

ISLAM AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD POLITICS AS ASSESSED BY SAMUEL P. “HUNTINGTON”

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ABSTRACT

The article analyzes the main works of Russian and Western researchers, namely Samuel P. Huntington and F. Fukuyama, on the reasons for the politicization of Islam, the influence of the globalization process on Muslim perception, and examines the international aspect of the Islamic factor in terms of “Clash of Civilizations”.

Keywords: Globalization, The Clash of Civilizations, core values, Islamic civilization, religion, fundamentalism, terrorism, culture, global village.

АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье анализируются основные работы российских и западных исследователей, а именно Сэмюэля П. Хантингтона и Ф. Фукуямы, о причинах политизации ислама, влиянии процесса глобализации на мусульманское восприятие, а также рассматривается международный аспект исламского фактора. в плане «столкновения цивилизаций».

Ключевые слова: Глобализация, Столкновение цивилизаций, основные ценности, исламская цивилизация, религия, фундаментализм, терроризм, культура, глобальная деревня.

INTRODUCTION

The sharp increase in the religious factor plays an important role in various interpretations of the modern world. One argues that the classic modernization project that has dominated the last two centuries is coming to an end. In another version, the situation in the modern world is embodied in the concept of the “end of history” by Fukuyama [16], in the third, the completion of the modernization project or a departure from it is manifested in Huntington’s famous thesis “on the conflict of civilizations”: Western civilizations are in an insurmountable conflict with other civilizations, and above all from the Islamic [17, p. 8]. This civilizational conflict is dominated by traditional, fundamentalist, anti-modern and anti-Western movements. At the same time, religious components become central, relegating the model of the

modern nation state to the background. “Islamic radicalism”, “Islamic extremism”, “Islamic terrorists” - these concepts have entered the lexicon of the world community over the past 20-25 years. The increased activity of Islamic terrorism, which led to the events of September 11, 2001, again aroused interest in the concept of the “clash of civilizations” by S. Huntington.

At the beginning of the 20th century. Islam was professed by 150–170 million people, i.e. a tenth of the then population of the Earth. There are more than 1.5 billion Muslims in the modern world, almost a quarter of the planet's inhabitants. Half of them are young people. They live in Asia, Africa, in the territory from Morocco to Indonesia, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. At the same time, millions of Muslims live in Europe, North and South America [5, p. 154]. The Islamic world creates political institutions with its own concepts of world order that correspond to Islamic canons. The largest of them is the Organization - the Islamic Conference, uniting 56 Muslim states, the Islamic Organization for Education, Science and Culture (analogous to UNESCO), the Islamic Commission of the International Red Crescent, the Islamic Development Bank, etc.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Today there is a lot of talk about Islamism, i.e. about the politicization of Islam. There are different points of view, different opinions on the issue of its emergence, influence on the internal political struggle of states and on international life. But many researchers believe that the main driving force aggravating the politicization of Islam is the process of globalization, that this is the most important catalyst that further deepens the problems associated with the phenomenon of Islamism. The Islamization of politics in the countries of the Muslim East occurred asynchronously, taking into account their socio-economic situation, domestic and foreign policy situations. All researchers of modern Islam write about the influence of modernization on Muslim perception. In their works, they assess the reasons for the revitalization of Islam in both the socio-economic and political spheres, and not only in the Afro-Asian region, but also in Europe and North America. They believe that these changes occur under the influence of domestic and international factors. The main international factor, in their opinion, is the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. As for the internal reasons, this is primarily the very nature of Islamic teachings. The unity of Islam with politics, culture, economics and other aspects of society contributes to the activation of its role in Muslim countries. Currently, the idea of creating a “new Caliphate” is being popularized in these countries, which is also the focus of attention of many orientalists, in particular specialists in Islam. Scientists note different perceptions of this idea in Muslim countries. The Arab world imagines the "new

Caliphate" as the early caliphate, when the righteous caliphs ruled; for Iran it is the state of the Abbasid Caliphate; In Turkey, the idea of creating a caliphate during the Ottoman era is being promoted. Taliban religious fundamentalists in Afghanistan tried to pit Islam against the Western world. The main goal of the Taliban was to unite all Muslim countries into a single Islamic caliphate. At the same time, they considered Afghanistan to be the center of this state. Even the magazine that the Taliban began to publish was called "Caliphate". In it, they propagated the idea that the creation of an emirate in Afghanistan is the first step towards the establishment of the Caliphate. Today, the Islamic State has taken on this task and is trying to make the dream of radical Islamists come true in a more brutal form.

