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IDEOLOGICAL BASES OF RUSSIA AND TURKEY POLICIES

Abstract. This article examines the issues of national archetypes in the formation of foreign policy, the image of the ruler and the mission of the state. Russia and Turkey position themselves today as countries seeking to challenge the US championship in the world. Both countries have a rich history and ideologically justify their right to lead. In the study of the statehood of Turkey and Russia, an important role was played by the political ideologies that formed the mental image.

Russia's desire to dominate the Balkans, the Middle East, comes from the idea of "Moscow-Third Rome", and the modern ideology of Turkey "Neo-Ottomanism" is a bright continuation of the policy of the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: ideology, archetypes, Russia, Turkey, ambitions, statehood.

The foreign policy of any state since its formation inevitably passes through the stages of formation, and then enters a phase of permanent development and further improvement. All states with a deep historical past have passed this way. Therefore, their foreign policy resembles a knot of tightly bound knots, each of which is a reflection of a certain diplomatic empiricism. And each of these “nodes” is directly related to political archetypes, which are a set of features of ethnic consciousness that determine the “basis” of thinking, basic values, behavioral stereotypes, traditions, character traits, temperament, etc., which forms the state mentality.

The concept of archetypes was also known to the ancient philosophers, but it was introduced into the active scientific circulation by C. Jung, in whom they appear as images-symbols, carriers of the collective unconscious, acting as an impulse for the emergence of culture. He wrote: “He who speaks with archetypes speaks like a thousand voices. he lifts the portrayed by him from the world of the one-time and transient into the sphere of the eternal” [1].

Scientists explain that an archetype is “a prototype, a primary form, a sample, these are structural elements, so-called. the collective unconscious, the embryonic possibilities of all mental processes and experiences. ”

According to some researchers, the archetypes play an important role in the issue of interethnic relations and questions of the perception of "friend or foe" in the countries and our region. In this case, they would not have an “archetypical” character. But they have it, because the problem of land and water has existed in the region for centuries. History knows a lot of examples of conflicts between nomads over land (pastures) and water (watering places). For example, Turkmen permanently fought for the priorities of owning them with the Kazakhs in Mangyshlak. The Kyrgyz reflected the intrigues of the Kazakh tribes who claimed their grazing lands. The Central Asian Khanates constantly waged wars among themselves over land and water as the basis of the well-being of their people. Therefore, it is impossible to deny the “archetypical” nature of the land-water problems in the international relations of the post-Soviet states of Central Asia. In the future, these claims, claims, etc. political actors in the region will continue as long as they do not really recognize the status quo, the existing borders within it, otherwise the region will always be conflict-prone [2, 12].

In this regard, the desire of modern Kazakhstan to build new relations in the region, based on the principles of mutual respect, is fully justified, and the aspirations to form a “new concept of identity” as a legal person are quite understandable. That a legal person is a person disciplined by law, politics, moral

and stable law and order, legal consciousness, a high legal culture, endowed with all rights and freedoms, and freely used by them [3, 136].

National archetypes play a crucial role in the foreign policy of the United States, France, Britain and several other countries. Modern Russia is no exception in this context. For several centuries Russia has been presenting itself as an “exclusive” and “elected” state, along with the USA, European countries, first of all, Great Britain and France. Moscow declares its right to play a role in resolving most international issues and in global governance in general. The conviction that Russia should be an integral part of the new world order reflects the historical understanding of Russia's “chosenness” - its inherent “statehood” - as well as the revival of its self-confidence [4, 32].

To understand the modern politics of Russia, it is necessary to consider the historical and ideological foundations of its policy. The central archetype of Russian politics was formulated in the 16th century. Philotheos: "Two Rome fell, the third stands, and the fourth does not happen." In general, the question of the formation of the image of “Moscow-Third Rome” exists in scientific debates, but many are prone to the fact that the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the loss of the Christian world, primarily the Orthodoxy of their spiritual center, contributed to the rise of Russia as the center of Orthodoxy. But here the question arises: if Russia began to be considered holy after the spread of Constantinople, then why the image of “Holy Russia” is often used in events of an earlier period. Some scholars tend to argue that the rulers of Russia considered themselves to be the successors of Rome, and not of Constantinople.

But the main interest in the theory of Philotheos arose in the middle of the XVI century, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible. Ivan the Terrible developed the idea of the special role of Russia as the sole and last Orthodox power; in fact, the philosophy of Philotheos “Moscow is the third Rome” thus became part of the official ideology.

