"Panislamism" as a political factor

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This article is devoted to the history of "pan-Islamism", developed in the late XIX century by the Afghan politician Said Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, which emerged in the Middle East and became the ideology of groups operating under the guise of Islam in the XX–XXI centuries. An analysis of the views expressed in the research work of scholars engaged in the interpretation of the doctrine of "Pan-Islamism" in the last century and today. It is reflected in the article the brotherhood and unity of all Muslims, the history of the idea of pan-Islamism, the emergence of two different tendencies towards the ideology of "pan-Islamism", the dominance of the idea of "pan-Islamism" in the Middle East in the late twentieth century. The article also describes the methodological basis of the idea of "pan-Islamism", its pros and cons, the modern image of what is now called "neopanislamism" and the factors that contribute to the rise of Islamophobia.

In the last century, "pan-Islamism" emerged as a geopolitical force, considered an imperial ideology in the Ottoman Empire. The reasons for the leadership of the ideology of Islamism, the formation of religious political parties in the Middle East, the idea of "pan-Islamism" and the fact that it has become a weapon of fanatical groups operating under the guise of Islam have been revealed on the basis of philosophical analysis.

"Панисломизм" сиёсий омил сифатида

	АННОТАЦИЯ

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Мазкур мақола XIX асрнинг охирида афғонистонлик сиёсий арбоб Саид Жамол ад-Дин ал-Афғоний томонидан ишлаб чиқилган, Ўрта Шарқда вужудга келган ҳамда

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XX–XXI асрларда ислом ниқоби остида фаолият юритган гуруҳларнинг мафкурасига айланган "панисломизм"нинг тарихига бағишланган. "Панисломизм" таълимотининг ўтган аср ва бугунги кундаги талқини бўйича шуғулланган олимларнинг тадқиқот ишларида илгари сурилган фикр-мулоҳазалар таҳлил қилинган. Барча мусулмонларнинг биродарлиги ва бирлиги, панисломизм ғоясини вужудга келиш тарихи, "панисломизм" мафкурасига нисбатан икки хил тенденциянинг шаклланиш сабаби, XX асрнинг охирларида Яқин Шарқ мамлакатларида "панисломизм" ғоясининг етакчилик қилиши, уларнинг ички сиёсатида кескин сиёсий ва мафкуравий қарама-қаршиликларни вужудга келтиришга сабаб бўлганлиги мақолада ўз аксини топган. Шунингдек, мақолада "панисломизм" ғоясининг методологик асослари, унинг ижобий ва салбий жиҳатлари, ҳозирги кунда "неопанисломизм" деб номланган замона-вий қиёфаси ҳамда исломофобияни кучайишига сабаб бўлувчи жиҳатлари ёритилган.

Ўтган асрда "панисломизм" геосиёсий куч сифатида майдонга чиққанлиги, Усмоний империясида империал мафкура ҳисобланганлиги, аввалига ушбу таълимот ижобий аҳамият касб этган бўлса, кейинчалик Россия ва Англия империяларига сепаратизм ғоясини шакллантиришга уриниш сифатида баҳоланганлиги, бугунги кунда эса Яқин Шарқ мамлакатларидаги беқарорлашувларнинг келиб чиқишида "панисломизм" мафкураси етакчилик қилиши, Яқин Шарқ мамлакатларида диний руҳдаги сиёсий партияларнинг ташкил топишига "панисломизм" ғояси туртки бўлганлиги ҳамда ислом дини ниқоби остида фаолият олиб бораётган мутаассиб гуруҳларнинг қуролига айланишининг сабаблари фалсафий таҳлиллар асосида очиб берилган.

«Панисламизм» как политический фактор

АННОТАЦИЯ

Это статья посвящена истории «панисламизма», разработанного афганским политиком Саидом Джамалом аль-Дин аль-Афгани, который возник на Ближнем Востоке и стал идеологией групп, действующих под видом ислама в XX–XXI веках. Анализируются взгляды, высказанные в исследовательской работе ученых, занимающихся интерпретацией доктрины «панисламизм» в прошлом веке и сегодня. В статье отражены в братство и единство всех мусульман, история появления идеи панисламизма, возникновение двух разных тенденций к идеологии «панисламизма», доминирование идеи «панисламизма» на Ближнем Востоке в конце XX века. Также, в статье описываются методологические основы идеи «панисламизма», его положительные и отрицательные

аспекты, современный имидж того, что сейчас называется «неопанисламизмом», и аспекты, способствующие росту исламофобии.

