

## Arab Spring: The Reality and the Calls of Reformation

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### Abstract

This study aims at shedding light on the Arab Spring Revolts and the waves of protests and demonstrations, which raised slogans calling for dethroning the regimes and resisting tyranny and demanding freedom and social justice. These revolts which broke out since 2010, led to dethroning numerous Arab regimes, especially in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia. And the resonances of these revolts reached other Arab countries and touched different regimes, headed by Syria. And the study deduced that these revolts form a typical sample followed by all peoples who strive for freedom and dignity.

**Keywords:** Arab Spring, Reformation, Revolts, Wave of Protests, regimes, Regional Stands, International Stands, Freedom, Arab Youth.

### Problem of Study:

The study aims at uncovering the concept of Arab Spring and about the factors and causes, which shared in performing the popular revolts, which were waged in the Arab states starting from Tunisia and ending in Syria at present and recognizing the stage after the Arab Spring, and the future of revolts and results resulting from that popular motion.

### Significance of Study:

The significance of study comes from its attempt to uncover the political, economic and social factors, which pushed the Arab popular motion to revolt against tyranny and corruption, which worked to freeze development in all Arab countries, and pushed the Arab situation to reach the stage of volcano, which burst in a great speed that did not delay the Arab governments and regimes to avoid this situation.

### Objective of Study:

The study aims at uncovering the causes leading to Arab Spring revolts and to clarify the results resulting in those revolts, in addition to presenting some solutions of the problems, which will result from dethroning some political regimes and reaching the chosen situation in order to get out of it safe and enter in the stage of building the state on the democratic bases, justice and equivalent opportunities.

### Questions of Study:

The study threw a number of questions through which he wanted to reach the expected results, represented in:

1. Is the political concept of the revolt really applied on the incidents in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, or they were popular gifts not carrying a program for change. That was the effect of media and wish in imitating the other and urgent need to transfer into a better situation?
2. Did a social class, politically qualified appear there and worked to lead the revolts?
3. Can we talk about a class conflict, or tribal conflict in the revolts? Or both of them?
4. Do not we consider these incidents an uprising (Intifada) against tyranny and hunger?

5. Why did these regimes fall quickly, is it because they are originally fragile regimes and spider web, or because they were obtaining their strength from abroad?
6. What are the results resulting from the revolts of the Arab Spring?
7. What is the future of the Arab States after the revolts of the Arab Spring?

### **Determinatives of Study:**

There are two determinatives of the study:

The first of them: the place determinative, where the study is confined to the Arab states 'from the Ocean to the Gulf' with their acting political regimes.

The second of them: the time determinative, connected with the beginning of the revolt in Tunisia and until stability of the Arab situation in general, and the final time is unknown.

### **1: Introduction:**

Spring is one of the four seasons of the year, with moderate climate representing the transitional stage from winter season to the summer season. It is a season in which flowers open, and the weather becomes moderate; between hot and cold, and in its people celebrate different feasts in most countries of the world.i

This name was thrown, with the Arabic world added to it, to describe the developments and the acting incidents in the Arab world. The term adopts a thing from life to describe the developments and the acting incidents. It is not a revolution, a mutiny, or a movement demanding democracy, but it is merely breathing in its meanings to conceal all mutual nomination at certain with of change to be best. The term "Arab spring" leapt up to the American president, Obama's tongue abundantly, and so to the minister of foreign affairs Hilary Clinton, and comes to a large extent in the Western mass media. It is the spring of Arab protest, acting in the Middle East since 2010 and the beginning of 2011. It dethroned the dictator leaders, and many people hope more of democracy in the region. But these protests and revolts did not receive any precious assistance; except for the few of it from the advanced states in the Arab world do we can rely on the present Arab situation? Philologists of speculation do not do well of the arrangement.ii

The revolts of Arab Spring originated political formulations stormed the regimes in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, and its effects stretched to Syria in the Arab East. Precarious nesses of these revolts are still throwing their shadows at the Arab and international levels.

The Arab Spring revolts indicate to practicing pressure on regimes for more of political participation, fighting poverty and unemployment and all forms of dictatorship and corruption. And most of the regimes, which witnessed the revolts of the Arab Spring, dealt with the policy of quelling in treating the peoples.

The revolts and protests proved that security policies are not the best way in dealing with peoples. And from what the Arab revolts were distinguished with at most times, is the absence of intellectual leaderships and national symbols, the thing that granted the organized parties the opportunity to win in elections, especially in Egypt and Tunisia.

When the Arab Spring knocked the gates of the Arab governments in their in attention about their peoples, there was nothing before the political regimes in the Arab states, which ignored the demands of their peoples at the beginning, except to lower their heads violently before this overwhelming flood, which was definitely coming to these dwellings of the world so as to bloom at our Arabism's gardens, and throw the fruits of freedom and democracy at gardens of our world, which its spring came late very much after the rain of justice had been imprisoned for numerous years, in which the Arab human was deprived from, the benefits of those sublime principles. And before

this inevitable expansion of democracy that spread in the modern world in a form of waves, we were obliged to return back to the past a little, till we know from which station that train started and how did it arrive to this region.

