The Image of Islam in Russia

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ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHIES

**Nigyar Abbasova** is a PhD student of the Russian State University For The Humanities. Her dissertation investigates a nature of the ideology in the international affairs and evaluates the role of the ideological factor in building the world order. Her graduate qualification work analysed the role of the religious factor in the modern conflicts of the Caucasus region. Within the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme she focused on the USSR collapse. She has published articles in such international scientific and practical law journals as *Eurasian Law Journal*.

**Russia in Modern World Affairs: Potential of the Islamic Religious Factor**

Russia plays a big role in a majority of political transformations and changes of the world’s geopolitical picture. To increase its influence as a superpower, it should overcome a number of internal problems and have a successful ideological project.

As representatives of Eurasianism, we believe that explaining and defining the past, present and future of the Russian cultural identity mostly by word "Slavs" is incorrect. To describe the Russian nature it is more relevant to use the Christian-Muslim-Jewish alliance having in mind only true Islam.

The chaos after the USSR’s collapse severely influenced the Caucasus region. Social injustice, corruption, unemployment, lack of opportunities for self-realization and self-expression, illegal pressure and violence are not just the reason for the growth of anti-Russian, anti-social, extremist views, it actually pushed a young man into the arms of the leaders of radical movements under the “Islamic” slogans. Radicals offer a specific pattern of behavior. A society, authorities and clergy have not offered anything equivalent to the passionate youth.

Necessity of a package of measures for the "sanitation" of the Islamic image and its protection from those who have nothing to do with it are the critical aims. The number of practicing Muslims all over the world is very high. Not only in Russia, but everywhere there are many ethnic Muslims who do not follow all the rules, but identify themselves as members of this confession due to place of birth, residence and traditions. Moreover, the Islamic world is an actor of the international relations becoming more and more extensive and increasing the economic, political and ideological influence.

Nowadays, the words “Muslims” and “terrorists” almost became synonymous, and unenlightened people do not even understand that terrorists are not Muslims a priori. Terrorism often is a tool for the achievement of the strategic objectives, veiled as a struggle against it. If
Russia, having sufficient political and cultural power, is able to show the difference between true Islam and artificially created "Islam", it will realize the Islamic potential and, thereby, will receive a great support.

**Kaarina Aitamurto, postdoctoral scholar** received her doctoral degree from the University of Helsinki and her dissertation analysed Russian contemporary Paganism and nationalism. In her post-doctoral studies, she focuses on Muslim minorities in ethnically Russian areas and the rise of Islamophobia. Aitamurto holds a position of a post-doctoral researcher at the Aleksanteri Institute and is a member of The Finnish Centre of Excellence in Russian Studies – Choices of Russian Modernisation, funded by the Academy of Finland. She is the editor of a book *Modern Pagan and Native Faiths in Central and Eastern Europe*. She has published articles in such academic journals as *Forum für osteuropäische Ideen – und Zeitgeschichte* and the *Europe-Asia Studies*. Currently, she is co-editing a special issue, “Politics of Religion and Patriotic Production of Culture in Today’s Russia” for the journal *Transcultural Studies: A Journal in Interdisciplinary Research*.

**Discussions About Indigenous, National and Transnational Islam in Russia**

In recent decades, both in the Russian political rhetoric and media, transnational Islam has been perceived more and more often as a possible source for religious radicalization and thereby, a threat to national security. In consequence, the politicians and authorities aim to support some indigenous or national forms of Islam. However, it can be argued that these local and national “Islams” are often rather new and even somewhat artificial constructions. Moreover, they are based on the idea of religious traditions as demarcated, static entities. This paper analyses the discussions about local, national and transnational Islam within Russian Muslims, Russian politicians and the scholarly literature on Russian Islam and the interplay between them. Even though many Muslim leaders argue that Islam cannot be divided into national traditions, the assumption on the potentially dangerous effects of foreign Islam can be found in the statements of Russian Muslim leaders as well, either explicitly or implicitly announced. Though the suspicions toward transnational Islam have been critically analyzed in scholarly literature, in some studies on Russian internal politics, the division into “dangerous, foreign” and “moderate, Russian traditional” Islam is taken for granted. Though Russian authorities seem particularly cautious regarding foreign Islamic influence and organizations, it should be noticed that similar attempts to construct national forms of Islam can be found in several countries. A common feature of these “national Islams” is that they juxtapose the local traditions as the model case of...
moderate Islam with the threat of foreign Islam and the threat of “Arabization” of the local traditions.

**Behnaz Asadikia** is a Ph.D. Student of Political Geography - Tehran University. Research Areas include: Russia, Caucasus, Central Asia and the Caspian Sea. She has a Research Background: 23 years as a researcher in a research centre.

Publications (Selected):
- Iran in Dugin’s Geopolitical Thoughts- forthcoming
- Soft Threats and Regional Security Arrangement- forthcoming
- Three Millennia of Cultural relations between Georgia and Iran; As Soft Power?- forthcoming
- Chapters in Book: Eurasian Energy - CSR, 2007
- Gas; New Scene for Playing - Analysis Report Monthly- CSR, 2005
- Chapters in Book: The Commonwealth Independent States-International Research Institute,2001
- Is the Caspian Sea Its Oil Victim?- Central Asia and the Caucasus Review, 1998
- Economic Cooperation of the Caspian Sea Region- Eettelaat Newspaper, 1998
- The Project of Persian Gulf- Caspian Sea Waterway; The New Step in Regional Relations, Eettelaat Newspaper, 1997
- Energy; The Axis of Caspian Sea States Cooperation -Eettelaat Newspaper,1996
- The legal Regime of Caspian sea- Foreign Affairs Ministry,1992

**Islam in Dugin’s Neo Eurasianism Theory**
Studying Russian history without Islam is impossible. In nearly a millennium, Islam, Muslims and Russia have had a great influence on each other and the Islamic factor has been a great element in process of cultural and identity formation. Islam has also played a very important role in Russian state-building, its worldview and its stands towards the West. The Islamic world is a potential Russian ally against the West. At present, increasing and changing Muslim demographic in Russia along with Separatist movements and creation of national identity, not
that of Islamic identity, are challenges for Russian survival that are getting worse with Islamic Fundamentalism and Radicalism in the region. The issue of how Russia can manage the challenges ahead in regard to Islam, as the second biggest religion in Russia, is the subject of this article, especially focusing on Neo Eurasianism theory. Non-Russian Eurasianism with strengthening identical and ethnicity aspects and also considering religion and ethnics co-existence, is sensitive on reviving spirituality and religious believes and insisting on possibility of Islam and Orthodox Christianity cooperation. It poses a question of how Islam position is in Neo Eurasianism theory. This article tries to study how Neo Eurasianism theory has looked at Islam, specifically in Dugin's thoughts and views. What is Dugin’s positive view toward Islam as a Neo Eurasianism theorist and Geopolitician and what role can be played to decrease the challenges that Russian will be confronted with in relation to Islam and Muslims. It seems Neo Eurasianism thoughts with softening Islam face can provide opportunities for Russian to manage domestic challenges, and also in its near abroad.

**Dr Hamidreza Azizi** is an Assistant Professor, Regional Studies Research Institute, Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran, Iran. Has a PhD of Regional Studies- Central Asia and the Caucasus from University of Tehran. Research Interests include: Post-Soviet Studies; Russian Foreign Policy; Central Asia and the Caucasus Studies; Energy Security. Selected Publications:

- Hamidreza Azizi, ‘Russia’s Strategic View toward the South], in Hossein Asgarian (ed.), *The CIS Book; Russia’s Strategic Issues* (Abraar Mo’aser, 2012) – Book chapter in Persian
- Hamidreza Azizi, ‘Russia’s Regional Policy and Regional Relations’, *Russology*, (Abraar Mo’aser, 2016) - Book chapter in Persian
- Hamidreza Azizi, ‘Russia’s Regional Relations: Impacting Factors and Relevant Variables’, *Central Asia and the Caucasus Studies*, No. 76 (2012) – Article in Persian

**The Impact of Islam on Russia-Iran Relations: From Suspicion to Cooperation**
Iran, as a country with a majority Muslim population, has always had an important place in the Muslim world. After the 1979 Islamic Revolution, the establishment of an Islamic government in Iran led to the strengthening of the Islamic aspect of the country. Since then, Islam has become the main characteristic of Iran’s foreign relations as well as its domestic politics. According to the Islamic Republic of Iran’s ideological principles, the Muslims of the Soviet Union and then the Russian Federation have been considered important to Iran.

This article claims that Russia-Iran relations since 1991 could be separated into three distinct periods according to the Islamic factor. In the first years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, strong centrifugal tendencies inside the Russian Federation on the one hand and the Russian politicians’ concerns about the possibility of “exporting” the idea of the Islamic Revolution into Russia on the other, caused Moscow to develop its approach toward Iran with some kind of caution and suspicion. However, soon it became clear that two factors, namely the religious differences between Shiite Iran and the predominantly Sunni population of the Russian Muslims and Iran’s determination to prioritize strategic considerations in its relations with Russia over the ideological tendencies, meant that Iran wouldn’t pose any danger to Russia. This was the beginning of the second period, the main feature of which was marginalizing the Islamic factor and highlighting the pragmatic aspect.

However, within about the last two years, the rise of the new radical Islamic movements in the Middle East and the risk of their possible spread into the Russian Federation has added a new aspect to Moscow-Tehran relations. In this new period, Russia has been trying to cooperate with Iran – as an Islamic country – in its fight against the extremist groups, by which Moscow could better legitimize its anti-terror campaign.

Bulat Akhmetkarimov is an Assistant Professor in the Department of International Relations, Suleyman Sah University (Istanbul, Turkey). His research interests include ethnic politics, secularism and Islam in Russia. His publications appeared in Religion, State & Society, SAISPHERE, Rivista, and Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations. Bulat Akhmetkarimov holds a PhD from the School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS), Johns Hopkins University.

Aftershocks of Atheism: Islam and Ethno-Confessional Regimes in Post-Soviet Russia
What explains Russian state policies toward Islam during the first two decades after the Soviet collapse? Research on secularism and state policies toward religion suggests several models of interaction (Kuru 2009). However, these models are often better at describing static
relationships than they are at explaining change. This study advances a framework for the conditions that presage the transformation of state-religion relations by examining significant differences between Russian state attitudes toward Islam in the early 1990s and the 2000s. In particular, notable changes in the licensing of Imams, the building permissions granted for mosques, and registration requirements for religious organizations call for explanation. Employing process tracing techniques and historical data, I argue that perception of religion, and particularly Islam, as an element subordinated to national identities induced the late Soviet-era reformers to adopt norms of passive secularism and to carry over the Soviet multi-ethnic ethnicity regime. Realization that religion, and particularly Islam, could play an autonomous role and positively contribute to maintaining the patriotic consensus prompted Russian policymakers in the 2000s to reject the ethnic model of development and embrace morality as the foundation of the Russian state (Smolkin-Rothrock 2015). The attempt to revitalize the “multi-confessional establishment” model (Werth 2014), as this study suggests, is one of the main reasons why the Russian state actively regulates the access of religious groups to the Russian public sphere and aims at legal uniformity. This framework largely explains the dynamics of Russian state attitudes toward the largest minority religion in the country during the first two decades after the collapse of the Soviet state and offers predictive insights on the dynamic nature of state-Islam relations in other secular states with considerable Muslim population.

**Associate Professor Azat Akhunov** has a PhD from the Ibrahimov Institute of Language, Literature and Art (Kazan, Russian Federation) and is currently a lecturer at the Department Oriental and Islamic Studies of the Institute for International Relations, History and Oriental Studies, Kazan Federal University (Kazan, Russian Federation). His main research interests includes diverse applications of communication within history of the Volga-Kama Region and Islam in Russia, Turkic intellectual history, 18th-early 20th centuries, Middle East history and etc. He has published numerous books on these subjects, such as *Arabic source medieval Turko-Tatar literature [on the material works of al-Tabari]*-Kazan, 2001. (in Russian), *Islamization of the Volga-Kama region (VII-X centuries): Arabic and old Tatar sources.* – Kazan, 2003. (in Russian), Husain Amirkhanov. *Tawarikh al-Bulgariya* (translation from Old Tatar language to Russian, introduction and comments. - Moscow, 2010, *Ethnography of the countries of the Arab East.* – Kazan, 2014. (in Russian) and etc. He has been published in various academic journals that include the KÖK Araştırmalar, Modern Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi, Problemy Sovremennoy Ekonomiki, Terra Sebus. Acta
Russia-Middle East: The Influence of the Arab Factor on the Formation of Muslim Education System in the Republic of Tatarstan in 1990-2000

With the creation in 1992 of the first independent religious structure in Post-Soviet Tatarstan - the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Tatarstan - there was an urgent need to train imams and mudarrises for the mosques, madrasahs and maktabs of Tatarstan. The ties between Kazan, Bukhara and Tashkent - the traditional centres of training of Tatar imams - were broken after the disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR); as a result, the absence of religious schools demanded a search for new approaches. Help was received from various Arab funds and patrons, mainly from the Gulf States. At their expense, hundreds of young Muslim Tatars were trained abroad. Through the example of the events which took place in the religious sphere in Tatarstan in the last twenty years, we can see the attitude of the government to the problem of foreign Muslim education change from neutral and sometimes optimistic to highly negative. Attempts to ban the activities of imams who had graduated from foreign higher education institutions were made, but none of them led to any desirable results. On the whole a cautious attitude to this group of Islamic figures still remains: SAM of RT conducts various courses to retrain them according to local religious traditions, and tries not to permit them to occupy high positions in the system of the Spiritual Administration. Nevertheless, a gradual process of rehabilitation of graduates of foreign higher education institutions is taking place, as well as their social adaptation within the Muslim Ummah. New groups of shakirds go to Arab countries only after studying the fundamentals of Islam and local traditions on the basis of Tatarstan religious educational institutions. The stream of trainees is gradually decreasing, though there is still a need to obtain full higher religious education from the largest Islamic centres of the world.

Dmitry Babich is a Russian journalist specializing on Russia’s relations with the Western and the Moslem worlds and on Russia’s religious politics. He has been working in Soviet/Russian media since 1989, after graduating from Moscow State University’s (MGU’s) department of journalism. In the 1990s and 2000s Mr. Babich has worked in large circulation national dailies (Komsomolskaya Pravda in 1990-1996), as well as on federal television (TV6 channel). In 1999 he became the foreign editor at The Moscow News weekly and in 2003-2011 he has worked on various positions in RIA Novosti, an international news agency specializing on “explaining
Russia to the world.” Since the year 2012, Mr. Babich has been working on Russian radio broadcaster Voice of Russia, which was rebranded Sputnik and became a multimedia news organization in 2014.

