981, the party was banned and repressed in Iraq. After that, the party operated mainly abroad. Its various factions operated in Syria, Iran and the UK. In 2003–2004 they returned from exile to Iraq. The leader of the party was the future Prime Minister of Iraq Nouri al-Maliki. "Dawa" owed its growing popularity to the alliance with the leader of the Shia clerics Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani. Like A. Sistani, the party did not share the Iranian concept of velayat-e-faqih, according to which the authorities in the country should belong to the Islamic clergy. The Islamic Call Party

advocated the system of the Islamic Republic, but without the "mullahtariat".

Another party of the Shia Islamists, the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). was associated with the family of Shia clerics, the al-Hakim. The party was founded in Iran in 1981 by Ayatollah Abdel Aziz al-Hakim who fled Iraq. With the help of the IRI leaders, Hakim managed to create in Iran a network of Iraqi Islamist organizations. After the death of Abdul Aziz al-Hakim in 2009 his son Ammar al-Hakim headed the party.

The third of the largest Shia groups was the Movement of Moqtada as-Sadr. Especially popular M. as-Sadr became with the poorest of the Shia population. In 1999, he was killed by Iraqi intelligence services. After the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the son of the late Ayatollah Moqtada organized in Saddam city, the poorest district of Baghdad, a system of social security and self defense. Unlike other Shia leaders, he had never been in emigration, sharing the oppression of the dictatorship with their compatriots.

With the elections of 2005 coming up, the Shia Islamist parties consolidated in the "United Iraqi Alliance". By the results of the elections in January 2005, the Shia party got the majority in the Parliament. This was partly due to the boycott of the elections in the Sunni provinces. The dominance of Shia parties in the new government manifested itself in purge of the state apparatus. About 150 thousand people: officers, officials, doctors, teachers, university professors who were former Baathists (mostly Sunni) were dismissed from the public service. The new Shia elite, composed of former emigrants and rebels, announced their intention to deprive the Baathists of power and property. In addition, the new government in Iraq enjoyed the open support of the two geopolitical rivals – the USA and Iran.

The dissatisfaction of the Sunni community was used by terrorist organizations promoting infiltration of foreign jihadists to Iraq. The most dangerous of the jihadist organizations was

headed by A. Zarqawi, a Jordanian. Explosion of the tomb of Imam Hassan al-Askari in February 2006, effected by his fighters, was the signal for the outbreak of the civil war between the Shias and the Sunnis. The civil war in Iraq led to sectarian division of the country. Until the American occupation recurring tensions between the Shia and the Sunni communities had never acquired the features of a political-military conflict. The split took place on other lines: between the right and left, the Baathists and the Communists, the Arabs and the Kurds. The period of 2006–2007 was marked by separation of the two communities to the point of purges on religious basis. The situation was aggravated by the fact that the Shia radicals were supported by the power structures of the state.

The situation in Iraq achieved a certain stabilization in 2008–2009, mostly due the creation of "Sahwa" (Awakening) groups, militias of the Sunni tribes of Anbar province in Iraqe. In general, representatives of these tribes retained the political loyalty to the governments of Syria and Iraq. In Iraq, a significant number of people from Bedouin tribes served in the army as officers. The American command in Iraq in 2007–2009 used the Sunni "Sahwa" armed groups in the fight against "al-Qaeda". The Sunni community of Iraq tried to defend their rights in the legal political field. In the parliamentary elections in March 2010, the liberal-patriotic bloc, "al-Iraqiya", headed by the secular Shia Iyad Allawi got a relative majority in the Iraqi Parliament (91 seats). The Sunni parties got the majority in the bloc. However, thanks to the intervention of the United States and Iran in November 2010 the bloc of the Shia religious parties came to power once again, The bloc included the "Law Coalition," headed by Nuri al-Maliki (89 seats in the Parliament) and the Iraqi National Alliance (70 deputy's seats).

