

УДК 316.74

Шиитская община как дискриминируемое меньшинство на Ближнем Востоке¹

А.В. Сальников*Южный федеральный университет, г. Ростов-на-Дону, Россия*

Аннотация. В статье анализируется современное состояние шиитских общин в странах Ближнего Востока в контексте их дискриминации со стороны властей. В большинстве стран этого региона проживают шиитские общины. Часто граждане шииты подвергаются репрессиям со стороны властей и рассматриваются в качестве «пятой колонны» Исламской Республики Иран. Первая часть статьи посвящена обзору взаимоотношений шиитской общины и властей в королевстве Саудовская Аравия, королевстве Бахрейн и Арабской Республике Египет, где зафиксированы наиболее жёсткие проявления репрессивных мер со стороны государства по отношению к своим гражданам шиитам. Во второй части описывается состояние шиитской общины в Кувейте и Объединённых Арабских Эмиратах, где репрессивные меры со стороны властей по отношению к гражданам шиитам выражены в более мягкой форме. В заключительной части статьи представляется авторская интерпретация влияния дискриминации шиитов в странах Ближнего Востока на ситуацию в регионе в целом.

Ключевые слова: дискриминация, шииты, Иран, Ближний Восток, арабские страны, ислам, межконфессиональные противоречия, ваххабиты.

Для цитирования: Сальников А.В. Шиитская община как дискриминируемое меньшинство на Ближнем Востоке // Caucasian Science Bridge. 2019. Т. 2. №3. С. 10-20.

The shiite community as a discriminated minority in the Middle East

Artem V. Salnikov*Southern Federal University, Rostov-on-Don, Russia*

Abstract. The article analyzes the current state of Shiite communities in the Middle East in the context of their discrimination by the authorities. Most countries in the region have Shia communities. Shia citizens are often subjected to repression by the authorities and are regarded as the "fifth column" of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The first part of the article is devoted to the review of the relations between the Shiite community and the authorities in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Kingdom of Bahrain and the Arab Republic of Egypt, where the most severe manifestations of repressive measures by the state against its citizens are recorded. The second part describes the state of the Shiite community in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, where repressive measures by the authorities against Shiite citizens are expressed in a milder form. In the final part of the article the author's interpretation of the impact of discrimination against Shiites in the Middle East on the situation in the region as a whole is presented.

Key words: discrimination, Shiites, Iran, Middle East, Arab countries, Islam, interfaith contradictions, Wahhabis.

For citation: Salnikov A.V. The shiite community as a discriminated minority in the Middle East// Caucasian Science Bridge. 2019. Vol. 2. №3. P. 10-20.

Introduction

The Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran ensured the growing influence on the activation of Shiite communities in other countries, primarily Arab, as well as on the political spread of Shiism. Sympathetic to the new regime, Shiites living in Arab countries first began to show solidarity with their co-religionists in Iran, and then began to claim infringement of their political rights and began to participate more decisively in public life. The leading position of Shiites in Iran and Iraq in political and economic processes, pushed Shiites in neighboring countries, primarily in Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, to become even more active, to demand representation in political and social issues, participation in the formation of national policies of their countries.

¹ Работа выполнена в рамках внутреннего гранта ЮФУ № ВнГр-07/2017-22 «Трансконфликтные регионы как феномен геополитической конкуренции: социальные риски и ресурсы адаптации к гуманитарным вызовам».

To date, in Muslim society, the dominant force remains adherents of Sunni Islam, and the share of Shiites in the Islamic Ummah is, according to various sources, from ten to twenty percent. But, despite the relative small number, the Shiites began to represent a serious political force, especially in the middle East.

Speaking about the discrimination of the Shiite community in the countries of the Middle East region, it must be said that the situation varies greatly in individual countries - in countries such as Oman, Qatar, Shiites are not subjected to repression by the state regime, while in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt - such tension is present on a more radical and massive scale. In a milder form, but discriminatory policy towards Shiites is manifested in countries such as Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

Bahrain

In the Kingdom of Bahrain, Shiites account for 65 to 75 per cent of the indigenous population, according to various estimates. However, in public positions, Shiites make up only 18%; in the interior Ministry and the army of Bahrain, Shiites are represented by 3%; the composition of the Royal court, the national guard, the national security service consists exclusively of Sunni Muslims; in ministries where the confessional factor is not so important, such as the Ministry of public works and housing or the Ministry of health, the glass ceiling principle also applies in appointing Shiites to leadership positions (*6 легенд о событиях ...*, 2014).

In Bahrain, the Shiites call themselves "Bahrani" and consider themselves native inhabitants of the territory, and the Sunnis are called "Arab", that is, Bedouins who came from the depths of the Arabian Peninsula.

The adopted state programs "Bahrain's National Youth Strategy" and "Bahrain's National Employment Project" included measures to limit the economic opportunities of the Shiite community and to provide economic and social benefits to the Sunnis. There is a special programme that provides financial support to young Sunnis who marry two or more women. Only Sunnis are provided with preferential business loans, tax incentives and various kinds of preferences.

The state supports labor migration of Sunnis from other countries. Migrant Sunnis when applying for a job has a substantial advantage over the local Shia. In addition, a migrant can obtain Bahraini citizenship under simplified rules. This is done in order to change and dilute the social structure of society.

