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### Историко-политологический анализ становления чеченской диаспоры в странах Ближнего Востока

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**Аннотация. Введение.** Переселение народов и закрепление их на новой территории представляет собой длительный исторический процесс, сопряженный со множеством факторов политического, социально-экономического, конфликтогенного характера. Со временем сменившие место проживания этнические группы способны сформировать полноценные диаспоры, которые обретают черты актора политического процесса. **Материалы и методы.** В этом контексте значительный исследовательский интерес представляет феномен мухаджирства народов Северного Кавказа, которые, пережив несколько волн переселения в Османскую империю, в настоящее время расселены в различных странах Ближнего Востока. Мухаджирство затронуло черкесов, ногайцев, народы Дагестана и т.д. Также сменить территорию своего проживания были вынуждены чеченцы, сыгравшие определенную роль в политическом развитии современного ближневосточного региона. На текущий момент представители чеченского народа преимущественно расселены в Ираке, Иордании, Сирии и Турции. Однако в каждом из указанных государств их диаспоральный статус и возможности участие в политическом процессе разнятся. Связано это в первую очередь с тем, что все перечисленные страны обладают собственной спецификой государственного устройства, а также сталкиваются с многочисленными конфликтами межконфессионального и межнационального уровня. Соответственно, возникает научно-практическая необходимость исследования историко-политологического контекста становления чеченской диаспоры в странах Ближнего Востока с целью углубления понимания особенностей политического процесса в регионе и влияния на него диаспор. **Результаты и обсуждение.** В статье проводится краткий исторический анализ появления чеченской диаспоры в ближневосточных государствах с учетом особенностей их политической жизни. Особое внимание уделяется той роли, которую играли выходцы из Чечни в развитии стран Ближнего Востока в период после распада Османской империи, а также в постколониальный период. **Заключение.** На основе указанного исследовательского подхода выявляются действующие характеристики чеченской диаспоры в странах региона.

**Ключевые слова:** Ближний Восток, политический процесс, диаспора, чеченская диаспора, мухаджирство, диаспоральная политика

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Research article

## A historical and political analysis of the development of the Chechen diaspora in the Middle East

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**Abstract.** **Introduction.** The resettlement of peoples and their establishment in a new territory is a long-term historical process that is influenced by a variety of political, socio-economic, and conflict-related factors. Over time, ethnic groups that have relocated can form full-fledged diasporas that become active participants in the political process. **Materials and methods.** In this context, the phenomenon of the Muhajirs of the North Caucasus, who, having experienced several waves of migration to the Ottoman Empire, are currently settled in various countries of the Middle East, is of significant research interest. The Muhajirs include the Circassians, the Nogais, the peoples of Dagestan, and others. The Chechens, who played a role in the political development of the modern Middle East, were also forced to relocate. Currently, the Chechen people are predominantly settled in Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Turkey. However, their diaspora status and opportunities for participation in the political process vary in each of these countries. **Results and discussion.** Equations are obtained for determining the values of the established amplitudes of oscillations. The influence of dispersion caused by the non-coincidence of temperatures and velocities of gas-suspension phases on the nonlinear interaction of standing waves is investigated. This is primarily due to the fact that all of these countries have their own specific features of government, as well as face numerous conflicts at the interfaith and interethnic levels. Consequently, there is a scientific and practical need to study the historical and political context of the formation of the Chechen diaspora in the Middle East in order to gain a deeper understanding of the political process in the region and the influence of the diasporas on it. The article provides a brief historical analysis of the emergence of the Chechen diaspora in Middle Eastern countries, taking into account the specific features of their political life. Special attention is given to the role played by Chechens in the development of Middle Eastern countries after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, as well as during the post-colonial period. **Conclusion.** Based on this research approach, the current characteristics of the Chechen diaspora in the countries of the region are identified..

**Key words:** Middle East, political process, diaspora, Chechen diaspora, muhajirs, diaspora politics.

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**Introduction.** The concept of "muhajirism," known as the mass migration of Muslim peoples to Muslim countries from countries where Muslims are a religious minority, also affected a portion of the population of the North Caucasus, who were forced to leave their places of residence and move to what is now the Middle East. Among these migrants were representatives of the Chechen people, who eventually formed diasporas in Iraq, Jordan, Syria,

and Turkey. The degree of involvement of the Chechen diaspora in the political process varies from country to country and is based on the specific developmental characteristics of each of these countries. Consequently, a historical and political analysis of the development of the Chechen diaspora in the Middle East contributes both to expanding knowledge of the specifics of the political process in the region and to identifying the characteristics of its activities in foreign countries.

