

iran-summons-turkish-envoy-over-erdogans-separatist-statements-in-azerbaijan-1081428856.html (date of access: 08.01.2023).

50. Erdogan's words brought the Iranians to the street. Protest at the Turkish Consulate in Tabriz // Sputnik. – 12/12/2020. <https://ru.armeniasputnik.am/20201212/Irantsy-protestuyut-u-konsulstva-Turtsii-v-Tebrize-25728104.html> (date of access: 13.01.2023).

Received: 23.12.2022.

Accepted for publication: 11.01.2023.

OLGA BIBIKOVA. "NON-CITIZENS" IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE ARABIAN PENINSULA

Keywords: bidoons; non-citizens; stateless persons; migrant workers; naturalization; deportation; Jus soli; Jus sanguinis.

Olga Bibikova,
PhD(Hist.), Senior Research Associate,
Publishing Department of the Journals
"Rossiya i Musulmanskii Mir" &
"Russia and the Moslem World",
INION RAN,
e-mail: olbibikova@mail.ru

Citation: Bibikova O. "Non-Citizens" in the Countries of the Arabian Peninsula // Russia and the Moslem World, 2023, № 3 (321), P. 71-89. DOI: 10.31249/rmw/2023.03.06

Abstract. The countries of the Arabian Peninsula are young states in which the measures forming state institutions (drawing borders, population census, legislative acts, etc.) have not yet been fully implemented. Huge revenues from the extraction and sale of oil and gas allow the rulers of these states to hire labor abroad, multiplying their wealth at their expense. These funds allow a part of the indigenous population with political rights to lead a rentier lifestyle without participating in economic life. At the same time, there is a separate

category of the indigenous population ("non-citizens") who, being local natives, do not have civil rights. Obtaining citizenship for them is complicated by conditions, difficult of accomplishment.

The word "non-citizens" entered the Russian everyday lexicon recently, after the law "The status of citizens of the former USSR who do not have either Latvian or other citizenship" was adopted in Latvia. At the same time, even those who were born in this country can fall into this category. In Latvia, almost a third of the population - about 700 thousand Russian speakers - received the status of "non-citizens". Russian-speaking residents of the country were deprived of voting rights, excluded from privatization programs, the Russian language and education in it were eradicated.¹ However, it turned out that in other countries there is also a similar category of the population.

In 2006, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees presented a report according to which the problems of non-citizens affect 3 per cent of the world's population or 175 million people.²

According to the generally accepted definition, "citizenship is a legal relationship between a person and the state, expressed in the totality of their mutual rights, duties and responsibilities."³

In 1954, the UN adopted the Convention on the Status of non-citizens (otherwise stateless persons) - Conventions des Nations Unies sur l'apatridie, which established the minimum standards for relations between the state and this category of persons, but only 66 countries signed it. The Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness - Convention sur la réduction des cas d'apatridie (1961) was signed by even fewer - 38 states. What is it connected with? With unwillingness to take responsibility and expenses for the care of these people. As of September 2018, only 75 states have ratified the convention.⁴

The category of non-citizens primarily includes refugees. Let us immediately note the closeness of the concepts of refugees and migrants. According to the UN documents (Convention 1951⁵), refugees (from the word *refuge*, (asylum)) are persons who

have left their country due to extraordinary circumstances. Saving their lives, they cross only one border. If a refugee continues on his way, then he is already a migrant – political or economic. That is, if a person moved to another country based on economic interests, and not as a result of some cataclysms that threaten his life, or political views, then he is an economic migrant. Otherwise, if he claims the status of a political refugee, he must provide evidence that he is persecuted in his country for political reasons. In any case, obtaining the citizenship of a new country takes time, and a person within a certain period receives the status of non-citizens (the category of “citizenship seekers”). This explains the behavior of those who started in Turkey in 2015 and, in an effort to obtain refugee status in Germany, Sweden or the UK, crossed several borders. Non-citizens can conditionally include refugees, migrants, guest workers. But of particular interest is the situation of people who do not have citizenship in the country where they were born. Anticipating our analysis, we note that non-citizenship (or statelessness) often arises as a result of the deliberate actions of governments seeking, for various reasons, to ignore a part of the inhabitants, not counting them in the population census, although they have the right to residence and legal protection in the country.

