

THE NEW CALIPHATE - A WAR OF ALL AGAINST ALL

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ABSTRACT

THE STATUS OF MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, THE SYRIAN CIVIL WAR, THE ACTIONS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND SYRIA (ISIS) SELF-DECLARED CALIPHATE, CONSTITUTE AN ISSUE OF SIGNIFICANT IMPORTANCE, THAT AROUSES INTEREST AMONG THE PUBLIC, GIVEN THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE AREA, TENDS TO HAVE GREAT INFLUENCES ON A WORLDWIDE LEVEL.

CALIPHATE IT IS A FORM OF ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT WHICH REPRESENTS THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS UNITY OF THE MUSLIM WORLD, HAS AS A LEADER THE CALIPH, THE POLITICAL LEADER OF THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY WHICH IS CONSIDERED THE "SUCCESSOR", "DEPUTY" OF PROPHET MUHAMMAD.

THE APPEARANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST OF A NEW SUNNI FUNDAMENTALIST STATE, WITHOUT BORDERS, EXPANDING, SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE TO STOP, CAN BE EXPLAINED BY THE VERY BIOGRAPHY OF THE LAST DECADE OF ITS LEADER, ABU BAKR AL-BAGHDADI.

THERE IS NO QUESTION OF LAMENTING THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SOME SUCCESSFUL INSTITUTIONS FROM THE HISTORY OF ISLAM, BUT THE ABSENCE OF A CENTRALIZED AUTHORITY, LEAVES A COMMUNITY OF NEARLY 1.4 BILLION PEOPLE, A FIFTH OF THE WORLD POPULATION, IN DRIFT AND VULNERABILITY.

KEYWORDS: MIDDLE EAST, CONFLICT, CALIPHATE, FUNDAMENTALIST STATE,

The benefits brought by the 20s century in the Middle East, in terms of institutional and economic development, had the effect to highlighting some religious sensitivities. Should not be surprised by the fact that at present region is marked by an imbalance caused by reactions of religious nature. After nearly a century after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk abolished the Caliphate in Istanbul and six decades since Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Ba'th Party led a national revolution in Egypt and the Arab world, the Middle East it is in a full religious conflict, having in the centre a caliphate that comprises territories in Syria and Iraq.

It has been proven that in this way that the big progress made towards the construction and development of the state led to the emergence of religious sensibilities while removing and loosening authorities that could moderate the religions in a more responsible way. As a result, the region is witnessing a fierce religious and unbalanced reaction. It is rather difficult to understand

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how a religious tradition which for a millennium has been a “global refuge for pluralism, tolerance and moderation, was undermined by intolerance, brutality and beheadings.”³

The status of Middle East conflict, the Syrian Civil War, the actions of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) self-declared caliphate, constitute an issue of significant importance, that arouses interest among the public, given that developments in the area, tends to have great influences on a worldwide level. Understanding the implications of the “games” in the area requires a brief introduction in the magazine of the overview of the history of the conflict, its evolution, and the religious reasons which determining this bitterness.

Although apparently it seems to be a simple civil war in which “the rebels have taken up weapons against the dictator Bashar al-Assad in 2011 and since then fought against him,”⁴ an in-depth study of the phenomenon reveals a more complex reality. A detailed analysis demonstrates that it can talk about “a war of all against all,”⁵ whose actors constitutes a number of approximately 1,000 groups, brigades and factions, only some of them of significant importance.

The fight it is waged, on the side by the Syrian regime led by President Bashar al- Assad, who currently controls the most populated regions in the country, on the other side by ISIS and other groups that fight against or alongside one of the main forces mentioned previously.

