

RISE OF THE TERRORISM UNDER THE GUISE OF ISLAM DURING THE COLD WAR

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Abstract

The analysis of main factors and history of the rise of terrorism under the guise of islam during the cold war is held. The fact that process of emergence of radical movements in the near and middle east countries was derived from both internal socio-political and external global geopolitical processes is shown.

It is mentioned, that after the gain of state independence Muslim countries stuck between two world poles, and Islam, in different versions matched with nationalism, in dependence with the nature of ruling regime showed itself in various forms. Social and political discontent of the population in these countries translated into cultural field through refusal of nationalist ideology of ruling regimes and its substitution by Islamic system of views. As a result juxtaposition of nationalist ideology with religious system of views in Muslim countries brought to international arena Islamic movements.

It is maintained, that the Soviet Union in its fight for geopolitical supremacy on the near and middle east, as well as in the south Asia supported elaboration and interpretation of some Islamic dogmas in socialist way. The west headed by the USA, in its turn, actively used it as a tool against the spread of leftist ideas in these regions.

Invasion of the soviet troops in December 1979 to Afghanistan became a real reflection of aggravation of the global ideological confrontation, which turned into open armed clash. Engagement of thousands of foreign fighters from different countries in Afghanistan war stimulated creation of transnational network to “protect Muslims from threats”, what in next decades turned into global network of activists of so called “salafi jihadism”. most of these “jihadists” participated in conflicts, first in Bosnia, then in Chechnya, the south-east Asia, the horn of Africa, and finally, in Iraq and Syria. They as an ideological basis of the activity used certain Islamic dogmas, artificially separated from their religious, philosophical and spiritual context.

Keywords: *terrorism, Muslim brotherhood, Arab nationalism, Islamism movement, afghan services bureau, al-Qaida, foreign fighters*

In the early 90^s of the 20th century the world experienced fundamental changes. The collapse of the USSR, once a powerful state, as well as the failure of socialist block and communist ideology marked, at the first stage, the end of the global ideological confrontation era, called “the cold war”. Secondly, a number of new independent states appeared on the world map, followed by ethnic conflicts arose on the territory of the majority of them. Many international terrorist organizations of ethno-national and separatist nature were involved in these conflicts and led sabotage-terroristic war on the side of separatist movements.

This period is also remarkable with the growth of terrorist organizations in whose activities religious motives became more dominant, and the best-known terrorist acts were executed namely by these organizations. as Bruce Hoffman said, “in 1994, for example, a third (sixteen) of the forty-nine identifiable international terrorist groups active that year could be classified as religious in character and/or motivation; and in 1995, their number grew yet again, to account for

nearly half (twenty-six, or 46 percent) of the fifty-six known active international terrorist groups” [8, 91].

The last quarter of the 20th century was marked by emergence and rise of international terrorism, which at the beginning of 21st century turned into a global threat under the guise of one of the world religions - Islam. A problem related to a growth of terroristic activities of these organizations under the veil of Islam on the border of 20-21st century became so acute, that it gradually gained geopolitical tones, where Islam, interpreted in a particular way by radical groups, got a place of ideological foundation of these extremist organizations. They constantly try to justify their violent actions referring to the Quran – holy Islamic book, as well as act under the slogan of jihad against non-Islamic and moderate Islamic part of the world community.

Present article gives an analysis of the main factors which lead to an emergence of terroristic organizations under the concealing of Islam at the second part of 20th century. This problem is also considered within global ideological confrontation of world leading states. Given approach mostly derives from the fact that terrorism was always used and continuous to be used by political powers and governments of various states, including leading powers, to reach their own geopolitical targets.

Socio-political processes in the Middle East in the second part of 20th century

The development of terrorism after the World War II in a certain extent was stimulated by anti-colonial struggle of peoples, which was caused by a natural historical stage of development of their national self-awareness. Peoples of Asia, Africa and America stepped forward for their self-identification and state independence.

