

Arab Spring, Oil and probable matrix of governments in Arab Middle East

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“After an evil reign, the fairest dawn is the first”
(Corbelius Taitus). But as the fate of previous revolutions warn us, among the seasons, spring is the shortest (Tobu Dodge, 2011).

Abstract

This study focuses on the phenomenology of movements called the Arab Spring (Islamic Awakening), while investigating the factors affecting the formation of these movements; the role of oil states preventing the rise of the uprisings; their changes and deviation; and it attempts to portray the possible matrix of governments in the Arab Middle East. The research is based on the historical sociology of the Arab Middle East, along with the political economic theory towards the oil states, it also shows the scope of these movements in 22 countries with four different strategies which illustrate the possible matrix of governments in the Middle East. As a stable transition, Tunisia as the only successful example of Arab Spring experience; the stable autocratic system as an example Saudi Arabia; the unstable system for example Syria; the unstable transition system for example Egypt in the form of 4 possible forms; the consolidation of democracy, autocratic governments, combined regimes (rebuilt) and a new form of authoritarianism. This contradictory process, along with the important elements like oil and rentier governments, can pave the way for the emergence of hybrid governments in the Middle East with a longer life span.

Key words: Arabic Movements, government matrix, transition, instability, rentier governments

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Introduction

The democratic uprising in the Arab world, which begun with a demonstration of courage, devotion and commitment of the popular forces, coincidentally coincided with the uprising of tens of thousands of US people in the, Madison, Wisconsin and other cities in previous decades (Chomsky, 2011). These uprisings, protests and revolutions which broke out on December 18, 2010 flared up with the self-immolation of Tunisian salesman Mohammad Boqariri, which then adjoined with a series of unrest in other Arab countries. The flame of the revolution, which flared up in December from the winter season, was known as the Arab Spring. Although other metaphors such as Islamic Awakening in Iran, Arab unrest and awakening in other countries have been used to describe these movements. But the Arab Spring metaphor, like its origins, dates back to December 2010. Bernard Lewis, in his 2005 book "Freedom and Justice in the Modern Middle East", with a cautious statement anticipated the changes which nowadays called as the Arab Spring, although Bernard Lewis suggested these changes from the standpoint of the radical spirit of the Muslim world and the Muslim's perception of the center of truth and enlightenment with the description that Muslims cannot accept to be despised by the advanced West (Goldman, 2012). But Adonis called what was happened in Syria and the other countries, Arab countries in particular, as the birth of another wound. According to Adonis, Syria has experienced these wounds in three stages before the rise of new Syria. The first stage was the collapse of Ottoman caliphate, the second phase was the era of trusteeship and the third stage was the time of independence (Adonis,2011). Kashi in an article titled Arabic muted Movements, considers the Arab Spring as amuted movement (Kashi, 2011). Muted in the sense that this movement does not articulate in a language such as Marxism and Liberalism, but the slogans of the movement is an indication of these movements being multilingual. Edgar Morin, in an article titled Shadows of the Arab Spring, with an unconventional greeting with the phrase "Arabs like us and us like Arabs" with Hegel's description of the French Revolution of 1789, said that: "It was the dawn of the sun which reminds that the path to realization of this democratic aspiration and the transition from the state of

subjectivity (subjugation) to the state of citizenship is a difficult and high-risk path (Edgar Morin, 2011). The fragile state of the phenomenon of “oil” of rentier governments and the political economy based on oil, but without democracy as what has been experienced in Norway, has made the path of political development in these countries even a more complicated situation. This complexity, along with the cultural diversity in the region with the phenomenon of rentier economy, can be a possible illustration of variable government matrix in the region.

1. Theoretical Framework

It has been more than seven years since the flames of the movement flared up in Tunisia, but the flames of this movement are continuously and sometimes sporadically illuminates itself. So far, as the results of these movements, which were mainly took place in the Arab states of North Africa and Southwest of Asia, made rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen relieved of their power. Major uprisings of Bahraini people, the eruption of protests in Syria, the massive demonstrations in Algeria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Sudan and Saudi Arabia, also small pretests in Lebanon, Mauritania, Oman and the Western Desert (Egypt) show the vastness of this movements in different colors (Salamey, 2012).