This state of Affairs was opposed by the opposition. They insisted on equal rights for local Shiites and the abolition of simplified citizenship for migrants. At the same time, they expressed their loyalty to the king, whose power they did not think to encroach on. Demanding the resignation was only of the Cabinet of Ministers and uncle of king Khalifa bin Salman al Khalifa, who for 40 years held the post of Prime Minister. Also, the opposition demands were to strengthen the fight against corruption, hold early and fair parliamentary elections and release political prisoners. In response, representatives of the Cabinet of Ministers accused the opposition of trying to overthrow the current system.

The first unauthorized demonstrations in Bahrain began in February 2011. On February 14, demonstrations began in the Central Pearl square of the capital of Manama. On the same day, one of the protesters was killed by the police during the dispersal of the demonstrators. On 15 February, during the funeral of the victim, the authorities, which grew into a protest March, again intervened the police, and the second demonstrator was killed. On February 16, several thousand Shiites gathered in Pearl square and pitched a tent camp right next to the Pearl monument - the most recognizable symbol of Bahrain. The next day the town was demolished by the police, killing six people. On February 19, the Shiites again fill Pearl square. Negotiate they reject and again set up the tents. Basically, there are young

people who have neither work nor prospects. All are ready to become martyrs-shahids and perish. The authorities no longer risk dispersing the protesters – it is useless and undermines the prestige of Bahrain, which is considered a "Paradise for millionaires". It is the most luxurious and expensive resort in the world, and now it is losing customers and their money. Some Sunnis, who are outraged by the monstrous corruption reigning in the country, are beginning to join the protests. The relative calm lasted about a month. On March 14, Bahrain, at the request of the king, includes 1,000 Saudi soldiers and 500 police officers from the UAE. The German newspaper Die Welt commented: "the Saudi king protects his power in neighboring Bahrain. This is what the Saudis are trying to prevent, who chose to occupy Bahrain in order to prevent the reforms required by the Shiite rebels. After all, these reforms would inevitably affect the Shiite minority in Saudi Arabia." (В.Мясников, 2011). On the night of March 16, the Bahraini army with the support of military units of the Gulf States carried out a sweep of Pearl square. The protesters' camp, covered with barricades, was shelled with tear gas grenades and rubber bullets. Then in the course went batons and weapons of war. According to Bahraini human rights activist Nabeel Rajab, demonstrators were fired at with machine-gun fire from helicopters and tanks. At the same time, all hospitals were blocked by the troops, so it was impossible to provide medical assistance to the wounded. As a result, six people were killed and about 150 wounded. A lot of people are missing. They may have been arrested, but they may have been killed and their bodies hidden. The tent city of Sitra, in southern Bahrain, suffered the same brutal defeat. There the police and soldiers beat not only protesters, but also doctors on duty nearby. According to unofficial data, two people were killed in Sitra, more than a hundred were injured. On 17 March, the authorities announced a three-month state of emergency. A curfew has been imposed in some areas of Manama. The command of the armed forces received the authority to take any measures up to the use of weapons to kill to ensure security in the country. On the same day, the police detained 25 of the most active organizers of mass anti-government demonstrations and rallies. Was closed all schools, and at the same time the main stock exchange of country Bahrain Bourse. Massive Pearl monument, near which gathered protesters, the military destroyed, the wreckage was taken. On March 27, the king of Bahrain announced the disclosure of an anti-state conspiracy. So explained a series of arrests carried out after the introduction of Saudi troops. According to the monarch, the plot was prepared for 20-30 years. In this regard, Iranian diplomats were expelled from the country. It is noteworthy that the conspirators were mainly Shiite opposition. And the Shiites themselves strongly rejected the connection with the Iranian special services. Neither the king nor his special services have not presented any materials incriminating the conspirators.

In 2012, another arrest of a well-known human rights activist Nabil Rajab was the catalyst for new street unrest. On Friday, the streets of the Western outskirts of the capital manam again filled with burning barricades and clouds of tear gas - when suppressing opposition demonstrations, the police used tear gas and noise grenades.

In 2013, the Prosecutor's office of the capital of Manama issued a decision on the arrest of Khalil al-Marzuk, one of the leaders of al-Vifak, representing the interests of the Shiite majority. Because of this, the "dialogue of national accord", which aims to eliminate the consequences of the Shiite uprising in 2011, was threatened with failure. He was accused of "incitement to violence" and detained for 30 days in the case of "inciting terrorism". The indictment States: "In his speeches, al-Marzuk repeatedly called for violence and terrorism, justified crimes against peace in the country."

On March 24, 2014, Bahraini security forces attacked a Shiite mosque using tear gas for burial in a village near the capital of Manama.

The attack came after thousands of Shiite Bahrainis led by the opposition al-Bethak party closed the Budaya highway, which is the main link between the surrounding Shiite

villages and the capital. Protesters faced police who responded with tear gas and gasoline bombs (*Olivia Becker, 2014*).