## **2: Track of Revolt in the life of peoples:**

The station of the first start of democracy was 'immediately after the two revolutions, the American and French, and a stage of democracy in Europe and the two Americas, the North and South America was inaugurated in the Nineteenth century, especially after "the European Spring" in 1848. And the number of democracies in the beginning of twenties decade from the past century amounted to twenty nine democratic countries in the world. But this wave faded away by ascension of communism and the Fascistic movements, so there remained no country in 1942, except for twelve democratic countries".iii

The second station was at the day-break of the Second world War, in which the Allied obtained victory and laid the rational bases and concluded a social contract among them as victorious to respired democracy in Western Europe, and it did not stop at those borders, but surpassed it to reach Japan and India and some of the recently independent states from imperialist. And the number of democratic states amounted to (36) states.

The world did not reach the beginnings of the past century seventies, until the third wave of the waves of the democratic transformation devastated the regions of Spain, Portugal and Greece, and crossed the Atlantic Ocean and reached Brazil, then to other countries in south America and Middle America, as if the influence Spain and Portugal is still effective as it was during the imperialistic conflict between both states on the states of Latin America before two centuries of time, at that time the number of democracies leapt to sixty states.

And with the advent of the world the stage of after the cold war, fall of socialism and the destruction of Berlin wall, the wave broadened and devoured all East and Middle Europe, and surpassed too many countries of Africa and south of the desert as a result of dethroning the authoritative leaders. The number of democratic states reached (117) states.

## **3: The Arab Revolts and Calls of Reformation:**

In the endings of the year 2010 and the beginning of the year 2011 a tremendous stage of revolts and protests broke out in different parts of the Arab world started with Mohammad Al-bo'zizi and the Tunisian revolt, which threw a type of spark in many of the Arab countries, that period was known as the "Spring of Arab Revolts". From the causes of these sudden protests is the spread of corruption,iv and tyranny; for in a study by the United Nations homeland and (50%) of Arab youths think of immigration a broad.v Bad lifestyles and economic stagnation are added to that, in addition to the political fund and bad situations in general in the Arab countries, where protests had spread and included the intoxication of battles between security forces and demonstrators these revolts appeared with the appearance of a western shouting, became famous in all Arab countries, it is "the people wants to dethrone the regime".

The Arab revolts follow the leaders of the Arab youth in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen and Syria. These revolts as a whole reflect bad economic situations, in which the countries covered with the high rate of unemployment among the young men, who are able for work, add to that the bad distribution of wealth, for less than (80%) of the nationalistic outcome, and these countries belong in their behavior to what is called the spring theory in the state, and it is the state which depends on the foreign aids in this state more than depending on surplus in balance of trade, with what transforms these countries into opposition and political freedoms through bartering these rights with the spring and aids in return for stability of their authoritative regimes, and also unavailability of basic freedoms in these countries committed to the personality of the leader. And the freedoms have expressions, where the rule of emergency prevails for a long time, and the political parties are forbidden, and the right of citizens in expressing

their views is prevented, and the averages of political participation advance, so as the Arab state guarantees its privets forms in the form of the police state, which quells the will of peoples and these peoples remain in a state of fear, subjugation, and congestion until it finds the fit minute to revolt. And it also leaves corruption in different political and economic states, where the Arab countries cross-legged sit at the top levels of corruption scales in the world with what saves a fit climate to ripen the community demands to fight corruption and lightening its effects and the necessity of changing the regimevi and ruling with iron and fire a period of more than forty years, does the type Gaddafi in the Arab revolts repeat againvii.

Here is an attempt to look up to future of the Arab revolts between reformation and criticism, in the western concept which means be too proud for, partial change, and super facial, it is not comprehensive and not radical due to the Arab concept. But reformation in the Islamic concept, which means the comprehensive and radical change like the (Revolution), that means a transformation point in the social life indicates to dethroning what was worn-out and performing an advanced social regime, or it is the sudden radical change in the political and social situations by means get out of the conventional regime, and it is not usually empty of violence and to foresee with the register of the Arab revolts, no doubt we have to research in the causes and motives which led to theses revolts and protests, which became including the whole world and effecting it.

#### **4: Quelling and Tyranny:**

Most of the Arab countries have a bad register in human rights, because of the tyranny of leader and their persistence to stay in power for long decades, in addition to reaching leader ship in an illegal way. The Libyan leader, Mo'amer Al-Qaddafi, for example, is the older leader on earth, an came to power by a military coup in 1969, and in 1989 called it "Al Fatih Revolt". And in Syria, Bashar Al-Asad reached power heir to his father Hafez Al-Asad in 2000 in a precedent, never to be witnessed in the Arab states in the republican government; for the constitution was amended in (15) minutes to suit Bashar's age and rule Syria. And in Egypt and Yemen there were wishes from leaders Husni Mubarak and Ali Abdullah Saleh to inher it government to both sons, Jamal and Ahmad, but no sooner than the revolt broke out in Egypt, which dethroned Mobarak, and Yement dethroned Ali Abdullah Saleh. And in the monarchal regimes as well there demonstrations in some monarchal states like Bahrain, Al-Maghreb, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Oman demanding constitutional monarchy and more freedoms.viii

#### **5: The Arab Spring and the fall of the Final Arab Caliphate:**

Subjugation bade the Arab peoples to burst and start crossing streets of cities and villages, shouting no for tyranny, enough for the leaders. Those shouts and sacrifices that destroyed the walls of fear castles, and started roaring to annoy time and place. This motion that exploded, because of decades of deprivation, hunger, poverty and exclusion, most men of information, cultured people and pelicans call it "the Arab Revolts", which started in spring of the year 2011. the start was from Tunisia and Zeinel Abideen's evacuation. After that Egypt and Yemen, then Syria which caught by change on March 15th, 2011.