The stream of Arab unrest in Syria has been started after Bashar Al-Assad’s speech on January 6, 2013, demonstrations in Kuwait (Arab springs next chapter, 2013), unrest in several Iraqi Sunni provinces, the issuance of long Sentences for Shi’a oppositions in Bahrain, the discovery of Muslims Brotherhood cells in the Arab Emirates(Alarab LiBeration, 2013), somehow that the sign of changes in Jordan were marked by unrest in Saudi Arabia and several other countries. Although for many observers in the Middle East, the promise of Arab revolution with the assumption of Islamic parties taking over the power was fading, but Khana Parag, a geopolitics write, considered it as a democratic victory (Kahan Parag, 2013). Nevertheless, the movement which had arisen with Lebanese demonstration in 2015 on the issue of garbage collection, has embraced 22 countries with different strategies without a general strategy.

1. Poor oil countries such as Jordan, Oman and Morocco, which still a clear indication of movements can’t be seen

in them, are in the process of reforming and transferring power to parliament.

2. Royal oil countries such as Bahrain, which are heavily exposed to changes due to the sharp wind of Arab Spring.
3. Rich and non-royal oil countries (expect Libya), like Iraq and Kuwait.
4. Non-oil and non-royal countries such as Lebanon, Yemen and Egypt (Khana Parag, 2012).

2. The Phenomenology of Arab unrest (the emergence of three myths)

In analyzing and evaluating the roots of the Arab uprisings, there are many reasons to be counted, as the unbalanced development, the inefficiency of the rentier government, regional joint dynamics (Osman, 2011), Islamic Awakening, Democracy (Hamilton, 2011), role of the youths, the role of women, social media, globalization, social and class divisions in Arab countries, economic issues, social justice, movements without leadership and etc (Maqsoodi and Heydari, 2011).

Three factors of common factors have become myths while analyzing Arab unrest:

1. (Uprising = Youth): in this myth, it has been attempted that the Arab youth by utilizing Facebook and Twitter, mobilize people to engineer the uprising, an element that the Arab world previously been deprived of, but with precise observation of the uprisings, we realize that popular mobilization is widespread among dissatisfied youth. In a study conducted by the DEDI institute in Denmark and the ACPSS Pyramid Strategic studies center in 2012, from 1200 Egyptian respondents in 21 provinces (with the exception of border countries) were over the age of 18 and less than the half of the protesters were under 30 years old. In the same survey, 12% of the respondents claimed that they participated in pre-revolution demonstrations, and only 20% of them joined the 2011 uprisings. In fact, the majority of protesters have been between the ages of 40 to 50 years old.

2. (Uprising = Social networks): DEDI surveys showed that while 26% of the protesters were Facebook users, only 8% of those users, about one-third of protesters benefited from these networks for political purposes (Wichman, 2012). In fact, these statistics indicated that the main population of uprisings were middle-aged, not youths. Actually, in many countries which faced the biggest upsurge in 2011, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Yemen, were ranked as the lowest Arab countries which used the internet (Statistics from the International Telecommunication Union).
3. (Uprising = Economy): analysts have claimed that economic problems are the roots to these crises. These types of analyses showed that neoliberal economic reforms not only did not eliminate the long-standing problems of these countries, but also pushed most of the benefits toward the circle of ruling powers, these procedures combined with the rise in unemployment, increase in marriage age and etc. were important factors in provoking insurrection. Particularly, the symmetry of Tunisian uprising with the self-immolation of Tunisian vendor, Bou Azizi, has consolidated this factor among other factors, while the DEDI-ACPSS survey in 2012 showed that more than economic issues, Arabs demand democracy.

Death to the neighbors (Arabic Winter): By survival of some of the regimes, the passion for Arab Spring was soon replaced by the Arab Winter, and its importance is in that, after the collapse in Egypt, Libya and Tunisia and what was happening in Syria, issues and riots brought about reasons for the continuation of the Arab Spring and also its suppression. But Arab unrest seems to have taken new forms, Jordan Hashemi watched events closely in the 2011 events. In 2013, many western analysts argued that the next year it would probably be Jordan (Tobin, 2013).

In Jordan, there are serious issues in the field of domestic politics and economy to provoke and strengthen the protests. Strong tensions to economic problems, religious tensions to the lack of a genuine democratic voice, and a lot of worries about unrest in neighboring countries have prepared the resources for a change in Jordan. A country with 92% heterogenic Muslims, Sunnis, Salafism, Druze Shi'a and small Sufi sects... the majority of the

population is consisted of Palestinian which is up to 50% of population, Iraqis 15-20%, Assyrians, Armenians, Chechens, migrant workers from Egypt, Sri Lanka, The Philippines has a remarkable track toward the change (Tobin, 2013).