On January 2, 2016, after the execution in Saudi Arabia of the authoritative Shiite theologian Nimr-ar-Nimr, protests resumed in the country. At a demonstration in the Shiite village of Abu Saiba, West of the capital, called for mass protests. Government forces severely suppressed Shia demonstrations and actions using tear gas against demonstrators (*Иране и Бахрейне ..., 2016*).

July 3, Shia protest against the authorities' decision to revoke the citizenship of an influential Shiite preacher, 'ISA Qasim. A crowd of people gathered at the home of Qasim in the Shiite village of Diraz West of stility to show their support for him (*Bahrain Revokes..., 2016*). Hundreds of people gathered at the rally. They burned tires and defiantly tore portraits of the king. When the police intervened, stones and Molotov cocktails flew in their direction (*Шииты в Бахрейне ..., 2016*).

In 2017, representatives of the Shiite majority took to the streets of Manama on the anniversary of the 2011 protests. Bahraini police use tear gas and rubber truncheons to suppress Shiite protests in Manama, it is known about the mass arrests of protesters (*Полиция Бахрейна ..., 2017*).

It is worth paying attention to one of the key features of the protest movement of the Shiite community in Bahrain - a reliance on peaceful, non-violent methods. This feature distinguishes the Shia protest movement in the Kingdom from other similar movements in other countries of the Middle East, where protests and demonstrations eventually turned into violent actions and created conditions for the formation of terrorist groups. As for the Bahraini authorities, from the very beginning of the protest movement, they sought to break it by any means possible - arrests, imprisonment, torture and deprivation of citizenship.

Saudi Arabia

Accurate information on the number of Shia communities in Saudi Arabia is not published. According to various estimates, Shiites make up 10 to 15% of the country's indigenous population (2-4 million people) (*Федуненко, 2016*). The ethnic composition of the Shiites is very diverse - in addition to the Saudi Arabs, some Shiites come from Iran, Yemen, India and Pakistan (*Федорченко, 2013*).

In Saudi Arabia, most Shiites live in the province of Nejran, which borders Yemen, a significant Shiite community is concentrated in Medina. The Shiite population of the Eastern province is compactly concentrated in the settlements of the oases of al-Hasa and al-Qatif. The specificity of the Eastern province, the branching ties of its Shiite population with the co-religionists of neighboring countries, the presence in its environment of a developed educated and entrepreneurial class - all this suggests that the Shiite issue in relation to Saudi Arabia concerns primarily this province. It produces 98% of the country's hydrocarbon raw materials, industrial production in the Eastern province provides 90% of the country's external revenues. The importance of this administrative unit in terms of both economy and national security is exceptional (*Косач, 2014*).

The researchers draw attention to the ambiguity and inconsistency of the status of Shiites in the Kingdom (*Логинов, 2003. С. 105*). The Sunni leadership fears that local Shiites may become conductors of Iran's interests in their country and destabilize the Kingdom's statehood.

Today, Shiites in Saudi Arabia are more limited than Shiites in other regions of the world. They are subjected to various repressions because of their belief in Shi'ism. This led to the fact that the Shiites have started to hide their religious beliefs for reasons of security. The Shiites of Saudi Arabia may not cost a Shiite mosque. In addition, many mosques and Hussein in the Shiite cities of the Kingdom destroyed. Shiites are forced to conduct their re-

religious rituals at home, not in public. The government does not officially recognize the Shia religious education centres, which are located in the Eastern province, does not finance them, does not recognize the education certificates of their graduates, and does not provide them with jobs. The government systematically denies the construction or registration of Shia community centres. Shia clerics are not even allowed to teach privately. It is for this reason that many of them go to study in Iran or Iraq, and then return to Saudi Arabia.

Discrimination against the Shiite community affects not only the confessional area, but also extends to other areas. In higher education, the government discriminates against Shiites in the selection of students, academic staff and Executive staff at public universities. For example, Shiites make up only 2 % of the professors of one of the main universities in al-Ahs, an area where more than 50% of the population is Shiites (*Saudi Arabia - Shia, 2016*). Shia students suffer from the fierce hostility of Wahhabi teachers, who constantly call them infidels and heretics. Universities of religious Sciences, such as the University of Mohammad Ben Saud or The Islamic University of Medina, encourage students who write dissertations against Shiites and their dissertations are published at the expense of the state. The situation in the Kingdom's schools is worse than in universities. Shia teachers and students are under constant pressure and pressure. In the classroom, Sunni teachers force students to call Shia kafirs (*Дискриминация и яркое ...*, 2015). There are special curricula in which ridiculed the Shia religious practices. Students are taught to punish Gentiles for other than the country's generally accepted religious beliefs.

There is also discrimination in the judicial sphere. The powers of the Shia courts are limited by the fact that any litigant who disagrees with the decision of the Shia court may apply to the Sunni court. Sunni judicial decisions have the right to completely invalidate decisions of Shiite judges, and government agencies have the right not to enforce decisions taken by Shiite courts.