The foreign policy of modern Turkey, characterized by most scholars as neo-Ottomanism, is a peculiar continuation of not only Ottomanism of the 19th century, but also of the whole of Turkey's imperial past. “Ottomanism” as a protective doctrine emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the secret political organization “Society of New Ottomans” arose in the Ottoman Empire, which aimed to strengthen power by adopting constitutional principles and forming a single community of Ottoman citizens. But the main thing in the semantic similarity: both then and now these two concepts reflected the same goal - the consolidation of the imperial power.

True, in the first case, it was already evident, and it was only about its preservation, and in the second, at the end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century, it was about the desire, if not territorially, to revive the imperial “greatness of the Ottomans”, then at least maximum influence of the "Ottoman spirit" on regional and international events. The similarity in the views on the role of religion is also important: both the “old” and the “new Ottomans” believed that the principles of Islam not only did not contradict democratic reforms, but also largely contributed to their implementation.

However, today in the minds of the Turkish population, Ottomanism is associated with the struggle for their own greatness, for their "imperial" and can be used as an integral part of the renewed consciousness of the new Turkish man, for the formation of which many Turkish ideologists and politicians advocate.

Like Pan-Turkism, neo-Ottomanism is presented by Turkish and other authors as a kind of socio-cultural doctrine, designed to introduce or reanimate certain fundamental values that prevailed during the Ottoman Empire in the spaces where people of completely different cultures and worldview live.

The history of neo-Ottomanism is rooted in the past - in the days of the Ottoman Empire, with which, obviously, modern leaders of Turkey associate themselves. However, the founder of the Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who believed that new Turkey should be built on completely different principles, broke with all of it [2, 120].

As a foreign policy doctrine, Pan-Turkism took shape in the program of the Young Turk Party “Unity and Progress”, which came to power in Turkey in 1908. Its ideologue was the Turkish sociologist, cultural scientist, linguist, jurist, writer ZiyaGok Alps (Mohammed Ziya) (1876-1924). His ideas largely influenced both during the reign of the Young Turks on the eve and during the First World War, and during the Kemalist reforms of the 1920s and 30s. In the works of Gok Alp, and especially in the book "The Basics of Turkism", the main principles of the ideology and policies of the initial stage of development of the Turkish Republic were formulated - nationalism, westernization, etatism.

Today, a characteristic feature of both states is a pronounced foreign policy, its ideological component and the strong role of the ruler. In national archetypes the most important role is assigned to the ruler, without disclosing its essence, it is almost impossible to understand the modern political processes in these countries.

Russian sovereigns fully perceived themselves as the heirs of the Byzantine emperors as leaders of the entire Orthodox world. The new dynastic right of Ivan III and his descendants to claim the Tsargrad legacy was strengthened by virtue of its external recognition.

Ivan III takes the title of "autocrat" on the model of the Byzantine emperor. He also assimilates to his state the Byzantine coat of arms - the double-headed eagle, believing that through marriage with Sophia Palaeologus received the full right to this. Ivan III, and then Vasili III begin to be called "the kings of all Russia." Basil gradually increasingly uses this new title in foreign policy documents. And finally, the famous formula "Moscow is the third Rome" appears, which finally focused on the idea of Moscow about its succession from Constantinople.

According to historian Zhumatay G. Modern Russia is a symbiosis of Orthodoxy and communism, but this view can be partially challenged, in particular, communism in Russian history, in particular, the interpretation of power and a strong ruler is part of the idea of an "universal state", "sovereign savior" and "fighter for justice." The idea of "Moscow is the third Rome", not only contributed to the unification of the Russian lands around Moscow, but also determined the role of the sovereign in its subsequent history.

Another important archetype of Russian political history is the sacred binary opposition "the king is a holy fool". The sacredness of the supreme power in Russia is balanced by the sacredness of the national foolishness: it is not by chance that St. Basil's Cathedral is located opposite the Spasskaya Tower of the Kremlin. It is the phenomenon of foolishness that helps to penetrate deeper into the archetypal essence of the Orthodox personality in politics. The Orthodox Russian people, inspired by the ideal of Russia - the "wandering Kingdom", saw in these "wanderings" first of all the search for earthly truth, which the holy fools expressed with particular force.

The moral traits of the ideal Christian emperor were based on general Christian morality and were not significantly different. For this reason, the perception of the image of the Christian emperor in the mass consciousness took place at the end of the 4th century. relatively easy, especially since the Christian understanding of the image of the emperor was based on the ancient tradition. The church possessed the richest arsenal of propaganda and effective methods of influencing the masses, which made it possible to introduce into the mass consciousness the idea of a virtuous Christian emperor in a historically short time.