In the 2000s, Mr. Babich started getting published in scientific magazines, such as Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn (Moscow) and Voprosy Literatury (Moscow). He wrote several researches on relations between religion and politics in Russia, particularly in the Moslem regions of Tatarstan and North Caucasus. The other preferred subject of Mr. Babich’s research was the impact which the events in the Middle East had on Russian politics in general and on Russia’s Moslem regions in particular. This attracted to Mr. Babich the attention of Al Jazeera and BBC, where he has been a frequent guest since the mid-2000s.

The Concept of Peaceful Coexistence of Traditional Islam and Orthodox Christianity in Tatarstan: Support from the State, Resistance from the Zealots

When religion was “rehabilitated” in the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s, the religious pattern of Tatarstan did not differ much from other regions inside the Russian Federation. Islam had been pushed to the sidelines of public activities, it was seen by a few practicing people mostly as a means for ethnic identification and a ritual practice connecting a person to the world of his ancestors. The political leadership of the Republic of Tatarstan (ethnic Tatars and Russians included) in the early years of “sovereignty within the framework of Russian Federation” (1990-1994) did not pay much attention to Islam or religion in general. Instead, the politicians concentrated on the issues of “dividing powers” with Moscow: the issues of taxation, federal subsidies, business lobbying occupied a much higher position on their agenda than “identity politics.” The situation gradually changed during the 1990s, when president of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaimyev opted for a symbolic gesture of building both the Moslem Qol Sharif mosque and the Orthodox Annunciation cathedral. Thus Tatarstan’s leadership revealed its strategy of revitalizing both “traditional” religions of the region. However, soon the republic was confronted by the problems which had been hidden for a lot of years by the Soviet ideological “blanket.” What to expect from some of the new imams, who got their education in the Middle East? How to react to the events in Moslem Chechnya or in the former Yugoslavia? What lessons to draw from the Arab spring and other developments in the Middle East? The general trend of reaction in the Moslem community was the conservative one. Since the material results of both the “Islamic revolutions” in the Middle East and of “Chechen independence” were little inspiring indeed, not only the government, but also the majority of the population of Tatarstan opted for the mixture of social conservatism and “Eurasian multiculturalism.”

During last two years he has taken part in the development of strategic documents in the cultural sphere of Russian Federation (Principles of State Cultural Policy, 2014; Strategy of State Cultural Policy, 2015). He has also taken part in European Heritage Days (Council of Europe and European Commission joint action) activities.

Islam in the Crimea: Traditions, Actual Situation, Prospects

Islam arrived in the Crimea in the 13th century when the peninsula was a part of Golden Horde. There were two primary sources of Muslim influence in the Crimea: from the Central Asia via Golden Horde centre and from Asia Minor. The majority of Tatars and other Turkic nomads of the Great Steppe were converted to Islam by disciples of Turkic Yasavi Sufi brotherhood. The importance of this archaic brotherhood preserved in the Crimea up to the end of the 17th century. The influence of Ottoman Islam grew in the Crimea since 1475 when a Kefe province of the Ottoman Empire emerged. It manifested, for instance, in prevalence of Ottoman Sufi brotherhoods in 16th-17th centuries. At the same time Crimean Islam played critically important role in Islamization of North-Eastern Caucasus.

After beginning of the Russian rule in the Crimea in the 19th century Crimean Muslims were among the most progressive and modernized in the World.
During the Soviet atheistic rule and especially after deportation of the Crimean Tatars to the Central Asia Islam practically disappeared in the Crimea. After Tatars’ return to the Crimea their religious traditions were broken. The new Islamisation of the Crimean Tatars came from Turkey and Arab countries. During the last 25 years Islam in the Crimea was under these two different impacts. Some radical movements were developing. After 2014 developments, when the Crimean Muslims find themselves in Russian Federation with its own background in relations with Muslim communities some groups emigrated from the peninsula, but the majority is now in the process of adaptation to new circumstances. The Crimean Tatars were officially invited to follow the example of Tatarstan. But nowadays we can witness the growing influence of Chechen and Dagestan Muslims in the Crimea, and that is absolutely understandable taking in consideration traditional civilization links between the regions.

**Renat Bekkin**, Doctor of Sciences in Economics and Ph.D. (Candidate of Sciences) in Law (Russia). Ph.D. student at Södertörn University (Sweden). He received his doctoral degree in Economics from the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences and his dissertation analyses Islamic economic model and financial institutions and their place in the world economy. In his Ph.D. studies at Södertörn University he is looking into Christian-Muslim relationships in Russia with a particular focus on interaction between Christian and Muslim religious organisations. Bekkin is the author of twelve monographs and more than sixty articles published in Russian and foreign peer reviewed journals (including monographs *Insurance in Islamic Law: Theory and Practice and Islamic Economic Model Nowadays*). In 2015, he founded and became editor in chief of the Kazan Islamic Review academic journal. In 2015 Bekkin was awarded the title “Professor of the Russian Academy of Sciences” by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

**Discussions About Connections Between Muslims Leaders and Russian Conservatives in the Russian Empire at the end of 19th Beginning of 20th Century**

It is generally perceived that there was an ideological gap between Russian conservatives and Muslim leaders, including those who were reputedly conservatives themselves. However, there is evidence suggesting that their relationships were far more complex. For instance, one of the Muslim reformers, a spiritual and ideological leader of Crimean Tatars Ismail Gasprinsky, early in his career, was significantly influenced by Mikhail Katkov, editor in chief of the notorious conservative newspaper Moscow News. Studying works by some Russian conservatives of the
end of 19-beginning of 20th century, one can come to a conclusion that they regarded Muslims as people very loyal to the Russian emperor and thus advocated giving preference to them rather than to adherents of other Christian denominations, for example Roman Catholics, Armenian Gregorians. It also follows from those works that the views expressed were reflected in the authors’ assessment of the role Muslims played in the Russian Empire rather than their personal liking or disliking. Of particular interest are connections between Muslim leaders and some prominent Russians (writers, philosophers, journalists). Reconsideration of these connections is important for understanding the current state of affairs in the modern Russia and understanding the role of Muslims in the present political life of Russia.

Vladimir Bobrovnikov, Caucasus Chair, is senior research fellow at the Institute for Oriental Studies in Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow. He graduated from the Faculty of History, Moscow State University and defended his Ph.D. in Oriental Studies and History at the Institute for Oriental Studies (1994). Bobrovnikov specializes in social history and anthropology of Muslim villagers in Russian and Soviet North Caucasus. From 1992 to date he conducts extensive field and archival work in this area. Bobrovnikov is the author of Musulmane Severnogo Kavkaza: obychai, pravo, nasilie (Vostochnaia literature, 2002), ‘Islam in the Russian Empire’ in D. Lieven (ed.) Cambridge History of Russia (Cambridge University Press, 2006, vol. 2), and other articles and books including recent collection of articles Orientalism vs. Orientology and Funeral Steles of the Noghay Steppe (Sadra, Marjani, 2016, both in Russian). He has been published in various peer-reviewing international academic journals that include the Die Welt des Islams, Central Asian Survey, Caucasus Survey, Revue d’études comparatives Est-Ouest, Religion, State & Society, Etnograficheskoe obozrenie. In addition, Bobrovnikov teaches different courses on Islam in Russia and comparative studies of empire and nationalism at the Higher School of Economics in Moscow and St. Petersburg.

Soviet Muslims Between Modernity and Colonialism in the Interwar Posters, 1918-1940
To date there is almost no research done on visual aspects of Islam under the Soviet rule. Most scholars studied Russian Muslims basing exclusively on textual sources. There are numerous visual materials showing the relationship between Muslims, other segments of the Soviet society and the state. These are posters of the interwar period issued in languages of the Soviet Orient, first in Arabic script, then in modified Latin, and in Cyrillic. They are kept in a number
of state and private collections including those of the Central Museum of Russia’s Contemporary History, Museum of Oriental Art and Library of Marjani Foundation in Moscow. Basing on these three collections I attempt to investigate changing perceptions of Soviet Muslimness as it was articulated in the Communist visual propaganda that aimed at turning it into Sovietness. Views of Muslims in the Soviet Union were at first very colonial and Orientalist in their character. However the Soviet propaganda had also a strong anti-colonial trend. The focus of the study is made on challenges of the Soviet reforms to Muslims of the interwar period and Muslim responses to the Soviet propaganda. The broad purpose of this study is to understand how the machine of the Soviet propaganda worked at the all-union, republican and local levels. Who were its main actors? What political and social networks did it rely upon? These questions guided my study. Its goal is to contribute in writing a balanced history of Soviet Islam that takes into account the circulation of theological thought, functionality of networks among the Muslims and their manifestations in visibility.

Dmitrii Bulgaru is working on a PhD in History of International Relations at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation. He is the Head of Project Department at the Eurasian Youth Assembly and the Vice-Chairman at the Commission for External and Ethnic Relations at the Youth Board of Saint-Petersburg. His research interests include: History of International Relations. The History of American Foreign Policy. History of Russia-U.S. relations in 20-21st centuries; International security. Conflicts in the Middle East; and Regional Studies. Foreign policy of Russia in the Middle East.

Information Challenge of ISIS: Modern Methods of Influence in the Russian Federation and Possible ways of Counteracting

The 21st century is characterized by new challenges and threats to the global community. One of the most critical threats nowadays is the spread of radical Islamism, where ISIS plays a major role. The terrorists have an extensive structure, substantial resources and vast methods of influence, which aims to create a world Caliphate. ISIS demonstrates its power by acts of terrorism, massacres and kidnapping of diplomats creating an image of the omnipresent extremism. However, behind violence and terroristic attacks in different parts of the world is a serious training, recruitment and propaganda in the information space. During ISIS existence as we can see, terrorists are using the vast amount of information and communication methods for creating and maintaining terrorist cells as well as for agitation and involvement of potential adherents.
Russia, where live according to various sources, from 10 to 15 million Muslims is at risk of
ISIS influence. The uncertainty in the Middle East - political, ideological, religious, reinforced
by the influence of ISIS - directly affected Russian Muslims. They, on the one hand, are closely
watching what is happening in this part of the world; on the other hand, they are involved in
these processes not always in a constructive way, recalling the hundreds of young people have
joined the terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq. At the same time, the Russian Muslim community
has shown a high level of stability, avoiding radicalization. In this context, it is important to
define the methods used by ISIS and possible ways of counteracting for struggle on a global
scale.

Dmitrii Chernomorchenko, chief editor of Media ‘Golos Islama’ (‘Voice of Islam’), journalist
and public figure. Graduated from the Moscow Open Social University. Took an active part in
the creation of several successful Islamic IT projects. The developer and moderator of the social
networks that are involved in research in the field of Islamic trends in Russian-speaking social
networks. During 10 years was the head of the Muslim community in the city of Novy Urengoy,
Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous District.

Freedom of Speech and the Islamic Media in Russia: Muslim Russian-Speaking Media,
Social Networks and the Internet
Toughening of the political climate in Russia today, one of whose characteristics is curtailing
civil liberties, has affected media sector, social networks and the Internet, including the Islamic
segment as well. Even the remains of a truly independent media today collate their information
policy with the large set of laws, restricting freedom of speech, and adjust to the masses of the
informal rules. There even appeared such term as "self-censorship". This process already has
moved from media to the social network and popular Internet.
If editorial board or individual user will transgress the allowed line, they can receive unjustified
warning for extremism, accusation in justifying terrorism, or lose license. Also the heads of
editorial staff, as well its workers, bloggers and social networks users can be openly persecuted.
For 23 years more than 300 journalists were killed in Russia. Particular attention state is paying
to Islamic media, either directly or indirectly controlling their information policy.
In 2009 was made raider capture of the only professional Russian-speaking Muslim
independent media – website ‘Islam.ru’. Created in 2011, the Voice of Islam (Golos Islama)
continued to operate for almost 5 years, partly due to the fact that all of its journalists are in
immigration. In February 2016 the website has been blocked at the request of the General
Prosecutor, and despite the fact that in July the court decided to unblock website, Prosecutor's office stepped up pressure and the trial continues.


Crafting a Nationalist Theology in a Global Age: The Ideological Work of Russia’s Muslim Clerics
This paper investigates the search for an Islamic theology distinctly attuned to Russia’s “national” character and history. Since the collapse of the USSR, Muslim religious thinkers in Russia have identified the establishment of a uniquely Russian approach to Islamic doctrine, identity, and practice as a key priority. In recent years Muslim intellectuals based in Moscow as well as in various provincial capitals have taken up this project with renewed intensity, offering a range of views about how the tradition relates to various ideologies of Russian nationhood. The Kremlin’s wider geopolitical ambitions - reflected particularly in the annexation of Crimea, the deepening Syrian intervention, and the challenge of ISIS - have raised the profile of these competing visions for Russian Islam. The paper examines how different scholars have crafted arguments for a “Russian Islam” since the 1990s and seeks to evaluate their resonance in Russian politics today.

Dr. Lili Di Puppo, Assistant Professor of Sociology, School of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russian Federation. Lili Di Puppo’s research focuses on Islam in Russia, in particular developments in the Islamic educational system, as well as reform processes in Georgia and the post-Soviet space. Her most recent publications include “Marketing Reforms: The Dimension of Narratives in Georgia’s Fight against Corruption” (State and Legal Practice in the Caucasus. Anthropological Perspectives on Law and Politics. Ashgate, 2015); “The construction of success in anti-corruption activity in Georgia” (East European Politics. 2014. Vol. 30. No. 1); “Anti-corruption interventions in
The Multiple Meanings of “Traditional Islam”: Establishing Boundaries for Islam in Russia

The paper will examine the dilemmas faced by Russian Muslims in contemporary Russia and the question of how they relate both to secular authorities and a secular society and to the broader Muslim world. It will use the analytical framework of “domestication of Islam” (Bowen 2004, Humphrey 2009, Sunier 2012, Braginskaia 2012) to study how Russian Muslims answer state efforts to define the borders of a national form of Islam. In contrast to Muslim populations in Western European countries, Russian Muslims have lived in Russia for centuries. The term “traditional Islam” has been used since the 1990s to designate forms of Islam that are inscribed in Russian history; are seen as moderate as well as loyal to secular authorities. The term is widely used, but difficult to define as it has several connotations. The paper will analyze how Muslim religious figures or representatives of Muslim institutions make use of the term, what connotations of the notion of “traditional Islam” they do embrace or reject. The paper will study definitions, perceptions and uses of the term by asking the following questions. How do Russian Muslims react to state interference in the religious sphere and the setting of particular boundaries for religious practice? When do they welcome this interference and when are they more cautious in their support? To what extent do they perceive the official state support for an institutionalization of Muslim practices as potentially hindering their efforts to connect to the Islamic world and strengthen their Muslim religious identity? The paper will be based on field research conducted in Moscow and Kazan in 2015-2016.