Situation on the international arena in that period was characterized by great socio-political crises and emergence of opposed military-political and ideological blocks headed by the USA and USSR, sustainable anti-military and anti-colonial demonstrations along with the collapse of once powerful empires. In this period through to the downfall of the USSR, which was called “the cold war”, superpowers were engaged in problems of global confrontation, neglecting the interests of other countries and regions. Namely global military-political and ideological confrontation along with their race for geopolitical superiority in certain world regions, according to academician Y.M.Primakov, “foreordain striving of each of them, often without any scruples, to attract to their side as many movements and organizations as possible” [17, 16].

The socio-political situation, shaped in the 60s in the North Africa and Near East, was associated with the fact that countries of those regions, after breaking free of colonialism, were trying to find independent ways of development. *From one side*, social movements and youth organizations, which declared their intention to support in every way possible a fair Palestinian struggle for returning their occupied by Israel territories, were trying to get an active involvement into construction of a state in their own countries. *From the second side*, the Soviet leadership, which was given a priority by those regions’ countries, trying to keep an initiative in a contest for influence, rendered them economic and military-technical assistance. Meanwhile the North African and Near East leaders, looking up to the USSR with its official atheistic stance, clearly understood that they would not be able to avoid the issue with Islam. *From the third side*, the West, in the course of confrontation with the Soviet Union, was calculating possible scenarios and intimidate with Marxist ideology, emphasizing exactly an anti-religious nature of this doctrine. So, all these factors created multi-vector nature of socio-political development in these states.

In post-war period a majority of Muslim countries (except Muslim republics of the former USSR and Bosnia) gained the state independence. In the 60s, the ruling regimes there, according to their attitude to Islam, were divided in two groups, which by their preferences and political orientations in a certain degree reflected the balance of power between the two ideological blocs. The group of states, which supported close relations with the USSR, restricted activities of traditional Islamic institutions, trying to turn them into conductors of socialist ideology among

religion-oriented masses. In the other group of countries, which were allied with the Western bloc, headed by the USA, the attitude to Islam, depending on position of political power, varied from fusion of the state and religion (Saudi Arabia) to secularism (Turkey). So, towards the end of 60s Muslim countries stuck between two world poles, and Islam, matching in different variations with nationalism, showed itself according to nature of regimes.

The USSR establishment supported countries which led the national liberation struggle and anti-colonial wars. However, in antagonism with the West along with them it also helped radical organizations, which were intended to untie an armed confrontation under nationalist and religious slogans. As a result, in 60-70s, parties and united patriotic fronts in Arabic countries consisting of communists and nationalists started to emerge, which pointed at their involvement in the orbit of communist camp and the spread of the USSR influence in this region. That time a struggle for “socialist synthesis” of Islam, elaboration and interpretation of its dogmas in socialist mode in Islamic countries started to occur. Leaders and several representatives of national liberation movements and organizations in Muslim countries proved, that Islam from its very beginning held socialist ideas [6, 474]. In all these, they saw an opportunity to spread and establish the socialism among faithful, so the basics of philosophy of Islam had been passed to masses through socialist prism. For example, the President of Egypt Nasser in 1965 on one of the sessions of the Arab Socialist Union claimed that Islam like Marxist teaching rejects exploitation of man and from such perspective Islam is “for 100% a socialist religion” [15, 113]. As another example, the attempt to mix Islam with Marxism by ideologists of the People’s Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI) Ali Shariati and Ayatollah Teleghani can also be given, where social equity, struggle against imperialism and exploitation of a man by another man as well as building of classless society were taken as a foundation [16]. However, economic projects, implemented with the help of the USSR did not influence the socio-economic situation in the countries of the region as it was expected, what was mainly caused by a lack of knowledge on the region and use of an obsolete technology.