Especially this country is a kind of royal kingdom (without the oil power). What important is that the Arab Spring is not a positive outcome but a positive process. Although progress has been made in this process, but the rugged path and response to political Islam is the first major political consequence of the Arab Spring and Islamic awakening (Rubeize, 2013).

4. The Arab Spring (Islamic Awakening) Repeat of France 1848 or Europe in 1989-1991

More than five years have passed from the rise of the Arab Spring (Islamic Awakening), although many consider the events of the past five years as the start of something bigger and also some others consider it as a joke (Velayati, 2012). But one might argue that the Arab Spring (Islamic Awakening) is the repetition of France 1848 or Europe 1989-1991 events. Edmond Burke, the English conservative philosopher, and the most famous critic of the French Revolution, in his famous book "Reflection on the French Revolution" wrote that: maybe you have a revolution, or you may have overthrown the monarchy, but freedom has not improved (Edmond Burke, 1790). Farid Zakaria, also warned that the training is the savior of dictator's, and they are now intelligent and futuristic (zakarya, 2012). At the same time, the different nature of protest experienced in different countries, the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia, Lotus in Egypt, compared with the Clove Revolution in Portugal 1974, Georgia in 2003, the cold war in 2005 are being compared with each other. But the Egypt or Tunisia revolution, is not a revolution that set itself as socialist, liberal, etc. but it's a form of opposition to the ruling order with a wide range of social issues without elite. Electing the unrest periods was also initiative, for example, on January 25th in Egypt was the police day and in Bahrain, the February 14th was the anniversary of the 2001 referendum which was an expression of the promise of reform in the country (Rosiny, 2012).

The concept which is sometimes used about Turkey, a country which is to some extent secular, to some extent conservative and to some extent western, just like water and oil. Two substances that may be integrated but would never fade away (the Atlantic. Des 2011). This is the reason why West is not capable of taking lead just like they did in 1989 -91 in the European revolution. But they can support it.

Because they can't expect the same results in a country such as Egypt, a country with less than 50 years of democracy. (Hamilton. F2 .Des.2012). But as Robert Kapeldon in some excerpts entitled the revolution of 1848 and the shadow of history on middle east, implicitly mentions the defeated revolution of Orleans in France and the repetition of monarchy (hayji, 19.mars 2012).For this reason in the last days of 2012 the conflicts which took place in Altahrir square between the Islamists and the seculars debating on constitution according to sharia law (religious law) led to injuries of prime minister and president of Tunisia. A young man has become the symbol of Arabian spring by setting himself on fire in the city called Booazizi on the second anniversary on revolution in Tunisia. Though Shahdi Hamidi believes excitement and disappointing are basically the same, states that inconsistency can be constructive, and that in short time there can be an exchange between democracy and constancy. As mentioned earlier development demands a higher tolerance for inconsistency (Shadi Hamid: 2012). An expressive allusion by the Slovak philosopher-psychologist Zizek which really is a thought provoking concept called valley of tears, in it he mentions in order to reach real development one must cross the valley of tears. A long and winning road which Arab spring is not called an exception in it. It is a reality that Arabs have witnessed the growth of corruption and defeat of Nasserism and Bethasism. These days such concepts will no longer continue to be. However if a riot must turn into a revolution there should have been a motivation behind it and in the Arabs world must be resuscitated. Freedom and equality must be united as one but without brotherhood, in a region so very much dominated and united with each other such riots are hugely in danger of a bitter failure. From the decade of 1950s onward different kinds of egoism has had immerse costs for Middle East and northern Africa. So Arab spring (Arab awakening) in terms of

vastness of chaos and change can be compared to three former paradigm.

1: liberal wars of Spanish - American (Latin) which began in 1810 and ends in 1825.

2: Revolutions in Europe 1848-49.

3: falling of Soviet Union in 1989-91.

Each one of these happenings were unique in its time and place. As a chain of explosions in the Arabian world will be the same. Each and every one of those didn't last more than two years.

The blaze of these uprisings has begun in December 2010 in Tunisia and less than 3 months was expanded to other Arabic countries as Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen, Libya, Oman and Jordan. So each anticipation of the consequences would be hasty the most radical chain of above mentioned of those three in 1852 led to complete failure.