Dr. Maxim Domsky holds his doctoral degree in History from the Perm State University (Russia). His main research interests include social and cultural aspects of creation of identities in medieval Europe. From 2006 to 2011 he taught at the Immanuel Kant State University of Kaliningrad. From 2012 to 2015 he was employed as a senior research fellow at the National Research University Higher School of Economics in Perm (Laboratory of Interdisciplinary Empirical Studies, Group for Historical Research).

In addition, he has run projects for the Polish-Russian cultural cooperation within a regional framework. The realization of this project implies, among other things, involvement of the local Muslim community in trans-border social and cultural networks.
Building a Mosque in Kaliningrad: Case Study of a Creeping Crisis

The presentation is based on a case study and covers the problems faced by the Muslim community in trying to realize their place of worship. The issues of public worship sites are often a sensitive subject and can easily create problems among the many actors involved. This case study illustrates how social tensions were brought to a head when the proposal to build a mosque in Kaliningrad was presented. Until the 1980s, there was no institutionalized religion in the Oblast. The Russian Orthodox Church activities have been characterized by tremendous growth during the post-Soviet times. By now, there are several dozens of parishes established in the region’s territory. The Religious Organization of the Muslims of Kaliningrad Oblast started negotiations with the authorities about a site for a future mosque in 1994. Until now, the public worship place has not been enacted. The case about building a mosque can be considered as a creeping social crisis. The crisis is embodied in the context of the ethnic and religious relations in the Oblast and is also related to migration issues. On top of that, there are also conflicts between the authorities and institutions on the different levels. The symbolic value of this case study is important since it represents contesting views on the region’s identity.

Nicolas Dreyer received an MA (Hons) in International Relations and Russian from the University of St Andrews (2004). Subsequently he worked for the Office for International Relations of the City of Nuremberg. In 2011, he received a PhD in Russian from the University of St Andrews for a thesis on post-Soviet Russian literature (2006-2011). From 2011 to 2015 he worked for a charity based in Hamburg, Germany, coordinating humanitarian projects in Russia and Ukraine, among others working with Holocaust survivors. His research interests include contemporary Russian literature, historical discourses in post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine, and Russia’s relations with the Middle East. He is currently an independent scholar based in Germany and has published articles on Russian literature (“Contemporary Russian Fiction: insanis, demens et delirans?”, *Readings in Twenty-First-Century European Literatures*, ed. by Michael Gratzke, Margaret-Anne Hutton and Claire Whitehead (Peter Lang, 2013), and “Freedom and Captivity in the Works of Vladimir Sorokin and Vladimir Tuchkov”, *Modern Language Review*, July 2014), with further publications both on Russian literature and on post-Soviet historical discourse currently under review.

The Role of Islam in Russia’s Policy Toward the Middle East

Following the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russia’s foreign policy toward the Middle East has evolved significantly. Roughly speaking, the first fifteen post-Soviet years saw a Russian
withdrawal from the region, a withdrawal from previously key Soviet partners, such as Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The new geo-political realities, security concerns, and the instability in the post-Soviet space, in conjunction with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, forced an increased Russian interest in co-operation and good relations with Iran and Turkey. Throughout the 1990s Russian policy toward the region was characterised by limited policy options and influenced by separatist challenges from some regions like Chechnya and situations which must be viewed in the context of international terrorism and Islamic radicalisation in the region, in addition to the interests and power of Russia’s energy lobby and clans. September 11 offered Russia the chance to fortify her realignment with the West, however. Subsequently, though, Syria re-emerged as an important arms trading and military partner, offering Moscow a rare naval base in the Eastern Mediterranean. The “Arab Spring” and Russian hesitations about any change of power in the region added another layer of complexity to Russia’s policy toward the region.

What determines Russia’s current policy since 2011 to the region? Is it great power rivalry with the USA and the West at the international level? Is it a concern for, or disdain of, international norms at the systematic or normative level? Is it concerns for regional stability, security and even human rights in the region? What precisely may be the role of Islam, whether at the international, the regional, or the domestic levels, in affecting and determining Russia’s policies and actions toward the region, which often appear to be contradictory? The purpose of this conference paper is to examine the role of Islam in general, but also of manifestations of Islamic fundamentalism in particular, at these different levels of analysis relative to the shaping of Russia’s regional policy in recent years, over and against more tangible factors.

Rebecca Fradkin is a doctoral candidate at the University of Oxford in the Department of Politics and International Relations and at Nuffield College. Her research interests include religion and politics, authoritarian regimes, nation building, and post-communist politics.

Nation Building and the Co-optation of Islam in a Nation-State and Multi-Nation State: Kazakhstan and Russia

This research compares the dual processes of top-down regime constructed nation building via the co-optation of Islam and the bottom-up response to such efforts in the nation-state of Kazakhstan and the multi-nation state of Russia (focusing on Tatarstan). It comprises an assessment of how two authoritarian regimes have undertaken nation building in terms of constructing a religious identity and regulating its expression in public space, and a subsequent bottom-up evaluation of the effectiveness of these efforts. It seeks to elucidate the varying
motivations behind policy decisions and potential differences in tactics used by nation-states and multi-nation states in the co-optation and regulation of a religious expression as a process of nation building. It is pertinent, at both a theoretical and applied level, to assess the effectiveness of top-down constructed methods of nation building, particularly different strategies engaged by national and regional governments in a nation state compared to a multi-nation state, which to date has largely been neglected in the literature. The reciprocal relationship between religion and politics, particularly in the context of nation building remains understudied. Furthermore, while the literature in political science has focused on the co-optation of political opponents and civil society into ruling parties in authoritarian regimes, it has not yet grappled with how authoritarian regimes interact with religious groups and more particularly, assessed how the tactics engaged by regimes in nation states and multi-nation states may differ.


С 2000 по 2005 гг по гранту Фонда Форда преподавала в Институте Социологии РАН на курсах повышения квалификации для преподавателей и научных сотрудников РФ. В 2008 по гранту Правительства РФ проходила стажировку в Бельгии, Германии. В 2011г. по программе развития КФУ проходила стажировку в Бельгии( 1 месяц) В 2012г. по программе развития КФУ проходила стажировку в Швеции( Упсальский Университет) в течении 2 недель.

В наличии 100 печатных работ, в том числе 5 монографий ( 2 из них изданы в Германии), публикации в России, Чехии, Болгарии, Польше, Украине.


Проблемы исламизации России: на примере Татарстана

Ситуацию в Волжско-Уральском регионе удается удерживать прежде всего за счет традиций мирного сосуществования этнических и религиозных общин преимущественно мусульман-татар и православных-русских. Фактором стабилизации
являются также смешанные браки (около трети в крупных городах, зачастую в нескольких поколениях). Вместе с тем во всех регионах с преобладающим мусульманским населением де-факто происходит проникновение в повседневную жизнь шариатских норм, звучат даже требования введения элементов шариатского права в конституции отдельных субъектов Федерации. Это создает угрозу фрагментации российского правового поля, что допускать ни в коем случае нельзя. Бытовые нормы шариата, однако, не всегда противоречат российскому гражданскому законодательству. Поэтому при безусловном сохранении единого правового поля требуется гибкость в решении конкретных частных вопросов, а также выработка современных правовых норм, регулирующих отправление культа.

**Professor Elena Grunt** has a PhD from the Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia B.N. Eltsin (Russia) and is currently a lecturer and researcher at the department of Political Science and Sociology (Ural Federal University, Russia). Her main research interests include diverse applications of sociology within problems of migration, cultural diversity and cultural identity in modern world, conflicts of interests of different cultures and religions. She has published numerous articles on these subjects, such as Grunt, E., & Leeenaf, O, *Cultural Identity of Russian immigrants in Contemporary France,* Izvestiya URFU: Russia, 2016 and Grunt, E., *Cultural resources of Russian identity: A non-western way* | Special issues of mass communication: a non-western perspective | Akdeniz university press/ 2008 (8), Turkey; Grunt, E., *Russian-speaking Diaspora in Turkey and Indonesia: comparative analysis.* _Facing an Unequal World: Challenges for Russian Sociology Papers of Russian Sociologists for the XVIII ISA World Congress of Sociology._ Editor-in-Chief V.Mansurov. 2014, Moscow –Yokohama. She has been published in various academic journals that include the European Journal of New Educational Review (Poland), Austrian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (Austria). In addition, she is an organizer of an Annual International Conference” Identity and Migration in Changing World: Methodology, Experience of Empirical Research (Yekaterinburg, Russia).

**Students' Opinions about the Image of Islam in Modern Russian Society**

At present a steady flow of migrants confessing Islam is observed in all regions of Russia. A varied ethnic composition of migrants influences the situation in these regions, and this influence can hardly be called positive. The **major aims** of this study are to determine students’
opinion about the image of Islam in modern Russian society and to clarify the level of conflict and the overall tolerance of Russian students towards migrants confessing Islam.

Methodology. Methods of collecting primary data were the questionnaire and in-depth interview. This study was conducted at the universities of Yekaterinburg in Russia. 1000 students were questioned from the age of 18 years till the age of 24 years old, on the basis of the spontaneous sample. Depths interviews with experts (10 experts) are applied on purpose to identify main problems dealing with migrants from the Islamic Republic.

Findings and discussion. The investigation has revealed that the image of Islam in Russian students’ opinion is mostly negative. It depends on the differences of value systems, forms of behaviour and the level of claims of the latter. The negative attitude of the respondents to the people from the South Caucasus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the people professing Islam as a whole, is due to their characteristics (aggression, intolerance towards other faiths, terrorism, etc.).

The study has elucidated that the main reasons dealing with the negative image of Islam in Russian society are an increase in crime, a lack of safety of life for Russians, a constant threat of terrorism and an unleashing of wars. The study has demonstrated factors affecting on the formation of the negative image of Islam in students' opinion as well as in Russian society.

PhD, Professor of History Julia N. Guseva, Moscow city university (2014, Moscow). Now she is a deputy director of research in Moscow city university (Samara branch, Samara, Russian Federation) and a lecturer of the History Department and International Communications in this university. Her main research interests are Muslims in the USSR, Islam in Russia, Sufism in Russia, interethnic, interreligious communications and islamophobia in the Russian empire, the USSR and in modern Russian society. She has published numerous books on these subjects, such as the Russian Muslim in the XX century (Samara, 2013); Ishanizm as a Middle Volga Sufi tradition in the XX century (Moscow, 2013); Islam in Samara region (Moscow, 2007) etc. She has published papers in various academic journals. In addition, as an expert on the islamophobia problems she participated in Human Dimension Implementation Meeting Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (2014, 2015).

Bolsheviks and the “Phantom” of Pan-Islamism: the Ideas of Islamic Community in 1920s Soviet Government Documents and Insights
The paper is based on the documents of Eastern Department of the Joint State Political Directorate (OGPU) including the insights of Russian Muslims unity ideas with the purpose of establishing Islamic states on the territory of the former Russian Empire (in the Volga region, in the Caucasus and the Central Asia). Bolsheviks considered recognition of the Russian Muslims in Turkey (until 1924) as the spiritual centre of all Muslims in the world (the Khilafat movement) as the threat to the national interests. The problem of the Khilafat movement and attitude to it of Russian Muslims were viewed through the prism of the Soviet and foreign policy interests linked with the historical vector of Turkey development and understanding of the European foreign policy purposes in the Middle East. The second aspect of the Islamic association idea is the priority of the Islamic identity in the process of self-identification of "Muslim" nations which could consolidate against European dominance. Pan-Islamism was considered in close connection with the external influence, but it was associated with the search for social groups in Soviet Russia being the most vulnerable ones to outside influence and sharing ideas of Islamic unity. In this context, the "Pan-Islamism" lost concise boundaries, filled with amorphous content, turning into the banner of struggle with the competing ideologies and alien social groups (Muslim clergy, national leaders etc.).

The comparative analysis of these materials with the imperial pan-Islamic discourse allows for such conclusion: 1) The content blurring, fuzziness of the term are preserved. They provoked hypertrophic government response and the representation of some Islamophobic ideas. 2) The understanding of strong external impact from foreign co-religionists to the Muslim community of Soviet Russia are preserved as well. 3) A new analysis element: the class approach as methodology which allowed the Bolsheviks to consider this issue as a part of the class struggle, the struggle for the victory at the ideological front. In general, we can talk about the essential tradition in the interpretation and insights of Pan-Islamism in the Imperial and early Soviet period.

Davit Hovhannisyan, Professor is the founder and first head of the Chair of Arabic Studies in Yerevan State University. During 90’s he was sent to Syria as the Ambassador of Republic of Armenia to Damascus. In 2007 he founded the Centre for Civilization and Cultural Studies at YSU and now he is the director of the Centre. Currently the main field of his research involves different questions related to the adaptation processes in the Islamic World in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. He is the author of several books and tens of articles.

Some Problems of Adaptation of Islam in Russia
This paper analyses the problems associated with the different possibilities of adaptation of Islamic movements represented in the Russian society to a modern state and social system of Russia. In this aspect, the representatives of the Russian authorities as their main objective consider minimization of the danger coming from outside (not only radical movements such as Salafism, but also Gülen movement, etc.)

The approaches to the problems of adaptation of Islam are diverse in different countries, and among the Muslim thinkers (e.g. the Turkish project of elaboration of a new corpus of hadith, different models of “Euro Islam”, etc.). In Russia the formulation of this question covers many issues for many profiles: ranging from supporting so called “national Islam” to a broad discussion on the possibility of the implementation of Sharia law in the legal system of the country. Particularly, in my paper the possibility of using Shariah court as an arbitration, the partial use of various Shariah norms in the local judicial practices will be considered.

S. Mohammad Isanedjad is a PhD Student in Middle East Geopolitics at the University of Tehran. Areas of Research Interest are Islam, Russian Federation, Near Abroad, Middle East, Iran & Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution. Selected Publications:

- Nagorno Karabakh Conflict, Actors and Conflict Resolution, Book (Persian).
- USA Geopolitics, Book (Persian).
- Russian acts in the near abroad and the Middle East strategic Regions, Article (Persian)
- Islamic identity of Refugees And European cultural Security: Implications and Challenges, Article (Persian)
- Geopolitical analysis of the legal and political aspects of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, Article (Persian)
- The role of international organizations in geopolitical conflicts, Article (Persian)
- Geopolitical analysis of Iran's foreign policy in the South Caucasus with an emphasis on Vision 2020, Article (Persian)
- Geopolitics and Features functional graft between Iran and Georgia, Article (Persian)
- Geopolitics and strategic- Defensive vision of Iraq, Analysis (Persian)
- Defence policy of Azerbaijan and relations with Iran, Analysis (Persian)

The Role of Islam in Redefinition of Russian Geopolitics and National Identity
Russian and Muslims have had a long term complicated relationship. Now Islam in Russia is changing and transforming. The current Islamic pattern in Russia are going to be instable because of Soviet Union heritage, its dissolution consequences, and lack of any ideology following communism defeated, along with huge investment of some Islamic countries and rivalry activities in Middle East. New patterns in Putin’s Russia are emerging. Putin’s pragmatism and also ignoring some theoretical matters (including Islam and Muslims in Russia and Near Abroad) have resulted to make a gap in theory and interaction on Islam in Russia. On the other hand, having attention to different Islamic patterns are necessary because of Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism in modern world, establishing of de facto governments in middle east and also immigration crisis. It seems Islam in Russia in result of development in global scale, is going under different process which requires redefinition of Russian Geopolitics and National Identity.

