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OLGA BIBIKOVA . REORGANIZATION IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA // *The article was written for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

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Keywords: succession, rota system, modernization, the king Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, royal prince Mohammad bin Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud.

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Abstract. There were changes in succession order in Saudi Arabia. In spite of existing tradition of transition of power by seniority from one brother to another one, the last king already appointed his son the royal prince.

The most conservative Muslim state – Saudi Arabia – came into time of change. The matter is that contrary to the established

tradition, today young and ambitious prince Mohammad bin Salman bin Abdulaziz Al Saud rules the state. His father – the king Salman – remains a head of the state, however the prince guides reforms. However, the first reform was carried out by the king Salman (1935), the son of the late king Fahd bin Abdulaziz Al Saud, his 8th wife who came to power on 23.01.2015.

It must be noted that long ago there was felt the need for reforms in the kingdom. And abroad changes in the kingdom were also waited. Here what was written by the New York Times newspaper in 1964 in connection with arrival to the power of the king Faisal: “Financial stability, absolute lack of debts, constantly growing oil revenues will allow Saudi Arabia to carry out radical modernization ...”.

However, as the Russian researcher Kosach noted, “the termination in the first half of the 1980-s of oil prices increase finished an era of prosperity and unprecedented financial savings. At the end of the last decade of the expired century the World Bank defined Saudi Arabia as the state with the average level of income.”

In 1990 prominent representatives of the Saudi society (politicians, scientists, etc.) addressed the country leaders with the petition who had preoccupation with corruption and incompetence of officials. The condition of the Saudi army looked especially unattractively which opened after attack of Iraq on Kuwait. Al-Bassam B.A. from Rice University (Huston) writes: “It turned out that the Saudi army ... is not able to protect independently the country in case of necessity that forced Saudi to make a request of support to the USA and Great Britain.” The need for reforms began again to be felt with approach of “the Arab spring.”

The “Arab spring” which swept over a number of countries first of all involved youth into its folds. In Saudi Arabia 73% of the population did not reach 29 years, 45% – 14 years (as of 2009). By means of reforms kings of the dynasty of Al Saud more than once tried to defuse public conflicts because at rather high

unemployment rate among youth the situation is fraught with serious public shocks.

As G. Kosach notes, during the rule of the king Fahd (1982–2005) “the domestic and foreign policy of Saudi Arabia was finally formed. Its subject is continuation of economic modernization and social and political reforms within conservative and guarding policy.” “The new “educated class” which emerged during modernization” was enlisted in government during his rule... Generally, they are “the graduates of western university centers who gained experience of the previous work in public institutions or private companies, in the sphere of a public administration, higher education and business.”

At Fahd's successor, the king Abdalla, innovations began to penetrate with Saudi society. In the 1990-s it was adopted the Constitution, the first in the history of the country (actually it is the body of basic laws of the country); it was opened the stock exchange for foreign investors; the system of taxation and customs experienced reforming. In 2005 elections to country councils were held; the kingdom joined WTO; in 2007 there were adopted the laws against corruption which turned out to be, however, inefficient.

It's worth reminding that also that the king Abdalla cancelled traditional kissing of hands, replacing it with handshake. However, during some ceremonies, for example, funerals where there are only men, condoling, Saudis traditionally kiss relatives of a deceased on a shoulder. But the ban to the members of the reigning family to use treasury resources for their personal needs became more important. It was authorized to banks to reject petitions for a loan coming from the members of the reigning family if they have no positive credit history. On the order of the king to the Saudi young men wishing to get education abroad the government began to devote funds allowing them to study in prestigious universities of Europe and the USA. In the kingdom it was also organized the University of

science and technology named in honor of the king Abdalla where girls also studied. Moreover, the woman – the princess Nora bin Abdalla ibn Musaid Al-Faiz was appointed to the deputy minister's post on girls(!). Women were also allowed to take part in municipal elections. The king personally financed construction of subway in Riyadh. And in 2007 the king met in Vatican the Pope Benedict XVI that gave hope to Christians to construct at least one church in Saudi Arabia ...

On the date of a crowning of the new king Salman ibn Abdalla (23.01.2015) by tradition it was also announced the new royal prince. The brother of the king Abdalla prince Mukrin ibn Abdul-Aziz (1945), the educated person became the royal prince: he studied in college of the Air Force (Kornuel, Great Britain) and also in the USA. Besides, within 7 years he headed General Intelligence Presidency of the kingdom. Together with a rank of the royal prince he got an appointment of the 1st deputy prime minister, i.e. the king himself as under the law (since 1960) the prime minister is the king. However prince Mukrin was the last aspirant to the throne of the sons of the first king-founder of the Saudi state.