Here, we have to scrutinizing study all surrounding circumstances of every popular motion, however they are natural circumstances, social, military international, economic, or political, and we have to know the constituents of the motion itself. Does it belong to one national organization, or there is more than one nationality, its parties differ and branches, and what is the characteristic trait of the demonstrators at that motion. Do they belong to the element of young men, workers, and cultivators, or is it a mixture of them all? And we have to read the policies of local regimes towards their people, the big and small issues, and the extent of executing core and concept of the revolution in a more real form.ix

No doubt those who shared in this option are merchants of politics themselves, who led government in states were still creep on the road of independence, or after it, and they themselves are the outcomes of the Middle East, and this what made things drowning crisis till they burst into circumstances should make the western states and America their policy against their allies, leaders of the region whom they exhausted. The story begins since they drowned Saddam Hussein in the made was with the Persians. It lasted for a long time and cost Iraq and Iran very much. The result, he did not liberate the three islands: (Abu Mousa, Tomb, the Small and Tomb, the Great and Palestine and did not silence the revolt of his people in the south and the north, and his household pay the price now with leaders and Breimer's followers). And we know how did drown him again in Kuwait's invasion, and how did the caravans of the Iraqi Army return to be beaten and burnt by the plances of the alliance forces. Then we witnessed the historical leader hung, from this incident some understood the significance and most of hem did not understand. Qaddafi said in one of the sessions addressing the Arab leaders (your fate will not be better of the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein). But they laughed. Time proved Qaddafi's expectation. The idea personified on the land of reality; started with Bin Ali to Husni Mobarak to Ali Abdullah Saleh and so on.x

The Arab Spring renewed the track of democracy at the endings of 2010 and the beginnings of 2011 the struggle for the political and social rights was not an artificial issue of western invention invaded us, it is a part of human nature through the movement of human history. And in spite of all this, the principle of transformation of the political regimes to follow the democratic method of government around the world, the onlooker can deduce a number of rules that form the basis of government to make this spring succeed or failures, these points are:

1. Defeating a tyrannical regime doesn't mean reaching democracy, plenty of states of the world dethroned tyrannical regimes, but they descended to civil war, or joined the list of deteriorated states, or replaced with another dictatorship.
2. The nature of the previous political, social and economic structures in countries, are very important. And the most important is the national unity, for democracy is the government of people, and if there is no agreement on the concept of people, there be difficult of the last extent to perform stable democracy.
3. In addition to national unity, the stable democracy demands a heritage of constitutional and legal traditions, electoral institutions, political variety, effective bureaucracy, national security institutions, and lively civil community, acting jurist power, free mass media, and codified free economic activity institutions.
4. Method of previous regimes decay and movement towards the operation of transition is important too, for change appears, because of a decision from inside the regimes itself it may be an operation of transition, more mild and continuous.
5. The surpassing importance in the world experiments is the success or failure of the democratic transition, which includes main cross-roads, such as laying a new constitution and performing free and fair elections. Sometimes, the best constitutions are considered illegal and may fail in playing its role as a regulator document of the political life. Most countries chose the parliamentary regimes and not the preside because the parliamentary regimes makes most of parties feel that they are considered and participating, mean while in the presidential regimes there is danger from re concentrating power, and the matter ends with plenty of parties feel that they are annotated and removed.

"It is noticed that the mass extension, with which the Arab Spring revolts enjoy, is overwhelmed with they youth nature. This reminds us with the mass extension, which stormed the Arab region at the struggle are against imperialism, which led to achieve some of duties of the national liberation stage:.xi

As that struggle had its historical and topical justifications represented in dismissing imperialism and deliverance form its direct guardianship, and thus is the situation concerning the causes of the Arab Spring, whose causes are concealed in cessation of the Arab region time for more than half a century. The achievement of independence

transformed into stagnation, un giving and shorthand, transform the Arab states into police states, dismissed the value of substantial independence, and strayed from the way of developing the human Arab and changed the compass into a modern bondage.xii

### **6: Causes of the Arab Spring Revolts:**

There are many questions raised about the incidents of the Arab region and changes acting now, and the causes concealing behind. All scholars and thinkers cleared a preliminary imagination of these causes and confining them in "not applying the truthful democracy in the operation of exchanging power as a consequence of Machiavellian trends represented in the individual, factious, partial, or family preoccupation of power. Also, because of quelling, tyranny, subjugation, and persecution practiced by political regimes, either directly, or through security systems and departments of intelligence following them and charged to perish opposes of these regimes. In addition to problems of poverty, unemployment, high prices, and economic stagnation, and failure of regimes in improving situations of the people, progress of their countries and economically, scientific and administrative development of them. Also, financial, administrative, and judicial corruption form which the institutions of the state suffer, for example, no state is evacuated from intensifying such crimes through long years of government, Consequently, a grip of users of the shoulders of leaders who stayed along time on throne playing with the wealth of people. The situation in the Arab world reached the climax of corruption and a stage of un applying the sovereignty of law, as a result of groups of pressure, which was formed and started to measure with tow measures in their dealing with matters, That which deprived peoples from getting their rights guaranteed by rules and systems.xiii