В прошлом веке «панисламизм» возник как геополитическая сила, считавшаяся имперской идеологией в Османской империи. Если ранее данное учение имело положинетельное значение, в дальнейшем в России и Англии он стал оцениваться как попытка формирования идеи сепаратизма, а на сегодняшний день неустойчивость в государствах Ближнего Востока идея «панисломизма» стала ведущей, в государствах Ближнего Востока идея «панисломизма» стала толчком для образования религиозных политических партий, также на основании философского анализа раскрыты причины использования его как оружия фанатичных групп, действующих под видом ислама.

INTRODUCTION AND RELEVANCE

The phenomenon of the rise of fundamentalism and extremism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has led many scholars to study the causes of religious groups, to analyze them and to address the threats they pose. Especially in the late twentieth century, when groups under the guise of religion acted using the green flag of Islam, they lost the opportunity to quickly capture their radical waves.

In particular, by the end of the twentieth century, there was a sharp increase in interest in Islam in Central Asia, the activity of faith in it and the radicalization of Islam. At the same time, the conflicting problems in the modern development of the Middle East have become more complex. The root of these problems was the idea of "pan-Islamism". It is precisely the history of the origin of this idea and its transformation into an ideological weapon today that is reflected in the destabilization of the Middle East. Therefore, it is important to study the history of the ideology of "pan-Islamism", the causes and consequences of its political orientation.

METHODS AND LEVEL OF STUDY

The scientific article used methods such as historical, discourse, comparative analysis. The research of scientists who conducted research on the topic was also studied.

RESEARCH RESULTS

It is known that the role of the Islamic factor in solving global problems in the Middle East is growing. Especially today, the principle of following the ideology of "Islamic solidarity" has begun to dominate in the minds of peoples who believe in Islam. Such an idea was embodied in the idea of the "Pan-Islamic" trend.

If we look at the etymology of the word "Pan-Islamism", the word "Pan" means "unity", "unification", and the addition of the word "Islam" means "Islamic unity". In the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, political movements aimed at achieving Islamic unity under the idea of "Pan-Islamism" flourished. "Pan-Islamism, based on the idea of Islamic unity, has emerged as a form of rejection of foreign domination by the Muslim community, as well as a political doctrine designed to serve the 'survival' of the Muslim bourgeoisie under this rule and to protect the interests of its individual groups". [1. P. 45]. For it was the unification of the Muslim peoples, on

the one hand, as a way of liberation from colonialism, on the other hand, as a political position as a force against the West. Therefore, the concept of "pan-Islamism" seemed to Muslims to be an ideology of salvation.

"Pan-Islamism is a political movement that emerged in the Middle East in the late XIX century, which raised the idea of uniting Islamic countries under a single flag" [2. P. 126], the founder of this idea is the religious and political figure of Afghanistan, the enlightener Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani. He promoted the idea of Islamic unity against the threat of the West and called on all Muslims to unite in the struggle against colonialism, that is, territorial unification [3. P. 134]. In 1884, in Paris, al-Afghani, together with Muhammad Abdo, published the weekly al-Urwa al-Wusqa, in which he developed the idea of pan-Islamism [4. P. 26].

At the end of the 19th century, during the reign of the last sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Abdul Hamid II (1876–1906), the movement of the Pan-Islamic ideology flourished. Abdul Hamid II, who came to the throne during the turmoil of the Turkish Empire, relied on the ideology of "pan-Islamism" to achieve unity among Muslims, preserve the integrity of the empire and resist European forces, as the foreign loans of the Turkish state fell into bankruptcy. He believed that the unity and solidarity of all Muslims as well as cultural, religious, social and material progress could be achieved through the ideology of pan-Islamism. This, in turn, shows that the foundations of pan-Islamism are built on positive goals.

Although Abdul Hamid II used the teachings of Pan-Islamism in his policy to preserve the Ottoman Empire, he focused on Islam because his policy was based on the foundations of Islam. It was he who used the ideology of pan-Islamism as a political measure and method by preserving Islam. The modern trends of the Islamic Renaissance, or Islamic Modernism, which developed outside of Turkey, allowed the ideology of Pan-Islamism to further develop.

Pan-Islamism was a method of propaganda and agitation widely used by the Turkish Empire in the struggle of the Muslim peoples against colonialism. This teaching of al-Afghani helped Abdul Hamid II to expand his empire and maintain its prestige. The basic tenets of al-Afghani's teachings were reflected in the following requirements:

1) all areas inhabited by Muslims should be liberated from colonial rule; Muslims must unite to oppose the expansion of Europe;

2) In Muslim countries, the constitutional monarchy should be a model of governance [3. P. 84].