Statelessness can be inherited, despite the fact that the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights explicitly provide that children have the right to acquire a nationality. Most often this happens in countries where citizenship is determined “by blood”.

There are two types of citizenship: “by soil” – *Jus soli* (for example, in the US, citizenship determines the place of birth) or “by blood” – *Jus sanguinis*, that is, by the citizenship of parents. Most often by the citizenship of the father (Syria and Lebanon). It is also allowed by the citizenship of both or one of the parents (Turkey, Russia). The list of countries that have not signed the convention, but where there is a problem of statelessness, includes the following Arab countries: Saudi Arabia, Bahrain,

UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq and Syria. There are still hostilities in Syria and Iraq, so there are no reliable data on the number of non-citizens.

In Arab countries, such people are called BIDOON. “*Bidoon*” is short for جنسية بدون (bidūn jinsiyya), which means stateless in Arabic. Traditionally, only the first part of this expression is used – “*bidoon*”, consisting of two prepositions “*bi*” – with and “*dun*” – without. That is, those who do not have citizenship.

Arabian Monarchies

Kuwait

This country has the largest number of non-citizens in the Arabian Peninsula. Most of them belong to the northern tribes, mainly to the Al-Muntafiq tribal confederation. Even before gaining independence, in 1959, the emirate passed the “Citizenship Law”, which required the applicant for citizenship to confirm their permanent residence in the emirate as of 1920. These people received citizenship of the first degree. Those who could prove their continued residence in the country (from 1945 for Arabs or from 1930 for non-Arabs) were granted second-degree citizenship, without political rights.

Between 1959 and 1965 four citizenship committees were set up to decide on granting citizenship. At that time, oral evidence from respected people was allowed. However, they were subjective in nature, which is why the procedure was delayed. In addition, the Bedouins living in the desert were not aware of the possibility of citizenship in advance or did not realize its importance. Thus, for a part of the population of Kuwait, the issue of citizenship has not yet been resolved.

According to the law, “native Kuwaitis” (أصيل / pl. ناصيل) are the descendants of persons who have permanently resided in Kuwait since 1899. The Kuwaiti authorities take advantage of this

circumstance, arguing that the tribes arrived in Kuwait too late, and do not take into account the fact that during that period there was no special campaign to involve the non-settled population in the population census. Indeed, at that time there were not even clearly defined borders between states. The Kuwaiti-Saudi border was finally established in its current position only in 1965.⁶

At the same time, the *bidoons* were asked to join the armed forces, police and security services. The fact is that there were not enough native Kuwaitis to work at the lower levels of these structures. The military did not allow the recruitment of foreigners, so Kuwait preferred to recruit people whose citizenship applications were pending.

Until 1986, these people still hoped to obtain citizenship. However, on December 29, 1986, a secret document was signed, which later, in 2003, was published by the opposition Kuwaiti newspaper Al-Talia (Vanguard). It reclassified the *bidoons* as “illegal residents”, implying the loss of even the benefits they enjoyed while their status remained uncertain. Characteristically, the authorities have never refuted it.

The reasons for passing this law were related to the economy: low oil prices, the consequences of the Iran-Iraq war (1980–1988) and the population displacement caused by it.

Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait in 1990 exacerbated the situation of applicants for Kuwaiti citizenship, since it was from among the *bidoons* that the army was formed. As you know, the Kuwaiti army was defeated, and the country was saved from occupation by the Iraqi army by an international coalition.

After the war in Kuwait, a campaign was launched against the military and, in particular, against the *bidoons*, who were called “traitors”. Their loyalty to the ruling dynasty was questioned. Together with them, the Palestinians were also ostracized, and as a result were deported from the country. The latter is explained by the fact that, starting the invasion of Kuwait, S. Hussein said that he was fighting for justice, trying to return the lands that were once part of Iraq, and his second goal

was to liberate the Palestinian lands occupied by Israel with the help of Kuwaiti money. "Arab Street" was on the side of Baghdad. Therefore, after the end of hostilities, the Palestinians were massively deported from Kuwait.