In the middle of all this corruption, the USA and Western states and Israel were unjust and unfair as usual, in employing the Arab leaders, and the ruling regimes, to employ them as secret servers in return for keeping their regimes form deterioration, and return for keeping the partnerships, by which they can exhaust the resources of their countries for their private interest, the thing that increased their balances deposited in Western banks, and made them reach the limit of indigestion. The western states used to read the map properly, and now how to exploit circumstances and the growing environment to serve their enlargement capitalist project represented in the comprehensive local order, which is ambitious to rule the whole world with all its constituents: geographic, demographic, political, economic and intellectual, especially the Arab region, which forms the heart of the world and the source of energy, and the place in which Israel settle down, with its extreme dogmatic dimensions and its greed's in building the Jewish state on the abolishment's of the exhausted Arab regime, The matter that pushes the West to exchange his greed's with the wish of the Arab leaders to cling with power, and to be used as instruments to quell freedoms and practice in equity on the Arab people.

And from the caused of the Arab spring wish of some factions and persons to reach power and rule the government. This wish is a natural trend at any human or political party. But quelling practiced by competitive governments did not excrete within false democracy except the ruling party with a rate of 99% from the votes of electors, that will increase indignation of the people and originate the idea of waiting the deadly moment to overturn against leaders and their parties groups and troops.xiv

The ruling parties dominated the state and its military and security systems and initiations of civil community. It also a founded cadres following the party in all authorities; legislative, judicial and executive, even the religious authority, which became a reference,xv all these powers were combined from part of thinking and practice in the thinking and practices of the ruling party, that caused growing of peculiar and such situations lasted for decades. They bade the homeland and citizen enter into a trance of miss understanding of homeland and citizen ship and the concept of freedom, social justice and miss hoping the meaning of the state, which is supposed to be in the service of people first and end. There is no space for the machinery of "separation among the trinity of strength, power and the

leader, and no space for the machinery of independent political decision making through the free democratic will".xvi

The ruling party and its retinue dominated the security systems to protect him, after this party had transformed into the only owner of these systems and they work under his command. These systems transformed into systems for quelling the citizen and not defending his security and deliverance from dangers, the real internal and external ones. Most of Arab states has a bad register in human rights, because of tyranny and clinging to power for long decades, in addition to power by a military coup in 1969, called it "Al Fateh Revolt"; and in Syria, president Bashar al-Asad reached government, heir to his father president Hafez Al-Asad in 2000 illegally; within fifteen minutes the constitution was amended to fit his age and govern Syria.xvii In Egypt and Yemen there were wishes at Mubarak and Ali Abdullah Saleh to inherit overnmet to their sons, but the revolution broke out and instability prevailed.xviii

"Social and economic development operation in some Arab states stopped since past decades. This deduced poverty and deterioration in life style in general. The tyrant regimes worked through decades to prevent forming revolutionary organized masses, by practicing terror and hard security control."xix

The Tunisian citizen, Mohammad Al-Boizizi burnt himself on December 17th., 2010 in the city Sidi Bozeid, because he bored his deteriorated state, in addition to the tyranny of security systems on citizens, and rejection of complaints against them. "the citizens united in solidarity with him and demonstrated demanding justice and freedom, but no sooner than the protests transformed into a revolution dethroned president Zeinel Abideen Bin ali, and became the spark of the protests in the Arab Home land from the Ocean to the Gulf."xx

The international Labor Organization mentioned that the aggravation of unemployment problem in the Arab World was one of the factors, which bade the spark of popular revolts to breakout the organization added that unemployment among women is higher than men and amounted more than 30%, and their participation in the Arab Labor Market is the weakest in the world.xxi

## **7: Factors that shared in swift extension of Arab Revolts and their success:**

The weakness of political parties caused the Arab revolts of young men, who were affected by cosmic factors like the revolt of informatics in the different social communication nets. The Arab regimes became unable to achieve their people's ambitions and uncorked with fulfilling their demands, the thing that exerted a feeling of offense and indignation at the live forces of the Arab nation's individuals, especially the learned of them. This feeling increased by tyranny and absence of social justice and aggravation of corruption and unemployment, in addition to demands of participation in the operation of formulation of the future and decision making departments and machinery of running the public affairs."xxii

"The means of social communication face book and you tube, attracted attention to the Arab Spring, and were the cause of aggravating the popular revolts and spreading them. There is a new generation in the Middle East employs the social media to express himself, and forming the community and the world around, for the me3ans of mass media and the whole community look at this phenomenon as a new partner."xxiii

Face book is considered one of the most poplar instruments of social media in the Arab world. The number of users amounted to (2.7711.503) in April, 2011, that is double the number of users, amounted to (1.479.1972) in April

2010. This was assured by the report of the social media. Users of Face book in the Arab world increased in the first four months of the year 2011 in the rate of 30%.xxiv

But due to twitter, the report estimates that here are about six and half million users of it in the Arab World, of them (1.5) million permanent users. The United Arab Emirates is considered the biggest in number of users, follows it Qatar, then Egypt and Saudi Arabia, then Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the number of participations increased in the rate 400% in one year. And the average of increase at the some period in the rest directions of the world is about 90%.