It is considered the initiator of the conflict in Syria it is Bashar al-Assad that from the desire not to have the same fate as the leaders of the authoritarian regimes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya,⁶ fights back in 2011 against the Arab Spring demonstrators by opening fire on them⁷. Subsequently, the protesters and part of the Syrian troops decide to fight against the Assad regime, this is the moment when the Syrian Liberation Army arises. In this way are created all the premises to manifest a true civil war, represented on the one hand by rebel forces, both from inside Syria and those from outside who come to their aid, and, on the other hand, the official regime

Bashar al Assad takes advantage of the condition created and prefers to give the conflict a religious tint such burst, releasing jihadists’ prisoners who joined the rebels, bringing on them accusations of extremism. Through this strategy, it actually aims to mislead the foreign rebel supporters (mainly the Arab states). Assad in turn, benefits from the Iran serious support and subsequently the Lebanese support trough Hezbollah.⁸

The main opponent, and the most frightening element of terror in the area it is the Sunni organization ISIS who announced the reinstatement of the Muslim world state abolished in 1924 by Turkish nationalist Kemal Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey. A council of the movement chose Abu Bakr al Baghdadi, the terrorist chief of the ISIS (formerly ISIL), according to the

³ Paul Salem, *The Caliph's Revenge*, Middle East Institute, 9 septembrie 2015 <http://www.mei.edu/content/article/caliphs-reveng>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

⁴ Lucian Popescu, “Games of Trones” in Syria. Small guide to understand a chaotic war,” *Aktual 24*, 10 Mars 2015, <http://www.aktual24.ro/urzeala-tronurilor-in-siria-mic-ghid-pentru-a-intelege-un-razboi-haotic>, (accessed on 6 January 2016).

⁵ Popescu, “Games of Trones” in Syria

⁶ “New Syrian Opposition Pushes for Recognition,” *Hürriyet Daily News*, November 13, 2012, http://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/new-syrian-opposition-pushes-for-recognition.aspx?pageID=238&nid_3452 4, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

⁷ BBC News (2014) “Syria Crisis: Where Key Countries Stand.” BBC News, 18 February. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-23849587>, (accessed on 10 January 2016).

⁸ Tom Perry si Laila Bassam, “With help from his allies, Syria's Assad looks set to stay,” in *Reuters Edition US 10 martie 2015* pe <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-outlook-idUSKBN0M616X20150310> (accessed on 16 January 2016).

“Caliph of the Muslims,” as the successor of the prophet Mohammed, decided to rename it the "Islamic State" and called all Islamist movements to recognise the primacy.⁹

Caliphate it is a form of Islamic government which represents the political and religious unity of the Muslim world, has as a leader the Caliph, the political leader of the Muslim community which is considered the “successor”, “deputy“ of Prophet Muhammad. In the Sunni tradition, he is a member of the Quraysh tribe, and in the Shiite it is an Imam descendant of Ahlul Bayt.