Obtaining Kuwaiti citizenship is extremely difficult. After the war with Iraq, in order to make up for the loss of the population (primarily male), the government invited its people to return to the old tradition – polygamy. At the same time, special courses were created for widows who agreed to become a second or third wife ... In addition, the government invited young people from related tribes (even from Iraq) to the country, offering them a special program that precedes entry into Kuwaiti society.

According to Claire Beaugrand,⁷ the number of *bidoons* in Kuwait reaches 100 thousand, which, as of 2020, is almost per cent of the indigenous population of the country.⁸ The official policy of the government is to try to force the *bidoons* to confess their foreign / non-Kuwaiti ancestry. Such a solution to such a painful issue practically removes responsibility from the state for the fate of these people. However, the consequences of such a decision are not predictable.

Within Kuwaiti society there is no consensus on the current situation. There are those who believe that there is a historical injustice towards the *bidoons*, others categorically do not even want to discuss this problem.

Qatar

With a small territory (11 thousand km²), Qatar is one of the richest countries in the world. Qatar is home to about 2.9 million people, but only 10 per cent are indigenous citizens of the country. It is they who are subject to high salaries (USD 10 000), high pensions, free medical care and education (including abroad), no income tax, financial support for newlyweds, subsidies for housing and communal services, as well as numerous payments on the occasion of various holidays.

The source of this country's wealth is one of the world's largest natural gas deposits North Field. According to OPEC Statistical Bulletin for 2021 Qatar's proven natural gas reserves account for 12 per cent of the world's total reserves; it ranks third in the world after Russia and Iran.⁹ For the end of 2020 its proved reserves were estimated at 23,831 billion cubic meters.¹⁰

This circumstance allows Qataris to hire labor abroad, since indigenous Qataris can easily afford not to engage in heavy or unskilled work, preferring managerial positions or private businesses. As for foreign workers, they receive low wages and perform their work sometimes at temperatures exceeding 40 degrees Celsius. Many NGOs describe this situation as modern slavery.¹¹

Qatari citizenship is determined solely by the origin of the father, who holds a Qatari passport. It is possible to acquire citizenship by investment, but such cases are extremely rare. At the same time, citizens of countries that are members of the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Persian Gulf (GCC)¹² can stay in Qatar for indefinite time.

The country has its own *bidoons*. In 2004, the Emir's decision revoked the Qatari citizenship of the Al-Ghufran tribe. The fact is that the father of Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani, the current emir, organized a coup, overthrowing his father. The al-Ghufran tribe expressed dissatisfaction, for which it was punished – its members were deported to the border with Saudi Arabia. Protest demonstrations in the country and abroad did not bring results. The Emir of Qatar claimed that during the deportation, members of the tribe received citizenship of a neighboring state – the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA).¹⁴ Since then, representatives of the al-Ghufran tribe in their native homeland are undesirable. The reason for such negativism is, as noted by the Russian researcher A.R. Aganin "tribalism, which is still a very important aspect of relations between indigenous Qataris, and tribal ties that are invisible to an outsider sometimes play a major role in shaping Qatar's domestic and foreign policy."¹⁵

United Arab Emirates

The UAE economy is the second largest after Saudi Arabia among the Gulf countries. It has huge oil and gas reserves, as well as a large consumer market. This allows the indigenous population to live quite well, especially since the country has developed a social support system for indigenous people.¹⁶

The sponsorship system is *kafala* widely used here, which fact makes it possible to control the foreign labor market. The essence of the system is that a foreigner receives a work permit from a specific employer who is responsible for the foreign worker. Despite the fact that the right of a foreigner for residence and work permit is justified by Federal Law (No. 6 of 1973), a guest worker is not protected from the arbitrariness of the employer. Moreover, it is almost impossible for an employee to contact their guardian (*kafil*) in case of a conflict.

This system, which is often called a euphemism, as an essential element of economic life, provides income and security for citizens, real rent. The World Trade Organization (WTO) condemns this practice, as it contradicts the freedom of movement of people and capital and is a source of human exploitation.