In three months (29.04.2015), according to the decree of the king, prince Mohammad ibn Naif (1959) was appointed to a post of the royal prince. Before it, being the Deputy Interior Minister, he was considered as the second successor of the throne (the deputy royal prince) after the consanguineous uncle the royal prince Mukrin. Observers noted that short period of being the prince Mukrin as the royal prince demonstrates that he initially was a temporary figure. The matter is that Mukrin, the younger son of the king Adbul Aziza Al-Saud and the concubine Baraka of al-Yamaniya, was the Yemen origin. He had no chances to become the king as he was not the representative of the influential clan in spite of the fact that he had influential service record.

As for prince Mohammad ibn Naif, his appointment as the royal prince was met with great satisfaction in the USA. The former director of the CIA M. Hayden called him one of five

“significant defenders of the world.” And nevertheless, on June 21, 2017 it was announced the new royal decree according to which prince Mohammad ibn Naif was removed from the office of the royal prince and interior minister of Saudi Arabia. In this regard the USA was even afraid that “bin Naif's resignation can negatively influence relationship of Washington and Riyadh in the sphere of security”. Interestingly that change of the successor happened in two weeks after the visit of the U.S. President Donald Trump with his family (including the son-in-law J. Kouchner) to Riyadh.

The rota system

Before proceeding to studying of the reasons of so significant resignations in the Saudi royal house, we will try to get onto the principles of inheritance, practiced (or practicing until recently) in the kingdom. The fact is that the royal dynasty of Saudi Arabia adheres to the patrimonial principle of inheritance – the rota system – according to which brothers of ruling family are, figuratively speaking “co-owners of the power.” At first successively, but not without any exception, the power is derived from one brother to another one (according by seniority), then nephews, etc. The similar system of succession took place and in other states – in Turkic and Khazar kaganat. In Russia similar practice existed till 14th century.

It was Prince Mukrin in the Al-As-Saud family, who was the last of the living brothers – the sons of the first Saudi king ibn Saud. Then there came the turn of his grandsons, that is nephews of the last king.

Today the Saudi royal family numbers from 15 to 22 thousand people in seven or eight generations of descendants of the king Abdul Aziz ibn Saud. However only 2000 of them are involved in power structures and have an opportunity to control the wealth of the country. Family members took upon themselves government of the state, they hold ministerial and gubernatorial

offices, head major campaigns, define the direction of the country and solve the arising problems in domestic and foreign policy, dispose of public sector of national economy. It only makes sense that for a variety of reasons not all can pretend to the throne, but some of them (about 60 people) could consider themselves as potential applicants.

Disadvantages of the rota system are obvious – elderly and sick people often come to power. At the beginning of the rule of the king Abdul Aziz (1880, time of reign 1932-1953) he was 52, Khalid (1913, – 1975-1982) – 62, Fahd (1921, – 1982-2005) – 61, Abdalla (1924, – 2005-2015) – 81. The present king Salman (1935) came to power at the age of 80. Two kings – Saud (1902, – 1953-1964) and Faysal (1906, – 1964-1975) were ousted from power. The first one – as a result upheaval of organized by his brother Faysal, being during that period the prime minister (the last prince in this position). The reasons of the upheaval were unknown long time because of closeness of Saudi Arabia. After more than 50 years researchers consider that his desire to transfer the throne to his son, but not to the brother was the reason of removal from power of the king Saud. The king Faysal who came to power after Saud was killed by the nephew revenging for death of his brother who was accidentally shot by a police officer in August, 1965 during protests against organization of telecasting in the country. Saud, on the date of enthronement, was 51 years old, and Faysal – 58.

Besides, according to the rota system, some of brothers in general cannot wait till their turn. The matter is that the Saudi kings traditionally married (and got divorced) repeatedly and had concubines that guaranteed them a large number of successors. The founder of the dynasty had 45 sons from 12 wives, and the displaced king Saud living his last years in Greece in all had 115 children. The late king Abdalla had 15 sons.

The current king Salman got throne only because two of his elder brothers – prince Sultan and prince Naif – died still being

royal princes. And the first one was already well into old age – he was 80 years old, and the second one – 73.