The Shia community faces significant discrimination in employment in the public and private sectors. Only a small number of Shiites hold high positions in state-owned companies and government departments. Many Shiites believe that the open recognition of themselves as Shiites will have a negative impact on their career growth. In the public sector, Shiites are largely absent from posts related to national security, including the Ministry of defence and aviation, the National guard and the Ministry of the interior. Shiites are denied access to the army and military schools. Shiites are more represented in the ranks of the traffic police, municipalities and public schools in predominantly Shiite areas. There is no formal discrimination against the hiring and promotion of Shia in the private sector, however, in some companies that operate in the oil and petrochemical industries, there is a glass ceiling, and therefore even more highly qualified Shia workers cannot obtain management positions, unlike their less qualified Sunni counterparts.

In economic terms, the Shiites are considered the poorest residents of Saudi Arabia. They claim that they are deprived in the distribution of oil revenues. Media Kingdom completely ignore the presence of the Shiite problem. At the official level, this problem is also almost never addressed. At the same time, the Wahhabi community is actively discussing how loyal the Shiites are to the Saudi authorities (*Донцов, 2004. С.103*).

Shiites during the "Arab spring" held a number of mass protests, advocating for the improvement of their rights. However, these speeches were quickly and harshly suppressed by the authorities.

In January 2012, the police were ordered to disperse the Shiite demonstration in the small town of al-Awamiya in the Eastern province of the Kingdom. People came out to protest demanding to stop discrimination against Shiites, release political prisoners and carry out reforms. Soon the protest turned into a skirmish with the police, who opened fire on the crowd to kill. 3 people were wounded, 1 died from multiple bullet wounds (*В Саудовской*

Аравии ..., 2012). In July, mass Shia protests broke out in al-Qatif, in the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia, following the arrest by police of local spiritual leader Sheikh Nimr al-Nimr. In the growing clashes killed 2 people and 20 were injured (*Хайрутдинов*, 2012).

In 2014, as a result of the attack of armed people on the funeral procession of Shiites in the village of al-Dalyava in the Eastern province of Saudi Arabia, 5 people were killed, 9 more were received. According to Saudi police, three armed men on Monday evening fired machine guns at villagers as they left the building. At the same time, according to eyewitnesses, telling details in social networks, the attack on the villagers, where representatives of the Shiite minority live, was frankly religious in nature and occurred during the mourning ceremony of Ashur (the day of remembrance of Imam Hussein), when a group of people came out of Hussein (the place where the Shiites gather on the day of Ashur) (*Неизвестные расстреляли ...*, 2014). In the same year, it was reported that the Shiite Ayatollah Sheikh Nimr Bakir al-Nimr, who had been arrested a year earlier and criticized the Saudi regime and condemned discrimination on religious grounds, was sentenced to death. He was accused of anti-state activities. In August, actions were held in the al-Qatif region, participants of which demanded the release of al-Nimr and stop the repression against Shiites (*Saudis demand ...*, 2015).

In 2015, a Saudi Shia was sentenced to 2 months in prison and fined for hosting a group of several Shi'a pilgrims as guests (*Вышел доклад ...*, 2017).

On 2 January 2016, Riyadh announced the execution of 47 people convicted of terrorism and incitement to it. Among those executed was the Shiite preacher al-nimra, who was detained in Saudi Arabia in 2012 during protests in the East of the country (*Саудовская Аравия объявила ...*, 2016) and sentenced to death in 2014 after the Saudi court found him guilty (*Saudi Arabia: Prominent ...*, 2016). Executions caused unrest in a number of middle Eastern States, in particular in Iran. In Tehran, the demonstrators destroyed several premises of the Embassy of Saudi Arabia. Thousands of people took to the streets with slogans against the decision of the Saudi judiciary. A similar protest was held in Mashhad. There, the demonstrators tried to attack the Saudi Consulate, but were stopped by the police. A few days after the execution, there were protests in Katif, which were mostly peaceful, but there were gunfire from armored security vehicles (*Anger grows ...*, 2016).

In 2017, the Saudi authorities organized attacks on 6 Shiite mosques and religious buildings in the Eastern province and the city of Najran. More than 40 people were killed with impunity during those actions (*Инквизиция в Саудовской Аравии ...*, 2018). Since May, in the small town of al-Avamiya in the Eastern province of the Kingdom began fierce fighting between the Shiites and the Saudi security forces, which with great cruelty persecute the "terrorists". The city is under siege, surrounded by checkpoints. On 10 May, the bulldozers began the demolition of about 500 homes in the historic district of al-Mosavar (*Вайсфлог*, 2017). The center of the fighting, apparently, is al-Masor, the old quarter of the city. Heavy artillery was used in the fighting and at least 15 people were killed. Saudi authorities claim that Shiite militants used the narrow streets of the historical part Avaii, its dense housing as their shelters and emplacements (*В Саудовской Аравии ...*, 2017). After images of Canadian armored vehicles deployed against civilians became public, Ottawa began to consider stopping the sale of weapons to Saudi Arabia (*Matthias Von Hein*, 2017).

Thus, the Shia community of Saudi Arabia remains a discriminated minority whose political activity is severely suppressed by the ruling regime. The Sunni leadership of the country treats the Shiites as a risk group, a "fifth column" capable of destabilizing the Kingdom's statehood. The marginalization of the Shia minority has led to widespread protest movements, not all of which can be attributed to religious reasons or viewed as ideological ones. The deprivation of economic, social and economic opportunities is the main reason for the defensive reactions shown by the Shiite Muslims of Saudi Arabia.