An important, if not the main role, in formation of the Islamic mentality and actions in the 60s belongs to the Society of the Muslim Brothers (*al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*, a.k.a. *Muslim Brotherhood*), founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928 in Egypt. At the first stages they welcomed Nasser’s accession to power in July 1952, but his nationalist project soon contradicted their Islamic ideology. In 1954 the Society was dissolved and defeated, its members were arrested and exiled, where the majority of them moved mainly to Saudi Arabia and Jordan. The rest of them, who lived outside Egypt, in 20 years managed not only to restore their power and improve, but also to turn into a rich and mass-scaled organization. Thus, many members of the Society who came to Saudi Arabia, which had already started to receive a significant income from the oil trade, made a class of better educated personnel than the most of Saudis. The Society members also had a great influence in the Medical University, where ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood were taught to students, who came from all over the Muslim countries. This led to a popularization of their ideas. During the stay in Saudi Arabia the most of the Society members made a fortune and went back to Egypt after Nasser’s death in 1970, where they started to invest in construction of the Islamic banking system which financially supported movements [11]. So, by the beginning of 70s a movement which foundation was consisted of Wahhabi ulama and intellectuals of the Islamic movement of the Muslim Brotherhood occurred, and it is clear that in times of global geopolitical confrontation this enemy of the President of Egypt Nasser’s socialist ideas could not stay away from the Western block’s attention.

The defeat of the Arab countries in the war with Israel in 1967 changed the perspective in views of regional population. If earlier Nasser’s revolutionary-nationalist policy of stimulating the regional economic growth had better popularity in the Arab countries, after the recent events Saudi Arabia, which due to the oil production and increasing oil prices turned into a state with financial power, became the example of prosperity. In that period consensus on nationalist ideas of development in the Arab countries started to crack at the seams, and the Islamist ideology of

the Muslim Brotherhood along with other protest ideologies tried to cover occurred cultural gap. It was the same time when radical nationalist and religious organizations which earlier cooperated with the USSR under the pretense of support to the fair struggle of Palestinian people began to apply to Saudi Arabia for help.

It needs to be emphasized, that founded in 1960 by the initiative of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran and Venezuela the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) also had a great influence on the socio-political situation in the region. By the first half of 70^s OPEC controlled nearly 20% of world oil production. When in 1973 Israel once again defeated the military coalition of the Arab countries, the Persian Gulf oil magnates raised the oil prices 6-7 times, trying to exert pressure on its allies and protect interests of their states. All these resulted in economic crisis in Europe, and as Russian orientalist V.N.Plastun notes, “transnational corporations had no power to confront this unexpected move. It turned to become a weapon of the Arab (Islamic) world against non-Muslim West” [16]. The Gulf countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, decided to increase oil production in future as this way leads to quick and large profiteering. Eventually, these regimes “gradually lost their ability to mobilize the society” and, as A.Ignatenko noted in his interview, “till 70s Wahhabism existed in local rural version. An ordinary person could get an impression, that if Wahhabis possessed Holy city Mecca, it meant that they embodied true Islam. However, when oil dollars brought this sort of Islam to the political arena, it became clear what and whom the world faced. Ideas of Wahhabism started to penetrate the mind of Muslims in Egypt, Algeria and almost throughout whole Muslim world” [24].

In the second half of 1960s a generation born at independence in the most Muslim countries became adults. It did not take part in the struggles against colonial oppression, which legitimized nationalist ruling regimes, and did not witness all those events. It was mainly gathered in poor quarters of city suburbs and hardly suited social structure of the country. As a result, cultural and social gap between youth and old generation became as big as it never was throughout whole history of Islam. Thus, social and political dissatisfaction displayed itself namely in the cultural field through rejection of nationalist ideology of ruling regimes and its substitution by the system of Islamic views. This process arose among students. Student quarters, which, until the end of 1970s, were under the control of nationalist groups, were passed to Islamic movements. At that time Islamic intellectual class formed out of students began to take shape. It asserted itself from the beginning of 1970s in student campuses in Egypt, Malaysia and Pakistan, and then spread throughout the whole Muslim world. Islamist intellectuals did not consist of homogenous social groups with clear targets. Started with cultural breach with nationalism it continued with turning Islamism into a fight for political dominion. These all let the movement attract followers from various social segments with different class interests [11].