Users of social media are mostly young men, who form 70% of users of the Face Book in the Arab world. They are below 30 of age and their activity concentrates on their communities through social media. But describing that new phenomenon with "twitter generation" is a phenomenon of not an easy matter.xxv

"The social medial opens after natives and new methods of communication to people, especially young men, to express themselves far away from mass media directed by the states. These privileges saved effective machineries and successful methods to create a fertile environment to lead the required transformation by the enthusiastic young men. These young men used their will to attain reform and achieve hopes and choose the political speech. The Arab regimes could not prevent this trend, and stop these new and modern mean for the flood of information is unserviceable and difficult of dominate or stop. So, power sites changed and became in the hands of the people. That is the thing which should be existed".xxvi

#### **8: Primary enlightens about the Arab spring:**

1. The result of the Arab revolts until now was dethroning the ruling political regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya, proceeding great responsible in them, and dethroning the governments of Oman, Syria, Jordan, and Kuwait, and forcing the government of Algeria, al-Maghreb and Iraq to start procedures that cover giving more freedoms and political participation.
2. Regimes of Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya failed in their estimations about the insistence of their peoples to create substantial change of the acting situations. They did not initiate in response to these moderate demands, but secluded to quelling and extreme violence, And displayed stubbornness and obstinacy and exaggeration in using the most frideous means of terrifying and quelling, torture and killing, until fell in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya thousands of killed and wounded people, in addition to thousand of arrested people.xxvii
3. The Qaddafi's description of the Libyan rebels as rats (Jurthan) and his pledge to follow them and chase them to eradicate them by war panes, rocket launchers and poisoning the wells water, and else did not prevent them from strict continuation in their revolution until achieving victory, seeking to perform a democratic regime, with variety of politics guaranteeing basic freedoms and justice with all its dimensions, and protecting human rights.
4. Irrationality of the Syrian regime will not hinder the Syrain people's continuation of reform track in spit of all exposures committed there. The sacrifices of the Syrians amounted to more than 4000 killed and 26 thousands wounded persons, in addition to hundreds of thousands of lost and arrested persons.
5. The Yemini political regime did work in stopping the crowds of the Yemini people, who visited to dethrone Al Abdullah Saleh, and get rid of what his regime forced on the country of quelling, tyranny, corruption and degradation through (33) years. The sacrifices of the Yemini people amounted to 1500 killed and 2500 wounded, in addition to hundreds of thousands of detainees and arrested people.
6. The Arab youth carried his historical responsibilities in moving the Arab sphere and shaking the thrones of some Arab states leaders to achieve democracy and human rights. No justifications can stop this flood of enthusiastic young men, who seek better rank among nations and peoples.

7. The Arab youth, who was aspiring for change, in the beginning did not lead any kind of extremity and was clear in his demands. Just called for political reform, and gradual in situational foundation, more of freedoms and achieving justice, abandoning corruption and treating delinquency.
8. The theory of alienation, about which Karl Marx talked, took shapes as a result of the capitalist communities of our third world. The human being who could not move within the prevailing reality at out tribal community, attempted to find an incentive to change in the quelling community, in which there is no space for movement or acclimatization. It appears that the rebel did not look behind when he decided to go down to the street; everything behind him is miserable and unhappy and does not deserve to live for. Religion was not the basic incentive of these revolts, but was a despondent attempt to restore his confiscated humanitarianism under the daily subjugation he lives.
9. Performance of democracy in the Arab World is the first step towards building integrated regional entities and in harmony to reach building a united Arab space, and performing effective integrated academic political and economic institutions. At that form the Arab nation may form an exist of a heard word and a awesome on the world sphere, and can deal with great states form the part of equivalence, and address them with the language of interests, which they do to understand except for them. These states will see them selves forced to lend this axis what it conditions of caretaking and concern.
10. The inflaming Arab revolts are the first step on the distance of one thousand miles towards the destinations, which the nation was as long as eager to reach. And it appears that the nation had insisted to pass through al the distance.
11. The victory of the Tunisian, Egyptian, and Libyan revolts led to the appearance of a new popular current among the Arab young men calls for performing the Arab Unity by the hands youths, and not waiting the regimes that mounted the Arab Unity and nationalism without achieving anything. Many pages appeared on the communication means demanding to perform the state of the Arab Unity like the page of the dream of the Arab Unity.

### **9: Results of the Arab Spring:**

After the success of Tunisian revolt numerous presidents bean to deliver speeches promising their citizens with political, economic and social reform, the most rising of these reforms werexxviii:

1. The Yemini president, Ali Abdullah Saleh's address in front of thousands of supporters on May 10th. 2011. he promised to lay a new constitution for the country, guaranteeing separation of authorities and the independence of power and government, branches. He said that the constitution will be completed by the advent of the termination of the year to achieve the youths' demands. Saleh also dissolved the government and charged it to run the government affairs in an attempt to quite the striking youths. He also promised to precede public elections, and form a new government at the beginning of the 2012, and due to his last suggestions, the governorates will be granted more of power.
2. But the Syrian president, Bashar Al-Asad, hastened to pledge to begin the reform before demonstrations. He said before the demonstrations breakout with few days in a meeting with (Wall Street Journal) that he will start with reformatations in this year, including to proceed municipality elections. And the private organizations are granted more of power, in addition to pass a new law of media.
3. But the Tunisian president Zeinel Aabideen Bin Ali had pledged in his famous speech telecasted on January 13th., 2011 to start with large reformatations, and said that he ordered the minister of interior not to shoot demonstrators and protestors. And pledged to dissolve concealment on the Internet locations, and rejected any forms of control on it and the complete freedom of media. And added that he will not propose himself

for presidency in the year 2014, but his speech did not quiet or lighten the protests and continued until he escaped out of Tunisia.