Egypt

Shi'ism has a long pedigree in Egypt. Shiite Fatimids ruled Egypt for 200 years (969 - 1171) and formed its identity. About 90 % of Egyptians are Sunni Muslims, the number of Shiites in Egypt is estimated at 2.2 million people. The number of Shiite Egyptians remains a matter of dispute: there are no official records. Although some Shiite activists claim that their number exceeds 8 million (*Zeinab El-Gundy, 2013*).

Since the revolution of 25 January 2011, Egypt's religious identity has changed with the resurgence of tough Salafi groups and the ruling President of the Muslim Brotherhood. After the overthrow of President Mubarak, Shiite attempts at openness and political presence were met with Salafi threats. The leader of the Salafis, Mohammad El-Marakby, sharply rejected the intention of Egyptian Shiites to establish a political party and called upon other Muslims to fight this trend. He claimed that the Shiites in Egypt were trying to create a political party and a newspaper funded by Iran.

In September 2011, the Shiite minority of Egypt announced its intention to participate in the parliamentary elections scheduled for November, following in the footsteps of the Sunni Islamic movements, which reappeared in the political arena after the January uprising. Shiite leaders announced their intention to create a political party "Unity and freedom". "Since participation in politics has become a right for all Egyptians, we must also be represented in Parliament, like any other faction," said Ahmed al-Nafis, founder of the party of Unity and freedom. However, it is no wonder that Salafi leader Gamal al-Marakby rebuked members of the Shia community in Egypt in the intention to create a political party, declaring that Salafis will oppose this step.

In July 2012, a young Egyptian Shiite, Mohamed asfur, was sentenced to 3 years in prison for "insulting the companions of the prophet Mohammed", who are revered by Sunni Muslims. For the first time in Egyptian history, a Shia Muslim was imprisoned on this charge. The December report of the UN refugee Agency for 2012 highlighted the fact that Shiites are still unable to openly practice their religious rituals in Egypt. On November 25, 2012, Shiites were banned from entering the mosque to pray to Ashura. Some were even arrested. The authorities claim that the arrest was made because they did not have an identity card. They were interrogated, arrested and not allowed to participate in the event (*Shia Facing ..., 2012*).

In April 2013, the Ministry of foreign Affairs and civil aviation of Egypt established rules restricting the activities of Iranian tourists in Egypt, limiting them to places such as the ancient city of Luxor and resort areas of the red sea, like Sharm El Sheikh (*Ibrahim, 2015*). On 23 June 2013, after months of Wahhabi propaganda in the area, several hundred misinformed Sunni Muslims attacked and surrounded the home of Shia cleric Hassan Shahhata (former Sunni) in the village of Abu Musalam in Giza province. The crowd killed the cleric and 3 of his followers and dragged their bodies out into the street. The police did nothing to stop the attack.

As of 2017, non-governmental organizations continue to report that violence and propaganda against the Shiite minority continues. Anti-Shiite sentiments spread through education at all levels. Clerics educated at al-Azhar University publicly promote sectarian beliefs, calling Shia Muslims unfaithful and encouraging the isolation and marginalization of Shia Muslims in Egypt (*Shia Islam ..., 2018*).

Kuwait

In Kuwait, which is heavily influenced by Saudi Arabia, Shiites, who make up 30 per cent of the indigenous population, are also dissatisfied with their position in society. However, in recent years it has been possible to make the Shiites feel part of Kuwaiti society. The Shiite community is represented in the Kuwaiti Parliament - there is a small fraction of the national Islamic bloc, which expresses the interests of the Shiite part of the population. The

Shiite community occupies an important position not only in the political field, but also in the economy of the country - Shiites are especially noticeable among large and medium-sized entrepreneurs in the field of trade (*Кириченко, 2016. С.96*). Kuwaiti Shiites to use the religious freedom, but this freedom is relative. Meetings on the occasion of Ashura are allowed to them, and to arrange funeral processions is not allowed. Unlike Sunni mosques, the construction of Shiite mosques is not financed by the government. The establishment of training centres for Shiite clergy is not allowed. Shiites who would like to become imams have to study abroad, especially in Iraq and Iran, which is also not welcome. Thus, because of the policy of the authorities, although softer than in Saudi Arabia or Bahrain, but in fact still discriminatory, the Shiites of Kuwait feel their second-rate.

United Arab Emirates

The situation of the Shiite minority in the United Arab Emirates is almost the same as in Kuwait, where they account for 16 percent (*Анализ положения ..., 2017*). They enjoy religious freedom, but their mosques do not receive state funding. Shiites can't hold senior positions in the civil service, the army and the police, are subjected to hidden discrimination in business (*Алексеев, 2014. С.25*).