Like Russia, Turkey is a country with a predominant majority of the titular nation and religion. Turkish sultans considered themselves patrons of all Muslims, although based on the principle of Fatimism, they could not call themselves caliphs. By creating their own empire, they, in the spirit of the Muslim rulers, tried to form a stereotype of a just ruler.

Despite the discrepancies between Sunnis, Shiites and Kharijites, sacred ruler status supports almost all Islamic medieval dynasty - the Umayyads and the Abbasids of the Arab Caliphate, the Turkish sultans of the Ottoman Empire, the Mughals of India, associated with different branches of Shia Safavids of Iran and the Fatimids of Egypt, and many others. The loyalty of the secular authorities, even unjust, was based on certain theologians of the Islamic Middle Ages, for example, at-Tartushi, who said: "Forty years of tyranny are better than one hour of anarchy." This sacred status, which assumed the ruler's perception of the subjects as "the shadow of Allah on earth," was maintained even in the era of colonialism, when the majority of Muslim countries found themselves in a humiliating dependence on European powers.

Rethinking the traditional concepts of power and the image of an ideal ruler in Islamic intellectual culture falls on the second half of the 19th century. Thus, the largest representative of Muslim modernism, enlightener and social activist Jemal Al-Din al Afghani, offered his vision of this problem, whose social and political activity falls on the last third of the 19th century, that is, on the eve of the "awakening of Asia" era. Jemal al-Din al-Afghani saw the ability to resist the expansion of the colonial powers in the political and ideological unification of the Muslim powers under the banner of Islam.

Sultan Abdul-Hamid II claimed the recognition of his unlimited spiritual power not only in the Ottoman Empire, but throughout the Muslim world [6, 227]. Russia and Turkey, as successors of empires,

pursue a policy aimed at dominating in certain regions of the world, pursue a policy aimed at expanding and maintaining their political weight, which lead to clashes of interests with other actors of international relations. The policy of dominance in international processes can be explained from the point of view of the “election” of these states to decide the fate of the world.

The image of Russia - the “traveling kingdom”. Moscow - The Third Rome does not replace, does not repeat its predecessors, this new kingdom instead of two fallen ones. The goal is not to preserve and continue the political tradition - the tradition is torn and re-created. Hence splits and catastrophic breaks in Russian political history.

In the image of Russia - the “traveling kingdom” there is a serious political claim to the imperial tradition of world power: Moscow is the Third Rome. Every major statesman in Russia used this image to justify his imperial political ambitions.

In the archetype of the “wandering kingdom,” the theme of the sacredness of political power is closely linked to the theme of the apocalyptic of political time: “there should be no fourth Rome.” The Russian political time invariably experiences the tension of the impending “end of history”, it is extremely brief, the historical perspective is shortened; such time requires the utmost responsibility, composure. The fate of history depends on the Third Rome - on Moscow - therefore, in the Russian political consciousness the destinies of Russia and the destinies of the world are inextricably linked: The Russian soul is sick of world problems. Already in the XVI century. the doctrine of "holy Russia", of the universal, universal significance of Russia is being advanced. V. Zenkovsky rightly notes that “it is from here and only from here” that all late political concepts should be derived, justifying the “universal human vocation of Russia” [7, 47].

This is how the phenomenon of the integrity of the perception of the world is formed, which has received special significance in Russian culture. Christianity, by its very nature, is addressed to all humanity, it wants to enlighten and sanctify its entire soul. This motive undoubtedly plays an important role in Western Christianity, but in Orthodoxy the topic of integrity is brought to the Absolute, acquiring a tinge of radicalism. The antithesis of “all or nothing”, not restrained by everyday prudence, uncontrolled by attention to practical results, leaves the Russian soul to be alien to everyday sobriety. In the political sphere, this led to the formation of a famous archetype of political radicalism.

Thus, the ideals of righteousness, value attitude to the world, “the universal human vocation of Russia,” “holy Russia,” are the archetypal ideas that have shaped Russian national identity throughout political history.

The value attitude to the world today is largely explained by the fact that the question of sociocultural identity is viewed by the majority of Russians in a cultural and civil sense. According to the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, at present, the practice of using the concept of “nation” in the sense of a state, civil community – a political nation – is becoming increasingly widespread. This is reflected in the use of such definitions as “Russian nation”, “citizens of Russia”, “we as a nation”, “we are the people of Russia”. The idea of Russia as a unique civilization, combining European and Asian principles, one of the characteristics of which is the peaceful community of many nationalities and religions, where none of them are infringed upon and introduced into the standardized cultural and civilizational framework, the understanding of the Russian people as historical whole and civic nation has repeatedly expressed themselves, including by the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin. This formula was positively perceived by many intellectuals and politicians as the only possible one for Russia and fully responding to the experience of large international ethnic states accumulated by the world community.