**Research Materials and Methods.** The stated research problem primarily requires a synthesis of historical and political science approaches to identify the specific aspects of the Chechen diaspora's integration into the political life of Middle Eastern countries. Additionally, a comparative historical method was employed to compare the experience of the Chechen diaspora with that of other North Caucasian diasporas (such as the Circassian diaspora) in Middle Eastern countries to identify common patterns and unique characteristics. The research materials draw on a broad body of work related to the factual basis for the development and establishment of the Chechen diaspora in Middle Eastern countries.

**Results of the study and their discussion.** The emergence of the Chechen diaspora in the countries of the Middle East is associated with several waves of forced migration of various peoples of the North Caucasus to the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Taking into account the existing research on this period, we believe that they can be grouped as follows: early migrations (before 1858) - isolated, not mass cases, often under the guise of pilgrimage (Hajj); the peak of muhajirism (1858-1865) - the most large-scale migration, which was stimulated by the end of the Caucasian War and the policies of the Russian authorities; late migrations (1865 - 1914) - migrations of varying intensity, up until the First World War [10, 226]. According to estimates, during this time, about one million people could have migrated to the territory of the Middle East, among whom the predominant ones were Chechens, Circassians, Abkhazians, Nogais, various ethnic groups from Dagestan, etc. [5].

The Middle Eastern diasporas of the North Caucasian peoples underwent a long period of development. A.Kh. Israilov points out that two stages can be distinguished in the formation of the "muhajir" diasporas, including Chechens, in the region. The early stage is characterized by the initial consolidation in new territories, while the second stage is associated with the integration of people from the North Caucasus into Ottoman society, especially in the military and political/diplomatic spheres [8, 369]. The incorporation of Caucasian settlers into the Ottoman elite was part of a targeted state policy. In particular, the Porte's leadership addressed the tasks of military-strategic strengthening of the empire's internal provinces (Turkey), the development and control of empty and border lands, and strengthening its presence in the Arab provinces (Levant, Iraq) [2, 76]. Accordingly, military activity contributed to the strengthening of the "muhajir" position in the socio-political hierarchy of the Ottoman Empire.

Regarding the Chechen diaspora itself, it should be noted that people from Chechnya settled primarily in what is now Jordan, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. These countries are currently the main destinations for Chechens in the Middle East. Separate Chechen diasporas in these countries began to develop after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The very disappearance of the Ottoman state led to a certain crisis for the Caucasian diasporas, as the region's political map was completely reshaped and a single center for the diasporas to focus on disappeared. The Ottoman Empire disintegrated into several Middle Eastern states, each of which began to develop its own elites.

After the formation of the Turkish state in 1923, many diasporas, including the Chechen one, faced threats to preserving their identity. An ideological shift occurred, with the new government rejecting Ottoman diversity in favor of Turkish nationalism and secularism. All non-Turkish minorities, especially Muslim ones, became the target of a strict assimilation policy. Examples of such policies include the "Surname Law" (1934), which prohibited the use of non-Turkish surnames and names of settlements; the "Resettlement Law" (1934), aimed at "Turkifying" regions (Chechen and other Caucasian villages were deliberately dispersed,

prohibited from living in compact settlements, and resettled in Turkish-speaking areas in order to dilute them and accelerate assimilation); The "Citizen, speak Turkish!" policy, which involved harsh pressure to abandon native languages (the Chechen language was forced out of the public sphere and education) [7, 79]. At the same time, the Chechens were gradually able to adapt to the new realities. This was facilitated by the so-called liberalization period that began in the 1950s. This stage in Turkish history allowed Chechens to move en masse to large cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa). In the cities, they had the opportunity to create communities and associations. Cultural societies and clubs began to appear, which, although not strictly Chechen, made it possible to preserve the language, dances and traditions. Representatives of the Chechen diaspora became prominent figures in the socio-political life of the country. For example, D. Guresh (former Chief of the General Staff of Turkey), General S. Polatkan, politician and journalist B. Yasar, etc. [7, 79]. Currently, according to various estimates, between fifty and one hundred thousand people live in Turkey [3]. We believe that today, the Chechen diaspora in Turkey maintains a sense of identity while simultaneously perceiving itself as a full-fledged part of the multinational Turkish people.