Conclusion

Thus, having considered the current state of the Shiite communities in the middle East, it can be stated that the relationship between the authorities in the countries and the Shiite communities of this region is contrasting. In countries such as Qatar and Oman, Shia citizens are not discriminated against or denied their rights. The opposite attitude of the authorities to the citizens of the Shiites felt in countries such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of Bahrain and the Arab Republic of Egypt, where Shias are suffering from the persecution of the Sunni radicals, in a milder form it manifests in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. This attitude of the authorities to their citizens Shiites is argued by the already established stereotype of Shiites as the "fifth column" of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

So far, the regimes of the countries in which the oppressed Shiite community lives manage to control the situation using the traditional mechanism of checks and balances, the main elements of which are the security agencies and the official religious institution. This policy does not consolidate society within countries, but rather leads to its separation, and also pushes the Shiite community to political radicalization and open disobedience and creates a real danger of undermining the statehood of the regimes of the Middle East.

Литература

1. Алексеев В. Персидский залив превращается во "внутреннее шиитское море" // Современный Иран. 2014. №28. С.25
2. Донцов В.Е. Религиозно-политические движения шиитов в Саудовской Аравии // Ближний Восток и современность. 2004. №21. С.103
3. Кириченко В. Шиитский фактор в отношениях арабских стран Персидского залива и Ирана // Вестник Волгоградского государственного университета (Серия 4: История. Регионоведение. Международные отношения). 2016. Том 21. №4. С.96
4. Логинов И.В. О статусе шиитской общины в Саудовской Аравии // Ближний Восток и современность. 2003. №17. С.105
5. 6 легенд о событиях в Бахрейне (2014). Режим доступа: <http://survincity.ru/2014/07/shest-mifov-o-sobytijah-v-bahrejne/>
6. Анализ положения шиитской общины в условиях современного мира (2017). Режим доступа: https://knowledge.allbest.ru/religion/2c0b65635a3bd79b4c43a88521316d36_1.html
7. В Иране и Бахрейне начались протесты после казни богослова в Саудовской Аравии (2016). Режим доступа: https://www.dp.ru/a/2016/01/02/V_Irane_i_Bahrejne_nachali
8. В Саудовской Аравии полиция расстреляла протестующих шиитов (2012). Режим доступа: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/13/01/2012/5703f1c39a7947ac81a63d8b>
9. В Саудовской Аравии продолжаются столкновения полиции с местными шиитами (2017). Режим доступа: <https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2017/08/03/v-saudovskoy-avamii-prodolzhayutsya-stolknoveniya-policii-s-mestnymi-shiitami>

10. Вайсфлог К. Внутренняя война Саудовской Аравии (2017). Режим доступа: <https://inosmi.ru/politic/20170714/239805817.html>
11. Вышел доклад о дискриминации шиитов в Саудовской Аравии (2017). Режим доступа: <http://www.mihwar.ru/takfirizm/prestupleniya/item/vyshel-doklad-o-diskriminatsii-shiitov-v-saudovskoj-aravii.html>
12. Дискриминация и яркое нарушение прав шиитов в Саудовской Аравии (2015). Режим доступа: <http://russian.irib.ir/analitika/stati/item/264541-дискриминация-и-яркое-нарушение-прав-шиитов-в-саудовской-аравии>
13. Инквизиция в Саудовской Аравии переходит к запрету шиитского ислама в стране (2018). Режим доступа: <https://politrus.ru/v-mire/3687-inkviziciya-v-saudovskoj-aravii-perehodit-k-zapretu-shiitskogo-islama-v-strane.html>
14. Косач Г. Саудовская Аравия: заявление шиитских богословов (2014). Режим доступа: <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=20232>
15. Мясников В. Войска Саудовской Аравии победили в Бахрейне (2011). Режим доступа: <https://centrasia.org/newsA.php?st=1302845040>
16. Неизвестные расстреляли шиитов в Саудовской Аравии во время траура (2014). Режим доступа: <https://ria.ru/20141104/1031637235.html?in=t>
17. Полиция Бахрейна подавляет протесты шиитского большинства (2017). Режим доступа: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2238998.html>
18. Саудовская Аравия объявила о казни 47 осуждённых (2016). Режим доступа: <https://golosislama.com/news.php?id=28782>
19. Федорченко А. Межконфессиональные противоречия в Саудовской Аравии: «шиитский вопрос» (2013). Режим доступа: <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/888>
20. Федуненко Е. Соотношение суннитов и шиитов в мире (2016). Режим доступа: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2889657>
21. Хайрутдинов А. Сирийский кризис и шиитский фактор напрягают руководство Саудовской Аравии (2012). Режим доступа: https://islam-today.ru/blogi/ajdar_hajrutdinov/sirijskij_krizis_i_shiitskij_faktor_napryagayut_rukovodstvo_saudovskoj_aravii/
22. Шииты в Бахрейне протестуют против лишения гражданства проповедника (2016). Режим доступа: <https://news.rambler.ru/asia/34082264-shiity-v-bahreyne-protestuet-protiv-lisheniya-grazhdanstva-propovednika/>
23. Anger grows in Saudi Arabia's Shia areas after executions (2016). Режим доступа: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1023510/anger-grows-in-saudi-arabias-shia-areas-after-executions/>
24. Bahrain Revokes Citizenship of Prominent Shia Muslim Scholar (2016). Режим доступа: <https://thewire.in/religion/bahrain-revokes-citizenship-of-prominent-shia-muslim-scholar>
25. Becker O. The Arab Spring Never Quite Ended in Bahrain (2014). Режим доступа: https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/a38npk/the-arab-spring-never-quite-ended-in-bahrain
26. Ibrahim M. Ashura: A day in history of discrimination against Egyptian Shi'as (2015). Режим доступа: <https://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/10/24/ashura-a-day-in-history-of-discrimination-against-egyptian-shias/>
27. Matthias Von Hein. Is Saudi Arabia Waging War on its Shia minority? (2017). Режим доступа: https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2017/08/10/is_saudi_arabia_waging_war_on_its_shia_minority_112495.html
28. Saudi Arabia: Prominent Shia Cleric dead in largest mass execution since 1980 (2016). Режим доступа: <https://www.juancole.com/2016/01/saudi-arabia-prominent-shia-cleric-dead-in-largest-mass-execution-since-1980.html>
29. Saudi Arabia - Shia (2016). Режим доступа: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/gulf/sa-shia.htm>
30. Saudis demand release Shia cleric (2015). Режим доступа: <http://kayhan.ir/en/news/4219/saudis-demand-release-of-shia-cleric>
31. Shia Facing new Restrictions and Discriminations in Egypt (2012). Режим доступа: <http://shiarightswatch.org/shia-facing-new-restrictions-and-discriminations-in-egypt/>
32. Shia Islam in Egypt (2018). Режим доступа: https://howlingpixel.com/i-en/Shia_Islam_in_Egypt
33. Zeinab El-Gundy. The Shias: Egypt's forgotten Muslim minority (2013). Режим доступа: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/67170/Egypt/Features/The-Shias-Egypt-forgotten-Muslim-minority.aspx>