The other two chains led to victory. Although undoubtedly as Bolívar (the political leader of Latin Americans) or Barbero (unsatisfied intellectual of the eastern Germany) had hoped the outcome of victory often had been rough. The ultimate destiny of the Arabs uprisings could be the same to one of those two. Albeit could be nothing like these two and be totally unique. (Perry Anderson, October 2011).

The second distinct feature of Arab world is the length and the severity of the absolute dictatorship which they have undergone from the very first day of the process of superficial decolonization. In the last 30 years as Freedom House deduced, all over the Latin America to south of Africa and south eastern Asia democratic regimes have been expanded. In Middle East and north of Africa the same thing yet has not happened. That's because in these places various different dictators have always been overbearing and dominant and the passage of time and change of circumstances has not changed anything. Saudi Arabia is the most appropriate example for the expression "members of Sicilian mafia" who have been the main core of power of the United States in the region from the day of the president Roosevelt's treaty. It has been almost a century that they have held the absolute power in the country.

When the British king of India began to constitute United Arab Emirates placed the trivial sheikhs of Persian Gulf or Oman Sea or

he himself supported them. The dynasty of Hashemi and Alavi in Jordan and Morocco (the first one is the outcome of colonialism of the Great Britain and the second is the outcome of colonialism of France) (Anderson, October 2011).

Another point worth mentioning is lack of a factor in these uprisings .the most of these factors, meaning the revolutions 1848-49 in Europe, and Not two but three kinds of fundamental demands have been tied up with each other which are political, social and national. What happened in the Arabian uprisings in 2011? To this day, movements of folks have never been protests against the United States or Israel. Undoubtedly one of the reasons of historical invalidity of Arabic nationalism is the failure of Nasserism in Egypt. The other reason is dimensional resistance to the imperialism of the United States is characteristic of regimes like Syria , Libya and so forth and does not represent a political alternative pattern .

Yet it is interesting that in some parts of the world where the power of empire ruling is more apparent, opposing imperialism yet has not been shown or emerged. Though the burning question is that will this situation last?

To this day the United States has earned a satisfactory figure of these changes. In the Persian Gulf, in the uprisings in Bahrain that could to some extent jeopardize Americans marine headquarters, with the eminent representation of alliance between the dynasty and by the interventions of counterrevolutionary in the most famous of traditions of 1849 were torn apart. Kingdoms of Aal soud and Hameshi have been protected at all costs.

Although the trench fight of Yemen against Salafism seems fragile and in Egypt and Tunisia the rulers have been pulled down but the hierarchy of military of Cairo has been left intact towards the interrelation with pentagon. The biggest civilian power that can be stabilized in each country is local fundamentalism. Earlier the prospect of entrance of Akhvan al Moslemin and its regional allies in the government could lead into a warning to Washington.

But now west has a reassuring model for reconstitution in the Arabian world which has the best of all in the political world.

Justice and development party of Turkey has shown how loyal it is to NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and neoliberalism. The party introduces itself as liberal democrat despite using

suppression and intimidation. Yet it on one hand recurs to legitimate suppression and on the other hand to religious beliefs. If there were a political leader for instance Ardogan for Cairo or Tunisia, he would be satisfactory in the eyes of people comparing to Mobarak or Ben Ali (Perry Anderson October 2011).

Anyhow if we come to a comprehensive conclusion, the essence of these riots can be within the range of these predicates.

1: A dictatorial regime in the region are naturally unstable.

2: Instability of democracy in terms of cultural tendency is dictatorial.

3: organized opposing with the regime in command has always been from Islamist and undemocratic groups.

4: Protests with the purpose of wanting something in the region have always been different.

5: Any kind of meaningful political change has been conducted by a foreigner character (Conservative, Middle East October, 2011).

DISCUSSION:

Views based of social science in the Middle East has had strong motives on analyzing Arab spring and experimental realities and policy change in the region. This research has tries to analyze the political changes in the Middle East based on type of government and degree of stability.