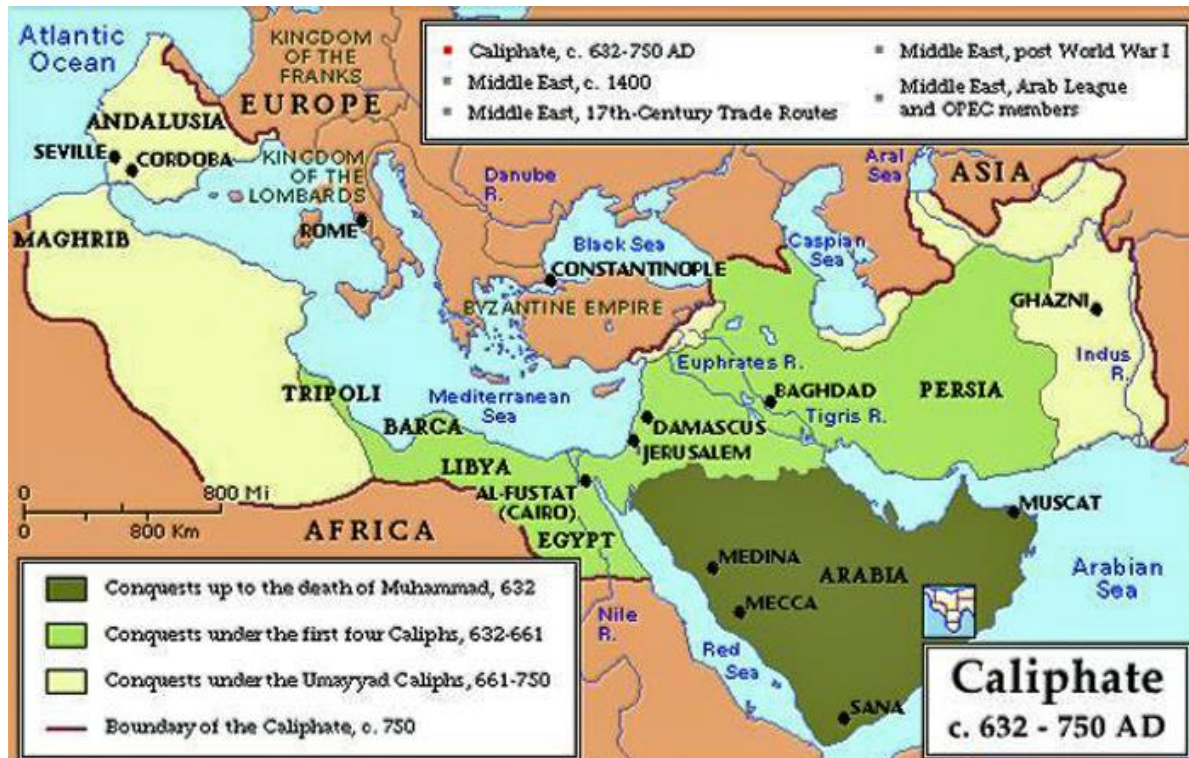


Figure nr.1 – Caliphate 632-750¹⁰

The Caliphate period, if can be said officially, stretches between the years 632-1924. During this time, the Caliphate position it was occupied by dynasties such as Umayyad, Abbasids and the Ottomans¹¹. End of the caliphate is due to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who brought the most important reforms that allowed the Turkish nation to exercise its popular sovereignty through representative democracy.

This involved the dissolution of two institutions that governed the sovereignty, which was popular until then: Ottoman Dynasty (November 1st, 1922) and the Caliphate (March 3rd, 1924). After the abolition of the caliphate, for the Muslim radicals, it remained as a desideratum its reinstatement. The fulfillment of this desideratum come at the same time with the appearance of ISIS subsequently converted in ISIL, a terrorist organization, whose rapid ascent, gave the opportunity to control territories and to establish its own caliphate.

⁹ Vlad M., *Jihadistan (1): Califatul SIIL din Orientul Mijlociu*, 30 iunie 2014, <http://inliniedreapta.net/jihadistan-1-califatul-siil/>, (accessed on 21 January 2016).

¹⁰ <http://usiraq.procon.org/view.background-resource.php?resourceID=955>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

¹¹ Roxana Gheorghe, *Să cunoaștem țările arabe - Califatul*, <http://www.e-scoala.ro/arabic/califatul.html>, (accessed on 5 January 2016).

Originally called ISIL, the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (Lebanon), and subsequently ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria), is an active jihadist group, organized as a state, although unrecognised in Iraq and Syria. The group was founded in 2004 as a branch of al-Qaeda, trained and supported by a groups of insurgents, including the organization which preceded them, “Shura Council Mujahideen, Al-Qaeda in Iraq, the Jaysh al-Fatiheen, Jund al- Sahaba , Katbiyan Ansar Al-Tawhid wal Sunnah, al-Taiifa Jeish al-Mansoura”¹² and other clans with Sunni Muslim. From the very beginning, the purpose of the group was to establish a caliphate in the regions with a Sunni majority in Iraq, followed by its expansion to include Syria as well.

After the outbreak of civil war,¹³ al-Qaeda develops its own branch of the organization in Syria called Jabhat al-Nusrat,¹⁴ which in 2014 falls apart, due to internal conflicts of the group jihadist Islamic State, which quickly occupied parts of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) „increasing its notoriety through brutality, including mass killings, kidnappings and beheadings.”¹⁵ The existence of the Islamic state was marked by the establishment of a Caliphate (a state governed according to Islamic Sharia law), led by the recognized Caliph Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who supposedly swore allegiance throughout the Muslim world.

In February 2014, after a struggle for power of eight months, al-Qaeda cut all ties with ISI.