Instead of reaching consensus with the Sunnis the Baghdad regime set the course for violent suppression of the Sunni political movements. The systematic marginalization of the Sunni community and the instability in the Northern provinces of Iraq

became a breeding ground for the growing influence of extremist and jihadist organizations, among which the "Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant" (ISIL) became especially active. Another factor playing in favor of the jihadists, was the civil war in Syria. In addition the USA and its NATO allies seeking in 2011–2013 to overthrow the government of Bashar al-Assad, at this stage encouraged the activities of all factions of the Syrian armed opposition, including openly extremist ones. There came about a paradoxical situation, where the United States simultaneously fought the Islamic radicals in Iraq and helped them in Syria. Currently, the main prerequisite for destruction of the terrorist organization "Islamic State" in Iraq is reconciliation of the Shia and the Sunni communities. The problem of the IS cannot be solved by military means solely. Without achieving interfaith harmony in Iraq, the extremists will retain a major base of support, contributing to recurrence of military-political conflicts and revival of jihadist organizations, even in case of defeat of the IS.

The analysis of the situation of interfaith relations in Iraq permits to draw some conclusions. First, the Shia-Sunni conflict in Iraq is caused by the reasons of not theological, but of political and socio-economic nature. The civil war, the two main confessional communities of Iraq were involved in, is being carried on for power and resources. Second, a significant share of responsibility for the aggravation of the inter-religious conflict in Iraq lies with the foreign players. To a greater extent this applies to the USA, having destroyed the Iraqi statehood in order to achieve their political objectives and brought to power the irresponsible political elite. To a lesser extent this applies to Iran encouraging sectarian politicians such as Nouri al-Maliki, inciting inter-religious hatred. Third, there can be no winner in this war. The Shias will not be able to destroy the Sunni community completely. At the same time, the Sunnis will not be able to achieve the degree of leadership in Iraq they had before the overthrow of Saddam Hussein government. Even in the case of association of Sunni provinces in Northern Iraq with Northern

Syria under the auspices of the Islamists, the new entity will be influenced by neighboring Turkey. An alternative to the current conflict, according to A. Kuznetsov, can only be the creation of a political system in which the Iraqi Sunnis would be able to get their share of power and property in the country.

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The author analyzes the problem of the influence of the international movement The Muslim Brotherhood on the mobilization of the Muslim community in the U.S., considering the establishment of organizations protecting the interests of Muslims.

The author refers to the theory of political opportunity structure of by the authors Doug McAdam, John McCarthy and Mayer Zald, representing an interesting sociological approach to the problem of political mobilization of ethnic, religious and other social groups, the important feature of which is emphasis on the relationship between the social movement and its environment, especially the political regime

The author examines how members of the Muslim Brotherhood took advantage of the relevant U.S. political context and comes to the conclusion that the U.S. political regime did not

leave the Muslim Brotherhood nothing else, but to adapt to the conditions and to abandon the original radical ideologies, making Muslim organizations in the U.S. both representative and highly respected.

Representatives of the Islamic religion appeared in what is now the United States in the 16th century on the first ship carrying slaves from Africa. In the following centuries, the number of Muslims has increased in the country due to the economic and legal factors. Currently, there is a wide range of different organizations defending the religious, political and social interests of Muslims in the U.S.

The U.S. government declared international terrorist organizations (jihadist orientation in the first place) as its main enemy after the tragedy of September 11, 2001. The new Muslim organizations have appeared as a result of persecution. They began to create inter-communal and professional networks to protect the civil rights of American Muslims, and counter the spread of negative attitude toward them and islamophobic sentiments. The problem of the influence of the so-called organizations of political Islam in the Muslim community, of the U.S., its mobilization in defense of own rights produce significant research interest. It is about an international political movement the Muslim Brotherhood, which is considered one of the most influential Islamist movements in the direction of the modern world.

The author outlined the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. It is based on political opportunity structure, which is an interesting sociological approach to the problem of the political mobilization of ethnic, religious and other social groups. Its important feature is the emphasis on the relationship between the social movement and its environment, in particular the political regime.

According to this theory, the political mobilization is possible only if there are appropriate political conditions for this. The important point for the understanding of mobilization of the

movement is the relationship between this most social movement and political institutions.