The “new look” on Turkish foreign policy horizons in many ways reveals the essence of the work title Davutoglu, where the very linkage of the international policy of this state with such concepts as “strategy” and “depth” speaks about the ambitiousness and long-term nature of the project he conceived. The definition of "strategic" aims foreign policy for the future, a qualitatively new perspective. The term “depth” is a reassessment of the perception of the past, a retrospective view of the history of the Ottoman Empire as a legacy, which, in ideological terms, you should be proud of, and in practical terms - to take advantage of. The goal of foreign policy, according to Davutoglu, is to “revitalize the Ottoman roots” by means of their active purposeful international activities [8].

He emphasizes the importance of the geostrategic position of Turkey, its historical "depth" and unique place in the Muslim world. "Countries speaking the same language, professing one religion and common values," Davutoglu noted, "must develop a common policy ... There is a legacy left by the Ottoman Empire. We are called neo-ottomans. Yes, we are the "new Ottomans."

Of course, the renaissance of the ideas of Pan-Turkism did not mean that this ideological and political doctrine became indisputably dominant. Neo-Ottomanism (or renewed Ottomanism), which is gaining popularity, is a serious competitor to Neo-Panturkism. That is why it seems appropriate to consider Neo-Panturkism in comparison with Neo-Ottomanism and analyze the degree of influence of both doctrines on the foreign policy course of the Republic of Turkey.

Both ideological platforms were formed under the influence of nostalgia about the great imperial past (the Great Turan, the Turkic Khaganate, the Ottoman Empire, etc.).

Summing up this study, we can note the following, that today Russia and Turkey are pursuing a policy actively aimed at strengthening their positions on the world stage, which is often perceived as an attempt to restore imperial power. Archetypes played a moist role not only in foreign policy, but in the process of forming a national mentality and perception of its role in world history.

Today, two presidents Erdogan and Putin position themselves as strong leaders, and are trying to form an opinion about "fighters for justice", "defenders of the state and the oppressed." Erdogan and Putin are perceived as dictators, arranging for themselves the constitutions of their countries. Both leaders are talented speakers and know how to position themselves in their countries as fair rulers.

Failures in domestic politics and economics, compensated by populist foreign policy, both leaders use tactics of using foreign policy as an instrument of internal consolidation, but the emphasis on expansionism and exaggerated ambitions in foreign policy, the desire to modernize society and the state only by "top" measures, as a rule, led to a very modest results of the reforms, not commensurate with the forces and means spent on their implementation.

The geopolitical interests of the two states collide in the international arena, a zone of particular interest of both states, as in the imperial past is the region of the Middle East, the Black Sea, the Balkans and Central Asia.

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РЕСЕЙ МЕН ТҮРКИЯНЫҢ САЯСАТЫНЫҢ ИДЕОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ НЕГІЗІ

Аннотация. Аталмыш мақалада мемлекеттің миссиясы, басшы образы және мемлекеттің қалыптасуындағы ұлттық архетиптер мәселесі қарастырылған. Бүгінгі таңда Ресей мен Түркия өздерін АҚШ жетекші позициясына таласытық білдіруге тырысуда. Ресей мен Түркияның мемлекеттілігін зерттеу мәселелерінде ментальды образын қалыптасытырушы саяси идеологиялардың ықпалы аз болмады.

Ресейдің Балқан түбегі мен Таяу Шығыстағы үстемділікке ұмтылысы, «Мәскеу-Үшінші Рим» идеясынан туындаса, Түркияның қазіргі таңдағы Жаңа Османизм идеологиясы Осман империясының саясатының жарқын жалғасы.

Түйін сөздер: идеология, архетип, Ресей, Түркия, амбиция, мемлекеттілік.

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ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ОСНОВЫ ПОЛИТИКИ РОССИИ И ТУРЦИИ

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются вопросы национальных архетипов в формировании внешней политики, образа правителя и миссии государства. Россия и Турция сегодня позиционируют себя как страны стремящиеся к оспариванию первенства США в мире. Обе страны имеют богатую историю, и идеологически обосновывают свое право на лидерство. В вопросах изучения государственности Турции и России немало важную роль играли политические идеологии, которые сформировали ментальный образ.

Стремление России к доминированию на Балканах, Ближнем Востоке, исходит от идеи «Москва-Третий Рим», а современная идеология Турции «Нео-Османизм» является ярким продолжением политики Османской Империи.

Ключевые слова: идеология, архетипы, Россия, Турция, амбиции, государственность.

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