The war in Iraq has claimed a significant presence in the Iraqi provinces of Al Anbar, Ninawa (Nineveh), Kirkuk, Salah ad Din and parts of Babil, Diyala and Baghdad. These claimed Baqubah as capital. In the ongoing Syrian Civil War, the group has a significant presence in the Syrian provinces Ar-Raqqa, Idlib and Aleppo.¹⁶

The cruelty and radicalism that the ISIS has demonstrated, led Al-Qaeda to deny their actions. In a press released published in February 2014 on numerous Islamist websites, the central leadership of Al-Qaeda and its leader, Ayman al-Zawahiri, separated themselves from the group of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: “Al-Qaeda announces that it is not linked to the SIIL (...) This is not a branch of the Al-Qaeda group, does not have an organization relationship with Al-Qaeda and Al-Qaeda is not responsible for its actions.”¹⁷

Thus established, the party completely changes the picture of the Syrian conflict, initially fighting against al-Qaeda and against rebel groups. ISIS appearance has strongly disrupted USA position, which still supports the Syrian rebels against the Assad regime, which is at the moment in a position to declare that they will not compromise the fight against terrorist groups.

The appearance in the Middle East of a new Sunni fundamentalist state, without borders, expanding, seemingly impossible to stop, can be explained by the very biography of the last decade of its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.¹⁸

¹² Daniel Vla, *Ce este ISIL; ISIS sau Stat Islamic*, August 2014 <https://danielvla.wordpress.com/2014/06/15/ce-este-isil-sau-isis/>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

¹³ Firas Abi Ali, “Alwiyat Suqour al-Sham's merger with Harakat Ahrar al-Sham al-Islamiya facilitates increased foreign support to militant Syrian Salafists,” *Jane's Intelligence Weekly*, Volume: 7, Issue: 16, Mar 25, 2015, Jane's Information Group, Coulsdon, United Kingdom.

¹⁴ *Al monitor The pulse of Middle Est*, 17 May 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/11/jabhat-al-nusra-idlib-islamic-emirate.html#> (accessed on 26 January 2016).

¹⁵ *What is 'Islamic State'?* BBC News on 2 december 2015 la <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29052144>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

¹⁶ *What is 'Islamic State'?* BBC News on 2 december 2015

¹⁷ Vlad M. *Jihadistan (1): Califatul SIIL din Orientul Mijlociu*, 30 iunie 2014, <http://inliniedreapta.net/jihadistan-1-califatul-siil/>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

¹⁸ Ashley Fantz, “How ISIS Makes (and Takes) Money,” CNN, February 19, 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/19/world/how-isis-makes-money/>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

A former student in Baghdad and the Islamic militant at the time, in 2005 Baghdadi ends into an American prison in the south of the country, from where he was released in 2009. At that time, few could foresee that Baghdadi will become one of the most wanted people in the world. During his time in prison, he came into contact with some of the most dangerous Islamic extremists.¹⁹ This made possible its extreme radicalization. It accumulated boundless hatred against foreign occupation of the country in this period.

In 2010 he was elected as the leader of the Islamic State of Iraq,²⁰ an event followed by years of bloody attacks against the Baghdad regime backed by the USA, the group expanding its operations in Syria and on 29 June 2014 it is announced the formation of the Caliphate, under the name of Islamic State.²¹

Financially supported primarily due to the Iraqi and Syrian oil from areas they control, having as members volunteers coming from different places, given the fact that it acts in an area of maximum conflict, ISIS has become an extremely aggressive move.

Unlike al-Qaeda, it focused on the opponents from nearby, more accessible, preferred to induce a sectarian war between Sunni and Shia, turned into a fratricidal conflict extremely violently against alleged traitors and rebels from its own Sunni camp and was evidenced by attacks perpetrated especially on the Shiites, kidnappings and executions.²² All these aspects, confirm those mentioned by Fuad Hussein, chief of the Barzani staff: "You cannot sleep if ISIS is in your neighborhood, you will have many nightmares. The reality is that we face a threat ... the ball exploded."²³