There are four central measuring of the structure of the political opportunities as factors that contribute to the success of the mobilization of supporters of an organization: reduction of public pressure, the increase in the access policy, the differences between the elites and influential allies.

There are weaknesses in the theory of the structure of the political opportunities as a research approach to the phenomenon of the political mobilization of religious, ethnic and other minorities. Research strategy of framing allows leveling disadvantages to some extent. The leaders of the movement mobilize potential supporters, remain obvious support and demobilize antagonists.

The author writes about the history of the organization Muslim Brotherhood, the stages of its formation and development of its ideology, which considers Islam as a way of not only individual development, but also for large-scale reforms in the social and political spheres of society.

The organization operates in five areas, three of which are located in the United States, two – in Canada. The role of the Muslim Brotherhood consists in the leadership in a united Islamic movement against the United States on its own territory, which later would lead to the implementation of the project to establish the global Islamic state.

The Muslim Brotherhood in the U.S. has set up several organizations which members deny involvement in its activities and declare rejection of extremist ideology. The leaders try to combine structures of very different directions, under its authority, to defend the interests of the Muslim community in North America, and further improvement of both the Muslim community and American society as a whole. Interreligious dialogue with representatives of Judaism and various Christian denominations are held for this purpose.

The author notes that although officials of the organization denied the existence of extremist views almost always, but calls for jihad and supporting for terrorist organizations have been heard at the annual conferences constantly.

Accusations against the leaders or ordinary members of these organizations in support of terrorism are often explained by an objective process of change representatives and supporters of the major U.S. parties on the key political posts. Republicans are far less set up to co-operation with the Muslim actors, both within their own country and in the international arena. Democrats are more predisposed to dialogue and compromise.

In summary, the author notes that the Muslim Brotherhood had a significant influence on the formation and establishment of the modern Muslim organizations of the United States. Followers of the Muslim Brotherhood have realized that the political environment of the country does leave nothing else but to be adapted to the existing conditions, and as a result the country authorities believe the Muslim organizations are very respectable and respected forces in the U.S. At present, these organizations represent the interests of the educated and highly skilled population, in contrast to Europe, where immigrants from the Muslim countries are marginalized and semi-marginalized mostly.

The author of the abstract – N. Ginesina

THE MOSLEM WORLD: THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS

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The author notes that today Turkey offers a model of democratic Islam as an alternative to a radical one for the international community. This perception of Turkish Islam was formed relatively recently and it does not cover all the diversity of the Turkish religious life. The secular elites in Turkey consider any combination of Islam and politics as a radical and assuming it dangerous to the constitutional system and a threat to political stability, following the precepts of the first president, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938). Throughout the existence of the republican system in the country, they have made efforts to prevent the development of political Islam. However, the democratization of the country has led to a gradual weakening of the prohibitions and re-Islamization of Turkish society. As a consequence, in the 21st century, the Islamic opposition turned into the ruling majority and the secular elite underwent marginalization.

The authorities called exclusively the activities of Kurdish and communist organizations as a terror for decades, and the word "reaction" (irtica) was used for the activity of Islamic groups, reflecting the idea of the reactionary character of religion. Fight with the reaction in the Turkish Republic was not only in the numerous bans on the activities of religious groups and organizations.

There have been regular incidents of detection secret Muslim societies, intending to change the constitutional order and to introduce Sharia law in the country, trails were carried out against their leaders and ordinary members. However, the word "terror" (terër) began to apply for Islamist groups only when a wave of religious violence swept the country and the society was shaken by a series of high-profile murders secular intellectuals in the 1990s.

Gradually, such definitions as "Islamic / Islamist terrorist organizations" and "Islamic / Islamist terror" fell out of use. The use of these terms has become a sign of Islamophobia and the "anti-Islamic paranoia and R. Erdogan points to the incompatibility of Islam and terrorism, and calls racists and discriminators those who combine these two concepts together.