Though an analysis about Arab spring is yet in its primitive stage, however rent theory and revolutionary theory have a fair share in explaining the Arabian chaos. That's because Arabian nations have got a complex essence. in this respect rent theory is satisfactory enough in proving the complexity of it. That's because it can explain the secrets to the permanence of both stable and unstable authoritarian regimes .Passage theory and revolution can be helpful in explaining such a complex and somehow contradictory collection in Middle Eastern countries especially countries affected by Arab spring though a prominent researcher like Audonis was unwilling to call the name Arab spring (Arabian awakening) a revolution (Chalala.2011).

1: Demographic changes

In this method, it is argued that changes because of social and political development in the Authoritarian countries in the Middle East was inevitable and according to Volgar the most important key

element is the population development in the Arabian world. From the year 1970 until the year 2010 the population in the Arabian countries have been tripled. About 128 to 395 million people are under the poverty line (UNDP 2009: 22). Approximately 30% of this population are young people between the ages 20 to 35. Although this generation is completely acknowledged and pays close attention to education and upbringing and also education through digital technology have a better condition compared to the former generations yet a lot of them are not capable of finding a suitable job.

Unemployment rate in the year 2003 in people between the ages 15 to 24 was 35/6 which shows the highest unemployment rate in the world (UPND, 2009:20).

Although there has been a considerable attention to the academic education, however there was a very slight chance of gaining a position for those who have been graduated from the college. (Beck, august 2012).

In some researches there has been an effort to evaluate Islamism throughout the prospect of generation change. In this view, to our interpretation the concept of form is not merely statistic or biological but a cultural construct. (Nabavi, October 2011).

2: Social Media

This idea has been set forth by some researchers especially Philip Howard. From this point of view the occurrence of Arab spring dates back to accessibility of digital Medias such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and text messaging. Virtual connections can lead to planning and sharing one with those like-minded and organizing an uprising against the domineering rulers. Even before the Arab spring the most severe criticisms had been written by bloggers. The Medias mentioned before shows how freedom and welfare in West and other places of the world is. Each and every day more and more people turn into users of applications such as Skype and Online International News (Howard&Hosseini, 2011: 36- 42). Multilayer connectivity to Medias has given the opportunity to people living in the region to question the political norm and the merits of the rulers. For this reason, after the self-immolation of the young Tunisian guy (Boqarizi), people declared their alliance to one another through online Medias.

In this respect, social Media has had a huge impact on people and tampered to unite people and this unity in the cyberspace was reincarnated in the uprisings on the streets. Within a couple of weeks the uprisings had been organized successfully on the Internet. Video clips and images of the uprisings being recorded by the civilians' cell phones had been an inspiration for people in other Arabic cities and countries (Rosiny, 2012).

3: Economic liberalization without economic reformation

From the economic and political prospective Arab spring had been established with a social crisis. A treaty signed between the world of Arabs and the nations in power. This authoritarian trade which implicitly at least promises financial support, somehow itself became a context of the degree of people's loyalty to the political regime. Besides these financial margins, these regimes suffers severely from under funding. With all these concepts Arab spring could have been not expected. But with the expansion of oil price in the decade of 70s tampered economic rent in the Middle East. The collapse of oil price in the last two decades caused the regimes in the Middle East to have a complex but unstable effort to manage the crisis and also to adopt a limited financial reform which mainly had been done with the purpose of foreign trade. While developing the financial issues which were often ineffective, there was no focus on the development of political entities. Although probably this factor can't clarify Arab spring solely but it can express the procedure of Arab spring in the Arabic countries(Beck, August 2012). Researchers such as Samir Amin the author of the well-known book called Arabian people among others, believes the financial issue is the most important factor in the Arabian disturbance. (Chalala:2011).

4: Freedom and justice

Demand for human dignity, freedom and social justice despite the diversity of uprisings had been directly seen in all Arabic countries. The very first huge uprising began on October 25th in Altahrir square in Cairo in Egypt and words such as bread, freedom, human right and human dignity were shouted. So this claim is rejected to a lot of westerns who believe the culture, religion and mindset of

those living in Arabic countries is opposed with democratic values (Beck, August 2012).

For many of those observing the Middle East by the time when Islamic parties making commands the promises for Arabic revolution started to fade away.(Khana, October 2012: 2). However some believe Arabic spring is a reconciliation with democracy. (Christian Science Mitor 20 June 2012).