The same period the Western countries headed by the USA were worried on the growth of the USSR influence what made them have intense consultations among them as well as with various Arab regimes. To fight the dispersal of communist ideology close cooperation of secret services of France, Egypt, Iran, Saudi Arabia etc. was organized. According to prof. A.Ignatenko, all these efforts ended up in the shaping of an informal group, which members consistently used Islam to achieve different given goals. This group included the head of SDECE (France’s external intelligence agency) Alexandre de Marenches, the President of Egypt in 1970 Anwar Sadat, the Shah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the King of Morocco Hasan II and the former director of the general intelligence directorate of Saudi Arabia Kamal Adham. In September 1976 abovementioned intelligence services signed an agreement where the fight against spread of communist ideas as well as measures to prevent the Soviet influence in the Third World countries and emergence of regimes with “socialist orientation” was determined as the main goal [10]. Due to the successful activities of this group, a reorientation of Egypt to the West took place and in 1972 the Soviet military experts were expelled from the country; Somali

rejected the services of the Soviet military experts and started the war against Ethiopia which proclaimed the “socialist orientation” etc.

Moreover, in some Arab countries, the organizations against communism have been created, which supported “anti-Soviet slogans” such as “let’s bring the Muslims of the USSR back to Islam” [14]. Islam was used as an ideological foundation for these organizations in their struggle against communist ideology. The use of Islam in the anti-communist struggle became possible as the Soviet Union supported non-religious leftist political regimes and organizations in the countries of the Near East. By the time of expansion of the Soviet influence in the Arab countries Islam did not prevent the spread of the left-wing ideas. In these circumstances, as prof. A. Ignatenko fairly noted, to prevent this ideological expansion another sort of Islam was needed, which would not only get in the way of leftist ideas, but simultaneously could become an alternative for already existed weak in political perspective Islam [10].

A great role in the spread of different Islam from the early 1970s was played by the processes taken place in Egypt. After Anwar Sadat’s accession to power this process was accelerated. In 1971 he met the members of the Muslim Brotherhood whose activities were banned in Nasser’s times. During the meeting Anwar Sadat declared the “common goals in the struggle against atheism and communism” [4]. Soon, in Algeria, Sudan, occupied Palestinian territory, Lebanon and other Arab countries numerous radical Islamist groupings and unions began to take shape.

Afghan armed confrontation

In the second half of 1970s several significant historical events which played an important role in international relations and in further aggravation of geopolitical confrontation of the leading states in the Near and Middle East took place.

First, in April 1978 military coup d’état called “the Saur (April) Revolution” took place in Afghanistan and brought to power pro-Soviet the People’s Democratic Party led by Taraki. After this coup many of Afghani regions were plagued by rebellion. It was the time when the first foreign fighters started to come to Afghanistan to fight the communist regime. As noted Anthony Hyman, referring to the period between the April 1978 coup and the December 1979 Soviet invasion, that even in the first phase of the struggle against the Soviet-backed Kabul regime there was a small foreign Muslim presence, composed of Pakistani, Egyptian and other Arab volunteers, including medical doctors as well as fighters. Some black American Muslims and Muslim Filipinos from Mindanao also came to fight [9, 74].

Second, in 1979 the Islamic Revolution in Iran won followed by the overthrow of the Shah regime what led to a weakening of positions of the abovementioned anti-communist labour group. NATO’s Southern flank also appeared under the threat, so the Western countries headed by the USA had to look for a new base to transfer earlier placed in Iran powerful tracking devices used in monitoring the territory of the Southern regions of the USSR [5, pp.187-235]. On the other hand, signing by the President of Egypt Anwar Sadat, who led a pro-American policy, a treaty with Israel and his visit to this country in the mid-1970s draw the indignation and protests in the Arab countries, where the population interpreted the friendly embraces between an Arab and a Jew as a betrayal of Islam. These circumstances forced young radicals to look for another way out of the crisis, and they saw it in Iran, where the Islamic Republic was established and the Shah’s regime was overthrown. The Iranian revolution became an example for them in strengthening Islam’s role in political games and turning it into the state policy, as well as in confronting the influence of the Western countries, particularly the USA, in the Near and Middle East. Soon, on the occupied Palestinian territories, a number of organizations financed and monetarily assisted by Iran were formed.