4. But the monarch of Saudi Arabia, king Abdullah Bin Abdel Aziz, said that he will start with strict steps cover fighting corruption, and specialize billions of dollars to raise wages, and make thousands of occupations available in different sectors, and build half a million housing units for unemployed people.xxix That was after limited demonstrations led by Saudi young men in different parts of the kingdom.

## **10: International stand towards the Revolts of the Arab Spring:**

### **The American Stand:**

Since dethroning the Egyptian president Husein Mubarak, after he had ruled thirty years and the USA alertly controlling incidents and controls the development of Israeli Egyptian relationship.xxx But in Libya, the American support to the Revolt was limited. The USA did not release more the 700 million dollars from 37 billion dollars from the originsxxxii.

Therefore, the European states did not show any enthusiasm towards military intervention in Syria, the thing that stirred the fears of America in confronting alone to call for this intervention and bear its costs alone, and it is the matter that Americans will not agree of, especially with the elections are coming soon. And Iran believes that America is in an urgent need to its allied Israel to reformulate the Middle East immediately after the Arab Revolution. But the dramatic incidents, which Tunisia and Egypt witnessed, and then Libya and Syria forced the European Union to evaluate the situation and reach a new strategy performed on reinforcement of democracy and assisting the organizations of the civil community, and increasing aids for the sake of economic development, in condition that the aids are conditioned by practicing democracy, or else it will be prevented, and also forced with penalties if was necessary (as in the state of Libya). Though, the repeated crises to which the European Union is exposed will lighten the possibility of presenting support to states of the Middle East.xxxiii

The Arab Spring showed the extent of confusion in which the foreign policy of the European Union is sunk, especially when Sarkozy announced his acknowledgement of the Libyan transitional Council without coordination with the rest of the European leaders, and also the agreement among the states of the Union tumbled about the military intervention and forcing penalties on the Libyan regime. Here the game of interests is concealed; so we witnessed how the West leapt to help the Libyan people, because Libya is sitting cross legged on a sea of petroleum, but Syria does not own except its people.xxxiiii

But Europe learnt that it has to re regulate its future relationship with the Middle East, on the basis of partnership and performs the supposition of states of the region are to choose the economic, political and social pattern which they adopt. And what happens in the region directly affects the European Union.xxxv

Jordan came within the third class in Obama's classification of the Arab states, which witness popular revolts seeking changes in addition to Al-Maghreb and Bahrain, which Obama called the states that execute substantial reformations without exaggerating disorders. And USA was disturbed towards the situation in Jordan, so it raised the size of yearly financial aids to Jordan, estimated by (363) million dollars, to be raised to new hundred million dollars to become (463) million dollars, to assist the poor Jordanians. President Obama also expressed his support to king Abdullah, the second, and pushed a number of the American responsible to visit Jordan.xxxvi

### **Turkey Stand:**

Rajab Tayeb Ardoghan considers Turkey's concern about what is happening in Syria will differ from its concern about what is happening in Egypt or Tunisia.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Because the situation in Syria is quite different, and Turkey confesses that what is happening in Syria is quite different, because Syria is a neighbor state, and there are borders extending to (850) kilometers, and in the same context some of Turkish responsible believes that what is happening in Syria aims at an internal Turkish issue. Turkey at the beginning of incidents in Syria sought to suggest assistance in reformation, and president Bashar Al-Asad decides personally reformation in his country, and Ardoghan and Ahmad Dawood Oghlou sent ascending declarations annoyed the Syrian officials and pushed the Syrian media means to wage a campaign on the Turkish address and utilities. At the continuation of demonstrations and protests Turkey secluded to practicing a doubled faced policy; it did not stop urging the Syrian leaders to perform reformations, from the first side. And from the second side included and embraced the different parties of the Syrian opposes abroad. And in this context, Turkey recently embraced Antakia Conference.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Turkey sought to write the Syrian opposes, because Turkey fears that Al-Qaddafi's scene is repeated after Bashar Al-Asad regime. And Turkey seeks to persuade the regional regimes to stand beside the rebels, and also coordinated with the Arab league in the movement of exaggeration against the Syrian regime. Turkey also showed readiness for intervention to protect the civilians in Syria in the light of Arabic or international legislation if the Syrian regime continued killing the civilians, and also in sharing to force economic penalties like severing electricity.

The Turkish minister of foreign affairs warned for the dangers of civil war, because of the military operations between the two parts; the Syrian regime and the Syrian army, and the indication specializes that Russian minister of the foreign affairs also warned from civil war, for the same reason, which Oghlo, the Turkish minister for foreign affairs cleared.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

### **The Irani Stand:**

Iran described the demands raised by the people in Syria as "legislative" and asked the Asad regime to quickly response to them in a rare Iran stand towards the protests. In spite of that it criticized the Western demand from Asad to step aside, and considered it a clear intervention in the internal affairs.