References

1. Alekseyev, V. (2014) Persidskiy zaliv prevrashchayetsya vo "vnutrenneye shiitskoye more"[Persian Gulf turns into "internal Shiite sea"]. *Sovremennyy Iran [Modern Iran]*. No.28, P.25.

2. Dontsov, V.E. (2004) Religiozno-politicheskiye dvizheniya shiitov v Saudovskoy Aravii [Religious and political movements of Shiites in Saudi Arabia]. *Blizhniy Vostok i sovremennost'* [middle East and modernity], No.21, P.103.
3. Kirichenko, V. (2016) SHiitskiy faktor v otnosheniyakh arabskikh stran Persidskogo zaliva i Irana [Shiite factor in relations between the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf and Iran]. *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta (Seriya 4: Istoriya. Regionovedeniye. Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya)* [Bulletin of the Volgograd state University (Series 4: History. Regional studies. International relations)], Vol.21, No.4, P. 96.
4. Loginov, I.V. (2003) O statuse shiitskoy obshchiny v Saudovskoy Aravii [On the status of the Shiite community in Saudi Arabia]. *Blizhniy Vostok i sovremennost'* [middle East and modernity], No.17, P.105.
5. 6 legend o sobytiyakh v Bakhreyne [6 legends about events in Bahrain] (2014). Available at: <http://survincity.ru/2014/07/shest-mifov-o-sobytiyah-v-bahrejne/>
6. Analiz polozheniya shiitskoy obshchiny v usloviyakh sovremennogo mira [Analysis of the situation of the Shiite community in the modern world] (2017). Available at: https://knowledge.allbest.ru/religion/2c0b65635a3bd79b4c43a88521316d36_1.html
7. V Irane i Bakhreyne nachalis' protesty posle kazni bogoslova v Saudovskoy Aravii [In Iran and Bahrain protests began after the execution of the theologian in Saudi Arabia] (2016). Available at: https://www.dp.ru/a/2016/01/02/V_Irane_i_Bahrejne_nachali
8. V Saudovskoy Aravii politsiya rasstrelyala protestuyushchikh shiitov [In Saudi Arabia, police shot Shia protesters] (2012). Available at: <https://www.rbc.ru/politics/13/01/2012/5703f1c39a7947ac81a63d8b>
9. V Saudovskoy Aravii prodolzhayutsya stolknoveniya politsii s mestnymi shiitami [In Saudi Arabia, police clashes with local Shiites continue] (2017). Available at: <https://easaily.com/ru/news/2017/08/03/v-saudovskoy-avamii-prodolzhayutsya-stolknoveniya-policii-s-mestnymi-shiitami>
10. Weisflog K. (2017) Vnutrennyaya voyna Saudovskoy Aravii [Internal war of Saudi Arabia]. Available at: <https://inosmi.ru/politic/20170714/239805817.html>
11. Vyshel doklad o diskriminatsii shiitov v Saudovskoy Aravii [A report on discrimination against Shiites in Saudi Arabia] (2017). Available at: <http://www.mihwar.ru/takfirizm/prestupleniya/item/vyshel-doklad-o-diskriminatsii-shiitov-v-saudovskoy-aravii.html>
12. Diskriminatsiya i yarkoye narusheniye prav shiitov v Saudovskoy Aravii [Discrimination and flagrant violation of Shia rights in Saudi Arabia] (2015). Available at: <http://russian.irib.ir/analitika/stati/item/264541-diskriminatsiya-i-yarkoye-narusheniye-prav-shiitov-v-saudovskoy-aravii>
13. Inkvizitsiya v Saudovskoy Aravii perekhodit k zapretu shiitskogo islama v strane [The Inquisition in Saudi Arabia moves to ban Shiite Islam in the country] (2018). Available at: <https://politus.ru/v-mire/3687-inkvizitsiya-v-saudovskoy-aravii-perekhodit-k-zapretu-shiitskogo-islama-v-strane.html>
14. Kosach G. (2014) Saudovskaya Araviya: zavavleniye shiitskikh bogoslovov [Saudi Arabia: statement by Shiite theologians]. Available at: <http://www.iimes.ru/?p=20232>
15. Myasnikov V. (2011) Voyska Saudovskoy Aravii pobedili v Bakhreyne [Saudi troops defeated in Bahrain]. Available at: <https://centrasia.org/newsA.php?st=1302845040>
16. Neizvestnyye rasstrelyali shiitov v Saudovskoy Aravii vo vremena traury [Unknown shot Shiites in Saudi Arabia during mourning] (2014). Available at: <https://ria.ru/20141104/1031637235.html?in=t>
17. Politsiya Bakhreyne podavlyayet protesty shiitskogo bol'shinstva [Bahraini police suppress the protests of the Shiite majority] (2017). Available at: <https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2238998.html>
18. Saudovskaya Araviya ob'yavila o kazni 47 osuzhdyonnykh [Saudi Arabia has announced the execution of 47 convicts] (2016). Available at: <https://golosislama.com/news.php?id=28782>
19. Fedorchenko A. (2013) Mezkhkossional'nyye protivorechiya v Saudovskoy Aravii: «shiitskiy vopros» [Interfaith contradictions in Saudi Arabia: "Shiite question"]. Available at: <https://interaffairs.ru/jauthor/material/888>
20. Fedunenko E. (2016) Sootnosheniye sunnitov i shiitov v mire [the Ratio of Sunnis and Shiites in the world]. Available at: <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2889657>
21. KHayrutdinov A. (2012) Siriyskiy krizis i shiitskiy faktor napryagayut rukovodstvo Saudovskoy Aravii [the Syrian crisis and the Shiite factor are straining the leadership of Saudi Arabia]. Available at: https://islam-today.ru/blogi/ajdar_xajrutdinov/sirijskiy_krizis_i_shiitskiy_faktor_napryagayut_rukovodstvo_saudovskoy_aravii/
22. SHiity v Bakhreyne protestuyet protiv lisheniya grazhdanstva propovednika [Shiites in Bahrain protest against the deprivation of citizenship of the preacher] (2016). Available at: <https://news.rambler.ru/asia/34082264-shiity-v-bahreyne-protestuet-protiv-lisheniya-grazhdanstva-propovednika/>
23. Anger grows in Saudi Arabia's Shia areas after executions (2016). Available at: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1023510/anger-grows-in-saudi-arabias-shia-areas-after-executions/>