The UAE ranks among the first in the world in terms of employing foreign workers. As of 2013, guest workers accounted for up to 80 per cent of the country's population.¹⁷ Most foreign migrant workers come from Asian countries such as India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan.¹⁸ Some of the technical specialists, as well as doctors, came from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. Highly qualified specialists from Europe and the US also work here.

The vast majority of expats working in the Persian Gulf countries, are people from Asia. Natives of India make up more than half of the population of the United Arab Emirates: 1.7 million of the approximately 3 million immigrants living in these small states. They are followed by Pakistanis, Iranians, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis, Nepalese and Filipinos.

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic that broke out in 2020, many migrants in Dubai you lost your jobs. Some businessmen took advantage of the situation to break their contracts. Many workers lost their homes, huddled on the streets and with great difficulty returned to their homeland.

Foreign workers are the most vulnerable category of the population. They cannot obtain UAE citizenship, but they can lose their right to work at any time. However, the UAE government has introduced exemptions for foreigners who want to become a citizen of this country. However, to do this, they must own real estate or make investments in the country's economy. The minimum investment amount is 1 million dirhams (20 million 550 thousand rubles). People in high-demand professions – doctors, engineers, scientists, etc. – they can also apply for an Emirati passport, but for this they (having 10 years of work experience in the UAE) must prove their professional level, including the presence of international diplomas and awards.

It seems that this new naturalization procedure was introduced exclusively for human rights organizations, which have long criticized the Governments of Arab States for having a large number of non-citizens in their countries.

Obtaining UAE citizenship is very difficult. It should be borne in mind that the State of the United Arab Emirates was established on December 2, 1971, when the rulers of six emirates signed an agreement on the creation of a federation. Three months later, the 7th Emirate, Ras Al Khaimah, joined the agreement. The legislation of each emirate has its own conditions for those who wish to obtain citizenship. In fact, even a child born to a mother who is a citizen of the United Arab Emirates cannot expect to receive a UAE passport. The exception is for the children whose father holds a passport of one of the emirates.

The backbone of UAE citizens is made up of natives of local tribes, almost all of whom know their origin. In addition to them, citizenship was granted to those who managed to take root here

before the 1930s – for example, Hindus who are engaged in the pearl trade.

As for the Bedouins belonging to different tribes, there are still some *bidoons* among them. In the federal Law on Citizenship and Passports of the United Arab Emirates (1972), it is stated that any Arab has the right to receive the following documents: UAE citizenship, if his ancestor lived in this territory before 1925. It remains only to prove that his father or grandfather really lived in one of the emirates that later became part of the UAE. Naturally, in modern conditions, it is necessary to document the presence of ancestors who lived in the country before 1925 quite difficult.

The key role in solving this problem is played by *nasab* – a noble genealogy of the tribe and its members that you need to know by heart. Traditionally, the names of most indigenous people in the UAE include the name of the tribe: for example, “Ahbabi”, that is, originating from the genus “Ahabab”. Sometimes the name has a more complex construction: Al Bu-Shamis. In this case, “Bu” or “bani” can be translated as “son or descendant” of a distant ancestor, for example, Bani Yas, Bani Hamad, Bani Kaab.

Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) has also established a hard-to-prove date of 1332 AD = 1914 for applicants for citizenship of the Kingdom. The total population of the Kingdom is 36 million. Non-citizens / *bidoons* in the country, numbers to about 25 per cent. Foreigners in the country account for approximately 55–60 per cent of the employed¹⁹, which is less than in neighboring countries. The Kingdom began to restore order in the field of attracting foreign labor earlier than its neighbors. However, researchers believe that the available statistics do not reflect the actual situation, because there are many illegal immigrants in the country, despite periodic deportations.

The Saudis do not publish data on the number of foreign workers and specialists. But the problem will soon arise, as the country's population is growing slowly. As a result of advances in health care, the population explosion is being replaced by a reduction in the birth rate. The country's fertility rate has fallen, from about seven children per woman in the 20th century to 2.4 in 2016.

Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS), who became Prime Minister on September 22, 2022, decided to reduce the number of foreigners working, including those in administrative positions. For this purpose, a plan was prepared for the "Saudization" of personnel. However, the implementation of this plan is progressing extremely slowly. The fact is that with the existing quality of education, where the theological sciences are in the first place, former Bedouins cannot quickly replace qualified foreigners.²⁰ Probably, it was the understanding of the impossibility of quickly replacing foreigners with their own national cadres that influenced the fact that the procedure for obtaining a Saudi passport is more liberal than in other countries.

Thus, children born in a mixed marriage – to foreign women and a Saudi citizen – are eligible for citizenship of the Kingdom. A child born in Saudi Arabia to a non-Saudi father and a Saudi mother and who has reached the age of majority is also eligible for a Saudi passport if the following conditions are met: they must have permanent residence in the Kingdom, be fluent in Arabic, and prove that the mother's grandfather was a Saudi. But in this case, to obtain citizenship, you must obtain a special document *al-mu'afaka* (الموافقة – approval, Arabic) from the highest authorities of the country (i.e. from the king). If a Saudi woman marries a foreigner, she loses her right to Saudi citizenship. However, if she divorces her foreign husband, she can restore it, provided that she returns to her homeland after the divorce.

The kingdom's authorities understand that the country lacks qualified personnel, so they are interested in attracting foreign specialists. A foreigner can apply for citizenship if they

meet the following conditions: you must be an adult who has lived continuously in the Kingdom for 10 years, has legal means of earning a living, has no criminal record, and speaks Arabic.²¹

There are tribes in the kingdom that still roam, crossing borders with neighboring states. At the end of the 18th century, Arab Bedouins forced Istanbul to pay them, allegedly for protecting caravans going to Mecca. In fact, this payment provided for the refusal of Bedouins from attacking and robbing the caravan. At the end of the 19th century many Bedouins began to adopt a semi-nomadic lifestyle. At the same time, territories were gradually assigned to individual tribes. Nevertheless, even today there are many tribes that prefer to lead a nomadic lifestyle, and which can be classified as *bidoons*.

Oman

The population of Oman is close to 7 million people, of which more than half a million are foreigners. Their number has increased markedly since the early 1990s. The share of foreigners in the total population of Oman is, of course, lower than the share in the labor force. However, the foreign labor force accounts for up to 40 per cent of the employed.²² This is due to the fact that the sultanate started oil production later than other states in the Arabian region, its reserves are not very large, and the overall level of technological development here is lower than in other GCC countries.

In ancient times, the peninsula became a major producer of incenses and maintained extensive trade with various states in Asia and Africa. That is why the country is home to a significant number of foreigners, mainly from India. Pakistan and Iran people who settled there before the spread of Islam. As a result, a special social climate was formed, characterized by full recognition of religious freedom.

After the pandemic COVID-19 the number of foreign workers (as of March 2021) has significantly decreased, which affects construction, real estate, services, and retail sales. In 2020,

due to the COVID-19 crisis and the oil shock, the government took measures to improve the economy. As a result, oil production in Oman increased by 10 per cent in 2022. As the country's oil reserves will soon be depleted, Oman is paying more attention to developing gas production. The new Sultan Haitham Bin Tariq Al-Said, who was elected after the death of Sultan Qaboos in 2020, announced that his policies will focus on reducing the national debt and creating jobs, especially for young people. According to some sources, the unemployment rate among 18-30-year-olds in Oman exceeds 20 per cent. In May 2021, there were riots in the country. To keep the situation under control, the authorities promised to take certain measures to create jobs in the public and private sectors and provide additional social benefits.²³

The fact is that 2/3 of the territory of Oman is occupied by deserts and dunes, where there are few water sources and no vegetation. On the outskirts of the Rub al-Khali desert, which is not suitable for farming, you can only breed camels. Nevertheless, people have invented a kind of irrigation system *falaj*,²⁴ which turn small oases into gardens. Water from underground sources under the influence of gravity is sent to long distances, providing agriculture and household needs. The mountain Bedouin economy, based on a semi-sedentary existence, focuses on raising sheep that produce milk, meat, wool, and leather. The country also has Bedouin fishermen who live on the coast of Eastern Arabia, where the sea basin is very deep, but close to the coast. Millions of sardines pass through it at certain times of the year. The Government of Oman is trying to organize permanent settlements of local Bedouins in order to create a center for the production of canned fish, but meets with resistance. The reason is that from June to October the area is experiencing a storm and strong winds. And then the locals go to the oasis of Bilad Bani Bu Hasan inland to collect dates. This circumstance does not allow them to finally decide on their place of residence. Explaining this behavior, some experts believe that