The presence of radical Islamist groups in Turkey attributed to external factors mainly, primarily to the influence of Iran. The Shiite religious propaganda, the export of revolutionary ideas as well as the direct participation of the Iranian leadership and intelligence services are considered to be the way of spreading the radical Islamist ideas. The tradition to accuse the Shiite Iran of supporting the Sunni religious dissent in Turkey is rooted back in the Ottoman past. The author stresses that radical Islam is introduced from the outside, in opposition to the traditional Turkish Islam – moderate, tolerant and democratic. The author notes the widespread use of the Islamic factor in the election campaign after the end of the Second World War during the introduction of a multiparty system. The Democratic Party,

which came to power in 1950, held a number of pro-Islamic laws. Members of banned Sufi brotherhoods have begun to seep into the policy.

The turning point in the formation of an organized Islamist movement took place in the military coup in 1980. Radically-minded youth was fascinated by the ideas of Islamism after the defeat of the nationalist and left-wing movement. The radical Islamist group Hizbullah was established at this time. Not only the main stages of development of radical Islam from the 1980s through the first decade of the 21st century, inclusive, and the change of the understanding of Islam can be traced back to its example. There was only one Islamic organization of Kurds before occurrence Hezbollah – the Islamic Party of Kurdistan. It announced a holy war (jihad) for the barbaric and tyrannical regimes under the influence of the Egyptian "Muslim Brother-hood". The negative image of Hezbollah was advantageous to several forces in the socio-political environment in Turkey at the same time: the secular wing has used the charge of having links with Hezbollah against religious wing and the religious – against the secular, as well as to contrast the moderate and radical Islam.

The official focus began to shift from Islamic radicalism in the country to foreign Islamic radicalism from the coming to power Justice and Development Party. George Bush called Turkey as a front line in the war against international terrorism when al-Qaeda in Turkey terrorist cell was discovered in 2003. Turkish intelligence data on the presence of 47 armed Islamist groups linked to al-Qaeda in the opposition camp were immediately released when the protracted Syrian conflict has led to a partial revision of the Turkish position on the support of the opposition in that country. The European Parliament notes the intensification of radical Islamists in the Turkish segment of the Internet and urges Turkey, as a candidate for accession to the EU, to carry out the proper operation on the limitation and

prohibition of their activity engaging in systematic fight against terrorism.

The growing Islamization of the country has led not only to the transformation of the Islamic opposition in the ruling majority and the radicalization of the secular part of the society, but to strengthening intra-Islamic competition. It denotes Islamic elites split that occurred between R. Erdogan and F. Gülen. The criticism of radical Islam in Turkey has been simmering. Conservative policy of the ruling party began to be exposed to harsh criticism as a radical Islamist. The progressive Islamization of the country is perceived painfully. The term "Islamofascism" has been put into circulation. The struggle for the image of the representatives of the democratic Islam developed between the two leaders. The paradoxical merging of religious and secular social forces in opposition to the government has happened accumulated mood of protest in mass anti-government demonstrations.

Although Hezbollah is not participating in the current political events openly it ceased to exist as a terrorist organization, and passed into the legal field, but its role is still quite significant. It has become the archetype of Islamic radicalism and a kind of measure of radical Islam in Turkey.

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Archaization, in political terms, is regarded as the revival of traditional practices, cultural element of the past, which does not mean a return to "antiquity", but is of the manipulative nature, according I. Zvyágelskya. In the Arab society idealization of the past has always run deep. Although the modern Arab world has generated prominent politicians, scientists, journalists, created, in the framework of modernization, new education programs, opened itself to the outside world, the societies remain, in general, quite traditional and the lag is still evident. The Middle East has entered the second decade of the XXI in the state of disunity and total instability. Inter-ethnic, inter-confessional and social differences that have always existed in the Arab world, came to the fore unexpectedly, and rapidly, violating the usual course of things. Disappointment in secular nationalist regimes led to the emergence of political Islam, which too, proved to be unable to offer recommendations for social changes. The spread of protest moods in the Arab States, gaining civic awareness during the uprisings, the failure of attempts to establish Islamic rule – all this reflects the problems common for global development, but manifested in more severe forms, corresponding the specificity of the Arab society. In the absence of well-developed civic institutions, the disappearance of ideological orientation brought to the foreground the

representatives of political Islam, who proclaimed themselves the power capable to restore the order.