**Dr. Liliya Karimova** is a Kennan Institute Research Fellow (2016-2017) and Professorial Lecturer in Communication at the Department of Organizational Sciences and Communication at the George Washington University in Washington, DC. Her research focuses on women, identity, piety, Islam, space, discourse, and social change in Tatarstan, Russia. She has presented at numerous conferences and has published in *Nova Religio: the Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*; *The Journal of Intercultural Communication Research; Central Asian Survey; Central Asian Affairs, and Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia*. A native of Russia, Dr. Karimova received her Ph.D. in Communication from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst in 2013.

**The (image) Making of Tatar Islam Through Community Service: The “Help” Mosque in Kazan, Russia**

What happens when the withdrawal of the state creates a vacuum in the provision of social services to the most disenfranchised, such as the disabled, the elderly, and the poor? In the post-Soviet context, a mosque may step in to fill the space. In this presentation, I examine the case of the Yardam (“Help”) mosque in the Tatarstan capital city of Kazan. What in 2002 began as a community-service-based project out of a small mosque in the outskirts of Kazan grew into a charitable foundation and a rehabilitation centre for the visually impaired, the disabled, and the elderly, housed under a large newly-built mosque. One of a kind in Russia, the “Help” mosque is an exclusively local project, supported by the local government and the local business community, which conducts its charitable work independent of foreign resources. While in the
western context the mosque’s relationship with the local government and businessmen may be perceived as that of strange bedfellows, in the context of present-day Russia it is that of a symbiosis. This relationship enables the mosque to carry out its charitable work while allowing the local government to use the mosque as a poster child for Tatar Islam.

Professor Michael Kemper is chair of the Eastern European Studies group at the University of Amsterdam. Kemper has been doing research on the nineteenth-century discourses of Islamic law, theology and Sufism in the Volga-Urals, and on the interplay of customary law and Shari’a in the North Caucasus, with a focus on the Islamic legal writings from before and during the Jihad movement of Imam Shamil -- all on the basis of Arabic and Turkic manuscripts from the regions. In several joint projects with colleagues from the former Soviet Union, he investigated the survival of Islam in the USSR, and the Soviet tradition of Marxist Oriental studies. His most recent project, together with Alfrid Bustanov, Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Danis Garaev and Jos Schaeken, is on the functions of Russian as a new language of Islamic communication.

Recent publications:


"Propaganda for the East, Scholarship for the West: Soviet Strategies at the 1960 International Congress of Orientalists in Moscow", in: *Reassessing Orientalism: Interlocking Orientologies*


Russia's Muftiates: A Reconfiguration Ahead?

Russia's official Islam is represented by some sixty local and regional umbrella organizations (Muslim spiritual administrations, Muftiates), most of them with ethnic Tatars as their Muftis. With the exception of the North Caucasus, most of these Muftiates are loosely organized under one of the two umbrella organizations, the Central Spiritual Administration in Ufa or the Council of Muftis based in Moscow. The two rivals have been at loggerheads since the 1990s: they compete for state resources and for recognition by the local Muftiates and their mosque communities. The Kremlin has kept both in a kind of balance, with occasional ups and downs in the granting of favours.

In this paper I argue that several factors may indicate a change in this balance. The old guard of Muftis -- all graduates from the Soviet Mir-i Arab Islamic college in Bukhara -- is gradually retiring. This affects all major Muftiates. To the fore comes a new middle-aged generation of Muslim administrators and activists who have developed new skills, not only in Arabic and Islamic studies but also in media technologies, and who know much better how to play the political game than the ailing figureheads. Especially the Muftiate in Moscow (now called the Spiritual Administration of the Russian Federation) has learned how to employ the political tides in their favour, but also how to reach out to the youth, with considerable success. The Muftiate in Kazan now has a very young Mufti, who is pursuing a traditional agenda, and remains in the shadow of the Tatarstani government; and the Central Spiritual Administration in Ufa, whose Mufti has been in power since 1980, is quickly losing ground. Will this lead to a reconfiguration of Russia's official Islam? Does the Kremlin have an interest in the emergence of one powerful Muftiate, as a kind of Muslim church? Which techniques is the Muftiate in Moscow developing for enlarging its influence, and how does it position itself towards Russia's foreign policy?

Zilya Khabibullina, PhD (History), research scientist of the Department of Religiology, R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences.
Statement of research interests: Islam in Russia, confessional elites, Islamic religious leaders, religious practices, cultic sites. In 2012, Z. Khabibullina defended her PhD thesis in “Ethnography, Ethnology and Anthropology”. In 2015, based on the results of the research, she published a monograph entitled “Muslim Religious Leaders in the Republic of Bashkortostan at the Turn of the 20th Century”. Nowadays she is working on the individual theme “The Institution of Pilgrimage in Islam” in the context of the research studies carried out by the Department of Religiology. She has published a number of papers in such prestigious Russian academic journals as “Ural Historical Journal”, “Russia and the Muslim World”, “Asia and Africa Today” and others.

Modern Aspects of Russian Muslim’s Pilgrimage: According to Research in the South Urals

The problem of studying the pilgrimage practice of modern-day Muslims in Russia acquires special significance because of the growing number of persons beginning with the 1990s who want to perform Hajj. At the present time, 20,500 Russian Muslims arrive to Saudi Arabia for Hajj every year since 2009 according to the quota established by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the countries with Muslim populations (one Muslim out of every thousand). The quota is based on the highest possible number of Muslims in the Russian Federation (20 million people). Due to the insufficient quota three to four thousand persons wishing to perform Hajj are left without travel permissions as reported by the Russian Hajj Committee, but in fact, there are many more such people. The current status of Muslim’s pilgrimage in Russia testifies to the growing interest in Islam, the restoration of old Muslim traditions and the creation of new ones. The presentation will analyze such problems as interactions between the state and religious organizations in terms of the Hajj, the dynamics of Hajj pilgrimage on the national and regional scale, the role of pilgrimage in the life of Muslim peoples of the South Urals, and the existence of local places of worship alongside world-famous holiest sites of Islam. The presentation is based on the materials of ethnographic investigations undertaken in the South Urals. Content analysis of the information obtained through interviews with pilgrims makes it possible to create an averaged portrait of a modern-day Hajj and to understand his problems at a personal level.

Adeeb Khalid is Jane and Raphael Bernstein Professor of Asian Studies and History professor of history at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota. He works on the Muslim societies of Central Asia in the period after the Russian conquest of the 19th century, with thematic interests
in religion and cultural change, nationalism, empires and colonialism, and in Soviet history in general. He has published widely on the subject in a number of journals. His most significant contribution to scholarship is three books: *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (University of California Press, 1998), *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia* (University of California Press, 2007), and *Making Uzbekistan: Nation, Empire, and Revolution in the Early USSR* (Cornell University Press, 2015). He is currently working on a history of modern Central Asia for a general educated audience.

**Reformist Muslims, Bolsheviks, and Islam in the Early Soviet Period**

The early Soviet period was a time of intense religious debate within the Muslim societies of the former Russian empire. That debate—in which some of the reformers took quite radical theological positions—became intertwined with a Bolshevik revolutionary critique of Islam. In a discourse rooted firmly in the Islamic tradition, the reformists criticized many aspects of customary Islamic practice for being impermissible from the point of a ‘pure’ (i.e., scriptural) Islam. The Bolsheviks for their part had no use for religion and sought to extirpate it from society. Their critique was based in a materialist discourse located completed outside the Islamic tradition. Nevertheless, the two discourses shared more in common than is intuitively obvious. For instance, reformists derided shrine visitation as impermissible because it compromised the unity of God. The Bolsheviks saw it as a primitive feature of feudal life, combining in their critique the materialism of Marxism-Leninism with the Orientalism of post-Enlightenment European thought in general. I will explore the overlaps in the two discourses and argue that it was the “reformist” discourse located in an Islamic idiom that made the “revolutionary” discourse of the Bolsheviks intelligible to Muslim societies. The boundaries between the Self and the Other were not so easily demarcated in this period of upheaval. The main sources for the paper are taken from the periodical press of the period in the vernacular Muslim languages of the USSR, predominantly Uzbek and Azerbaijani, as well as materials in Russian.

**Evgeny Khamidov** is a graduate of a postgraduate school at the Institute of History named after Sh. Marjani of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan (Russia) and currently in the process of obtaining a research doctorate. He is a lecturer at the Department of Oriental and Islamic Studies of the Institute of International relations, History and Oriental Studies (Kazan Federal University). His main research interests include Sufism among Tatars, Islam in Volga region, Sufism and Modern Islam, Interfaith dialogue. Also Khamidov is a participant of such

The End of Naqshbandiyya Halidiya in the Volga-Ural Region: Sheikh Zaynullah Rasulev (1833-1917)

The article is devoted to the last page in the history of the Sufi brotherhood Naqshbandiyya in the Volga-Ural region. The Tariqah whose representative was the vast majority of Muslims, almost completely lost its influence with the advent of the Soviet regime. The article presents the results of studying the activity of one of the most prominent representatives of the Tariqah Naqshbandiyya Sheikh Zainulla Rasulev. In addition, he is the last great Sufi sheikh in this area: he had many disciples, as well as the result of his activity was the opening of madrasa, which became popular among the Muslims of the Russian Empire. In the madrasa it was carried out teaching not only religious but also secular subjects, and very new at the time a sound method of teaching reading was used. At the same time Rasulev had quite complicated relations with the local Muslim clergy and the government, which resulted in long exile and imprisonment. An analysis of his life and work allows us to trace the role of the tariqah in the life of Muslims and describe the attitude of the Russian imperial administration to Sufism and the Muslims in general. To assess Rasulev’s contribution in the culture of modern Russia, it’s important to figure out the character of his relationships with his coreligionists and government officials. It is also important to figure out whether Rasulev’s ideas kept having its influence after his death.

Lecturer Abdul Kabil Khan Jamil has a MA in International Applied Journalism and currently a researcher of the Department of Mass Communications at the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. Besides teaching, he has been working in the Mass Media field for more than 7 years. He has an experience of a visiting lecturer of Uppsala University, Sweden in 2011 & University of Korea in 2013. He has passed online moderation course at Emoderation which is an award winning Social Media Management company in UK. He has interviewed many famous political figures and celebrities, among them Liberation War Affairs Minister AKM Mozammel Haque, Cultural Affairs Minister Asaduzzaman Noor, Ex-foreign Secretary of Bangladesh Mijarul Quayes, Manzurul Ahsan Khan, Adviser of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Bangladesh, singers Kumar Bishwajit, Sabbir Zaman & Akhi Alamgir, Nasiruddin Yousuff, a
Bangladeshi film director, Aleksander Gemelstain, an editor of the East SyberianTruth newspaper, Preity Zinta, Indian Bollywood actress, Madhur Bhandarkar, famous Indian Film Director, Nilufar Banu Lily, famous self-contained singer of Bangladesh & Margarita Mamun, a Russian-Bangladeshi rhythmic gymnast & 2013 World Cup Final All-around champion. He is a contributing writer for The Daily Prothom-Alo, Bdnews24.com, ntvbd.com, pbc24.com & amaderbarisal.com. His main research interest includes Mass Media Development & Communication, New Media Development Tendency in Bangladesh, Mobile Journalism, Social Media & Citizen Journalism Impact, Integration of Social Media with Mainstream Mass Media. He has published numerous articles on these subjects in various conferences, journals, newspapers and online portals. He is an author of the text book “Bangladesh: History & Development Tendency of Mainstream Media & New Media”. He is also the founder of „Mobile Journalism Institute” which is an online platform of learning mobile journalism. In addition, he has also done assignments for the National Association of Mass Media Researchers (NAMMI) in Moscow.

**The Image of Islam in Russian Online Information Space**

With the development of information technologies and their implementation in all spheres of state and public life, we visualize an authentic and genuine breakthrough in the future development of civilization. Today, Information propagates special value, therefore, the ability to work with it is one of the main sources of social success, including in the sphere of spiritual culture. The scientific and technological revolution and the development of modern portable communication devices have given new platforms and opportunities to the reader in order to generate and disseminate information. Thus, the theme of the position of Islam in the information space in the new century is broad enough to include general concerns from the ordinary members of the mosque to the Mufti (a Muslim legal expert and adviser on the law of the Quran). Unfortunately, misbehaviour and inappropriate remarks of many religious leaders captured on videos, audios and photos have gone viral creating chaos among million users around the globe.

Information space is the widest concept which includes the storage and transmission of information. In this context, apart from people, art and scientific literature, media or Internet may play a key role. Every day we obtain and send a large amount of information, so the question of the positioning of Islam in the information space has key importance. The media presents a constant image of Muslims of the Islamic society. It's more than just a matter of shaping the image of Islam and Muslims in the media platform.
The quality of the Muslim media has huge potential, however, most of these resources are created for internal consumption – for Muslims and those interested in Islamic topics. However, the actual fact is that the image of Islam and co-religionists were created not only by them. Today the image of Islam is highly influenced by the major social media – news agencies, news sites, TV, Newspapers, magazines, etc. In addition to traditional media, there are many other sources on Internet like social networks and blogs, where different Islamic content are now being distributed on regular basis. Many young Russian Muslims are now actively participating in different blog platforms. Damir Mukhetdinov, a member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation and first Deputy Chairman of the Spiritual administration of Muslims of the European part of Russia is a well-known active blogger at Live Journal (damir-hazrat.livejournal.com).

To attract young people to traditional Islamic content, special attention should be given to new media. The concept of "new media" refers to the modern media, which not only is available on the Internet, but also has a new form of interactivity, being a new way of shaping contents and interactions with readers. From a technical point of view, modern online Muslim media should not only have a professional outlook like having a modern dynamic web design and interesting content, but they must reach a new level of communication with their users.

Today any image that people see every day are quickly gone viral as text, photos or videos on the blogs, social network, journals etc. But it is regrettable that still public opinion has a lot of negative stereotypes about Muslims and Islam. Muslims need to enter the information war for the purification and rehabilitation of Islamic terms like “Jihad”, “Shahid” and “Shariat” in the public consciousness of Russians and in general change for the better attitude towards Islam and Muslims. This requires a conscious and deliberate policy in the media, both in traditional media and in new media platforms. Russian Muslims need to participation actively at the Internet space to create new media resources. To achieve this goal, it is essential to take the following initiatives:

1) To develop Islamic media and new media;
2) Participation of Muslims in the secular media.