5. Probable matrix of government in Middle Eastern Arabic regimes

Arab spring entailed disorder in dictatorial regimes of the region to a large extent. First of all, it should be mentioned that some countries with a high authoritarian standard had been wavered and reached a point which they can be categorized as countries in transition. Just like countries after the disintegration Soviet Union which led to a democratic system in this country. On the contrary, in many cases, the combinational system caused a new type of dictatorship which took place in Turkey after the failure of Kemalism in the decade of 1950s. From this point of view four types of sovereignty can be taken into account.

1: permanent autocrat system: like Saudi Arabia

When Arab spring began, international witnesses had hoped to see some special changes in Saudi Arabia (Laucruiks, 2011: 48) just like the unsatisfactory that had happened in other Arabic countries and the reason is that the country faced huge social gaps, corruption and political suppression. Uprisings took place every now and then in 2011 especially in the eastern area where the Shiite lived (Freetag.2011; 48). However the regime managed to stabilize the situation with huge financial resources. The income gained by selling oil had given the regime the opportunity to both provide financial support for some parts of the society and keep the whole society in serenity by using the policy of stick and carrot. As the social unrest went on, some commands such as forbidding of protest all over the country and the expansion of security hindrance had been deployed. Furthermore the royal family with the implicit influence and authority they had over the elite community of Ulema (religious scholars) commanded them to name protests against the Islamic rules with this fatwa in order to show people what they are doing is god-forbidden. On January 11th by the decree of the king of Saudi Arabia, 30 women succeeded to take

part in the legislative assembly (2013). With the death of Malek Abdoolah, and Ben Salman being in charge, leading the war against people in Yemen in order to support Mehdi Abd Rebe and starting a rapid political reforms in 2017 knowing how conservative the society in Saudi Arabia is has nominated the country as one of the leading countries for change in the upcoming years in the Middle East. Although the heinous murder of the centrist journalist who was a critic of crown prince Ben Salman's diplomacy in August 2018 in the embassy of Saudi Arabia has caused Ben Salman's political future in a serious dilemma (Missing voice.Washingtonpost.Aug.2018).

2: Unstable authoritarian system: Syria issue

Following Arab spring, the very first protests by people declaring political reforms in January 2011, and the Syrian regime tried to control the situation by omitting the emergency situation which was legislated in the previous decades and manage the protests which were often held in the cities Homas and Edlib where people who settled in are Sunni. The political referendum which was conducted in 2012 and the change in the members of cabinet could not keep away the country from a civil war and was of no use to be rescued from the very dark future of the country. On January 6th, President Bashar Al Assad meanwhile calling his oppositions West puppets had asked them to have a controversy and form a national unity party (Assad Speech6.7.2013).

On January 9th, spokesperson of the government invited oppositions into a debate without any preconditions by them. (9.7an 2013). Although the unity of oppositions and the leadership which was supported by Saudi Arabia and Qatar, wanted Bashar Al Assad to step aside from power. In the meantime the government of Iran found this political initiative welcoming and called it an important step to clear violence, non-foreign intervention and the return of those who had to leave their homes and go to other countries. Salehi , 9. Jan. 2013). In the last days of 2017 Bashar Al Assad relying on his strategic allies Russia and Iran (especially Iran) managed to succeed in taking control of the country. Although leaders of western countries like Emmanuel Macron (the president of France) and Donald J Trump (the president of The USA) would like Bashar Al Assad to be resigned from the

presidency of Syria, Bashar Jafari the representative of Syria in the UN (the United Nations) in his last direct debate he had in December 2017, insisted specifically that any discussion with precondition that Bashar Al Assad should be resigned is not accepted in any circumstances by them (BBC.persian.2017).

For this reason Demisto, the representative of the UN on the subject of Syria asked Iran, Syria and also Turkey to help the oppositions return to the country in both Astana (the capital of Kazakhstan) and Geneva (a city in Switzerland).

3: the unstable transition system: like Egypt

Transition in Egypt after Hosni Mubarak, took place just like the way it did in Tunisia. Power in Egypt was transferred from Hosni Mubarak to his vice president and then from the vice president to the military council. Albeit in the period of transition of power seems it is not likely that it has the stability the same as Tunisia. At first, in the year 2011 with the transition of power to the military government caused more and more power for the military from the day military was created in 1954. This issue shows that even with the resignation of Hosni Mubarak, members of the former regime are still in command. In The election in 2012 in Egypt, Ahmad Shaqif won the election with a distinct difference in the votes obtained. This issue proves that the presence of members of the former regime is a vital factor for the obstruction of the democratic change. These days Islamists approximately have most of the power in their hands.