Iran supported the protests in all the Arab states, in Syria and Yemen and it approves that, but it announced in many occasions its support to the Syrian president, Bashar Al-Asad with calling for him including reformations, and Iran warned by the words of its minister for foreign affairs, from "a political space" in Syria, with unexpected stands of him towards the neighboring states, and the region, and described Syria with an important ring of the resistance rings in the Middle East, in an indication to the United States. But Britain, France, and Germany ad called Al-Asad to step aside.

### **The Israeli Stand:**

Since the popular motion in some of the Arab countries the Israeli political, military and security leadership devoted itself to watch that motion. There are fears from the Arab spring on Israel, the first of them what concerns Mubarak's regime which represented the first defense line of the Israeli national security, and so the Israeli will not forgive America for giving up Mubarak due to deed Iran's saying.

And with the rising of the Islamists' domination in the region after the Arab spring, the Israeli fears increase about the Israeli national security. There fore, we have to be ready to deal with any outcomes many result, including the necessity of keeping the Jordanian regime, which does a role similar to what was Mubarak. Here, the study recommends that America has not to allow its mistake to be repeated, because its continuation is a guarantee to the Israeli security interests.xxxxix

The Israeli outlook towards those revolts and the extent of their effects on the regional surrounding, there is a wing led by Simo Peres and tsivi Libni former chief of Kadima party. That team supported those revolts and look at them as a natural state, and Israel has to make use of them, through defending opportunities of peace with the new regimes and stretching bridges of trust with the Arab nation, under standing that peace with the former regimes is a peace with persons and not with peoples.

Supporters of this view believe that the Arab revolts concentrated on attaining freedom, democracy and better opportunities for life, and did not bear with their agendas opposing emblems to Israel. But the Israeli Prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu expressed Israel's anxiety from the revolts which devastate the region. But the Israeli stand form Syria may be described with mistiness and blur, but some Israeli officials warned that Egypt may cancel Camp David Agreement and March to sink into armed conflict with Israel.xl

The Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu preferred that the acting changes in the Arab world may result in a state of instability lasts too long. Meanwhile, the minister of defense Iyahod Barak expressed his hope of hastening to dethrone the Libyan leader, yelling the loss of the Egyptian president Husni Mobarak. But Netanyahu repeated warning from the unsteadiness in the region and the possibility of deteriorating the regimes of the Arab states adjacent to Israel, at the background of the political partner. He considered that the Middle East region passes through a historical stroke assuring that there is no place for the weak people in it.xli

### **The Russian Stand:**

The Russian president, Demitry Medvedev showed that his country is influenced by the acting incidents in the Middle East, that is, in the shadow of what the organization of North Gogazia, the Russian country, in the last moths of the un proceeded rising of violence deeds, and warned that the series of incidents in the Middle East will directly influence the situation in Russia, and he believes that the incidents may lead to disconnection of the Middle East states into small states, ad expected difficult incidents in the region, including reaching whom he called "extremists to power".xlii

Hundreds of persons demonstrated in Russia on February 8th., 2011 influenced by the Tunisian revolt and the Egyptian revolt demanding to change the government, because of their bad state of living. Russia also said that it loses more than ten billion dollars if the transactions of arms programmed within Arab state collapsed, witnessed or witness revolts or popular protests against their regimes.

### **11: The Arab Spring and what is after the Collapse of Regimes:**

Thinkers, scholars and opposing factions were all exposed to quelling and tyranny and exclusion during the past decades, and it was clear after the collapse of the former regimes. They left space and evacuation in the institutions. This may lead to order and partition. So, it is a must to keep what is positive from the rests of former regimes, especially institutions, cadres, leaderships: scientific, technical and vocational, in to military experience. It is a must to abandon violence and continuous conflicts: political, religious and schools and sects preaching's, the thing which

threatens the future of revolts and forms a fertile soil to develop extremity and terrorism with all its shapes: religious, political and ethnic or racial.xliii

And from the issues which will share in drawing the future of the Arab revolts I the appearance of political Islam movements on the scene and in a great starting, grater than the past. These movements hastened to join the revolts and directed them, so as to participate in the coming governments. They also attempt to present moderate samples of the political Islam. And simultaneously we do not believe to exclude any party whatever was his trend to participate in the powers and coming governments. That is the logic of substantial democracy. There remain legal questions in the minds of most of watchers and concerned persons with the affairs of the Arab revolts. From these questions, the following:

- What does democracy mean to political Islam?
- Does democracy mean that it is machinery for voting and shortened in cast-polling which enables the majority to force their imagination and value on the minority, or voting is one of its machinery in rules of the game, values and intellectual bases?
- Is there a private democracy of the political Islam differs from the cosmic concept of democracy, which does not allow any specialty, except for some contexts that differs from a community to another, headed by respect of freedoms and separation of authorities and highness of law, rational keeping of public affairs, and stay far away from forcing religious values comprehensively.xliv

At the external level that represents another challenge to the revolts of the spring and its coming governments, we know that the west and America have strategic interests in the region and its states. Therefore, their behavior came changeable in what concerns the revolts, and mixed between humanitarian and democratic and of interest. We need the West and America to share in rebuilding the country in return for their interests; especially the American, Israeli and European alliance is still strong and not inclines a little for the interest and justice of the Palestinian problem.xlv

## **12: Conclusion:**

It can be said that the revolts of the Arab Spring was not giving birth by a caesarean operation or automatically in a stable, quiet and social context, or an emotional response to revenge to Mohammad Al-Boizizi who exploded the Tunisian revolt, but came as a result of accumulation of feelings of failure and despondence and loss from which the whole Arab peoples suffered as long as the contemporary history of theirs. It was caused by the repeated failures with which the track of the Arab regimes was distinguished. Due to the different types and variety of their ideologies, the revolution state is an expression of the available contradictions in the economic, social and political life. It represents the climax of its escalation.