For this purpose, the Russian Muslim community should think about not only the development of Islamic media, but also to prepare Muslim journalists for secular media. For the future of Islam, the second point has a much greater value.

Therefore it is necessary to work in two directions:

1. Muslims should become professional journalists, writers, bloggers, editors and work in the already known major media companies;
2. Journalists, editors and other professional writers from the Muslim community should create their own secular media.

If we take a view on the majority of Islamic websites of different Islamic Republics of Russia, then we can find the differences from that of the old religious newspapers. These websites are distributing different kinds of media contents (photo, video & audio). Some websites are actively integrated with social media & invite readers to send UGC materials. Today, Islamic content in Russian language is being distributed through many electronic platforms like TV, radio, website, mobile & social media. In Russia, according to the presence of Islamic resources on Internet space, they can be divided into 4 segments. The information of these platforms has a religious and public character. From there, any user can get acquainted with the principles of Islam, obtain competent answers of valuable questions about Islam, download calendar of prayers for the regions of Russia and find religious and public organization etc. Each of these segments has special characteristics, different kinds of content, functions and particular audience. The 4 segments of Islamic resources on Internet space are:


2) The Internet version of religious periodicals and Islamic websites: [http://www.islam.ru](http://www.islam.ru) – a popular website about Islam, Quran, hadith, lectures, video, audio and other useful information for Muslims.

3) Social Media: Islamic contents are available in "Vkontakte (In contact)", "Facebook", "Odnoklassniki (Classmates)" “Twitter” & “Youtube”. [https://www.facebook.com/koran-1511194249182774](https://www.facebook.com/koran-1511194249182774)

4) Mobile Apps: Islamic content based on mobile software is designed to run on mobile devices such as smart phones and tablet computers.

Over the past few years, there has been a steady increase in the numbers of Islamic websites in Russia. Russian Muslims mostly prefer specialized Federal information resources covering the life of the Muslim community of the Russian Federation. Various projects have been designed by non-Government organizations like "Fund for support of Islamic culture, science and education" and “Muslimnet” to provide financial & technical support to develop Islamic web resources on Internet. Their mission is to create, accumulate and disseminate Islamic knowledge via online sources and develop the skills of IT expert of Russian Muslim community.

The most important task for Russian Islamic media platforms is to spread the knowledge of Islam, its spiritual values building a positive image of Islam based on Quran and Sunnah (the
Dr Galina A. Khizrieva is a Senior Research Fellow at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies. In 1999 she joined Russian State University for the Humanities as a lecturer of the Anthropological Department and in 2000 as a lecturer and founder of the Centre for Eastern Studies at the Faculty of History, Law and Political Sciences of the same university. From 2000 to 2012 she was Research Fellow at the Institute of Cultural Studies RAS (ICS) and lecturer at the Centre for Eastern Studies of Russian State University for Humanities. For a year she was an associate member of Max-Plank Institute for Social Anthropology in the project on the Anthropology of Eurasia and Post-Socialist States. Her research interests include Social Adaptation and Evolution, Historical Anthropology and Sociology, Theory of Cultural Evolution, Muslim World (Caucasus, Migrations, Social Identification and Political Mobilizations), Cross-Cultural and Cross-National Research.

Security Dimensions of Islamic Religious Education in Russia

The religious revival of the early 90s in Russia has put religious education into the domestic policy agenda. This refers not only to widely discussed issues of religious lessons introduction into the high and primary school schedule, but also to the issues associated with obtaining professional religious education by young Muslims who choose the religious activity as a professional one. The point is that they did it in a vacuum of any socio-political ideology in practically atheistic society.

After the collapse of the bipolar system Salafi propagandists flooded Russia Muslim regions. The obvious role in this process was played by «pure Islam» preachers from abroad known as «Wahhabis». This trend manifested itself in the North Caucasus. Wahhabis «sheikhs» were associated with many political conflicts in Russia Muslim regions. The success of Salafi groups in Russia led to the politicization of Islam in the entire post-Soviet space. Through them many non-governmental organizations, including terrorist type tried to influence the internal political processes in other countries. An important role in process played education institutions for young Muslims. They function as mechanisms for the cultivation of sectarian and ideological values for the Muslim communities. Thus, the question of Muslim education turned into a real problem for national security of the Russian state.
Maria Kravchenko has been working for SOVA Centre for Information and Analysis, Moscow (sova-center.ru) since 2009. SOVA Centre is a non-profit organization founded in 2002 which focuses on nationalism and racism, relations between religious organizations, the state and secular society in Russia, and on misuse of anti-extremism policies. Maria Kravchenko specializes in day-to-day monitoring, writing news and analytical commentaries for SOVA Centre website on Russian anti-extremist legislation and law enforcement practices. She is the author of SOVA Centre’s annual reports on misuse of anti-extremist laws for the years 2012-2015.

Islam Under Pressure of Russian Anti-Extremist Policies

Since the middle of 2000s the so-called “non-traditional” or “alternative” Islam groups have become one of the main targets of Russian anti-extremist law enforcement. Some of these groups deserve special consideration but the majority of them pose no threat to society or national security. However, as the years pass we see the pressure growing and frequently affecting the Muslim community as a whole. While some of the state’s legal instruments such as banning organizations or criminal prosecution are more specific, the others – bans on authoritative Islamic religious literature and administrative punishment for its distribution – may address any believer. During the last years the Russian laws on fighting extremism and terrorism become more and more severe and the number of cases against Muslims with disproportionately grave charges filed and disproportionately harsh sentences issued grows. All of this can be perceived as a sort of semi-official anti-Muslim campaign.

Marlene Laruelle is Research Professor of International Affairs and Associate Director of the Institute for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies (IERES) at the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. She explores contemporary political, social and cultural changes in Russia and Central Asia through the prism of ideologies and nationalism. She has authored Russian Eurasianism: An Ideology of Empire (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), In the Name of the Nation: Nationalism and Politics in Contemporary Russia (Palgrave, 2009), and Russia’s Strategies in the Arctic and the Future of the Far North (M.E. Sharpe, 2013). She has recently edited Eurasianism and the European Far Right. Reshaping the Russia-Europe Relationship (Lexington, 2015), and Between Europe and Asia. The Origins, Theories and Legacies of Russian Eurasianism (Pittsburgh University Press, 2015), co-edited with Mark Bassin and Sergey Glebov.
Debating Islam and Russia’s National Identity

This paper examines the way Islam is discussed in Russia in relationship to Russian state identity and the Russian nation. Several trends compete to interpret the place of Islam in Russia’s quest for national identity. Some figures such as Geidar Dzhemal advances a paradoxical brand of geopolitics that combines pro-Islamic, pro-Russian, and pro-fascist traits in an eclectic “postmodern” blend. Others like Rafael Khakimov, a former political adviser to ex-President of Tatarstan Mintimer Shaymiev, and now vice-president of the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences, advocates what he calls “Euro-Islam”—that is, a modern Islam in line with European values, democracy, and economic liberalization.

One of the critical points of discussion is the definition of Islam as Russia’s Islam (Islam Rossii or rossiiskii islam) or Russian Islam (russkii islam). While the first term is the conventional one, the second one is rising due to several factors: the increasingly important use of the Russian language in mosques and the diminishing importance of the ethnic character of places of worship, which are more and more multinational as a result of internal and international migrations flows; the emergence of a considerable population of ethnic Russian converts to Islam; the establishment of Russian-speaking Islamic theological schools under state control; and the structuration of a dense Islamic web net in Russian.

After I defined the main political challenges that are at stake in this dual definition of Islam as rossiiskii or russkii, I map the different competing groups that discuss the relationship between Islam and Russian national identity. Among the promoters of a Russian Islam we find different people, going from some “polit-technologists” close to Gleb Pavlovsky to the growing community of ethnic Russian converted to Islam, represented by the Organization of Russian Muslims (NORM). The opponents of this notion of Russian Islam comprised the Orthodox Church, which refuses to consider that a religion other than Orthodoxy could be Russian; ethnic minority elites, who want to preserve their ethnic identity and avoid any Russification of Islam; and some Islamic institutions and figures, which insist on the universal mission of the Ummah.

Professor Vladimir S. Malakhov is the Director of the Centre for Political Theory and Applied Political Science at the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA). He is also teaching at the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences (MSSES) and is the author of five books and numerous articles. Research interests: political ideologies, citizenship studies, nationalism and ethnicity studies, multiculturalism and migration.
“Problem of Islam”: Factors of Discursive Production and National Contexts

In the first part of my talk I will be addressing the issue called “the problem of Islam” trying to clarify how this ‘problem’ is being produced and what are the conditions which make participants of the public discourse in Western countries to speak of Islam as a problem. In the second part of my presentation I will go into the Russian discourse on Islam analysing its similarities and its specificity in comparison with the discourse prasticized in Europe and North America.


Islam in the Eyes of Politicized Orthodoxy in Russia

The presentation aims at spotting pro-Islamic trends in the contemporary Orthodox political discourse in Russia. First, Islam and Muslims are often described as allies to Christianity against godless secular civilization. Here Islam is envisioned indiscriminately, as a united counter-secularization force; differences (religious, ethnic, political, or other) between Muslims remain ignored. Second, Islam within Russia is seen as an associate against religious extremists and ‘sects’. Here the image of Islam becomes uncertain. On the one part, unconventional, or
sectarian Islam (commonly referred to as Islamism, or Wahhabism, nowadays associated more with ISIS) is seen as a quintessence of ‘bad religions’. As well as ‘sects’, it is proselytizing. On the other part, the ‘traditional’ Islam (‘traditional’ is normally deciphered as ‘ethnicity-based’) is perceived as good an ally in political battles and not as a threat. For the political Orthodoxy, unlike for the government, this good Islam should not necessarily be depoliticized. Third, there is a trend to envision Islam as somewhat ‘superior’ with regard to observing traditions and protecting them by political means. Paradoxically, the latter trend often accompanies a general hostility to Muslims understood as a (powerful) menace to the Christian civilization. Pro-Islamic trends, although distorted, may be found across intra-Orthodox political lines. There is no specifically pro-Islamic current that would share other distinguishing political characteristics.

Dr Rinat Mukhametov (b. 1980), PhD, political analyst and writer, Deputy Director of the "Altair Foundation", expert of Russian mufti council. Graduated from Russian academy of state management and national economy. Now work in Institute of Middle East and Islamic researches of Marmara University (Turkey, Istanbul). Author of books: "Political self-determination of Islamic world in the epoch of globalization", "Islamic dilemma of Russia. Civil identity of Russian Muslims."

From “Asian” to “European:” Russia and its Muslim Minority
It is much written and told about Islam in Europe and North America, about experience of its followers and their intensive development at the present stage. There is much less information about Russia. Moreover, there are very few attempts to compare the development processes of its Muslim minority with what is happening in other regions of the world. Russia in terms of relationships with internal Muslim community (which, according to a statement by Russian President Vladimir Putin, reaches about 20 million people) should be compared not with Europe, as is often done, but rather with Asia, to be more precise, with Asian states in which live significant Islamic minorities. This is the first. Secondly, the experience of neighbourhood of Muslims and other religions in Russia cannot be considered fundamentally unique. Yes, it is interesting but not unique, no matter what is told by the Russian officials in this regard. In general, it is the same experience as that of non-Muslim Asian countries with significant indigenous Muslim population. Some of these states of this type (call them nominally “Asian”) even once were themselves Muslim. The history of their relationships with the followers of Islam knows a lot, almost everything: war and
friendship, hatred and integration, apathy and desire to know each other. Today they, including Russia, are trying to build its policy towards Islam.

Then the differences begin. As for Russia, in the future it may fall out of the number of “Asian” colleagues. The only question is where it will appear.

Dr Alexander Ponomariov is a postdoc from Passau, Germany. He studied foreign languages, Orthodox theology, and received his M.A. degree in Russian and East-Central European studies in Germany. His PhD dissertation focuses on the Russian Orthodox Church in the post-Soviet era. His research interests include, inter alia, the connection between religion and politics in the modern world, represented for instance in his paper The Pussy Riot Case in Russia: Orthodox Canon Law and the Sentence of the Secular Court (Ab Imperio, 4/2013). His other publications are available here: https://uni-passau.academia.edu/AlexanderPonomariov.

Rais Suleimanov (Kazan’) and his Struggle Against Foreign and Jihadist Influence in Russia’s Islam Community

Current Russian Islam discourse knows a few prominent experts and critics, the most famous being the Moscow-based scholar Roman Silantiev. My talk, however, intends to outline the public activity of another bright contemporary expert on Russia’s Umma, Rais Suleimanov, from the Federal Republic of Tatarstan, Russia, who uncovers modern trends in Russia’s Islam communities primarily in the Volga republics of Tatarstan and Bashkiria from anti-Jihadist and pro-Russian positions. For instance, he draws attention to the Turkish influence in Tatarstan that he evaluates as “very strong.” In addition, he writes about ethnic Russians who convert into Islam, as well as about aggressive migrant Muslim communities in Russia (including internal migrants from other regions of Russia, first of all from the Caucasus) that lead a secluded life among the traditional and to a significant extent secularized Tartars who sometimes even have to school their children in Russian Orthodox schools in order to avoid contacts with the radical newcomers and fellow believers! Suleimanov is a Tartar and a Muslim himself (unlike Silantiev, who is Russian and Orthodox Christian); a recognized expert on Islam at the Russian Institute of Strategic Studies, an influential and well-funded think-tank with a conservative agenda; and an editor-in-chief of an academic journal Musul’manskii Mir (The Muslim World), published in Kazan’, Tatarstan, which fact makes him especially interesting and topical.

Julia Prudnikova graduated from the MGIMO-University (Moscow, Russia) in 2007 with a degree in international law. From 2008 to 2012 as a doctoral student at the Institute for African
Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow, Russia) she researched a topic of Islamic securities market in Sudan simultaneously working full-time as a lawyer at an international law firm Clifford Chance. She has a number of articles on the subject of Islamic finance published in Russian academic journals (including Securities Market and Problems of Modern Economy) and delivered a speech at an international Islamic banking conference in Moscow. While being on maternity leave (from March 2014 till present), Julia got interested in the topic of ageing and later life and social aspects of elder people care.

**Muslim Charity and the Issue of Lonely Elderly People Support in Contemporary Russia**

There are a number of Muslim charitable organisations in Russia, working both country-wide and in Russian regions. In their charitable activity these organisations often use traditional Islamic charity instruments such as zakah, sadakah and waqfs.

In Europe, it is a normal practice to render support to lonely elderly people via charities. This report purports to consider the issue of helping elderly people by Muslim charitable organisations in Russia - its current importance for the Muslim community and possible forms of rendering such support in practice.