24. Bahrain Revokes Citizenship of Prominent Shia Muslim Scholar (2016). Available at: <https://thewire.in/religion/bahrain-revokes-citizenship-of-prominent-shia-muslim-scholar>
25. Becker O. (2014) The Arab Spring Never Quite Ended in Bahrain. Available at: https://news.vice.com/en_us/article/a38npk/the-arab-spring-never-quite-ended-in-bahrain
26. Ibrahim M. (2015) Ashura: A day in history of discrimination against Egyptian Shi'as. Available at: <https://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2015/10/24/ashura-a-day-in-history-of-discrimination-against-egyptian-shias/>
27. Matthias Von Hein (2017) Is Saudi Arabia Waging War on its Shia minority? Available at: https://www.realclearworld.com/articles/2017/08/10/is_saudi_arabia_waging_war_on_its_shia_minority_112495.html
28. Saudi Arabia: Prominent Shia Cleric dead in largest mass execution since 1980 (2016). Available at: <https://www.juancole.com/2016/01/saudi-arabia-prominent-shia-cleric-dead-in-largest-mass-execution-since-1980.html>
29. Saudi Arabia - Shia (2016). Available at: <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/gulf/sa-shia.htm>
30. Saudis demand release Shia cleric (2015). Available at: <http://kayhan.ir/en/news/4219/saudis-demand-release-of-shia-cleric>
31. Shia Facing new Restrictions and Discriminations in Egypt (2012). Available at: <http://shiarightswatch.org/shia-facing-new-restrictions-and-discriminations-in-egypt/>
32. Shia Islam in Egypt (2018). Available at: https://howlingpixel.com/i-en/Shia_Islam_in_Egypt
33. Zeinab El-Gundy (2013) The Shias: Egypt's forgotten Muslim minority. Available at: <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/151/67170/Egypt/Features/The-Shias-Egypt-forgotten-Muslim-minority.aspx>

ИНФОРМАЦИЯ ОБ АВТОРЕ / INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Сальников Артём Владимирович, стажер-исследователь Института социологии и регионоведения, Южный федеральный университет
E-mail: artem.salnikov.94@mail.ru

Salnikov Artem Vladimirovich, trainee researcher, Institute of sociology and Regional Studies, Southern Federal University
E-mail: artem.salnikov.94@mail.ru

Поступила в редакцию

10 июля 2019 г.