Third, in November 1979 nearly 1500-3000 radical Islamists from Egypt, Sudan, Kuwait, Iraq, the North and South Yemen under the lead of Juhayman al-Otaybi executed the Grand Mosque seizure of the Masjid al Haram in Mecca. According to Bodanski, they were trained in

Iran and a majority of them were taught by instructors from GDR, Cuba and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The rebellion was defeated in 22 days by government army with the help of France's Special Forces. During the operation 2700 people of the state army and 450 people of rebels died. In January 1980, 63 participants of the rebellion including Juhayman al-Otaybi were executed [2, 49-50], [10]. This event became an evidence of presence of explosive religious extremist potential inside the country. It might also influence young radicals and ensure them in idea, that protection of the Islamic world and establishment of the Islamic ruling system is possible only through violence.

Fourth is that the USA began rapprochement with China and installation of a tracking station on the border with the Soviet Union to monitor its territory. Preparations for military cooperation between the US and China began [5, 187-235].

Fifth, April 1978 military coup d'état in Afghanistan alarmed governments of the Western and Muslim countries as most of them saw this event as evidence of Soviet encroachment into the region. Six month prior to the entry of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, on 3 July 1979, the US President Jimmy Carter signed a command on secret aid to pro-Soviet Kabul regime opponents [10]. According to Robert Gates, US President authorized \$500,000 in covert aid to the Afghan rebels [7, 143].

Thus, in the late 1970s, the situation around Afghanistan which from geopolitical perspective was a part of the USSR's influence zone was changing rapidly. Amin's 1979 coup forced the Soviet leadership to take drastic measures which ended up in decision to send the Soviet forces to Afghanistan. Analysts are inclined to think that this decision was made particularly under the influence of deliberate actions of the USA which used "also "extraordinary" methods of the National Security Agency (NSA), CIA and diplomacy", what forced the USSR to meet enormous expenses [5, 187-235].

The entry of Soviet forces in Afghanistan was deemed by the world community to be not other than a violation of the principles of international law and aggression against sovereign state, while Muslim countries perceived this decision as an act of armed violence of the atheistic superpower against the Islamic state. The US also qualified the decision of the Soviet leadership as Moscow's desire to get a control over the energy resources of the Near and Middle East – the region which was declared a zone of the US vital interests. These circumstances created a base for rapprochement of the US with Muslim countries which evaluated the entry of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan as an aggression against Islam.

The Soviet invasion radically changed a situation also inside Afghanistan. Afghans, some spontaneously, some for ideological and political reasons, en masse joined the ranks of anticommunist resistance forces. There also were some who joined because Soviet military operations destroyed their houses, crops, cattle and villages what made them leave the country. The leadership of Afghanistan's anti-Soviet Islamist movement emerged during the 1960s from a group of scholars of Islamic law who were students and postgraduates of Cairo's al-Azhar University, the preeminent institution of religious learning in the modern Sunni world [20, 182].

The leaders of Afghanistan's Islamist movements as students and postgraduates of al-Azhar University came under the ideological influence of the Muslim Brotherhood and develop links with its followers. Therefore, the Egyptian strand of Islamist thought associated with the Muslim Brotherhood defined the ideological basis of activities of Afghanistan's anti-communist movement. This fact helps to explain the predominance of Egyptian Islamism in the intellectual roots of al-Qa'ida and other groups born out of Afghani anti-Soviet resistance movement [19, pp.69-83]. In general, the Afghan anti-Soviet resistance was represented by a coalition of seven parties, which received financial and material support from overseas including weapons, ammunition and various subsidies. In support for anti-Soviet resistance preference was given to groups closer to Wahhabism and the Muslim Brotherhood [25].

Russian (Soviet) researchers assert that on a rapidly changing geopolitical background, ideology against Soviet expansion led to the formation of a paradoxical alliance between