The Arab States which survived the "spring", did not experience a change of the political system (maybe, with exception of Tunisia). Actually, there was no liberalization of public life The most modernized segments of the population were thrown back by the traditionalists, who in Egypt managed to realize their aspirations by voting for the "Muslim brotherhood", and in Tunisia – for the party "An-Nahda" ("Renaissance"). Later Tunisia managed to restore political balance and the military came to power again in Egypt. In Libya not a modern revolution was in question but another type of confrontation based, on tribal and regional ideas. The destruction or severe weakening of state institutions during the riots and unrest results in anarchy, "the revolutionary necessity" substitute for the courts and law has happened. The collapse of power structures refusing to defend the previous regime, leads to violence. The collapse of state institutions not only opens up opportunities for abuse, but also causes the opposition to offer such values that will make its actions clear and reasonable in the eyes of traditional society, will give them ideological justification. The search for ideological alternatives, as a rule, is in line with some native folk tradition, closely linked with the archaic. The need for the "native" arises as well for the reason that it can be contrasted with the alien Western values. Since political values are still universal (although their interpretations may be different), they are opposed to something strictly national-traditional. It can be found either in the conservative rural environment, or in a fundamentalist interpretation of religious norms.

The process of consolidation of the societies characterized by cultural diversity, remained unfinished so far. Along with the modernized segments, which due to modern education stepped beyond the class and ethnic partitions, there exists a vast group of traditionalists. The emerging movements and parties often have

proclaimed anti-Western slogans, were of aggressive nationalist or fundamentalist nature, but remained a product of modernity.

The dominant political culture in the Arab countries differs significantly from the Western patterns. Political parties may have no national programs and rely on regional, tribal and ethnic groups. Presidents, trying to hold on to power as long as possible, to pass it on to their heirs or successors, still more and more resemble autocrats. This fact does not apply to all the Arab countries to the same extent, but it is in such environment that it is maintained. And in the critical moments the archaic tendencies come to life in full force, beheading their victims before the camera; Pakistani fanatics wounded in their feelings – all this feels like histrionics, like a game. It is hard to believe, says the researcher, that all this is happening in real time and in earnest, but it is the cruel "playing the game" that fascinates and attracts the underdeveloped mind of the conditional modern audience.

Among the causes of the ongoing civil wars and conflicts (in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya) there can be found archaic elements of the ethnic and religious (Shia – Sunni) confrontation. Disagreements, often veiling the cynical struggle for influence and resources bring into the conflict the value measurement, excluding compromise and making the conflict especially difficult to resolve. Archaization can be used by the ruling elites to manipulate the society. In the context of socio-political uncertainty it becomes a kind of instrument of political and managerial influence.

In terms of socio-political uncertainty it becomes a kind of instrument of political and managerial influence. Mobilization of the youth by the Salafis is not a manifestation of the archaic tendencies. On the opposite, encouraging the young people to join the "free community of true Muslims", the Salafis help them to escape from the usual circle of tribal slavery, obedience to elders, the prohibition of expression of their own opinion, etc. The "protest" story of the return to traditional dress was observed, in particular, in Oman. The tragedy of September 11,

2001 triggered development of Islamophobia in Western societies, which caused the fact that the Arabs started emphasizing their identity, in particular young women that have recently dressed the European way, began to wear black Abai and shawls.

The emergence of many jihadist organizations formed or strengthened during the conflicts. raised the archaic wave which swept over the Middle East. The Islamic State (IS), "al-Qaeda", "Jabhat an-Nusra" became the epitome of a kind of Islamist International, and are actively transforming the region, pleading against the existing borders, states and regimes. The IS rallies the Sunni radicals from Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya and other Arab States as well as representatives of Islamic communities from Central Asia, Europe, Russia. Using the narrative of heroism and brotherly love combined with a powerful financial base gives it the opportunity to attract numerous new followers. The IS uses the specificity of the modern pop with its typical violence, easily transforming the latter into real violence. The deliberate theatricality of executions and humiliation blurs the line between reality and thriller. The search for an ideology with global and clear guidance can give rise to the demand for the most radical and extremist versions of social changes that exist in the world of post-modernity, but draw ideas and slogans from the distant past.