this is the result of the distrust that Bedouins feel towards the authorities. It is well known that the local Bedouins prefer to distance themselves from the inhabitants of the cities, reflecting the ancient Bedouin skepticism towards the settled Arabs, who were contemptuously called "Felhi". We also recall that slavery in this country was abolished only in 1960. Naturally, at this level of development, the issue of citizenship is not a matter of principle.

The citizenship of Oman is recognized for everyone who was born here, regardless of the citizenship of their parents.²⁵ Such liberalism corresponds to the mentality of not only Arabs, but also foreigners who live in this country. We can say that corporate culture is present here, and it is unique in its kind, representing a mixture of Arab culture and the culture of newcomers (Western and Asian), since the country has always had a large number of foreign workers.

Bahrain

The situation in Bahrain is quite different from other countries in the region due to the fact that the state has practically stopped oil production, which has led to a reduction in the foreign labor force in the oil sector. In addition, the procedure for naturalization of foreigners has been simplified here, which allowed some immigrants to obtain Bahraini citizenship.

Bahrain is a small kingdom with a population of 1.3 million people, of which up to 70 per cent of the population professes Shiism. The ruling Al-Khalifa dynasty and its supporting tribes belong to the Maliki madhhab of Sunnism. Key posts, as well as the leadership of law enforcement agencies, are given exclusively to representatives of the Khalifa tribe, which professes Sunnism. According to the Ministry of Labor, only 156,000 Bahrainis were registered as working in 2015 compared to 538.5 thousand foreigners.²⁶

In 2011, anti-government protests called the "Arab Spring" that engulfed Arab States, demonstrations in the country sparked

demanding greater political freedom.²⁷ A month later, at the request of the government, Saudi troops were brought into the country. The protest was suppressed on March 15, 2011 as a result of the simultaneous intervention of the Bahraini security forces and Saudi troops under the cover of the GCC's Gulf Shield forces²⁸.

In the end, King Hamad promised the citizens of the country to pay 1000 dinars (approx. 80k rubles) rubles) for each family. Naturally, non-citizens were not entitled to this amount. However, the events of 2011 showed that the authorities, stigmatizing Shiites, radicalized the Sunni population and created prerequisites for new protests.

Among the Bedouin tribes living in the kingdom, there are Sunnis and Shiites. The latter are not considered trustworthy in the countries of the Arabian Peninsula, as devout Shiites almost annually make pilgrimages to the holy places of Shiism located in Iran and Iraq. Amid the long-running rivalry between the Saudi Kingdom and Iran, Shiites are often harassed. In 2011, authorities took advantage of anti-Government protests to destroy 43 Shiite mosques and places of worship.²⁹ Later, the Minister of Justice of the kingdom said that only those buildings were demolished, which were built without permission.

It is known that the government is trying to patronize Sunnis, facilitating their naturalization process. The number of non-citizens in the country is not known, as the authorities do not publish demographic data.

Non-citizens in the country are mostly descendants of Iranians who have lived in the country since ancient times. In addition to Shia Moslems, there are also Christians. All non-citizens are deprived of many rights: they are denied the right to legal residence, are not allowed to travel abroad, buy homes, or hold public office. They are also not allowed to own land, start businesses, or take out bank loans. The Bahraini Government recently issued regulations prohibiting them from sending their children to public schools and receiving free medical care. Stateless persons can also be deported at any time. The Bahraini

government is known to have deported hundreds of Bidoons to Iran since the early 1980s.³⁰

The right to Bahraini citizenship is regulated by the Citizenship Act of 16.09.1963. Foreigners rarely obtain Bahraini citizenship. Only the King has discretion to grant and select Bahraini citizenship. In particular, since 2011, the Bahraini Government has revoked the citizenship of about 1,000 prominent opposition figures and activists. A child born to a Bahraini father becomes a citizen of the Kingdom, regardless of the nationality of the mother and the place of birth. The child of a Bahraini mother and a foreign father is not eligible for Bahraini citizenship.³¹

* * *

Thus, the problem of non-citizens in the Arabian monarchies is a painful issue. In the context of the confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Iran, the authorities prevent the naturalization of Shiites.