On June 21, 2017 inhabitants of the kingdom learned that henceforth, according to the decree of the king, instead of Mohammad ibn Naif, not the next nephew, but Mohammad bin Salman As - Saud, the son of the current king Salman who in the western media is called by MBS is appointed the royal prince. He is a grandson of the first king of the state Ibn Saud, that is the representative of the third line of inheritance. In case the former traditional system existed, prince Mohammad bin Salman should wait for his turn for a long time.

It is not the first conflict because of succession of the throne in Saudi Arabia. In the 1890s Saudis were pushed aside from power by the dynasty Al-Rashid. Eventually, Saudis managed to capture Riyadh, and in 1932 on the map of the Arabian Peninsula the Saudi kingdom appeared. To make himself safe against attempts of the competing clans to come to power, the king Abdul Aziz Al-Saud began to get married with women from major confederations of the Arabian tribes. A number of researchers considers that Saudis, thus, broke Sharia commandment according to which a Muslim can have only four wives at the same time (See the Koran, Surah An Nisa (The Women) Ayat 3).

The decision of the king Salman on appointment of his son as the successor was ambiguously met in the kingdom and abroad. Many observers consider that until now the dynasty was what united the population of four historic areas of the Arabian Peninsula. The dynasty where practically all tribes were presented at the expense of wives from different Arabian tribes and sons of Saudi monarchs, was the state core. According to some researchers, rejection of this principle can propel the country into the period of instability.

However, the king Salman procured that the population of the country was forgiving to his innovations. Literally in two days after enthronement it was declared the decree according to which all public servants, pensioners and students got as a gift

money reward in the sum of two monthly payments. 30 billion dollars were provided for these means. Debts of 500 thousand of Saudi citizens were waived in the amount of 133 thousand dollars. For foreign citizens who were in Saudi prisons, detention in a jail was replaced by deportation from the country with the ban on reenter. The king also allocated 20 billion dollars for construction of desalination and power plants which have to provide the population with drinking water. Financial support was obtained by registered literary clubs and also clubs of superleague of the championship of the kingdom on football. Thus, almost all citizens received allowance from the king.

Coming to power of Salman ibn Adbul As-Saud means major strengthening of the Sudairi clan. If after him the power passed to prince Mohammad bin Naif, then the Shammar clan could claim an approach to the throne. However, having appointed his son as the successor, the king Salman deprived the Shammar clan of prospect to strengthen its influence, and at the same time preserved a privileged position of the Sudairi clan. The Sudairi clan is considered the strongest in the country. Mother Sarah As-Sudairi of the king Abdul-Aziz and also his beloved wife Hassa bint Ahmed (being his first cousin at one remove) who gave birth to seven sons who became very significant people in the kingdom known as "the Sudairi seven": belonged to this clan.

Crown Prince MBS

Mohammad bin Salman As-Saud was born on August 31, 1985. He is the first child of Fahda bint Falah ibn Sultan al-Hithlayan, the third wife of the Saudi king. He has degree of bachelor of law. He is married to his relative princess Sarah bint Mashhur. They have four children – two boys and two girls. Since 2009 he held many important positions in government, in particular, was the governor of the province Riyadh. For several years he was his father's counsellor who was the crown prince during that period. When his father, prince Salman, became king,

29-year-old prince of MBS was appointed the Secretary of Defense (by that time he was the youngest Secretary of Defense in the world) and the Secretary General of the Royal Court.

The brilliant career of the young prince (he became the successor of the throne being 31, and his predecessor was 26 years older than he) drew attention of the international press to him. The attitude towards him within the dynasty is not well-defined. Appointing of MBS the crown prince means a distance from the throne for some prince s. In fact it was designated the refusal of the traditional principle of inheritance of power in the kingdom.

So fast eminence of the beloved son of the king can be explained by the fact that his father, the king of Saudi Arabia Salman was 82 years old, he had a stroke and difficult spinal surgery. It was rumoured that doctors found Alzheimer's disease and dementia.

In 2016, having become the head of the Economic and Development Council, MBS presented the new strategy of state development "Vision 2030." The key purpose of the strategy is – refusal of oil dependence that has to turn the kingdom into one of the most modern economies of the world. Thus, the prince suggested to rid the nation of an image of a medieval state. It is natural that attempts of reforming of the kingdom can arouse opposition of the clergy and the army. Just for this purpose, the prince concentrated the army and all key economic and financial leverages in his hands. In autumn 2017 the prince became the head of anti-corruption, where he was the initiator of its creation. The decision to create this committee appeared after the trip of the prince to the USA and the beginning of his friendship with Jared Kouchner, Trump's son-in-law.