It is estimated that over 10,000 Islamist fight in the name of ISIS, fully committed to its campaign of religious purification, and who demonstrate extraordinary cruelty. Iraqi groups and tribes of Sunni Muslim religious denomination, dissatisfied with the sectarian government of Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri Al Maliki's Shiite and former combatants of the Baath party of Saddam Hussein, joined the black flag of jihad, al-*raya*.²⁴

The Black Flag (al-*raya*) has its roots in the very beginning of Islam. It was the fighting flag of the Prophet Mohammed carried by many of his companions including his nephew Ali ibn Abi Talib. The flag has become well known in the 8th century when the Abbasid revolution leader, Abu Muslim, who led a revolt against the Umayyad clan and the Caliphate, used it. Since then, the image of the black flag was used as a symbol of rebellion and religious fight (i.e., Jihad) and black flag in the Shiite faith is related to expectations regarding the afterlife. In contemporary Islamist movement, black flag used to symbolize both offensive jihads, as well as the supporters of the reestablishment of the Islamic Caliphate.²⁵

It is no secret that, once the conflict broke out, supporters appeared on different sides, who have supplied arms and money to their favorites. From the very beginning, the regime of Bashar

¹⁹ Clarisa Ward, *The origins of ISIS: Finding the birthplace of Jihad*, 4 noiembrie 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-origins-of-isis-finding-the-birthplace-of-jihad/>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

²⁰ *ISIS Fast Facts*, <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/08/08/world/isis-fast-facts/index.html>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

²¹ Radu Toma, *ISIS*, 12 septembrie 2014, <http://www.cotidianul.ro/isis-247092/>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

²² Mushreq Abbas, *IS Makes Plans to Fend Off Attacks on Mosul*, trans. Rani Geha, *Al-Monitor*, September 23, 2014, www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/09/iraq-islamic-state-baghdad-war.html, (accessed on 30 January 2016); Shane Harris, "The Re-Baathification of Iraq," *Foreign Policy*, August 21, 2014, www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/08/21/the_re_baathification_of_iraq, (accessed on 10 January 2016).

²³ *Re-configuring the Middle East: IS and Changing Demographics*, Rajaratnam School of International Studies, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

²⁴ Vlad M., *Jihadistan (1): Califatul SIIL din Orientul Mijlociu*, 30 iunie 2014, pe <http://inliniedreapta.net/jihadistan-1-califatul-siil/>, (accessed on 10 January 2016).

²⁵ Vlad M., *Jihadistan (1): Califatul SIIL din Orientul Mijlociu*

al-Assad, representing the side of Shiite Islam, had the frequent support of Iran, obviously, and those of Shiite orientation, between the two regimes there is since 2006 a military agreement under which they should help each other.

The support is more than obvious, given the fact that Tehran considers Syria as a “35th Iranian region.”²⁶



Figure nr.2 - Siria²⁷

The second supporter of the Assad regime has proved to be Lebanese Hezbollah, also of Shiite origin, a frequent opponent of Israel. Such an alliance, along with the rise to power of Shiites in Iraq, constitutes the emergence of a so-called “Shia arc”²⁸ situation unfavorable for the Sunni countries.

It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the al-Assad family origin is Alawite, a sect of Shi’ism, it leads Syria for approximately forty years. It should be noted that Syria is predominantly Muslim (75 %), of which about 10 % Shiite orientation. The Shia imposed themselves in the region following to the Iranian Islamic Revolution (1979), supported only by Syria at that time.

²⁶ Vlad Damian, *Siria, scena confruntării dintre suniți și šiiti*, “RFI”, 29 august 2013, <http://www.rfi.ro/politic-70442-siria-scena-confrunt-rii-dintre-suni-i-i-ii-i>, (accessed on 16 January 2016).

²⁷ *Vezi History of the Assassin-Middle Eastern*, http://blackcasteassassins.yuku.com/topic/385/History-of-the-Assassin-Middle-Eastern#.U2IhiYF_tjA, (acesat în 2 ianuarie 2016).

²⁸ *History of the Assassin-Middle Eastern...*

All these aspects indicate that, even after taking a turn that involves economic and geostrategic interests, at the base of the Syrian conflict it is the fight between Shiite and Sunni side of Islam.²⁹

However, it is obvious that the main issue that led to accentuated extremist manifestation it is the incorrect interpretation of religious texts, based on a weak preparation in the field and the absence of authority to control these aspects.