These revolts will not only change the track of the Arab nation's history, but will transform the milestones of the world's map and re regulate the papers on the international scene. These revolts will lead to perform a variety of democratic regimes in the Arab World, guarantees the basic freedoms, justice and equality and empowerment of the woman and reformulate the future of the Arab Homelands and participate in running them.

The Arab revolts are not only concerned about dethroning the tyrant regimes. That is a first step and not a purpose. So, it forms the external and internal challenges and duties, and the ability to find the solutions of them, through the most rinsing labyrinths which stand a handicap in front of the revolt and its coming new regimes and put it on the way of future sought by all. The most conspicuous of these duties and challenges area specify the identity and belonging of what concerns the civil state and its nature, reference, Islamic reference, the secular regime, rights of religious, ethnic and the Arabic and Islamic belonging even the regional, and forms regimes believe in political variety and peaceful exchange of power through practicing substantial democracy and poll (elections), in addition to

belief in freedom of variety with all its forms, and insuring the state of citizenship for all. The vibration witnesses a heavy heritage of underdevelopment, corruption, crises, so, from priorities of the revolts is building the infrastructure, and rebuilding fair and right relationships among forces of the community. Saving opportunities of labor and renewing productive projects and improving life style.

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**Footnotes:**

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- <sup>iii</sup> Paul Salem, the Arab Spring in a Global Vies, the Jordan Assabeel, Electronic Location 6/6/2012.
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- <sup>v</sup> Rababa', Ghazi, Great Middle East Project, unpublished study, Amman, 2010.
- <sup>vi</sup> Riyadh Journal, August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2011.
- <sup>vii</sup> Rabee' Mahmoud et al., Political Science Encyclopedia, Al Kon Darel Watan Publishing House.
- <sup>viii</sup> The Arab Revolution- Free Encyclopedia Wikipedia, Arab Revolts. <http://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki>.
- <sup>ix</sup> The civilized dialogue – no. 3449- 8/8/2011, 01:39.
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid, the Civilized dialogue.
- <sup>xi</sup> The Dilemmas of the Arab Spring, Adnan Khan, Emirates Press, Dubai, 2006, p7.
- <sup>xii</sup> Hilmi Mohammad Al-Gaood, Storms of the Arab S[pring, Attempts of aborting the revolt, Roses Island Bookshop, Cairo, 2012, p8.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Garry Blight, Arab spring: and interactive timeline of Middle East protest. The Guardian, London, 5/Jan., 2012.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Mahdi, Abu Fateem, the Arab Spring, The Arab Revolutions in the Twenty first Century, Center for Arab Unit Studies, Beirut, 2012, p16.
- <sup>xv</sup> Riyad Mansour, The confused capitals of the Arab Spring push the Moslems Brotherhood to plant political mines, Addustour Newspaper, No. 16132. date: 8/6/2012.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Location of the third power, an electronic, daily, public and independent journal, 8/9/2011.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Lisa Anderson, Demystify in Arabic Spring, Hein online. Foreign Affairs, May/June. 2011, p3.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Arab Revolts, Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia. 2011.
- <sup>xix</sup> Shameul Mizrahy, Arab Spring an Israeli Autman, translated by Zeinab Khalil oudeh, Gaza, 2011, p61.
- <sup>xx</sup> Ibid, Arab Revolutions, from Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia. 2011.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Electronic Location of Al-Jazeera Space Canal, Doha, Date 1/5/2011.
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- <sup>xxiii</sup> The Journal, The Arab International Journal, London, 25/10/2011
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- <sup>xxvii</sup> Ibid, Wikipedia, the Arabic Revolutions, Free Encyclopedia, 2011.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Ibid. The Arab Revolts, from Wikipedia, Free Encyclopedia, 2011.
- <sup>xxix</sup> The yearly report of human rights in the Arab World, The Arab Spring predicament, wearing out the constituents of the civil state and proscribing justice, 2012.

- <sup>xxx</sup> Speech of Hilary Clinton after ten months of the Arab Spring (Bradley Kleiber) Associated Press 17/1/2011, Ibid.
- <sup>xxxii</sup> Abdel Fattah Basheer, America and the Arab Spring, the Arab Affairs Journal No. (146) pp. (57-58).
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> <http://islamonline.net/ar/212>.
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- <sup>xxxiv</sup> BBC Canal, on Friday, and al-Jazeera Space Canal on Friday.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Ibid. Abdel Fattah Basheer, p.56.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Al-Jazeera Net, Date 30/10/2011.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.net/ar/nr/exeres>.
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- <sup>xl</sup> Center for security Studies. [www.regionalstudiescenter.net/details](http://www.regionalstudiescenter.net/details).
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- <sup>xliii</sup> Freedom voice, Independent Electronic Journal, Date 3/5/2012.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Munzer Khaddam, Democracy in the intellect of the contemporary political Islam, civilized Dialogue, No. 719, 20/1/2012.
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