In a number of countries, there is a tendency to reduce foreign personnel and replace them with national ones. However, to implement this reform, it is necessary, first of all, to review the education system in order to instill labor skills in the indigenous population, and to create training centers for training personnel.

Another problem is finding out the ethnic and state affiliation of some Bedouin tribes. They still exist in almost all Arab countries. It is obvious that nomadic tribes cannot be eradicated, so it is necessary to create conditions for them under which young people can abandon the tradition and acquire a settled profession. Naturally, where tribal traditions, an important tool for mobilizing and controlling large human communities, are dominant, it is important to reduce the impact of tribalism, which is now seen as an obstacle for public projects, including solving the problem of non-citizenship in a particular country.

Notes

1. On WWW.KP.RU: <https://www.kp.ru/daily/27472/4678300/> / (date of access: 24.12.2022).
2. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – Wikipedia//https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Management_The_Supreme_commissar_un_po_delam_bezhentsev (date of access: 24.12.2022).
3. Citizenship – Wikipedia// <https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizenship> (date of access: 24.12.2022).
4. There are about 50 thousand stateless people living on the territory of the RF, who are really deprived of most of the fundamental human rights. See: 50 years of the Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness // <https://helier59.livejournal.com/103488.html> (date of access: 12.01.2023).
5. Adopted on July 28, 1951 by the Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, convened in accordance with General Assembly resolution 429 (V) of December 14, 1950. UN documents provide for some rights for those who are considered refugees, migrants do not have such rights. Refugees are protected from deportation or return to situations that may threaten their lives. They should have access to social services and integrate into the society of their new country. Migrants are subject to the immigration laws and procedures of the country and can be expelled or deported back to their homeland.
6. Border between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia – Wikipedia // https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.5145a762-63c819f2-e8fca14b-74722d776562/https/en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwait-Saudi_Arabia_border (date of access: 11.01.2023).
7. Claire Beaugrand is the author of the book “Apatrides dans le golfe Persique: migration, nationalité et société au Koweït” – “Stateless persons in the Persian Gulf: migration, nationality and Society in Kuwait” (2018).
8. Entretien avec Claire Beaugrand – La «question bidūn» au Koweït. 2.09.2022//<https://www.lesclesdumoyenorient.com/Entretien-avec-Claire-Beaugrand-La-question-bidun-au-Koweit.html> (date of access: 13.02.2023).
9. Qatar’s oil and gas industry and its share in OPEC in figures – TASS // <https://tass.ru/info/5864787> (date of access: 13.02.2023).
10. Rating of countries by gas reserves and production: Russia’s place in the list // <https://top-rf.ru/places/109-rejting-stran-gaz.html> (date of access: 02/24/2023).
11. According to a survey published by The Guardian, at least 6,751 immigrants reportedly died in Qatar between 2010 and 2020, which is almost two deaths per day for ten years // Cit. by: Qatar: au moins 6 750 travailleurs étrangers sont morts ces dix dernières années // <https://www.liberation.fr/international/>