In examining the case of the Chechen diaspora in Syria, we note that after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it faced certain problems related to the fact that the local population perceived its representatives as people loyal to the former Ottoman authorities. For this reason, conflicts with the Arab and Druze populations were frequent [4, 386]. The rule of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) (since 1963), we believe, became the main factor determining the fate of the Chechen diaspora in Syria. During this period, a policy of forced assimilation was implemented: land confiscation, prohibition of the expression of cultural and linguistic identity [14]. The situation was further aggravated by Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights, which led to the scattered resettlement of the Chechens who had previously lived there [13]. Since the outbreak of the civil war in Syria in 2011, the situation in the country has not been conducive to full-fledged diaspora activities and has forced many Chechens to leave the country. The current number of Syrian Chechens does not exceed 5,500.

In Iraq, the Chechen diaspora largely followed the fate of Chechens in Syria, owing to the similarities in the socio-political processes of these two Middle Eastern states. As in Syria, the Ba'ath Party in Iraq pursued a strict assimilation policy, which hindered the integration of the Chechen diaspora into the country's political process. Following the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime, the country plunged into an ongoing period of political upheaval, which significantly degraded political life in Iraq and sidelined any diaspora activity. However, it should be noted that the Chechen diaspora retains a certain potential for development, primarily due to the active participation of the Chechen Republic's leadership, which is actively engaging with Chechens in Iraq, strengthening their role in the external aspects of the Iraqi political process [9]. It should be added that the number of Chechens in Iraq may be as high as 10,000 [12].

The Chechen diaspora has occupied its strongest position in Jordan. Due to the specific socio-political processes, the Hashemite Kingdom, since its founding in 1922, has largely viewed people from the North Caucasus, including Chechens, as an important element in the functioning of the state. In 1923, the Arab Legion was formed. Up to 80% of the personnel of its first units were recruited from the local Chechen community. Military service became a hereditary profession for many Chechens [14, 326]. From the very beginning of Jordan's existence as a state, Chechens and other Caucasian peoples have been guaranteed representation in parliament. According to an unwritten rule, they have three guaranteed seats in the House of Representatives, as well as a ministerial post in the government. The Chechen diaspora's position was also strengthened by the effects of the exodus of Palestinians to Jordan, who currently make up almost half of the kingdom's population. The situation of the Palestinian population in Jordan is a central and complex issue for the Kingdom, affecting demographics, national identity, and long-term political stability. Jordan's primary challenge is managing a population largely composed of Palestinians, while resolutely opposing policies that could lead to the displacement of more Palestinians from the West Bank or Gaza Strip, which it views as a threat to its national

sovereignty and identity. Therefore, Jordan's leadership relies on loyal ethnic groups, supporting their diaspora activity and participation in the political process [11]. Accordingly, the Jordanian authorities have not interfered with, but rather supported, the socio-cultural activities of the Chechen diaspora, which has opened numerous cultural, sports, and social centers. Chechens continue to play an important role in the life of the country, particularly in the army and security forces. Despite their small numbers, their share among the senior officers and generals is very high. The number of Chechens in Jordan currently stands at approximately 16,000.

**Conclusion.** In summary, the Chechen diaspora in the Middle East has undergone a long period of formation and development. The phenomenon of muhajir emigration, which led to the arrival of numerous people from the North Caucasus in the region, underlies the emergence of the Chechen diaspora in Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Turkey. People from Chechnya gradually began to occupy senior administrative and military positions even during the Ottoman Empire. Currently, the Chechen diaspora is experiencing the greatest difficulties in Iraq and Syria, primarily due to the difficult socio-political situation in these countries, as well as the demographic characteristics of the diaspora itself. The situation for the Chechen diaspora in Turkey is slightly better, but its ability to participate in the political process as an independent actor is limited by the structure of the modern Turkish state, which is tied to the construction of a Turkish identity for all peoples inhabiting the country. The most successful example of the development of the Chechen diaspora in the Middle East is Jordan, where, despite its insignificant presence, it has firmly established itself as a full-fledged participant in political life.

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