However there is another way to evaluate which party owns the power more and that is to gain two thirds of the seats of the parliament by Islamists and the agitation of terror from a regime which is both Islamic and antidemocratic. The possibility of coalition between the Salafism and the Muslim brotherhood (Akhvan Al Moslemin) (2012) and compilation of constitution based on Islamic religious law and strike on liberals and seculars with the leadership of Omar Moosa, Hamdi and Albaradei on the last days of 2012 and with the resignation of Morsi (the former president of Egypt) in 2012 and his trial in 2015 which was found guilty of treason to the country by the military council in power, General Sisi is the man proving the unstable transition system in Egypt. In the last days of 2017 General Sisi had the thought of running for the election because of his advocates writing a long

letter inviting him to do so. Maybe this would be the end to the Arab spring in Egypt.

4: Stable transition system :(or the experience of Tunisia)

It is interesting to know that Tunisia has been the most successful of all in the uprisings in the Arabic countries. Maybe this view to some extent could be right and defensible that wherever Arab spring bloomed it met the needs. Tunisian spring instead of Arab spring.

5: Oil based Middle East in the midst of authoritarianism and transition

Although the Arab Spring led to decline of several important countries in the Middle East, but it has retained its sustainability in many Arab countries around the Persian Gulf, except for Libya and Bahrain, where sometimes instability is apparent. But from the stand point of the social sciences, by observing these contradictions, it can be argued that, despite the presence of authoritarian regimes in oil-rich regions, how these countries (except Libya and Bahrain) preserved their sustainability? Among the countries around the Persian Gulf, Qatar, despite the creation of long lasting despotism, has received the least effect from the Arab Spring. Along with Qatar, Iran has the largest gas reserves in the world. In 2017 Qatar have been besieged by Saudi Arabia and its allies, such as UAE and Bahrain, and by rapprochement with Turkey and Iran, there is a purgatorial of change in politics. In the case of Qatar, as an oil rentier government, the continuation of country's survival and also its declination in the Middle East are both rooted in oil.

Qatar a country with a population of nearly two million, only 220,000 of which are Qatari, has considerable freedom to design their own domestic and foreign policy. Qatar, in 2009 has a per capita income of 82978 \$ and in 2012 its per capita income reached the amount of 113000 \$ which placed it at the top of countries based on their per capita income. The country's growth rate has increased from 17% in 2010 to 19% in 2012 (UNDP, 2012). The unemployment rate estimation in the country was below 1%. International Monetary Fund has protected this high welfare state from the level of socio-political and economic dissatisfaction that has led to protest in many Arab countries.

At the same time, the ruling elites in Qatar, seeking to secure their regional legitimacy, with the strategy of supporting the Arab Spring, played a regional liability and diplomatic-political savior role in the region. In the Arab union Qatar was the first country to vote in favor of military intervention in Libya. Simultaneously, by giving financial and military support to the insurgents in Libya and supporting opposition in Syria, they have taken steps to support the Muslim Brotherhood in the direction of strengthening and accompanying the Arab Spring (Reuters 29. No. 2012).

In Bahrain, which has limited oil reserves, from the rentier government stand point, it is not surprising that the biggest Arab Spring protests have taken place in Bahrain. In February 2011, one third of Bahrain's population came to the streets. But how Bahrain managed to control the protests it stems back to the rentier neighboring country, Saudi Arabia, which is considered a hegemonic actor in the Persian Gulf province.

Another reason is that the repression of protests in Bahrain is qualitative, and its return back to the army of the country. Soldiers have modern weapons, complex training, and high salaries and benefits. Therefore, the army has no connection with society. And also government use foreign-trained and unconnected military personnel to serve the Sunni Al-Khalifa royal family against the Shi'a majority.

In the case of Libya, evidence perfectly shows that, without NATO intervention, the fall of Muammar Gaddafi was impossible (Beck, 2012). Today, five years after Gaddafi overthrow, Libya is still experiencing civil war and it has not seen peace. This is a bloody and unsuccessful transition from another oil-rich country in the Arab Middle East.