MBS was in the USA in March, 2017. Within 2 weeks he visited 6 cities and several large enterprises. It was important for the prince to earn support from the USA in execution of modernization plans of the country's political system. Also, there were discussed joint actions against Iran's influence in the region

and also economic projects in which the USA can take part to the tune of 200 billion dollars. A year later, after MBS carried out a campaign against Saudi billionaires which aim was a whip-round for realization of his strategy "Vision 2030," he visited the USA again. Now his main goal was to convince the American investors that stern measures taken against the Saudi billionaires could not be undertaken against foreigners.

"Hashugdzhi case" short sell MBS

The ambitious prince did not get used to consult somebody's pleasure. Many consider the program of transformation of the kingdom dilettant. Experts pay attention that it doesn't have any expert basis. However, the prince shows unstinting conviction in its realization.

A series of events which took place in the kingdom recently – an execution of the Shiite religious authority Nimr an-Nimr, opposing confessional discrimination and oppressions of Shiites in Saudi Arabia (January, 2016), participation of Saudi Arabia military operations in Yemen and also murder of the oppositional journalist Gamal Hashugdzhi, the western media consider an initiative of the prince. The fact is that the journalist fell into disgrace after he moved to the USA in 2017 and, being an observer of The Washington Post, began to criticize the policy of Riyadh. It is natural that the prince didn't like it.

The incident reflected upon the dynasty. Later there was a version that in private correspondence the journalist called the prince "an animal which the more victims it eats, the more it wants." Moreover, in the letter to the Saudi oppositionist Omar Abdulaziz, Hashugdzhi supposedly said that he was going to publish data on use of chemical weapons in Yemen by the Saudi army.

Response of the countries of the Middle East to Hashugdzhi's murder was complex. Turkey was filled with indignation at that it was committed in its territory. The most hostile criticism sounded in media of Qatar which is in conflict

with the Saudi kingdom not the first year. The Al Jazeera TV channel reported that among the Saudi prince s there was a discontented group who want to demand from the king to give up power and to deprive prince Mohammad of the status of the crown prince. Information was confirmed by the Reuters agency on November 20, 2018.

Antagonism against Mohammad bin Salman by other prince s of the dynasty began to be formed even before Hashugdzhi's murder. The matter is that, having become almost actual governor at his aging father, the crown prince organized "an anti-corruption campaign" during which 11 princes and several dozens of the high-ranking officials were arrested and placed in the Ritz-Carlton hotel under the supervision of task force. Subsequently MBS himself told that thus he managed to return \$100 billion to treasury of the kingdom. In particular, one of the arrested prince s (the richest of them) Waleed ibn Talal was forced to give back 6 billion dollars for his release.

Implementation of the ambitious project "VISION 2030" needed money, author of which is MBS. As we noted above, the idea of refusal of oil as exclusive source of revenues of the state is the cornerstone of the project. The oil dependence is supposed to be liquidated by 2020, and earnings from not oil industries have to be increased by 6 times and reach 267 billion dollars. In the program there are 80 economic projects are specified to the tune of 23.7 billion dollars in the spheres which are not connected with oil development and oil processing.

Hashugdzhi's murder caused indignation around the world. Assumed involvement of the prince in the journalist's murder and also discontent with his actions concerning arrested princes and rich Saudis, pushes opposition (including in the dynasty) to a plot against the prince. According to the messages of Qatar channel "Al-Jazeera," there were rumors that it was necessary to persuade the king to resign. It was said that prince Ahmed, brother of the king who recently came back from abroad could take his place.

However, it is unlikely that opposition minded prince s will manage to oppose the present heir of the throne Mohammad bin Salman as practically all reins of government are concentrated in his hands. In any case it will not occur while his father king Salman bin Abdel Aziz As Saud is alive.

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TATIANA CHIZHIKOVA. HISTORY OF THE INITIATION OF MOSLEMS MIGRATION TO EUROPE SINCE THE 1960s // *The article was written for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World."*

Keywords: migration, Moslems, Europe, generations, labor force, international migrants, integration, migration exchange, emigration.

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Abstract. The article dwells on development of the migration situation in Europe, covering, in connection with historical events, the period since 1960. The situation in Europe and at the present stage is given for comparison.