Islamic movements are classified depending on the degree of their influence on the socio-political life of the country. These are moderates who, while criticizing power structures, at the same time compromise with them. And also extremist ones who use radical forms of struggle, even terrorism.

Well-known specialist in international relations D.N. Baryshnikov, summarizing Islamic projects of the world order, identifies three main directions: modernized, traditionalist, fundamentalist. Analyzing each direction, the author notes that the modernized direction calls for progress, but with national specifics. They often call for overcoming antagonism between religions and allow for the possibility of their cooperation [1, p. 179]. For the first time in 1999, a call for a "dialogue of civilizations" was heard from the UN rostrum by Iranian President Khatami, whose political position and views were pro-democratic and liberal. His call for dialogue was the antithesis of Huntington's "clash of civilizations" concept. The new ideas introduced into Iranian politics by this president, especially his thoughts on the compatibility of Islamic values with the democratic principles of the West, are still very popular among young people and Iranian women today. Supporters of the traditionalist movement view globalization as a detrimental phenomenon for their countries. They call for limiting the influence of Western values on Islamic states. Even if some of the traditionalists admit some kind of connection with the West in the sphere of economics or other areas, they demand mandatory observance of their religious values. As for fundamentalist concepts, their task is to rethink reality, modern sociocultural and political structures in the spirit of sacred texts. Supporters of fundamentalism call for building a society that complies with the canons of Sharia. They refuse to recognize the position of religious reformers who argue that religion must adapt to modern realities [1, p. 180]. The general position of religious fundamentalists was formulated by the leaders of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in the 1930s, calling for a return to the roots of Islam and widely known throughout

the Islamic world and beyond. By specifically pointing out the enemies of Muslims and the perpetrators of their troubles, calling the people to unity and fight against them, radical movements can be recognized in a particular state or region. For example, before the Taliban invasion of Afghanistan, the struggle between various groups prevented the creation of stability in the country and the development of a unified state system, while Islamic traditions and values were ignored. Of course, given the situation in the country, when the people are exhausted from wars, they can support any forces that could restore order in the state. These forces turned out to be the Taliban, who promised to establish calm in the country, thereby receiving the support of the people.

The main provisions of radical Islamist concepts of the future world order come down to political expansion in countries where Islam spreads using violent methods in disseminating their views [1, p. 181].

Events in the Middle East and North Africa, which began in 2011 and went down in history as the “Arab Spring,” contributed to a revision of approaches to the situation in the region. These events influenced the peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict, complicating the path to settlement. Mass demonstrations that began in North African countries and spread to the Middle East led to a change in the ruling elite. These changes further strengthened the religious factor not only in the countries of the region, but also beyond its borders. “What happened in the Middle East and North Africa in the spring of 2011 was unprecedented. The explosion of discontent among the broad masses this time was directed not against foreign, but against “our own” regimes,” this is how the famous scientist and political figure E.M. spoke about these events. Primakov [13, p. 378]. Analyzing these events, E.M. Primakov notes that “... the pan-Arab idea was replaced in the last century by country-specific nationalisms in the Arab world.” And what is most unexpected, as the author points out, Islamic extremists in none of the countries of the “Arab Spring” led the demonstrators [13, p. 379]. But the West, taking advantage of the situation, began to use it in its own strategic interests and thereby aggravated the situation in the region and radicalized Islamic organizations, which, in turn, caused an aggravation of the process of politicization of Islam.

The famous Russian orientalist R.G. Landa, in “Political Islam: Preliminary Results,” draws attention to the fact that over the past three decades, the active politicization of Islam has led to large-scale movements under its auspices in the Afro-Asian region and even where Muslims do not constitute the majority. Further, the author points to the factor of “Islamic danger” in Western countries, which gives rise to a variety of interpretations. The French sociologist O. Mongin analyzed this

condition in this way: “In order to identify one of the most terrible threats to democracy and the republic, literally all terms were easily confused - traditionalism, fundamentalism, radicalism...” [7, p. 33].