Conclusion

In any case, the results of "Arab Islamic Awakening" may represent four types of political systems in Middle East region (Beck, 2012). (A) Consolidation (Democracy); (B) Combined regimes (Reconstruction); (C) Autocratic rule; (D) A new form of authoritarianist system. But the complexity of the Arab Spring and the diversity of Arab regimes can only be a preview of a longer show. What comes to eye in the Middle East is what happened in Eastern Europe in 1990s. Indeed, rents from oil and oil states will

play a vital role in Middle East. In contrary to what has been experienced in Norway (oil country), it shows us that: “Rents are, however, a major obstacle to the democratic structure of Arab societies”. And this contradictory process can facilitate the emergence of hybrid regimes for a long period of time. This scenario, for the third time in post-colonial history, could lead to a rivalry between incompatible political systems with political development in the Arab world with a completely new dynamism, as in the 1952 Egypt revolution, which led to a systematic competition between republican regime and regality, and with the onset of the Islamic revolution in 1979, the completion was between Islamist and Anti-Islamic sides. The experience of democratization in Egypt can be the systematic struggle between democratic and authoritarian regime, especially in Cairo and Riyadh, as the hostile oppositions in the future. Such a scenario depends on a lot of factors that are not predictable at the moment. Although these changes in these countries have a remarkable role in petroleum and in the political economy. The undeniable role which sometimes less marked by the positive effects of Arab movements.

As explained in the previous section, the difference between sovereign (so far) and unstable authoritarian government in the Middle East can also be explained by rentier state approach. This difference can be experimentally explained through the comparison between Syria and Algeria. On the other hand, according to the theoretical findings of the revolutions, we must find out why some Middle Eastern regimes have been able to control the protests and to continue their reign, despite the widespread mobilization of the opposition. In the framework of Arab Spring, Syria is moving toward attenuation of authoritarianism and instability. Despite the start of the Astana talks in 2017 with Iran, Russia and Turkey, for resolving the Syrian civil war with regard to the interference of Saudi Arabia and its regional and international allies, and the impressive successes of Assad with the support of his allies in defeating ISIL and other groups involved in Syrian civil war, achieving peace in near future seems out of reach. But the reason that Al-Assad maintained his power, is the supporting the elites and keeping Syrian security guards untouched. The fact that the

government is unable to maintain its stability in the country is due to its lack of oil revenue to win majorities opinion. Although Syria have average oil reserves, but it's estimated that the country will become an energy importer in the next ten years (EU, 2007: 8). Unlike Bahrain, which is under rentier support of its neighbor, Saudi Arabia, the Al Saud regime and other Persian Gulf states have no interest in supporting secular sovereign republic in Damascus. The leaders Islamic Republic of Iran believe that Syria is paying the price of its strategic alliance with Iran and participating in the opposition against Israel (Ahmad Khatami, 2012 prayer).

In contrast, Algeria has reserves of fossil fuels, accounting for 85% of exports and 40 to 45 % of its gross national product, so these resources have been sufficiently effective in maintaining a tyrannical regime in Algeria. In response to the 1999 unrest, government by utilizing stick and carrot policy, on the one hand, went on to crack down on protesters and on the other hand, to a limited extent ventured into the political reform, abolished the emergency rule since 1992, has increased wages and reduced food prices, and has therefore been able to escape the storms of the Arab Spring (Beck, 2012).

Doctor Waleed, consultant to the US congress of Anti-Terrorism and writer of the book "The Future of Freedom", introduces Arab Spring as a liberal revolution by asking the question that, which country turn is in 2013? (Hareez, 30. November2012). Although a study in October 2012, entitled "Religious freedom and national security" by William Inboden explicitly points out that: The future of Middle East will be accompanied by religious unrest. The unrests that engaged Iraq and Pakistan in 2013 is a clear sign of these sectarian clashes. Street campaign by Al-Maliki supporters and oppositions and rising insurgencies in Sunni states like Anbar in 2015, referendum on independence of the Kurdish climate in 2017 despite ISIL's defeat in Iraq, Lebanese youth demonstrations against the government on garbage collection and the ineffectiveness of this country policies in 2015, the publication of dissension between the Hariri and Hezbollah in 2017, the rise of civil war in Yemen (despite the removal of Ali Abdullah Saleh by Houthi in 2017), the continuation of war in Syria, the escalation of Saudi Arabia's attack

on Yemen in 2018, despite the Houthi and government peace plan backed by Saudi Arabia (CNN, Nov. 2018) and the rise of unanimity in the Kurdish regions of Turkey illustrates the uncertain future in the Middle East.

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