**Sofia A. Ragozina** is a Lecturer in the National Research University Higher School of Economics (NRU HSE), executive secretary in peer-review academic journal “State, Religion and Church in Russia and Worldwide”. Master of political science was obtained in February 2015 in NRU HSE (Moscow, Russia). The theme of my master thesis was connected with analyzing image of Islam in Russian print media. Currently she is an applicant for a degree of ‘candidat nauk’. Her professional interests includes such problems as Islamic studies, Political Islam in the Middle East, North Africa, North Caucasus, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, migration in the GCC, international security.

Image of Islam in Contemporary Russian Print Media

Results of an empirical study on the discourse about Islam in modern Russian press will be presented in this paper. The research was made in the framework of critical discourse analysis using the tools of corpus linguistics. Corpus includes 9822 articles concerning Islamic issues from six federal Russian newspapers during the period from 2010 Jan.01 to 2013 Dec.31: “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (Russian newspaper), “Kommersant”, “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (“Komsomol Truth”), “Moskovsky Komsomolets” (“Moscow Komsomol”), “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” (Independent Newspaper), “Novaya Gazeta” (New Newspaper). Antconc software was used for search of collocations, concordances and other terms.

Keyword-analysis of each newspaper revealed the structure of the discourse about Islam and its semantic core. Functions "collocation" and “n-gram" allowed to analyze the lexical compatibility of term "Islam"; particularly we concerned with the phrases such as "adjective + Islam" and "Islamic / Islamist / Muslim + noun." Moreover, they were categorized according to the context of their usage in order to build a more detailed discourse. An important part was devoted to the comparative analysis of the usage of words "party", "organization", "movement" in terms of such organizations as "Boko Haram", "Al-Qaeda". Special attention was paid to the Russian context ("Jamaat", "Caucasus Emirate"). The characteristics attributed to Russian ‘organizations’ are significantly different in a way they are called comparing with foreign ones. In addition, we examined terms related to Islamic sphere, such as the pillars of Islam ("shahada", "pray", "abstinence", "zakat", "Hajj"), mazhabs (Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali, Shafi'i). Controversial conclusions were obtained after the investigation of representation of different branches of Islam (Shi’a, Sunni and others).

At the beginning of our study we wanted to avoid bias against Islamophobia in the newspaper discourse about Islam, but the complex analysis has disproved this argument. A large number of lexical forms are the source of the negative image of Islam. In general, it is based on the prevalence of the political over the religious in its meaning. The concept of Islam in the discourse includes such images as political actors, ready to use violent methods of struggle to
achieve their goals, the ideology that justifies their actions. The negative image is identified with Islam as a paramilitary, aggressive phenomenon.

During the analysis of the concept of Islam a clear semantic prosody was found. From the very beginning of our study we had to use the terms “negative connotations” and “positive ones”. In our view, it is not only a specific methodical step, but also a reflection of the actual structure of the discourse. The observed dichotomy “traditional Islam VS radical one” is an example of this semantic prosody as a structure-founding element in the discourse. However, the construct of "radical Islam" shifts the emphasis on itself. A small part of the discourse, attributed to the positive image of Islam is often associated with traditional Russian Islam. It acts not as a self-sustained element of the discourse, but rather as a forced response to the expansion of "the threat of radical Islam."

To sum up, more detailed way of the steps taken in this study will be illustrated by several examples and additional conclusions will be made.

**Rahim Rahimov** is an Independent Researcher (Baku, Azerbaijan). His areas of research interest: Post-soviet space; Russia; Political Islam. Selected publication includes: Nimr Al-Nimr: Victim of Saudi Anger over Iran's Nuclear Deal Ensuring Energy Security with the Eastern Partnership.

**Why Islam in Chechnya is so Different From Other Parts of Russia?**

A positive legacy of the Soviet era in Muslim-majority republics of the former Soviet Union and Muslim regions of Russia is that they represent secular Muslim nations, where mosque is separated from the state and moderate Islam dominates. However, Chechnya is an exception. Although state and mosque are separated, radical Islam is widespread and suicide attacks are present in Chechnya. So, the paper seeks to answer why Islam in Chechnya is so notoriously different from other parts of Russia? To answer the question, firstly, I provide background on Islam during the Soviet Era and then, do comparative study of the post-soviet Islam in Tatarstan and Chechnya, both being Muslim-majority autonomous republics of Russia. My hypothesis is in order to underline their Chechen identity and their difference from Russia and opposition to Russian rule, Chechens sought to highlight their Muslim identity. Furthermore, Chechen leaders used Muslim identity as a unifying symbol in fight against Russia for independence. External forces caught this opportunity to encourage export of radical Islamic ideology into Chechnya by funding Chechen rebels. Although inflow of radical ideology appears to be considerably curbed at the present stage, the negative legacy of the previous period still persists.
thus making generations to come vulnerable in the face of such radical ideology. And so far there is no clear state policy to address the problem in longer term.

Dr Bulat Rakhimzianov has a Kandidat nauk degree (Candidate of Sciences) in Russian History from Kazan Federal University (Russia) and is currently a researcher at the Institute of History of the Academy of Science of the Republic of Tatarstan (Kazan’, Russia). His main research interests includes Muscovite history, specifically Muscovite eastern policy during the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, Russian Imperial history, specifically nationalities and religious issues, Tatar identity, history and memory. He has published two books on these subjects, such as Rakhimzianov, Bulat, Kasimovskoe khanstvo (1445–1552 gg.). Ocherki istorii [The Kasimov Khanate (1445-1552). Studies in History], Kazan’: Tatarskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 2009 (see: http://tataroved.ru/sttgon/rakhimz/) and Rakhimzianov, Bulat (Editor), Srednevekovoye tiurko-tatarskie gosudarstva. Vypusk 3 [Medieval Turko-Tatar States. Volume 3], Kazan’: Ikhlas; Institut istorii im. Sh.Marjani AN RT, 2011. His third book, Rakhimzianov, Bulat, Moskva i tatarskii mir: sotrudnichestvo i protivostoianie v epokhu peremen, XV – XVI vv. [Muscovy and the Tatar world: Cooperation and Confrontation in the Age of Change, Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries], St. Petersburg: Evraziia, 2016, is dedicated to the study of the mutual relations between Muscovy and the so-called Later Golden Horde states. He has been published in various academic journals that include Russian History, Cahiers du Monde and Drevniaia Rus’. Voprosy medievistiki. He also has been published in various academic books that include Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860, edited by Christoph Witzenrath, Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015, Dubitando: Studies in History and Culture in Honor of Donald Ostrowski, edited by Brian J. Boeck, Russell E. Martin, and Daniel Rowland, Bloomington, Ind.: Slavica, 2012, Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland: Konzepte und Praktiken, Potentiale und Grenzen. 14.–17. Jahrhundert, edited by Ludwig Steindorff, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010 and Istoryia tatar s drevneyshikh vremen, 7 vols. Vol. 4: Tatarskie gosudarstva XV – XVIII vv., edited by Il'nur Mirgaleev, Kazan’: Institut istorii im. Sh.Marjani AN RT, 2014. He has spent 2006/07 academic year at Harvard University as a Fulbright Visiting Scholar. In addition, he is also serving as a reviewer for the Fulbright Visiting Scholar Program.

Religious Pragmatism of Muscovy of the Fifteenth Through Seventeenth Centuries

Being a part and later a successor of a huge empire of the Golden Horde, Muscovy adopted a number of its political and social institutions. One of the most striking examples in this respect
is the religious pragmatism widespread at the Later Golden Horde states and borrowed by Muscovy. Contacts between Muscovy and the Steppe have been traditionally treated in the context of a kind of original religious "cold war", intermittently hot. During the analysis of primary sources it becomes clear that this description is unsatisfactory. Muscovy had been an integral part of this world, politically and economically, since its beginnings. It remained the same in the XVth, XVIth and even XVII centuries. An illustrative example of it is the policy of the Russian rulers who enticed Turkic highest nobility from their native states for Muscovite service. Russian princes granted special lands (somewhat of independent principalities; in Turkic tradition - iurts) in the immediate territory of Russia. There were many of such iurts on the territory of the XV-XVII century Muscovy – in the towns of Kasimov, Kashira, Ur’ev-Polskii, Zvenigorod, Serpuhov, Romanov etc.

What was the purpose of such iurts? Muscovy was gradually becoming the major political heir of the Golden Horde. Moscow aspired to imitate the example of this great empire, to follow its model as a 'beacon' guiding Moscow to success. The Golden Horde was a vast union embracing lands with varying economic, social, cultural and ethnic conditions. All the Turkic populations in Golden Horde were united on the same terms, but the Russian lands had a special status. They constituted a part of the Golden Horde too, but in fact they were ‘a state within a state’. The grand princes of Moscow Vasilii II and his son Ivan III assigned the same role of ‘a state within a state’ to the Kasimov khanate and also to other Tatar iurts of Muscovy.

Although Muslim iurts of Muscovy were not large in relative size, they figured very prominently in its relations to the Steppe khanates, such as the Kazan khanate and the Crimean khanate, as well as the Great and the Nogay Hordes. Muscovite Tatar iurts often acted as a bridge between and arbiter of conflict between Orthodoxy Christians and Muslims.

Ringo Ringvee is historian of religion with special attention to the contemporary religious situation in Estonia and other Baltic States. His research focus is also on the relations between State and religious institutions. He holds academic post of Professor of Comparative Religion at the Theological Institute of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church and is adviser at the religious affairs department at the Estonian Ministry of the Interior.

Muslim Migrants From the Soviet Republics and Their Impact Upon Historical Muslim Communities in the Baltic States During the Soviet Times and Beyond
The paper focuses on the Muslim communities in three Baltic States in from the perspective of ethnic and migration perspective. All three Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have their traditional Muslim ethnic minorities, Tatars. The history of Tatars in Lithuania starts in the 14th century while in Latvia and Estonia the Tatar Muslim communities became permanent in the mid-19th century.

The Soviet period and the Soviet migration policies affected the ethnic composition of the Baltic States, especially in Latvia and Estonia. This meant also changes in the ethnic composition of the Muslim community. The paper is going to explore how the Muslim migrants from the other Soviet Republics influenced the local Tatar dominated Muslim discourse in three Baltic States.

Historical differences between Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania concerning Tatar and Muslim population have resulted in different current situations in all three States that are analysed as well in the paper. The paper focuses on the Muslim communities in three Baltic States in from the perspective of ethnic and migration perspective. All three Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have their traditional Muslim ethnic minorities, Tatars. The history of Tatars in Lithuania starts in the 14th century while in Latvia and Estonia the Tatar Muslim communities became permanent in the mid-19th century.

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TBA

Sergei A. Samoilenko is a public relations instructor in the Department of Communication at George Mason University. His professional service is focused on bridging academic and professional communities in the areas of crisis communication, public relations and Eurasian studies. He developed and held numerous workshops and webinars on strategic communication
in the US and internationally. Sergei’s new research focuses on issues in character assassination and reputation management in public relations.

**Portraying Muslims and Terrorist Acts: A comparative Russian-American Study of Character Attacks (See under Eric Shiraev)**


From 2002 to present Head of Department of Journalism in Kazan Federal University. From 2005 to 2010 participant in grant projects against extremism. In 2015 opened magistracy course called «Ethnic and confessional relationships in media». More than ten years works as expert in Public College of Press Complaints. Research interests: media culture, media ethics.

**Religion in "The New Journalism Style": the Boundaries of the Acceptable**

In November 2015 in Public College Press Complains considered complain on interview with imam of the Moscow Memorial mosque Shamil Alyautdinov. Interview was called "Sobchak and Krasovsky: Road to the Temple". By opinion of the complainer, authors of the famous site RBK (where has been published this interview) insulted feelings of believers. I was an expert in this informational conflict. By the analysis i came to the conclusion that there wasn't any insult of feelings but style of presentation is mocking. This is unacceptable when the religion is on the topic. Not all of the members of Public College agreed with this point of view. Journalist of "New Newspaper" Leonid Nikitinsky said that author can express his subjective opinion if he is an atheist.

The style, in which was written the interview we can applies to the new journalism. The new journalism invented by Thompson Hunter, American publicist in 60s and his esthetic program still important nowadays. For the new journalism characterized by subjectivity, caricature of authors image, provocations. 50 years ago that was style of counterculture opposing the establishment. Today the public context is different. Representation of religion in media in the "new journalism" language could be perceived as media aggression. Dramatic example of using this "gonzo" style in representation of Islam is happening with Charlie Hebdo.

Muslim Journalism in Tatar-language Mass Media

Muslim journalism is the name of articles about Islam. In Tatarstan Republic most of them are written on Tatar language. The main religion of Tatar nationality is Islam for the many years. So, Muslim traditions and rules stand near with the ethnic and cultural identity. As example we can see the TV program called “Ruhi Hasinä” (“The Spiritual Heritage”). Watching movie. In different Tatar-language press attention to the Islam is different. In 90, with the "freedom of national press" newspapers began write more about Islam. For example newspaper “Shahri Kazan” has pages dedicated to Islam. Nowadays Islamic religious articles are still publishing. We can read there about world Islamic traditions, cultural news about Islam, legends about Muslim personalities, answers the questions about Islam. Also there is internet version of this newspaper and it is different. We can see it even if we read naming of pages. In the print version: The word of faith. In the internet version: Religion. We can assume that the audience of print version is older/ We expect that the internet version is more for young people.

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Основные публикации


“Советский ислам” сквозь призму деятельности Уполномоченных Совета по делам религий (на примере Средней Азии)

С закрытием мечетей и репрессиями против служителей культа не прекратилось стремление населения к исламской обрядности. Свидетельством этому может выступать массив документов, собранных автором в различных архивах. География документов представлена не только Узбекистаном, но и отражает религиозную ситуацию в определенной степени в республиках советского Востока (Казахстан, Кыргызстан, Таджикистан, Туркменистан).

Представительным органом власти, который следил за состоянием религиозной жизни населения в Узбекистане являлся «Совет по делам религиозных культов», организованный постановлением СНК УзССР от 9 августа 1944г. В функции Уполномоченных Совета входило наблюдение за правильным и своевременным проведением в жизнь на территории Узбекистана законов и постановлений союзного правительства, относящихся к религиозным культурам.
Судя по архивным данным, Уполномоченные в республиках Средней Азии, как правило, - бывшие сотрудники министерства-комитета госбезопасности в звании полковников и т.д. С середины 1960-х гг. на эти должности также назначались партийные и советские работники.

Из анализируемых документов следует, что Уполномоченные, контролирующие религиозную жизнь общества, следили за количеством зарегистрированных мечетей, препятствуя легализации незарегистрированных.

Главной проблемой для властей оставалось отношение народа к религии, устойчивость веры в массах населения. Уполномоченными констатировался факт усиления, расширения религиозности среди населения Средней Азии.

Количество ходатайств верующих об открытии мечетей было велико. Сообщения Уполномоченных о таких ходатайствах в потоке официальной переписки шли под грифом «секретно» и как «спецсообщения».