Despite the fact that both the West and the East have tried to study the situation, take a deeper look and systematize some currents in Islam, the attitude towards this religion remains unchanged. Since the late 1990s. The spearhead of the Islamist movement is increasingly directed against the United States, which is seen as the main defender of world Zionism.

Developing this theory, R.G. Landa, citing the French historian and expert on Islam J. Kepel, who argued in 2001 that “Islamist movements have entered a decline phase” [4, p. 9], believes that he was mistaken in his conclusions. “Even the tragic events of September 11, 2001 did not shake his conviction. But at the same time, the author writes, Kepel, of course, is right in many respects. The world of Islam, which over the last quarter of the last century has experienced truly revolutionary changes in political, and to a lesser extent, socio-economic life - especially in Iran, Afghanistan, India, Sudan, Bosnia - needs stabilization, calming, understanding of what has happened and continues to happen ”[6, p. 12]. Having analyzed this situation, Kepel sees a solution to the problem in the emergence of “a kind of Muslim democracy” capable of “combining culture and religion with political and economic realities” [4, p. 321].

Researcher Yu. G., who devoted half a century to the study of Islam. Petrash in his work “Islam” analyzed the complex phenomenon of Islam from the standpoint of scientific understanding, for “... only science, as a tool for obtaining knowledge about existence, based on strictly verified facts, leads us along the shortest path to the truth” [12, p. 28]. The author examines topical issues related to the Islamization of politics. Analyzing historical facts, the author once again emphasizes that this religion has been used for centuries as a political tool. And today, radical Islamists pervert sacred religious values to achieve all sorts of dark goals and desires.

The problem of Islamization of the domestic and foreign policies of some Muslim states continues to occupy a priority place in the works of orientalists. It is paradoxical that some researchers explain this process by the beginning of modernization, which swept the states of Asia and Africa after they gained independence: the deeper the modernization, the stronger the opposition of religious circles, the more radical their response. These countries began to adopt Western experience in this direction. In this regard, modernization had the character of Westernization, when Western socio-political values were taken as the basis for the transformation of society, which caused heated discussions among religious leaders.

In parallel with modernization, the reform of Islam begins in these countries. Orientalist scientist Z.I. Levin, analyzing the reformist concept in Islam, explains the reasons for the disagreements and splits among its followers. He points to the factor of globalization, to the formation of a new world order, which contribute to the deepening of the confrontation between Eastern and Western value systems. All this leads to a shift in the spiritual, psychological and cultural spheres in the East, which, in turn, contributes to the politicization of religion, especially in the Muslim world [9, p. 225].

Researchers, comparing Islamists and true believers, note primarily the political nature of the movement of the former (Islamism). They argue that Islamism is not a religious movement. They explain this statement by the fact that Islamists do not call for reforms of religion, but demand a change in its role in the life of society. At the same time, Islamism does not recognize both the ideology of the state and the policies of the existing regime. Islamists believe that the world order infringes on the position of third world countries, especially Muslim ones. Hence the negative attitude towards the leading countries that support and guide these orders.

It is worth noting the study by M.S. Meyer, *Historical Dynamics of Islamic Civilization*. A well-known specialist in the field of Islam and its influence on world politics, having analyzed the stages of the formation and development of Islam, comes to the conclusion that in the last decades of the 20th - early 21st centuries. there is a consolidation of independent national states, which has opened a new stage in the modern evolution of the Muslim world, which is distinguished by the rise of Islamism and Islamic fundamentalism, which leads to a conflict of opinions regarding the role of Islam in the development of modern Muslim societies [10, p. 20].