In the framework of a book recently published, called “The Paradox of Freedom: Revolution and Counter-religious secular” the American political philosopher Michael Walzer examines cases in Algeria, India, and Israel. It shows that in all countries, the revolutionaries believed that history is a linear process in favor of, science, justice and nationalism, and religion was part of a superstitious past. But in all three countries, the radical religious movements have arisen, “reviving in a more virulent manner the religious identity and imperatives values of the challenged past.”³⁰

This conclusion can be easily extended to the current situation in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and to some extent in Turkey. It cannot be argued that secular revolution failed as long as their institutions and political culture are still present, but have failed under the aspect of ignoring the religious aspect. It is a certainty that revolution actions have aggravated matters religious aspect, giving rise of impulses of religious extremism.

The eminent novelist of Franco-Lebanese origin, Amin Maalouf,³¹ took up this theme in his book “Disordered world: Setting a new course for the twenty-first century.” Although secularist convinced with Christian Lebanese origin, it highlights the serious impacts on civilization after the decline of the caliphate Abbasid, concluded in the XIII century and the risks inherent in the absence of a religious authority recognized by the great mass of Islam.

On this subject, he compares the role of the papacy in the Catholic world, which over time, and despite its ups and downs, finally decided to limit the level of a district in Rome, the papacy resisted and played an important role in the western evolution.

By maintaining religious authority, at least in the Catholic population, has been a constant reference point, though very conservative in the face of radical religious, like Savonarola Florentine monk from the XV century and others who claimed their own authority to interpret and manage religion. Meanwhile, there were a number of radicals who wanted to use the religious authority in order to acquire political authority, who maintained the rules of the game and the balance between religion and authorities of the times.

The Vatican and its network of institutions in Europe have represented a vast deposit of books, libraries, source of information and research. Although sometimes has failed, the excellent discoveries made by of Galileo Galilei or Copernicus, represented a genuine accumulation of knowledge, legitimate science and knowledge in the framework of thinking and religious

²⁹ Charles C. Caris and Samuel Reynolds, “ISIS Governance in Syria,” Institute for the Study of War, Middle East Security Report 22 (Jul. 2014); Leila Fadel, “Common Ground between Iraq's Rebels May Be Crumbling,” All Things Considered, NPR, July 23, 2014, www.npr.org/blogs/parallels/2014/07/23/334475601/commonground-betweeniraqs-rebels-may-be-crumbling, (accessed on 16 January 2016); Leila Fadel, “Saddam's Ex-Officer: We've Played Key Role In Helping Militants,” All Things Considered, NPR, June 19, 2014, www.npr.org/blogs/parallels/2015/06/19/323691052/saddams-exofficer-weve-played-key-role-in-helping-militants, (accessed on 4 January 2016); Hassan Hassan, “Isis Exploits Tribal Fault Lines to Control Its Territory,” *The Observer*, October 25, 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/26/isis-exploits-tribal-faultlines-to-control-its-territory-jihadi, (accessed on 7 January 2016).

³⁰ Paul Salem, *The Caliph's Revenge*, Middle East Institute, 9 septembrie 2025 <http://www.mei.edu/content/article/caliphs-reveng>, (accessed on 23 January 2016).

³¹ <http://islam.about.com/od/zakat/p/zakat.htm>, (accessed on 23 January 2016).

institutions and protect the true treasures of knowledge and culture of the vicissitudes at the time, war and destruction. Although the Vatican has taken decades, sometimes even centuries, to accept new ideas or values, it has managed to develop religious thought, gradually accepting change and finding a way to make an old religion to embrace the evolution of human civilization.

The Muslim capitals - Damascus and later in Baghdad - influenced the evolution of civilization for six centuries in terms of thought and science, a period that was followed by stagnation, of six centuries after the Mongolian invasion from the middle of the thirteenth-century middle. The rise of the West and the conquest of the Muslim lands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it brought a period of drift and stagnation.