Наряду с ростом посещаемости мечетей Уполномоченными зафиксировано и значительное увеличение притока паломников к многочисленным местным святыням – мазарам. Массовое паломничество к «святым местам» вынудило САДУМ инициировать ряд фетв об их подлинности и правомерности этого обряда.

Несовершенство деятельности аппарата Уполномоченного Совета по делам религиозных культов неоднократно служило поводом для рассмотрения со стороны государственных органов.

Совет по делам религий созданный для осуществления связей между государством и религиозными объединениями, служил органом жёсткого контроля за жизнью верующих со стороны государства, Уполномоченные же стали проводниками этой политики и её давления на религию.

**Eric Shiraev** is a professor, researcher, and author working at George Mason University, the United States. He took his academic degrees at St. Petersburg University in Russia and completed a post-doctoral program in the United States at UCLA. He served at various positions at St. Petersburg University, Oregon State University, and George Washington University. He is an author, co-author, and co-editor of fourteen books and numerous publications in the fields of international affairs, political psychology, and cultural studies. His book, *Cross-Cultural Psychology* published by Taylor and Francis is in 6th edition and translated in many languages. His *International Relations* is coming out in third edition from the Oxford University Press. In these books and other works, he develops a distinct multi-disciplinary approach to social and
political behaviour and emphasizes the role of cultural and identity factors in politics. Besides teaching and research, Eric Shiraev writes opinion essays for the media, and lectures around the world.

**Portraying Muslims and Terrorist Acts: A Comparative Russian-American Study of Character Attacks (Co-Presenters Sergei A. Samoilenko, Sergey Davydov and Olga Logunova (National Research University Higher School of Economics))**

Individuals learn about other cultures, ethnic groups, and religions through various means including formal schooling, travel, the media, and via other forms of personal experiences. One of the least studied ways of understanding a religion is through cases of the individuals who are representing particular religion. Thus a person, as a microcosm, appears as a representative of a larger group of people and also reflects on the beliefs and values associated with an entire ethnic group or a religion. Such individual cases appear as elements or features of an individual’s direct interpersonal contacts. In most cases, however, these individual cases appear in the media. Typically, this is an outstanding case, a dramatic or an important story covered in a media report. In the current study, we have focused on the media coverage—in Russia and in the United States—of several dramatic events associated with 2015-16 terrorist attacks in the United States, Belgium and France. We are focusing specifically on the description of the individuals, the suspects and perpetrators of these terrorist acts. We pay attention to these people’s individual features the way they appear in reports: their characters, their personalities—in the context of their Muslim identity and their religious beliefs and behaviour. One to key questions we try to address is how the media cover the motivation of terrorists: (1) has their religion (i.e. Islam) “made” them contemplate and commit the violent act or (2) did they use their religion simply to justify their hostility in the first place? This study is a part of a larger international project on *character attacks* in history and politics.

**Dr Marat Shterin** joined King’s in 2006, after receiving a PhD in Sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) where he also taught and did research. Earlier in his life, he taught History at a Moscow School of Arts, and even had a stint as its headmaster. The fascinating changes immediately before and after the fall of the Soviet Union reinforced his interest in the social scientific study of religion, which remains his abiding interest (alongside theatre and music!). He is particularly interested in origins and consequences of religious innovation across religious traditions in a variety of contexts, and my current focus is on religious minorities and religiously
motivated ‘radicalisation’ in Russia and Western Europe, and on the new trends in the Russian Christian Orthodoxy and Islam. He is currently a Co-editor-in-Chief of the journal *Religion, State, and Society.*

His research interests include:

- The sociology of religion, with special reference to religious change, minorities, and new religious movements in global perspective
- State management and everyday expressions of religious diversity in different social and political contexts
- Religion in Russia, in particular as shaping and is shaped by changing individual life-worlds, social relations, and politics – both domestic and international
- Radical expressions of religion (‘radicalisation’) at the individual, group, and state levels and the possibility of de-radicalising strategies
- Religion and identity in relation to personal faith, ethnicity and nationhood.

**Russia’s Muslims With and Without Islam: a Sociologist’s View (Key Note Lecture)**

In this paper, I offer a sociologist’s view on the state of knowledge of Islam in Russia. In fact, I argue that in certain contexts, the expression ‘knowledge of Islam’ can be misleading, as it tends to reflect normative concerns of and claims on authority by various ethnic, religious, and political entrepreneurs rather than the diversity of experiences, grievances, aspirations, sense of identity, and social behaviours of real people who see themselves or are seen as Muslims. The paper attempts to identify the key ‘constructors’ of the image of ‘Islam in Russia’ and ‘Russian Islam’ and show how their constructions are grafted on to their individual and group concerns within the country’s domestic and global changing social and political landscape.

I particularly point out the conspicuous paucity of anthropological and sociological studies of Muslims and their communities in Russia. I advocate research from these perspectives on the grounds that it could make a major contribution to our knowledge of the diverse, dynamic, and vibrant lives and social engagements of Muslims as individuals, groups, and movements – beyond the customary notions of ‘official’ vs. ‘non-official’, ‘traditional’ vs. ‘non-traditional’, or ‘moderate’ vs. ‘radical’ Islam. Paradoxically, this social scientific approach calls for both understanding of Muslims ‘without Islam’ (that is in terms of their demographic characteristics, gender, economic interests, etc.) and empathy for people’s engagements with various expressions of their religious faith.

Finally, I show the usefulness of social scientific ethnographies and concepts by focusing on the vexed theme of ‘Islamic radicalism’. I argue that the common tendency to subsume various
ideologies, groups and movements under this single category is based on the misleading assumption that it is necessarily derivative from (a wrong kind of) ‘Islam’. Yet, the profound concerns about domestic and transnational issues, combined with the new technological and cultural opportunities, do encourage and enable younger Muslims to embrace and reinterpret Islamic beliefs and practices in ways that resonate with their experiences, thus profoundly transforming ‘Islam in Russia’.

Gulnaz Sibgatullina obtained her BA/MA degree at Moscow State Linguistic University (Russia). Currently she is a PhD candidate at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (the Netherlands), working on the project “Russian Language of Islam and the Russian Orthodox Church: Dialogue and Mission”. Her main research interests focus on the areas of sociolinguistics and religious language, particularly in discourse and power, and coexistence of several religious codes within one language.

Translating the Image of Islam into Russian: Empowerment or Submission?
This paper is an attempt to analyse the emerging phenomenon of the Russian language of Islam – new lingua franca of the Russia’s Muslim community - from the perspective of translation and postcolonial studies. Linguistic, as well as cultural translation form a Muslim vernacular into Russian can never take place on a horizontal axis, since source and target languages do not occupy equal positions of prestige and status: Russian is strongly associated with the dominant (Christian) culture. Muslim terminology, which is expressed through Orthodox Church vocabulary, has “the reinforced hegemonic versions of the colonized” and acquires “the status of what Edward Said calls representation or objects without history” (Niranjana 1992: 176). I will focus on two groups, which by employing this translated Islamic language, place themselves into the ‘contact zone’ (Pratt 1992) or ‘in-between’ (Bhabha 1994); it is where “discursive transformations occur as different groups seek to represent themselves to one another” (Bassnett 2013: 354): 1) the ethnic Russians, who convert to Islam – they move from the hegemonic Russian culture to representation in the Muslim community; 2) some Muslim officials attempt in their discourse to bring Islam closer to the Orthodox culture, and thus, follow the reversed direction. Although differently, the both groups contribute to translation of the image of Islam into Russian, and the question is, to what extent its result, as any translation, resemble and/or deviate from its source.

References:

**Dr. Fazzur Rahman Siddiqui** is a PhD holder in international politics from School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. He is currently associated the Indian Council of World Affairs, a Delhi-based foreign policy think tank. His area of expertise is political Islam, political and cultural issues in Middle East and North Africa and he also works on the impact of the global politics in the region. He is the author of a book published form Lebanon in 2010, “The Concept of Islamic State: From the Caliphate to Twentieth Century: Pre-Ikhwan and Post- Ikhwan phase”. His other book, “Political Islam and the Arab Uprising: Islamist Politics in Changing Time” is being published by the Sage in November, 2016. He has contributed in many national and international journals on the current issues in the Arab politics. He usually writes long and short pieces for the website of the council (for details http://www.icwa.in/issue_briefs.html). He knows Arabic, Urdu, and Persian in addition to English. He is a usual commentator on political developments in the Arab world on national and international Radio and TV.

**Emergence of Political Islam in Post-Soviet Union Era**
No doubt like every historic entity, the regional of Islam has also passed through several phases and each phase was dominated by one or other dominant theme. The era of revelation and Prophetic *Hadith* (statement and the acts of the Prophet) was followed by an era of Islamic historiography and juridical layout culminating into emergence of four schools of jurisprudence.
In modern time, what introduced a new addition to the Quranic exegesis, Islamic historiography and jurisprudential commentary was the Iranian revolution in 1979. The Islamic revolution dawned with an era of historical association of religion and politics and what gradually evolved into what is called “Political Islam”. The emergence of Political Islam as a new discipline gradually dragged the religion of Islam invariably into discipline of social science, international
affairs and cultural studies that made the religion of Islam completely devoid of rituality and spirituality.

The spread of new theme of the Islam had its resonance across the globe and so was the case in Russia after the breakup of the USSR. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Russian Islam is at the crossroad as Muslim community has suffered from internal fragmentation, split and division. There is clear linkage and synergy between forms and expression of Russian Islam and developments and the evolution of the post-Soviet state.

This fragmentation has paved the way for a radical alternative providing an ideological justification for the acts of violence under the impact of other Islamist movement emanating in the Aran world. The gains of recovery of faith, the process of re-Islamization and the prevalence of religiously-sanctioned violence should not be underestimated in parts of Russian federations.

As a part of consequences, mutual suspicion between the Muslim and majority of non-Muslims population have increased challenging the ethnic and secularist cohesion of the society and subsequent alliance between state and scared majority has led to further marginalisation of the Muslims.

In the light of the above statement, this paper will explore the genealogy of the ‘Political Islam’, contours and how it has impacted the Islamist discourse in the Russia. This paper will also examine the response of the state institutions to depoliticise and de-radicalise the Islam. The deliberation will also offer a glance into the likely future scenario in the aftermath of the rise of the ISIS in Mediterranean and other parts of the Arab world.

**Associate Professor Greg Simons** has a PhD from the University of Canterbury (New Zealand) and is currently a researcher at the Uppsala Centre for Russian and Eurasian Studies (Uppsala University, Sweden), CATS (Swedish Defence University) and a lecturer at the Department of Communication Science (Turiba University, Latvia). His main research interests includes diverse applications of communication within international relations, such as public diplomacy and soft power, crisis communication, and the interaction between communication and politics within the context of armed conflict. He has published numerous books on these subjects, such as Simons, G. & Westerlund, D. (Editors), *Religion, Politics and Nation Building in Post-Communist Countries*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2015 and Simons, G., *Mass Media and Modern Warfare: Reporting on the Russian War on Terrorism*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010. He has been published in various academic journals that include the European Journal of Communication, Demokratizatsiya, Public Relations Review and the Journal of Place Branding.
and Public Diplomacy. In addition, he has also done assignments for the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**Alexandra Smith** is Reader in Russian Studies at the University of Edinburgh. She obtained her PhD from the University of London in 1993. Prior to her arrival in Edinburgh, she worked for the University of Essex, University of Bristol, University of Canterbury (New Zealand), and University of Sheffield. Alexandra Smith is the author of "The Song of the Mockingbird: Pushkin in the Works of Marina Tsvetaeva" (Peter Lang, 1994) and Montaging Pushkin: Pushkin and Visions of Modernity in Russian Twentieth-Century Poetry (Rodopi, 2006), as well as numerous articles on Russian literature and culture. Currently she is working on several publications related to the project "Reconfiguring the Canon of Russian Twentieth-Century Poetry, 1991–2008," funded by the AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council).

**The Depiction of Islamic Peoples and a Muslim Hero in "Hadji Murat" as an Embodiment of Tolstoy's Cross-Cultural Vision and Universal Art**

According to Paul Friedrich, Lev Tolstoy holds a unique position among Russian writers because he attempted "to take a Caucasus Native point of view and to depict it realistically". Tolstoy's sensitivity to Caucasus culture and his rapport with its natives is well exemplified by Tolstoy's short novel "Khadzhi Murat" (1896-1904) in which over one hundred words from Arabic, Turkic, Persian, and Chechen languages are incorporated into the narrative. Friedrich concedes that, drawing "on a historical figure, on memories of war in Chechnya, and on his own perennial battle with authority", in "Hadji Murat", Tolstoy "created a complex portrait of the culture of the Caucasus, and of fundamental Islamic values". Friedrich defines Tolstoy's book as an example of cultural anthropology containing "an outraged critique of Russian high society and tsarist imperialism" (Friedrich 2003). In contrast, James Woodward thinks that the main theme of Tolstoy's novel is related to the lack of individual freedom in the world governed by social hierarchies and religious obligations (Woodward 1973). Andrew Wachtel suggests that Hadji Murat's portrayal might be seen as an extension of the myth of the noble savage. Murat's streak of a childlike innocence, asserts Wachtel, ensures his connection "to the world of love and by extension of life" (Wachtel 2012). Furthermore, Wachtel thinks that Tolstoy's graphic image of Hadji Murat's severed head depicted in the novel demonstrates that "a severed head can be more human and alive than the head of a living being". The present paper will develop Wachtel's idea that Hadji Murat can be seen "as a symbol of resistance to a Russian state (and more generally to a European order) that Tolstoy had come to see as
hopelessly corrupt" and will explore Tolstoy's cross-cultural vision of art as a foundation for a new understanding of the human condition.

**Anna Sosnovskaya**, PhD in Philology, postdoctoral scholar received her doctoral degree from the University of St. Petersburg and her dissertation analysed the practices of construction of the identity of journalists of Russia and Europe (2000).

Anna’s first Diploma (DER) written in France (1996) was devoted to the representation of the Arab-Israel conflict in the Russian and French press. Anna’s post-doctoral research focused on the study of migration, the discourse of identity and nationalism as well as on the semiotics of representations and visual communication.

Anna is a professional certified therapist and studies the practice of interruption of communication, psychology of perception of media content. Anna is the author of several books, textbooks and chapters in collections – on identity, communication, and semiotics. Anna is exploring the discourse on the example of contemporary art, graffiti and museums.

Anna is an Associate Professor of The Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA), participant of the working group explore the world heritage sites UNESCO of government of St. Petersburg, researcher and teacher of training centre for civil managers. She has published articles in such scientific journals as Journal of Intercultural Communication, Humanistic Management Network, Management consulting.

Currently, she is co-editing of research projects "Symbolic politics in the socio-cultural environment of Saint Petersburg", "Rethinking, representation, re-branding: a study of the discourse of the local territories and identities".