In doing so, Al-Afghani not only presented a strategic program to the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, but also expressed his belief that he had the power to unite the Muslim world under one caliphate.

Indeed, Turkey has developed the concept of creating an ideal society of Muslims as a central force in the Islamic world. On the basis of this concept, he used the doctrine of pan-Islamism, which embodied the principle of cultural unity in response to the influence and pressure of Europe and the West.

The teachings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, a prominent nineteenth-century pan-Islamist, laid the groundwork for a new type of politics among Muslims as a modern idea of the Muslim world and led to Islamic rhetoric [Rhetoric – (ancient Greek – orator, speaker) is a philological science that studies the art of speech, the rules of oratory and rhetoric].

At first, this doctrine was of positive importance, but later it was regarded by the Russian and British empires as an attempt to form the idea of separatism, which was regarded by them as a negative doctrine. The reason was that the ideology of pan-Islamism, combined with the political goals of Abdul Hamid II, terrified the British and Russian empires. This is because there were also traditional Muslim states in the countries that were colonized by the Russian and British empires.

Azimova Bozorgul Tagayevna, a Tajik historian, described the ideology of "Pan-Islamism": "The 90s of the XIX century were primarily the socio-political activities of the famous Muslim reformer S.J. Afghani, aimed at awakening Muslims to political life in Afghanistan, Iran, India and Turkey, uniting Muslims in political life and the struggle against colonialism" [5. P. 11] Galiya Kurmangalieva, a Kazakh philosopher and scholar, argues that in Al-Afghani's view, "... Islam's relationship with the national spirit and the ideals of self-awareness are central". Indeed, Jamal Afghan tried to liberate the Muslims of the Islamic world from colonial oppression. This teaching was later continued in the fatwas of his student, Muhammad Abdo, the Mufti of Egypt. These two individuals played a key role in the development and spread of Pan-Islamism.

In particular, the doctrine of pan-Islamism is based on the idea of "unity" as a political doctrine based on the struggle of the East, i.e. the Muslim world, against the West, which combines a defensive reaction.

As the Russian scholar Miloslavsky Georgy Vasilyevich noted, that "in modern and contemporary times, the concept of "Islamic unity" served as the basis for both pan-Islamism and Muslim nationalism" [7. P. 47]. In doing so, Miloslavsky recalls that even in modern times, there is a reliance on the ideology of pan-Islamism. He also wants to emphasize that Muslim nationalism also calls for them to unite around Islam.

Pan-Islamism (pan ... and Islam) is an artificial name given by the Russian and British empires, as well as the USSR, to the movement to unite the entire Muslim world in the struggle against colonialism in the late 19th century [8. P. 668], and this idea was regarded as a threat to the empires. Because, "Germany and the Ottoman Empire and their allies in the struggle against Britain and Russia paid special attention to the promotion of pan-Islamism. The incitement of confrontation against the British and the Russians under the banner of Islam was a matter of great concern among the British authorities" [9. P. 81] – says the Azerbaijani scientist Salikh Aliyev.

He was concerned that as a result of the alliance between Germany and the Turkish Empire, Germany supported the idea of pan-Islamism and did not consider jihad, that is, the prediction that Muslims might declare war on Christians, and weaken Britain's position with the help of a group of imperialist forces. This, too, shows that pan-Islamism has risen to a political level.

Hungarian orientalist Armeni Vamberi, in his book "Western Culture in the Orient" [10. P. 410], reflects on the teachings of Pan-Islamism: "Pan-Islamism, in any form, will in time become the best weapon for the successful struggle against the Christian world" [10. R. 349] – he says. In doing so, Vamberi warns that pan-Islamism could pose a threat to the Christian world in the future, reminding us that the law of contradiction in philosophy is manifested in these very teachings. Thus, the unification of the countries that became Russian and British colonies around the ideology of pan-Islamism, which had a single platform, along with the national liberation movement, caused them panic. Because pan-Islamism occupied a wider diaspora than nationalism.

Since there was a caliphate policy in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, he syncretized Islam with pan-Islamism in the conduct of the empire's domestic and foreign policies. As a result, this doctrine-based policy, as a modern idea of the Muslim world, was able to embody the principle of cultural unity against the ideas of Europe and attracted the Muslim masses. Pan-Islamism also had geopolitical power as an imperial ideology in the Ottoman Empire.