As it happened in other religions, and in Islam have been over time a number of different interpretations of sacred texts (Koran and Hadith)³² from different types of thinkers, who over time have produced a so-called mosaic school of thought, traditions, solution of adapting to the realities of life specific to the times in which they lived. In counterpoint, there was a radical rationalist school in Baghdad (Mutazila), long before Thomas Aquinas.³³

For several years, around twentieth-century, the grand mufti of Egypt, and a landmark figure for al-Azhar University, Imam Muhammad Abduh,³⁴ preached the importance of justice, human equality, free will as a tool for progress given by God, criticizing the literal, strict and old-style interpretation of Islam.

It is the period in which it was a current of modernized thought emerged, supported by prestigious figures of the Muslim world that have tried harmonizing the Koran with the modern sciences. Apart from Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida³⁵ stands at the time as well, who claimed even the fact that Darwinian theory is not incompatible with faith and based on these theories would will also find in the Koran, that the representation of man in the art would not raise the doctrinal issues as long as it does not seek through this religious reverence.

Comparing this kind of thinking, again the extremism of groups today, it is almost unbelievable, especially since, those who claimed they were members of the Arabic intellectuals at that time, having significant positions in the university Al-Azhar in Cairo, the benchmark for Islamic thinking.

However, the current has faded in the second half of the twentieth century, the Islamic thought is gradually oriented towards traditionalism, based on a narrow interpretation of the sacred texts, and an attempt to equalize the huge diversity of practices and attitudes, by putting them up in a Puritan canon decreed as "one and only true faith."³⁶

There is no question of lamenting the disappearance of some successful institutions from the history of Islam, but the absence of a centralized authority, leaves a community of nearly 1.4 billion people, a fifth of the world population, in drift and vulnerability. This is no longer just a problem

³² Sorin Ioniță, *Cum sa citim Coranul: mic îndrumar pentru bunii musulmani*, 20 ianuarie 2015 <http://www.contributors.ro/cultura/cum-sa-citim-coranul/>, (accessed on 3 January 2016).

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ Muhammad 'Abduh, jurist islamic egiptean, savant religios și reformator liberal, considerat ca fiind una dintre figurile-cheie ale fondării modernismului islamic, numit și neo-Mu'tazilism după școală islamică medievală de teologie bazată pe raționalism, Mu'tazila.

³⁵ Reformator islamic timpuriu, ale cărui idei au influențat mai târziu gânditorii islamisti ai secolului 20, a fost unul dintre cei mai influenți și savanți controversați ai generației sale fiind a fost profund influențat de Mișcarea timpurie Salafi și mișcarea pentru modernism islamică fondată în Cairo de Muhammad Abduh.

³⁶ Sorin Ionita, *Cum sa citim coranul: mic îndrumar pentru bunii musulmani*, 20 ianuarie 2015 <http://www.contributors.ro/cultura/cum-sa-citim-coranul/>, (accessed on 3 January 2016).

a religious nature, for the followers of the faith, but a matter of regional and global stability and security. It may be the starting point for the study of the advantages and disadvantages of the revitalization of a form of modern papal caliphate project that could be unimaginable in the Muslim world.

There could be the possibility to think to construct one or more education places and the moderate Islamic authority. The Gulf countries have spent rightly, billions of dollars to develop higher education institutions, the last one being the University of Science and Technology “King Abdullah”. It benefits from endowments worth 20 billion, making it the third of the richest universities in the world after Harvard and Yale, while Al-Azhar University and other moderate learning religious centers in Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco They are in very poor condition.

All this highlights the fact that religious education and the leadership of the communities requires a strategic attention. While investment in science and technology centers and investments in infrastructure and economic development and trade have their importance, just as important, perhaps even more important it is an investment in education and religious leadership. Perhaps the Al-Azhar should be reinvented and transformed into a key centre for religious education, as it was once, but developed in such a way as to seriously research center in humanities and natural science, or perhaps it should found other solutions and vision to make things to go on. In any case, the gap and the vulnerability left by the abolition of the caliphate and undermining traditional and moderate religious institutions gave rise to global threats and challenges that cannot be ignored.

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