- moyen-orient/qatar-au-moins-6-750-travailleurs-etranagers-sont-morts-ces-dix-dernieres-annees-0210223_UTURZYPYRVDYTGSRMLHY4CJA3Q/
12. In the Arab countries, the name of the organization has been corrected, since the Persian Gulf is called "Arab Gulf".
 13. Khalifa bin Hamad Al Thani was dethroned in 1995 by his son Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani.
 14. Shmeleva T. Activation of the tribal factor and internal opposition in Qatar. 09/25/2018 // <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=48104> (date of access: 02/13/2023).
 15. Cit. Quoted from: Shmeleva T. Activation of the tribal factor and internal opposition in Qatar. 09/25/2018 // <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=48104> (date of access: 13.02.2023).
 16. The authorities stimulate the birth rate of the indigenous population with financial payments. At the birth of a child, the father is paid \$60,000. In addition, a land plot is transferred to the family's ownership. Any citizen of the UAE has the right to receive a grant for studying abroad, etc. (see Lowing in the backyard of someone else's paradise - how do migrants live in Dubai? // <https://dzen.ru/a/YDqQD0m05yiQQnH6>) (date of access: 12.02.2023).
 17. Migrant workers in the United Arab Emirates // https://en.zahn-info-portal.de/wiki/Migrant_workers_in_the_United_Arab_Emirates (date of access: 13.02.2023).
 18. Migrant workers in the United Arab Emirates - abcdef.wiki // https://ru.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Migrant_workers_in_the_United_Arab_Emirates (date of access: 14.02.2023).
 19. Mazein N. Foreign labor force in the Persian Gulf: countries that ceased to be Arab // Journal "Geography" No. 11/2003// <https://geo.1sept.ru/article.php?ID=2003011102> (date of access: 02.02.2023).
 20. It is interesting to note the failure in the attempt to replace jewelry dealers. This area of trade in the kingdom is very profitable, as a native Saudi buys up to 1.5 kg of gold items a year. Traditionally, Mediterranean Arabs with connections with European suppliers worked in KSA jewelry stores. It was not possible to replace them with representatives of the indigenous population who have no experience in working with precious metals.
 21. Saudi Arabian Nationality Law // https://ru.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Saudi_Arabian_nationality_law (date of access: 13.02.2023).
 22. Oman is a Persian fairy tale where oil will soon run out | Fingramota / Fingramota.org // https://dzen.ru/a/YG0zHHwT_zE_ErCh (date of access: 13.02.2023).
 23. Etudes economiques et risque de pays: Oman // <https://www.coface.com/fr/Etudes-economiques-et-risque-pays/Oman> (date of access: 13.02.2023).
 24. UNESCO appreciated the special ability of the people of Oman to create such irrigation systems. In 2006, the Aflaj were recognized as World Heritage No. 1207.

-
25. Omani nationality law - abcdef.wiki // https://fr.abcdef.wiki/wiki/Omani_nationality_law (date of access: 05.03.2023).
 26. Bahrain is trying to get rid of foreign workers in an attempt to revive the economy | Middle East Eye // https://translated.turbopages.org/proxy_u/en-ru.ru.055a62b5-6403357a-b1c16871-74722d776562/ <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/bahrain-moves-shed-foreign-workers-bid-revive-economy> (date of access: 05.03.2023).
 27. Anti-government protests flared up again in 2012 and 2016.
 28. Burdi J.-P. Un an après le 14 février 2011, chiïtes et sunnites au Bahreïn // <https://www.lesclesdumoyenorient.com/Un-an-apres-le-14-fevrier-2011-chiïtes-et-sunnites-au-Bahreïn> (date of access: 05.03.2023).
 29. According to Iranian sources, 52 mosques and more than 500 places of religious worship (mazars, tombs, husseins / places for mourning events /) were destroyed. In particular, the mosque of Mohammed al-Barbagi, built in the 16th century, was destroyed.
 30. Bahrain Human Rights Society | https://ru.wikibrief.org/wiki/Bahrain_Human_Rights_Society (date of access: 01.03.2023).
 31. Loi sur la nationalité bahreïnite // https://learnmore-formation.fr/wiki/Bahraini_nationality_law (date of access: 06.03.2023).

Received: 14.03.2023.

Accepted for publication: 28.03.2023.

ELENA DMITRIEVA, VALENTINA SCHENSNOVICH. PROBLEMS OF GRAIN SUPPLY TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE CONDITIONS OF SMO

Keywords: SMO in Ukraine; Western sanctions; grain supplies; developing countries; Lebanon; Egypt; Libya; Tunisia; Africa, Middle East; Southeast Asia; Latin America.

Elena Dmitrieva,
Senior Research Associate,
Publishing Department of the Journals
“Rossiya i Musulmanskii Mir” &
“Russia and the Moslem World”,
INION RAN,
e-mail: eldmi@list.ru