According to Ruslan Sikoev, a Russian philologist who specializes in Afghanistan: "Pan-Islamism is the teaching of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, based on the verses and hadiths of the Qur'an about the brotherhood and unity of all Muslims, which eventually took the form of an effort to strengthen the world Muslim community to form a pan-Islamic state politically or militarily" [11. P. 18].

This doctrine emerged as a political movement uniting all Muslim nations under the banner of Islamic unity and as an ideological platform for the creation of a "Political Union" of Muslim peoples in the struggle against colonial oppression.

Thus, "Pan-Islamism is as ancient as Islam itself in terms of uniting all Muslims rooted in the verses of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet" says Turkish historian Professor Uzkan Azmi in "Pan-Islamism": Indian Muslims, Ottomans and Britain (1877–1924). [12. P. 34].

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this doctrine was supported by Islamic and political figures in a number of countries, but Muslim rulers used it under the slogan of "Pan-Islamism" to consolidate their political interests and gain prestige in the international arena. The Ottoman Empire's use of this slogan in its domestic and foreign policies is a clear example of this.

Islamic slogans, such as Pan-Islamism, "not always in the form of a doctrine, but as a very religious, political goal, mainly a means to achieve only political goals" [13. P. 402], says the Russian orientalist V. Bartold. In doing so, Barthold tries to emphasize that the idea of pan-Islamism is based on the goal of gaining political power through religious means. He also emphasizes that Islam has both a religious and a political character.

The period of formation of pan-Islamism as a political doctrine (based on the opposition of the non-Islamic unity of the "Muslim world") took place in the context of the colonial phase of economic, political and spiritual slavery of the East and the formation of its own bourgeoisie in the East [1. P. 47].

Russian historian Nikolai Alexandrovich Smirnov, in his book "Modern Islam" [14. P. 228], also discusses the state of Islam in the Middle East and the USSR in the national liberation movement. He spoke about the purpose of the ideological doctrine of Pan-Islamism and its spread in Turkestan, Bukhara and Khiva. Pan-Islamism is a tool that Muslim countries can achieve for political power and full independence" [14. P. 75].

G. Wayman Berry, an Arabist and a British military politician, wrote in his book Pan-Islam: "Many people have heard of Pan-Islamism, especially during the war. Some of us called it a political demonstration, some saw it as a global threat, but it is an extremist view, which is in fact a practical protest of Muslims against the exploitation of their spiritual and material wealth" [15. PP. 11–12]. In this way, G. Wyman Beri tries to assess pan-Islamism not as a political weapon, but as an extremist movement of Muslims in the struggle against colonialism and the protection of natural and material wealth. He also emphasizes that pan-Islamism is an extremist movement.

Pan-Islamism reflects the aspirations of Islamic theologians to subjugate all forms of national life, to strengthen their policy to political leaders, to strengthen the position of Islam in the modern world. At the same time, Islam and nationalism need each other, and the modern transition period is characterized by ideologies that reflect the synthesis of Islam and nationalism [1. P. 47].

The ideology of Pan-Islamism arose in response to the nationalist, rationalist, and positivist ideas of Western civilization and the expansionist nature of all forms of imperialism. [16] It should be noted that in Pan-Islamism it is possible to see the possibility of creating a spiritually pure and socially just state [17. P. 274].

Indeed, the doctrine of pan-Islamism, firstly, promotes the idea of uniting the Muslim world, on the other hand, manifests itself as a position against the persecution of the representatives of the nationalist movement in the Muslim-inhabited country by imperialist forces. Such contradictory tendencies have emerged in anti-imperialist nationalist activities in the Middle East and Turkestan. For example:

– In Turkestan, against the Russian Empire, the word "jadid" ["Jadid" means new in Arabic] (Shurai Ulamo) and "ancient" [the word "ancient" means old, old, former. "Jadid" and "ancient" as sharply contrasting concepts represented the decisive opposition parties in the formation of the mechanism of the social system] (Shurai Islam) struggle for national liberation (1817-1918);

– Indian Muslims and Indian National Liberation Struggle against the British Empire in India (the 1920s).

Although the above struggles embodied positions based on national unity and cooperation, they emerged on the world stage as a "fence" protecting Muslims in the Middle East and Turkestan from socialism. At the end of the 19th century, however, pan-Islamism began to combine with nationalism.