In conclusion the researcher says that the problem of archaization in the Arab world requires deep and differentiated studying of the local societies, traditions, patterns of behavior, some features of religious beliefs. Interaction of archaic tendencies and postmodernism prevailing in policy can not change the manifestation of either. Moreover, in the context of the destruction of weak, but still functioning institutions the recourse to the practices of the past, allowing to partially compensate for the lost stability, can result in dangerous destruction of the society itself, its further fragmentation.

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The author considers the modern international terrorism a systemic phenomenon, which has become a direct continuation of the official policy conducted in accordance with the interests of the world's major players. International terrorism, as a way to influence political processes, decisions made by certain political actors, is an indispensable tool in the arsenal of a significant number of modern states. Governments, political parties, major corporations, religious movements, mafia groups – all they resort to terrorism.

During the second half of the 20 century a radical force impact, going beyond the frames of a traditional war, e.g. such as during the Cold War between the U.S. and the USSR, when existence of nuclear weapons made a direct military conflict problematic, was used by both sides. Each coalition had its own priorities and its allies. The USSR tended to support left-wing nationalist and secular movements. The Soviet Union and its allies rendered direct or indirect support to: Viet Cong, the Red Army Fraction (RAF) in Germany, the Italian Red Brigades, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, resorting in their activities to radical violent measures. On the contrary, the United States supported the opponents of progress and democracy from the camp of the fascist oligarchic groups and radical Islamists, whose interests

in matters of geopolitics economically coincided with those of the U.S.

Now it is clear that virtually the Islamic extremism as a whole is a product of diplomacy and work of the U.S. intelligence agencies: Al-Qaeda, the Taliban, the ISIS appeared mostly due to the efforts of Anglo-American relevant authorities. The U.S. special services also closely cooperate with the organized criminal networks, the CIA numbers among its partners both the Italian and the American branch of the Cosa Nostra, MS 13. In Europe the Albanian mafia collaborates with the CIA in the field of disseminating and transporting drugs and weapons, kidnapping. Extremist movements and organizations resorting to terror and terrorism are an integral part of the modern political landscape.

The situation significantly changed in the past two decades after the collapse of the bipolar system of the world, the second pole of which was the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the USSR the whole system of its clients, political regimes and movements, including those related to the use of terrorist methods in their activities, found itself without any support. Currently, the U.S. and its partners, such as the KSA, Qatar, Pakistan, are the only serious customer and patron of terrorist activity. Islamic terrorist networks are patronized by a NATO member Turkey. And Egypt, during the reign of Mohammed Morsi and the party al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (the Moslem Brotherhood), was ruled by a terrorist organization both the de facto and de jure. Mursi and "the Brotherhood" were supported by the political regime in Washington, both in the person of President Obama and the opposition in the person of John McCain. The reason for this situation is that in the existing unipolar model only one country and its allies can afford unpunished aggressive actions against their opponents carried out by the hands of terrorists. This situation becomes possible by virtue of the total supremacy of the USA and its allies in the field of economics, conventional arms, control over international

organizations such as the UN and the UNESCO, the world public opinion, through the control over the world's major media. The only danger that threatens the U.S. interests is the one generated by itself, the threat of radical Islam. In this case the same danger threatens the people and objects, especially not in the U.S. own territory, but in the countries that are in varying degrees under the control of the Americans.