The works of the famous Russian political scientist, expert on Islam G.I. are extremely important for the study of this problem. Mirsky. In the context of the issue being studied, G.I. Mirsky notes that no other religion is spoken or written about as much as Islam. “And the point is not that the number of Muslims in the world is growing faster than the number of adherents of other religions (more than 1.5 billion people), but the unprecedented political activity of the Muslim community,” notes the author [11, p. 41]. He expresses his position regarding the place of the Islamic factor in world politics in disagreement with some long-held ideas about the essence of the relationship between the West and the world of Islam. At the same time, he points out the fallacy of S. Huntington’s interpretation of this problem about the clash of civilizations. Paying attention to such interpretations as the “revival” or “awakening” of Islam, G.I. Mirsky explains: “As a religion, Islam has never died or fallen asleep, so it can neither be reborn nor awaken. We can talk about the rise of self-awareness

of the world Muslim community, about the entry of this community into the international arena” [11, p. 42]. The author in his works pays special attention to the reasons for the rise of Muslim radicalism, extremism, terrorism and considers it untenable to explain these processes by purely economic reasons. It is known that terrorists from Egypt, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries come from an educated and financially secure environment, therefore, the reasons must be sought elsewhere. According to G.I. Mirsky, “...they underlie what is called “Islamic fundamentalism”” [11, p. 44].

Many researchers, including G.I. Mirsky, they believe that the indignation of Muslims is caused by specific American policies in general in the world of Islam, and in particular in the countries of the Near and Middle East. Muslims feel the consequences of American policy much more acutely and directly than other peoples, which causes the radicalism of their response. They are outraged by the Americans' insistence on imposing their own rules, which contradict their civilizational foundation. Under the slogan of establishing democracy and protecting human rights, they seek to strengthen their positions in a particular region that is of vital interest to them.

How does Russia relate to the Islamic region? The answer to this question is given by V. Ya. Belokrenitsky in his work “The Islamic world and its significance for modern Russia.” Russia is one of five states that have observer status in the largest organization - the Islamic Conference, which includes 57 countries from four continents - Asia, Africa, America and Europe. Russia received this status in 2005, becoming the first major observer country. As for the countries of the Near Islamic Abroad, there are participants from the CIS. Among them, Kazakhstan stands out as a major trading partner of Russia, then Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, etc. Thus, according to 2004 indicators, the total volume of trade with six neighboring Muslim countries amounted to 11 billion dollars, and with the entire Islamic world it was approximately 26– 28 billion dollars [3, p. 13]. On the one hand, these are high figures, considering that preferences are mainly made towards Europe and the West, China and India, on the other hand, of course, they are low. The decline in trade with Muslim countries - members of the CIS is explained by the geopolitical changes that occurred with the collapse of the USSR.

The author points out that “...despite the decline in the geo-economic importance of the nearby Islamic belt for Russia, its geopolitical role remains very significant” [3, p. 14]. Draws attention to the fact that Russia, with the Islamic world to the south of its borders, forms a continuous cultural and humanitarian space without natural barriers, a territory for the spread of the Russian language and literature, strata of

common traditions in the social, mental and political spheres. It should also be noted that Russia is connected with this world through its Muslim areas - the southern Urals, the Volga region and the North Caucasus. More than 15 million Muslims live in Russia, accounting for 9% of the population. All these factors give special importance to Russia's relations with the Muslim world in general, the Caucasian and Central Asian areas in particular [3, p. 13].

The work of many foreign scientists is devoted to the process of Islamization of politics. The famous French political scientist-orientalist, researcher of political Islam O. Roy, analyzing the process of the emergence and development of Islamism and the influence of globalization on Islam, comes to the conclusion that "... re-Islamization, which has swept the modern Muslim world, is an integral part and consequence of the process of acculturation, that is displacement of traditional cultures by Westernization" [14, p. 83]. He draws attention to the process of nationalization of Islam, explaining this by the fact that large Islamist movements refuse international activities, trying to concentrate their attention on domestic political problems, while they turn into a nationalist force. The author shows this process using the example of Iran, where the "nationalization of Islamism" is taking place. Points to the fact that Iranian Islamism is no longer supporting Shiites in neighboring states in the region. And in the fight against the Taliban in the 1990s. even collaborated with the USA and Russia. The author explains the nationalism of Iranian Islamists by the activities of the authorities, who consider the interests of the nation-state to be a priority, a reality. He believes that blurring the line between nationalism and Islamism helps bring secular nationalists and Islamists together. But, on the other hand, such a merger contributes to the expansion of the political space of Islamists [14, p. 176].