"Although historians acknowledge that Islam is superior to nationalism, they often point out that pan-Islamism, as a religious and political ideology, is a new phenomenon and appeared only in the second half of the 19th century" said Turkish historian Azmi Özkan [12. P. 34]. Indeed, it is impossible to build a caliphate based on religious unity without achieving national unity on the basis of the ideology of pan-Islamism, which is the ideological doctrine of the last century.

Russian historian Chikrizova Olga Sergeevna: "... as noted by Jamal Al-Afghani, one of the founders of the concept of pan-Islamism, Islam is a religion, a state, a civilization and a political concept" [18. P. 44] – he says.

Both during the imperial and Soviet eras, "Islam" was accused of the actions of the peoples of Central Asia against the colonialism of the Russian Empire, economic exploitation, political discrimination, and the struggle against the Russians. "The center's repression in the last century was an Islamic movement called pan-Islamism and today it is called 'religious fundamentalism", said Turkish historian Hassan Byuent Paksoy.

Turkish scholar Niyazi Berkes "Development of secularism in Turkey" [20. P. 268] states that the place where the idea of pan-Islamism originated was Cairo, and that its founder was not a Muslim, but an English poet and politician, Wilfred Skaven Blunt. Though there is little in this opinion, the truth seems to exist, for Wilfred Blunt was one of the leaders of British intelligence in the 1970s. He later gained the trust of Turkish sultans with the idea of "pan-Turkism".

Russian historian Nikolay Smirnov in his book "Modern Islam" [14. P. 228]: "Pan-Islamism is a movement aimed at uniting all Muslim nations under one banner. Therefore, pan-Islamism is a tool that can be achieved by states with political domination and full independence" [14. P. 75].

In the book "Stories of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in Russia" by Armenian literary scholars A. Arsharuni and H. Gabidullin, the proposal of the director of the police department of the Russian Empire Beletsky Stepan Petrovich to the State Duma on March 13, 1912 is mentioned. According to Stepan Petrovich Beletsky, the idea of Pan-Islamism originated 27-28 years ago in the city of Mataama, between Africa, the Abyssinians and Sudan, under the name "Union of Islam" (ie, the League of Muslim Unity). The initiator of this league is Sheikh Omar Edgel-Rubin-Mahdi, the leader of the Danikil tribe, a French, Catholic, Algerian-born infidel warrior of 5,000,000" [22. P. 101].

Analyzing the different views on the emergence of "Pan-Islamism", it can be said that this idea was used by both the East and the West for their own purposes. As a proof of this, if we look at the fact that the founder of the League of Islamic Unions is a Christian, we will see that Christians also acted against the Islamic unity under the guise of the idea of "pan-Islamism".

The League of Islam, which was founded on the idea of pan-Islamism, carried out propaganda work among Afghan, Turkmen, Indian, Turkish Kurds, Chinese and Japanese Muslims, and its supporters were also members of this nation. Since the goal of the Union of Islam League is to create a strong Muslim state based on the unification of all Muslims, its goal is reflected in the program of the league. In the league program:

1. Unite all Muslims, no matter where they are.

2. Dissemination of Muhammad's teachings that undermined the Orthodox religion among Russians and Christians through secret pamphlets.

3. To covertly interfere in the policy of European countries and Russia and to harm it as much as possible.

4. The fact that in every city in Russia there should be secret spies so that people are always ready to act.

5. Secretly delivering money and weapons to their spies and followers.

6. Carrying out propaganda work among Russian Muslims who are not yet members of the Pan-Islamic League [22. P. 101].

"The idea that all Muslims belong to the ummah and are not racially or ethnically different is so strong that Islam has not given rise to any ethno-religious ideology" Said Semedov in Islam in Politics: Ideology and Practice. 155]. In particular, in Islam, the issues of race, nation, and ummah are used in relation to religion. As a proof of this idea, Al-Afghani, the founder of the idea of "pan-Islamism" says: "Muslims do not know the true nation except their religion" [23. P. 155]. Al-Afghani's contemporary, the Muslim imam of Tatarstan, Judge Abdurashid Ibragimov Gumerovich, said, "Praise be to God who commanded us to unite. Brethren, know that Islam unites us all. Such a union is commanded in the Qur'an" [24. P. 150] – easily promotes pan-Islamism. Since the Qur'an, which is the word of Allah, is a law for Muslims, this idea becomes even more powerful.