Anna was a participant in conferences and working groups on migration and terrorism: “Representations of otherness in Russian newspapers: the theme of migration as a counterpoint to Russian national identity” (with H. Davis), Bangor, United Kingdom; “Media, Terrorism and the Reconstruction of National Identity in Russia”, Nottingham, United Kingdom.

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Terrorism: the Dynamics of Media Coverage and Perception.**

This research is a process of analysing a selection of Russian media’s coverage of the terrorism, with the aim of discovering which discursive practices are being used, and how these can affect perception of the audience.
Research methods are semiotic (S. Hall, A. Berger), discursive (E. Laclau, C. Mouffe) and social-psychological (M. Bahtin) ones. The media play a central role in cultivating public understandings and reactions.

The research found three competing frameworks of definition and explanation, based respectively on notions of threat, rights and redress (under the management of G. Murdock). Perspectives organised around “threat” emphasise the unprecedented nature and scale of the dangers posed by contemporary forms of terrorism and the necessity of implementing enhanced security measures to counter them.

This framework is supported by the widespread assumption that the threat is the new transnational terrorism of Islamic jihadist movements whose adherents may come either from „outside”, as migrants or visitors or be native born citizens of the country.

Perspectives organised around definitions of “rights” argue that constructing the problem as mainly or solely a matter of security simplifies the political and cultural roots of terrorism and supports the introduction of counter measures that are disproportionate and violate key principles of civil rights and the rule of law, thereby undermining the moral case for democracy.

Perspectives rooted in notion of “redress” are employed by terrorist groups themselves to present their actions as justified responses to perceived assaults, both physical and cultural, on the populations, beliefs, and expressive forms that are central to their sense of themselves.

Over the past 10 years, the focus is shifting from treat and security to talk about preventive measures (control of correspondence in social networks, identification of potentially dangerous extremists) and rights: the third type of discourse is missing in the Russian media. On the Internet there is a criticism by Muslims of Russian and European life style, the values of Capitalism. This third type of discourse also contains a very widespread discourse of migrants as very different and dangerous people.

The critical potential of the analysis of the images is great. The picture can remove a fixed meaning of the media text and show the ambiguity of the phenomenon that gives spectators the freedom for thinking, discussion and political action.

**Professor Dmitry Strovsky** is a professional journalist and Professor of the Journalism faculty of the Ural Federal University (Ekaterinburg, Russia). His main professional interests are focused on the relationship between politics and media in Russia given their historical background. For 26 years of his work in Academia he has produced a few books and about 200 articles published in Russian and English language journals. Strovsky delivered lecture courses on history and contemporary ‘make up” of the media in Russia at the universities of Finland,
The coverage of Islam in the Russian media: towards what perspective?

The ‘Islamic effect’ seems to have deeply penetrated into the minds of population of Russia. It is being explained not only by a percentage of those who relate themselves to Muslims but mostly due to extremist activity that took place in Russia under President Putin. Many incidents, as the Russian media noted, were consistently provoked by Islamic activists. This coverage changes the consciousness of Russians considering Islam, according to many surveys and opinion polls, as the most dangerous religion in the world.

Simultaneously, the Russian media are very consistent about the coverage of different festivities and official visits to the places where Islam originated. The media demonstrate thereby how Islam is important for politics in Russia and what deep influence it exerts on all sides of life there. The travels of President Putin to Tatarstan, Bashkortostan, Chechnya and other Islamic parts of the country illustrate the above media approach.

This approach, however, also confirms that the Russian media are very far from keeping an information balance. An audience can very rarely meet information concerning real problems and hardships of the population in these regions. The information holds either bravura or tragic reaction of journalists, without sufficiently argumentative facts. This does not facilitate to unbiased understanding of the people living in other parts of the country about what is happening in the Islam territories of Russia. Meanwhile, such coverage is incapable to elaborate a ‘peaceful’ reaction of the whole Russian population towards Muslims as the bearers of the Islam’s spiritual tradition. In fact, the media in contemporary Russia did not show themselves as responsible actors of politics which makes the observation of Islam even more uncertain in the future.

Dr. Maxim A. Suchkov is the Deputy Director for Research at the School of International Relations and an Associate Professor of International Relations and Russian Foreign Policy at Pyatigorsk State University (Pyatigorsk, Russia). He is also a columnist for Al-Monitor and expert at the Russian International Affairs Council. Formerly he was a Fulbright Visiting Fellow at Georgetown University (2010-11) and a Visiting Fellow at New York University (2015).

He has written extensively including for the National Interest, the American Interest, the Moscow Times, Central Asia and the Caucasus, Russia Direct, Carnegie Moscow Centre’s
Islam in Russian Foreign Policy
In a few recent years, Russia has reasserted itself as a power capable of projecting force and influence beyond its borders. The actions are still being critically assessed primarily through the lens of geopolitics, energy, regime survival and the desired super-power status. In Russia itself, however, the return to the Middle East as a power-broker is often explained as driven by domestic concerns over radicalization of Muslim constituencies and their susceptibility to extremist influences. At the same time, Moscow’s uneasy relations with Gulf monarchies and a close cooperation with Tehran has gained Russia a lot of criticism of its regional foreign policy as “anti-Sunni” and “pro-Shia” which—if correct—goes against the interests of more than 20 million Russian Muslims overwhelming majority of which are Sunni. Expansion of ties with Muslim countries as well as Russia’s observer status in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation indicate that Moscow looks at Islam as a vital tool of its foreign policy in the contemporary era. The presentation will examine major contexts in which Russia sees the factor of Islam as a vital decision-making driver. It will also outline ways in which Islam can be used as a tool of Russian foreign policy using specific examples from its policies in the Middle East and the Caucasus.

Erik Vlaeminck holds a MA in Eastern European and Slavonic Studies from KU Leuven and a MA in Russian and Eurasian Studies from Leiden University graduating with a Distinction in 2015. He is currently enrolled as a PhD-student at the University of Edinburgh. His doctoral research examines the representation of masculinity in contemporary Russian prose since the collapse of the Soviet Union. His broader research interests are in contemporary Russian political thought and Russian mass media.

Islamic Masculinities in Action: The Construction of Chechen Masculinities in Russian Popular Culture about the Chechen Wars.
Since Vladimir Putin came to power, Russia has seen a social return to conservative thinking with respect to gender and sexuality. This has had profound implications on the way Russian masculinity is defined in Russian society, with “ideal” masculinity consistently associated with
patriotism, virility and adherence to Russian Orthodoxy, and “weak” masculinity often associated with alternative sexuality, a lack of patriotism and non-Russianness. Cultural reproductions (films, television serials, books, and art) are spreading images of these strong and weak masculinities. In my paper, I look at how representations of Chechen masculinity in contemporary Russian popular culture about the Chechen campaigns have helped to foster new understandings of both Russian and Chechen masculinities. To do so, I combine Maya Eichler’s gendered analysis of the Chechen wars with theory from the field of masculinity studies. While analysing the depiction of Chechen masculinities against the background of the Chechen wars and the general turmoil in the Northern Caucasus, I argue that the gendered representation of non-Russian, in this case Islamic masculinities have served as a means of fostering a new understanding of so-called real Russian masculinity.

**Maria Vyatchina** is a PhD-student at Kazan Federal University. Her main research interests include Anthropology of Islam, religious conversion on the Post-Soviet space, memory studies. She has been published in Russian academic journals and manuscripts about traditional culture and Jewish study.

**Deconstruction of New Year holiday in modern Islamic culture in Russia**
The processes of religious involvement and conversion to Islam in the Post-Soviet states have become the cause of new cultural changes. In this paper, the phenomenon of the removal of the secular holiday of New Year from the calendar of practicing Muslims will be analyzed. By the term “practicing Muslims” (or “new Muslims”) I mean those persons who follow the five pillars of Islam (*Shahada* as a declaration of faith and trust, a Mohammedan prayer *namaz*, fasting, donating *zyakit*, and pilgrimage to Mecca). They are also differentiated from “ethnic Muslims” (the term is applied in the community itself) by their appearance (for women the loose-fitting *hijab*). Dates of observation and interviews, analysis of sermon texts and articles on specialized internet portals reveal that in the last 20 years the New Year as a calendar date has been and is still actively discussed in the Islamic environment. The reluctance to celebrate the New Year is explained by the following factors. Firstly, New Year is associated with the Soviet period and secular calendar. Secondly, in the Muslim environment the alcohol intake and idleness which obligatorily accompany these holidays are condemned. Festive practices are reduced to a modest meal with a special holiday for the children, in cases where the festive function is preserved. In other cases there is a complete refusal to recognize the holiday. If we use the expression of the informants and talk of the children “who are born Muslims”, those children
rarely attend the New Year celebrations, as the schools and other institutions report. Thus, the process of deconstructing the image of the New Year as a holiday in the Islamic environment takes various forms which might be characterized as “avoiding”, “accompanying” or “replacement”.

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Regional games with(in) Russia: the case of Tatarstan
The paper addresses cultural strategies, which Tatarstan, a Russian region with strong Islamic elements in its identity plays in the discursive landscape of the ‘Russian world’. Tatarstan is pragmatically interested in raising its visibility in Russia and beyond, and uses different ways to deploy itself into the Kremlin policy of what might be dubbed biopolitical conservatism. My main starting question is how this civilization view of Russian identity, grounded in mutually reinforcing ideas of common language and culture, and combined with traditional Orthodox values, poses a challenge to non-Russian Slavic cultures that are eager to build their own ‘blood-based’ connections with countries and institutions that have common identity characteristics. I argue that Islam becomes a significant tool for Tatarstan for building such ‘connections’ with the pan-Turkic ‘world’, both in post-(as a brand) and biopolitical ways.

Turkey is known as the biggest investor into the Tatarstani economy and its key strategic cultural partner, which has been a favourable factor in promoting Kazan as the ‘northern capital of the Islamic world’ since 1990s. Due to the security crisis between Moscow and Ankara,
Tatarstan, being related to Turkey as ‘a nail on the finger’, according to the region’s head executive Rustam Minnikhanov’s words in December 2015, has faced a harsh challenge of striking a balance between two deeply contradictory policy lines – towards the Kremlin and towards the pan-Turkish world. As a reaction to decision of the Russian Minister of Culture Vladimir Medinsky to interrupt contacts with the TURKSOI – the International Organization of the Turkish Culture, the key decade-long partner of Tatarstan -Director of the Tatarstani Agency of Mass Media Rimzil Valeev questioned the appropriateness of the federal organs to issue orders to regions, which demonstrated the potential of the region’s resistance to the policies of the centre.

Against this backdrop, my research question is aimed at unveiling the intricacies of Tatarstan’s relations with Moscow and Turkey, as seen from the perspective of cultural practices and discursive strategies of compliance and resistance.

Thus, the questions of my research are:

- What role does Tatarstan play in light of the Moscow-Ankara conflict that is basically defined in hard security / geopolitical terms? How much of space for manoeuvring it has, and what would be the price they would expect from Moscow for its obedience?
- Is there any space for Tatarstan to play an intermediary role between Russia and Turkey, as well as between Moscow and Crimean Tatars, or some Islamic states?
- How Kremlin has used religious (Islamic and Orthodox) factor for neutralizing the Turkish influence in Tatarstan? What strategies Tatarstan is likely to pursue towards other Muslim countries in light of Prime Minister Dmitri Medvedev’s “olive branch” to the Western world at the Munich Security Conference in February 2016, when he offered cooperation in the joint struggle against the Islamic State?

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Islamic Revival in Tatarstan as a Factor of Ethnic Revitalization: Minority Language in Use

Tatarstan has an image of the northern outpost of Islam and Islamic region of the Russian Federation. There are attributes of Islamic culture in public spaces and well developed Islamic infrastructure. Although most of the population does not practice Islam, recent surveys show that the amount of “genuine” believers has been indeed growing. Meanwhile, ethnicity is also becoming important in recent years. Tatar language and ethnic crafts, popular music and television broadcasting in Tatar are becoming salient characteristics of republican everyday life. These developments raise the question of the possible interrelation between these two phenomena of ethnic and religious revivals. To explore these interrelations, I use an everyday ethnicity approach which considers ethnicity as a process and a set of practices, not as a constant unchangeable identity. In the presentation I will focus mostly on the peculiarities of language practices in religious (Islamic) context. I argue that the Islamic renaissance is an important factor that has led to the revitalization of the Tatar language. The presentation will highlight various ways in which ethnic minority language becomes important both for reproduction of ethnicity and specific, ‘Tatar’ trend of Islam.

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Zaripov specializes in the history of the Tatar theological thought in his research.
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The author of the monograph "Jadid context of the economic model of the Tatars" (Kazan, 2015. – 248 p.).

**Economic Problems in the Teaching of Tatar Muslim Reformers of the Early 20th Century**
The first attempt to integrate the Islamic principles into the capitalist system of economic relations was made by Tatar religious figures in the early 20th century. These thinkers have formed a special understanding of the moral values of Islam by creative using of classical economic study to the contemporary condition of Muslims, contributing to the development of capitalist consciousness in society. They also came to theological and legal conclusions, which were intended to legitimize credit and banking and other commercial and financial relations, which were widely spread in the conditions of development of capitalism in the Russian Empire. While proclaiming the moral values of Quran and the Sunnah as the basis of business they encouraged wealth and private property. They also appealed Muslims to active work in various sectors of economy, using modern methods and technologies, getting special education, and participating in the work of financial institutions which is an important element of capitalism development. They developed new theological approaches to the Qur'anic prohibition on usury, and to the question of its presence or absence in various types of banking operations. After legalizing the opportunity to participate in a number of general civil operations of banks and other credit institutions of pre-revolutionary Russia, they developed the concept and creation of a special Islamic bank in the country. These thinkers have stimulated the development within the Muslim market with the help of commercial magazines, which provide information on Muslim entrepreneurs all over Russia. They legalized and encouraged interfaith and international trade relations as well, declaring at the same time the unity of the moral tenets of Islam Business representatives of all religions and social groups.
The balance between ethical - social and economic teachings of Tatar reformers and enterprise development among the Tatars discovers what might be called the "capitalist spirit" of Islam in them. It proves the idea that the Tatar reformers’ teaching had that type of views which was close to the fundamental religious dogma. According to Max Weber’s point of view they are typical to Protestantism, and are the most important factor in the development of capitalism in Europe and America. Tatar religious figures of the early twentieth century have seen the basis
of socioeconomic activities and scientific progress in Islam. They consider the passivity and detachment engulfing the Muslim world as a sin and misunderstanding of the essence of Islam. Studying theological-economic thought of Russian religious figures, from a religious position to justify capitalist credit and banking relationships, and encouraging interfaith integration of economic activity, is designed to further to the efforts of modern economists and Muslim theologians in order to find ways to harmonize Islamic principles with the imperatives of the global economy. Like hundred years ago, today this problem remains one of the most vital for Muslim peoples. The solution of this problem will contribute to the socio-economic development of the Muslim regions, as well as their integration into the world economic system.