Americans, Chinese, pro-Western Muslims and anti-Western radical Islamists who in the struggle against the Soviet Union decided to play a religious card - Islam. So, to confront the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, along with the national-liberation struggle against the aggressor and his puppet regime, was created an international coalition. This coalition included the United States, China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. The real reason for creating an anti-Soviet coalition and organizing an armed struggle against the USSR was hidden in the very essence of the global confrontation between the two super-powers, in which the West used the religious factor for its political purposes. As analysts note, in this global confrontation of great powers in the Middle East and South Asia, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, China and Egypt had their own interests. In particular, Saudi Arabia was keen not only to export its internal extremist potential, but also to intercept Iran's initiative to support Islamists around the world. The entry of Soviet troops in Afghanistan became a real opportunity for Saudi Arabia to redirect an impulse of Islamic radicalism accumulated within the country, and with the use of slogans of "Muslim solidarity" and call for jihad against communism, Riyadh and Washington successfully moved the assets of the radical Islamism from the Near to the Middle East and to the South Asia. A heavy financial flow from Saudi Arabia to Afghanistan, military assistance by weapons, volunteers along with specially formed for the war in Afghanistan the Arab expeditionary corps was executed. Pakistan, using a unique opportunity as well as military and financial assistance from the US, planned to create a zone of influence between the USSR, Iran and India. China, in its turn, in order to modernize its economy and increase its military-strategic potential, also counted on receiving from the US the corresponding support [5, 187-235].

According to O.Moldaliev, for the greater effectiveness of the war against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, it was decided to obtain a symbol of the anti-communist movement of Muslims. He notes that "one of the princes of Saudi Arabia, the custodian of the two Holy Mosques of Muslims, was chosen to become that symbol... However the royal family had its own views on this matter and rejected the offer of its leadership of the jihad against the infidels, proposing as a compromise, a member of a confidant to the throne family... Osama bin Laden" [14]. The Arab oil-producing countries and the US allocate for these purposes, according to analysts, 285 million dollars per year [16].

Academician E.M. Primakov writes that after the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, the personality of Osama bin Laden, one of the 52 children of Mohammad bin Laden, the head of the construction company "Saudi bin Laden Group", which branched in the oil, chemical industry, and banking, telecommunications and satellite communications, has become increasingly important in the Islamist radical movement. Osama bin Laden went through the Afghan war until the withdrawal of Soviet troops, financed the recruitment, training and dispatch to Afghanistan of foreign militants, who became known as "Afghan Arabs" [17, 17].

It is important to emphasize, that views of Western and Russian (Soviet) researchers on the role of Osama bin Laden and foreign fighters in organization of anti-Soviet resistance differs from each other. Thus, in the first half of 1980 after the entry of the USSR's 40th army the flow of volunteers from the Muslim countries to fight communists was negligible and role of foreign fighters was unnoticed. The first years of anti-Soviet struggle passed under the informational propagandist campaigns initiated within Afghanistan of special people who were in charge of recruitment of foreign fighters. But by 1984, the resources being poured into the conflict by other countries - especially Saudi Arabia and the United States – had become much greater [21]. Only then observers began to distinguish a presence of foreign volunteers. A key role in attracting foreign fighters to the Afghanistan's struggle against the Soviet aggression belonged to Abdullah Azzam. He was born in 1941 in the North of Palestine, in 1959-1966 he studied Sharia in Damascus, in 1959 joined the Muslim Brotherhood, in a year managed to become their leader in Syrian University. He participated in Arab-Israel war in 1967, in 1970 he broke up with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Few years later Azzam was expelled from the Syrian University and moved to Saudi Arabia where he became a lecturer at King Abdul Aziz

University in Jeddah. There Azzam got into contact with the Muslim World League and took a position of Head of education sector. Young Osama bin Laden was one of his students in King Abdul Aziz University. In early 1980s Azzam came to Afghanistan. Kepel J. notes, that according to some sources, Azzam was sent to Islamabad by the League to teach in the International Islamic University, which was established in 1980 and was under the control of the Muslim Brotherhood [11, 143-144].

To support mujahidin in 1984 Azzam moved to Peshawar which was a central city of the North-West province of Pakistan located on the border with Afghanistan. He was disappointed that by 1984 to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan only “ten or twenty men” had come, so he called upon the Brothers to send mujahidin. When the leadership demurred, preferring to send weapons and humanitarian aid, Azzam publicly broke with the group [13, 105]. The same year in 1984 he established the *Maktab al-Khidamat* or *Afghan Services Bureau*. This organization was engaged in raising funds and volunteers for the Afghan Jihad throughout the world why they created recruitment offices everywhere. Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri joined the anti-Soviet struggle via the Services Bureau, and following Azzam’s assassination in 1989, the organization was transformed into al-Qaida [22].