At the end of the twentieth century, the dominance of the pan-Islamic idea in the Middle East also led to the destabilization of their internal political situation, creating sharp political and ideological conflicts in many of them. As a result, the ideological guidelines of modern extremism and fundamentalism in the guise of religion pursued their goals based on the ideas of pan-Islamism.

Based on the above considerations, it can be said that the idea of pan-Islamism manifested itself in two different ways in the countries where Muslims live:

1. Unification in the spirit of nationalism (pan-Turkism, pan-Arabism, etc.).
2. Unification on the basis of Islamic unity (pan-Islamism).

The movement, which began as a da'wah, later gained momentum in the transition to the second position and allowed the creation of the Islamic State module.

There are two ways to use Pan-Islamism in practice:

1. Use for political and economic purposes.
2. Use in the pursuit of hegemony on the basis of religious unity.

Also, while the ideology of pan-Islamism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries embodied political movements, in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, this ideological doctrine was opposed to ideological and political contradictions such as capitalism, socialism, and atheism during the Cold War. was a path of Islamic-based development that aimed to give their countries religious freedom, and this new trend was called neo-pan-Islamism. "At the same time, it should be noted that there is still opposition in the Islamic world to Western-style globalization, which is expressed in the form of pan-Islamic globalization. These processes play an active role in Islamic political parties and movements, "Said Alexander Pokhilko, a candidate of political science, in an article entitled "The Politicization of Islam in the Middle East" [25].

In the work "Extremism and Terrorism – the Enemy of Development" "In the second half of the twentieth century, false Salafism was revived under the guise of "reformism" and "pan-Islamism", which set itself the task of building an Islamic state based on the caliphate" [2. P. 73], emphasizing that the mask of pan-Islamism is in itself a positive idea. This suggests that there are pros and cons to the ideology of pan-Islamism. In this context, it is appropriate to cite the pros and cons of pan-Islamism.

Positive aspects of pan-Islamism:
– Non-choice of nation;
– No racial discrimination;
– Loss of importance of the territory;
– The emergence of unity in the pursuit of a common goal;
– The existence of freedom in belief in Islam.

Disadvantages of Pan-Islamism:
– Political orientation;
– Non-consideration of national interests;
– Threatening non-Islamic denominations;
– To serve the interests of groups operating under the guise of Islam;
– Creates an aggressive outlook.

Indeed, the peculiarity of the concept of "Pan-Islamism" is that it washes away national-ethnic boundaries, ignoring differences in race and language. The main sign of belonging to the Muslim community is devotion to Islam. As a result, the idea of pan-Islamism forms the concept of the "Islamic State". Also, the principle of Muslim brotherhood does not take into account national and ethnic origins, even state borders. The theory of Pan-Islamism is based on this very principle. Unfortunately, on the basis of the principle of pan-Islamism, the ideas of groups under the guise of modern religion were built.

To this day, the manifestation of pan-Islamism in two different tendencies is seen in the fact that it serves the goals of politically and religiously interested forces. Later, we can see that this idea was reflected in the actions of the religious-political organization "Muslim Brotherhood", which was founded in the early twentieth century in the Egyptian city of Jordan. While groups under the guise of religion are diverse and scattered, they are dominated by ideas such as Islamic fundamentalism and pan-Islamism. Therefore, the strategic scheme of these groups appears to be the same.

CONCLUSION

Based on the above considerations, the following conclusions were drawn:

First, if we consider the policy of Abdul Hamid II based on the ideology of "pan-Islamism" as a struggle for national, political and economic existence, the formation of leagues by Western countries such as the "Union of Islam" is based on two opposing goals of the same name. It is no exaggeration to say that it is a program that tries to do.

Second, pan-Islamism is a political movement aimed at uniting all Muslims around the world, regardless of nationality, around a single idea, in which the issue of nations and territories is washed away. As a result, the ground is formed for the formation of a single cell. Pan-Islamism is also a strategic program of Abdul Hamid II in the conquest of the West and the hegemony of Turkey.

Third, the predominance of a hegemonic tendency in the idea of "Pan-Islamism" today unites all Muslims and is seen as an ideology that causes aggression (intolerance) towards Christians and other religions. This, in turn, undermines Islam's principle of tolerance and fosters Islamophobia.

Fourth, while pan-Islamism was a political movement in the last century to maintain the status of the Turkish Empire, today it is a spiritual weapon that serves the purposes of groups operating under the guise of religion. Therefore, when discussing the trend of pan-Islamism, it is important to always focus on who is most interested in this ideology, keeping in mind that it also has its pros and cons.

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