The American scientist T. Friedman explains the backwardness of the "third world" in the process of globalization by the flaws of its culture. He feels special "sorrow" at the cultural backwardness of the Muslim world. In his opinion, Islam is fundamentally incapable of globalization, i.e. to the assimilation of foreign spiritual values. "Arab youth have a negative attitude towards the West only because the "infidels" live better than the "people of God." Based on this attitude, it perceives itself as the vanguard of humanity and calls for the destruction of the "infidels"" [15, p. 480]. Russian historians A. Khazanov and V. Ushakov express their disagreement with Friedman's conclusions. Referring to historical facts, they explain their disagreements with Friedman as follows: "During the existence of the caliphate in the 8th–12th centuries. Muslims took over the baton of intellectual culture of the ancient world; Arab scientists showed the highest achievements in science and art." Further, Russian scientists argue that today's problems associated with some stagnation in the

Middle East are explained by the active intervention of the West in this region, and not, as Friedman believes, by Islamic dogmatism [19, p. 126]. It is well known that the United States is waging an uncompromising struggle in this region with countries that contradict its position and strategy. Countries that refuse to unify and join the process of globalization become the main target of the United States and transnational corporations. The influence of information technologies, which are becoming the main political and economic resource in modern international relations, is considered by Professor of the University of Hamburg K. Hafed. He believes that in the modern world information technology is becoming the main political and economic resource, that the media create many erroneous and one-sided stereotypes that distort the image of the West in the Muslim world and the image of the Islamic world in the West: "In the Western media, the prevailing tendency is to identify Islam with fundamentalism, fundamentalism - with terrorism, and political violence is interpreted without taking into account its social and political context" [18, p. 123].

French political scientist and Arabist, director of the French Center for Archeology and Social Sciences in Sanaa F. Burga characterizes the latest trends in the Islamist revolution in Western assessments of this phenomenon. In his work "Facing Political Islam," he points out that most Western analysts are looking for the roots of numerous acts of violence in the Near and Middle East primarily in the religious factor, characterizing Islamism as a manifestation of exclusively religious fundamentalism, hostile to democracy, Western values and intolerant other religions [2, p. 112]. F. Burga considers this approach a serious methodological error. He views Islamism primarily as a political phenomenon, the forms of which are primarily determined by domestic and international political factors. In the context of internal political struggle, violence on the part of the opposition is most often generated by violence on the part of the ruling regimes.

When considering the international aspect of the Islamic factor, many Western analysts ignore the role of Western foreign policy in the emergence of Islamism and its use of violent methods. Since the end of the Cold War, the Islamic threat has replaced communism as the West's new global enemy. And the more the West exaggerated the Islamic factor in the media, promoting it as a threat to the world community, the harsher the Islamists' response was. The West's preferential support for Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, air strikes and economic blockade of Iraq, then the entry of American troops into this country under the guise of searching for weapons of mass destruction have caused and continue to cause outrage among many people in the Arab-Muslim world and are initiating retaliatory actions, a French researcher believes F. Burga. He views Islamism as an effective reincarnation of the

old Arab nationalism, clothed in forms more relatable to the population. “Religious language is more suitable for expressing nationalist feelings than imported concepts” [2, p. 114].

So, in the second half of the 90s. XX - early XXI centuries. the main trends in the development of Islamism in the countries of the Islamic area are highlighted: the strengthening of authoritarian regimes in most countries of the Near and Middle East, which reflected the frontal offensive of Islamism; political and ideological stratification within Islamism itself; the slow change in Western approaches to assessing Islamism - while maintaining the dominant positions of those who view Islamism as a cancer in the body of the Islamic world and the main source of increased violence, the number of followers and analysts who emphasize the cultural aspects of Islamism is growing, indicating the role of the ruling regimes in the escalation of violence.

Islamism emerged in the struggle with the West; this is a challenge posed to the West, many orientalists, in particular specialists in Islam, believe. To remove the confrontation between Islamism and the West, significant changes are needed in the perception of each other, in the position and behavior of the parties. To achieve consensus regarding modern civilization, the West must be based on common values and formed on the basis of cultural cooperation instead of the unilateral imposition of one civilizational model, as is currently the case [19, p. 125].

The West must abandon the pernicious idea that it has a perpetual monopoly on the production and dissemination of modern civilization, and accept without question that universal values are contained in both the cultural and historical experiences of non-Western societies.

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