Fighters were recruited in various ways all over the world. Magazines, newsletters, itinerant speakers, conferences and the existing socio-political networks of Islamist organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood were used to attract potential mujahidin in their fight for survived coreligionists. Simultaneous growth of revolutionary Islamists movements in other parts of the world helped to prepare the foundation for this recruitment. Moreover, governments of some countries hosting such radicals encouraged their troublesome Islamist subjects to join the Afghanistan’s fight. In some cases, these governments “emptied their prisons” of militant Islamists and sent them to fight the Soviets [1, 24]. Pakistan gave instructions to its embassies to grant visas without restriction to anyone who applies to join the Afghan Jihad against aggression. Training camps were established near the Afghanistan border, which ultimately processed tens of thousands of foreign fighters [21, 199].

In all, there is no exact number of “Afghan Arabs”, who fought in anti-Soviet armed conflict (1979-1989), and estimation varies from 25 to 100 thousand. For instance, Milton Bearden supposes that during 1980s “as many as 25.000 Arabs” may have fought and/or trained in Afghanistan [1, 24]. This number can be also met in Anthony Hyman’s work [9, 79]. Anthony Davis thinks that the number was well over 40.000 people [3]. Ahmed Rashid writes, that “Muslim radical from 43 Islamic countries”, which participated in armed conflicts in Afghanistan, were 35.000, while the number of “Muslim radicals, who had direct contacts with Pakistan and Afghanistan and were influenced by the Jihad” made more than 100.000 people [18, 130]. Barnett Rubin refers to a former brigadier general of Inter-Services Intelligence of Pakistan (ISI) who stated that “80.000 mujahidin passed through training camps for the Afghan Jihad between 1983 and 1987” [21, 199]. According to the Egyptian Minister of Interior, who stated in April 2002, that “as many as 80.000 people may have been trained in Afghanistan under bin Laden” [23, 98]. So, a flow of outside fighters to Afghanistan for anti-Soviet struggle had a nature of transnational movement.

In general, the war in Afghanistan became a real reflection of the aggravation to the level of the global ideological confrontation, which turned into the open armed conflict. However, the reality of this war, as Prof. A. Ignatenko writes, was that it was “above all, a civil war, where Soviet troops fought along with Muslim Afghans against other Muslim Afghans, which were supported (in various degrees and forms) by the USA, the Great Britain, Pakistan, China, Saudi Arabia, Israel, France. Foreign mujahidin - those who supposedly had to possess highly developed and keen religious consious - had no other choice but to kill their brothers in faith. For mujahidin volunteers from the Arab countries they had to look for religious, Islamic justification (even a need) of this act - killing Muslims, citizens of another county, and this justification should not have a nature of political publication, but appeal to Sharia (Islamic law – **R.S.**). He

also notes, that the participation of Arab expeditionary corps which consisted mainly of those who fought for religious motives, explaining their decision by Islam solidarity and its protection against infidels during Jihad, led to serious “mutations” in Islam and influenced the future evolution of Islam itself [10].

Thus, in 1980s troops of foreign mujahidin in Afghanistan were formed as a tool to increase an influence of Western countries headed by the US in this geopolitical region and to prevent the spread of communist ideas. However, as future events showed, after the collapse of the USSR and the end of cold war these troops turned into an independent and self-sufficient power with own interests in region, own perspective on the role and place of Islam in evolution of the civilization. These claims today are spread beyond political borders of Afghanistan, through all Muslim countries.

Foreign fighters called “Afghan Arabs” perhaps were not an indicative factor in the USSR’s military failure; however, a flow of thousands of outside fighters to Afghanistan for the anti-Soviet fight proved that a local conflict can be used to provide a common focus point for the fighters all around the world. The Soviet withdrawal did not lead to demobilization of “Afghan Arabas”. According to Lawrence Wright, some countries simple refused to let the fighters return. “They became a stateless, vagrant mob of religious mercenaries” [22, 163-164]. In January 1993 Pakistan authorities ordered the closure of mujahidin offices and foreign fighters must leave the country as their visas were no more valid [13, 106]. Pakistan’s decision exacerbated the state of foreign fighters.