The reason for the high popularity of resolving political and economic issues through the use of the international terrorist network services lies in the advantages this method gives. In the existing system of relations, even the world hegemon, i.e. the United States, cannot straightforwardly, without the loss of reputation, use violence against its opponents. The connection between the client and the contractor in this case is not obvious, not only for ordinary performers, but also for managers of the terrorist networks of medium and even high-level. The use of criminal, extremist networks removes the issue of financing, because the illegal operations are not subject to inspection by state officials and civil society organizations. So the CIA receives illegal funding through controlling the spread of South American cocaine in the United States and derivatives of opiates, including heroin, in Western Europe and the Russian Federation. It becomes impossible to trace the sales chain, receipt of funds and their use which permits to avoid both the charge of illegal activities, reputation risks and the possibility of countermeasures from the side of the enemy intelligence agencies. A significant role in the use of terrorist networks is played by their low cost and high capacity to penetrate into the enemy territory. The personnel staff for the army and the security services need to be prepared over the years, it is a costly and complex procedure, but the members of terrorist networks are often volunteers who are involved in the operations from time to time and do not differ from the local population. For example, in Russia it is more profitable not to bring military professionals from overseas, but to recruit and organize local human resources with some

motivation of their own, whatever it may be. In terrorist and extremist networks only managers of high and middle levels are professionals, they are rarely put at the risk of exposure and destruction, which makes them virtually invulnerable.

The U.S. got interested in the use of extremists, including Islamic ones, after the Second World War, when the Americans set the task of exercising control over the Middle East countries possessing large oil reserves. The first step in the formation of this friendship between the Islamists and the United States, which has been existed for more than half a century, was initiated in February 1945, in the process of signing the Quincy pact between F.D. Roosevelt and the King of Saudi Arabia Abdul Aziz. By this pact the United States took control of the production and exclusive acquisition of Saudi oil. At the same time, the United States got the possibility to deploy military bases in this strategically important, from a geopolitical point of view, region of the planet. The signing of the Quincy pact became the starting point for setting up of an alliance for formation of transnational Islamist networks with the primary purpose to reduce the influence of the secular nationalism and left-wing ideologies. The U.S., together with the leaders of the KSA started to form networks of international terrorism based on Islamic ideology which at the moment was rapidly receding into the past. According to the Islamist ideology as secular nationalism and socialism are the ideological weapon, aimed against the only true religion, Islam. Philosophical and organizational support for the formation of the new ideology of the movement was taken from Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun "Muslim Brotherhood", which from that moment was taken under the protection of the CIA and funded by the KSA. In the process of supervising and controlling the transnational terrorist networks there formed an alliance that included: the KSA, Qatar, Pakistan and Turkey. Thus the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Jabhat Al-Nusra, the ISIS and other international networks have emerged. Terrorist networks are highly adaptable, it can be seen on the example of the revealed cooperation of Al-

Qaeda leaders with the largest Latin American criminal corporation MS-13 (Mara Salvatrucha), which has branches in a dozen countries in both Americas, and supervises a multibillion-dollar drug trafficking, racketeering, illegal operations of "laundering" and cashing money.

Methodologically, transnational terrorist networks operate on the principle that underlies the concept of network-centric war, developed under the leadership of Vice Admiral A.K. Sybrowsky. Technologically, terrorist network meets the most modern requirements. The base of transnational terrorist network is the exchange of information between its members. Modern transnational terrorist network is a holistic space having all the hallmarks of a traditional army and a state: it can perform various actions: to work with the media, the ideology, the financial sector, it is able to replace the work of a traditional state (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the Taliban in Afghanistan, the ISIS in Syria and Iraq), to carry out military operations. The network is able to curtail its activity in a certain place of the world and transfer its activity to another location, creating a completely new configuration, in case its activity is in jeopardy.

International terrorist networks widely use the media and social networks, thus, the ISIS is actively using the technology of communication of ideas information in Twitter, on You Tube. In the Arab world, there has emerged a youth fashion trend: the ISIS T-shirts and hoodies with its symbolism are very popular. Terror is a part of the modern world at all levels: social, media, political; it is integrated into the world economic structure, and it is its natural part – V. Kireev concludes.

The author of the abstract – V. Schensnovich

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**РОССИЯ
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Содержит материалы по текущим политическим,
социальным и религиозным вопросам

Дизайн – М.Б. Шнайдерман

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