Transnational movement of foreign fighters which was after Azzam’s assassination transformed by Osama bin Laden into al-Qaida in existing situation needed to re-group and re-orient its power, as they thought, to “protect Muslims from threats”. Evan F.Kohlmann notes that leading persons were looking for other conflicts which could be easily “framed in terms of an apocalyptic, one-dimensional religious confrontation between Muslims and non-Muslims” [12, 27-28]. Bosnia turned to be that place.

Subsequently, the "Afghan Arabs" began to take part in conflicts in various parts of the world, and most of them were involved in terrorist activities. The international networks created to support the anti-communist struggle in Afghanistan in the 1980s, in the following decades, turned into a global network of activists of the so-called "Salafi Jihad". Many of these "jihadists" took part in the conflicts, first in Bosnia, then in Chechnya, South-East Asia and the Horn of Africa, and finally, Iraq and Syria.

The long ideological and strategic resistance of the USSR with the countries of the West headed by the United States, the entry of the Soviet Union troops into Afghanistan led to frustrating results: Osama bin Laden created the transnational terrorist network al-Qaida consisted mainly of foreign participants of Afghan war - the so-called "Afghan Arabs".

The war in Afghanistan brought to the Soviet Union not only the huge material, but also enormous political, moral, psychological damage, which marked the beginning of the final stage of its decay, while Afghanistan paid hundreds of thousands of lives.

As a result of this war, international terrorism acquired another center besides the Middle East - South Asia, where many terrorist organizations for a long time continued to use the territory of Afghanistan to train the terrorists, planning and execution of terrorist acts in various countries around world.

Prior to the overthrow of the Taliban regime by the anti-terrorist coalition headed by the United States, Afghanistan remained the primary base for terrorists or a transit point for many terrorist organizations. Some of the most dangerous terrorist groups that emerged over the last decade were headquartered in Afghanistan, and their comrades today continue to participate in terrorist acts and threaten stability in many real and potential "hot spots" around the globe.

Another sinister turn was the emergence of a terrorist grouping of the so-called "Islamic State" (IS) or "Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant" (ISIL) during the Iraq-Syrian conflicts in the

first decades of the 21st century which turned into a global threat to the very existence of the civilized world.

Conclusion

Thus, the emergence of terrorist organizations under the guise of Islam during the Cold War was due, firstly, to socio-political processes in Muslim countries, secondly, to confrontation of ideological blocs. In the Muslim countries the opposition of the nationalist ideology of ruling regimes to the Islamist system of views had brought to the international arena Islamist movements consisting mostly of well-educated young men. On the other hand, Islam as one of the world's religions was used in the ideological confrontation as an instrument of geopolitical aspirations which were headed by the USSR and the United States. One party in the struggle for geopolitical superiority in the Near and Middle East, as well as South Asia, advocated the "socialist synthesis" of Islam, the development and interpretation of certain of its definitions in the socialist spirit. The other party, in its turn, began to actively use Islam as an instrument against the spread of leftist ideas and against the emergence of relevant organizations, socio-political movements and states. As a result, some of the provisions of Islam, artificially separated from religious, philosophical and spiritual content, became the weapon of political struggle of various forces.

This, in turn, led to tragic consequences on a global scale - by the beginning of the third millennium, separate provisions of Islam, artificially separated from their religious, philosophical and spiritual content, integrated into the consciousness of the certain part of Muslims, became the ideological basis of extremism. As a result, the confrontation of the ideology of democracy in the form of modern Western values and a secular form of government with the ideology of extremism under the guise of Islam has become an ominous reality of our time.

Comparison of the ideologies of nationalism and Islam in Muslim countries and the use of Islam as a tool of global ideological confrontation for the world community turned into a sort of boomerang after their termination which was accompanied by a relative decrease in the probability of interstate conflicts and a corresponding increase in terroristic threat. During this period, international terrorism under the guise of one of the world's religions Islam took the first place by its activity and uncompromising attitude.

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