



# The Arab Revolutions: Causes, Challenges and Hopes

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Cordoba Foundation

Wednesday Seminar  
World Peace Academy

Basel, 13 April 2011

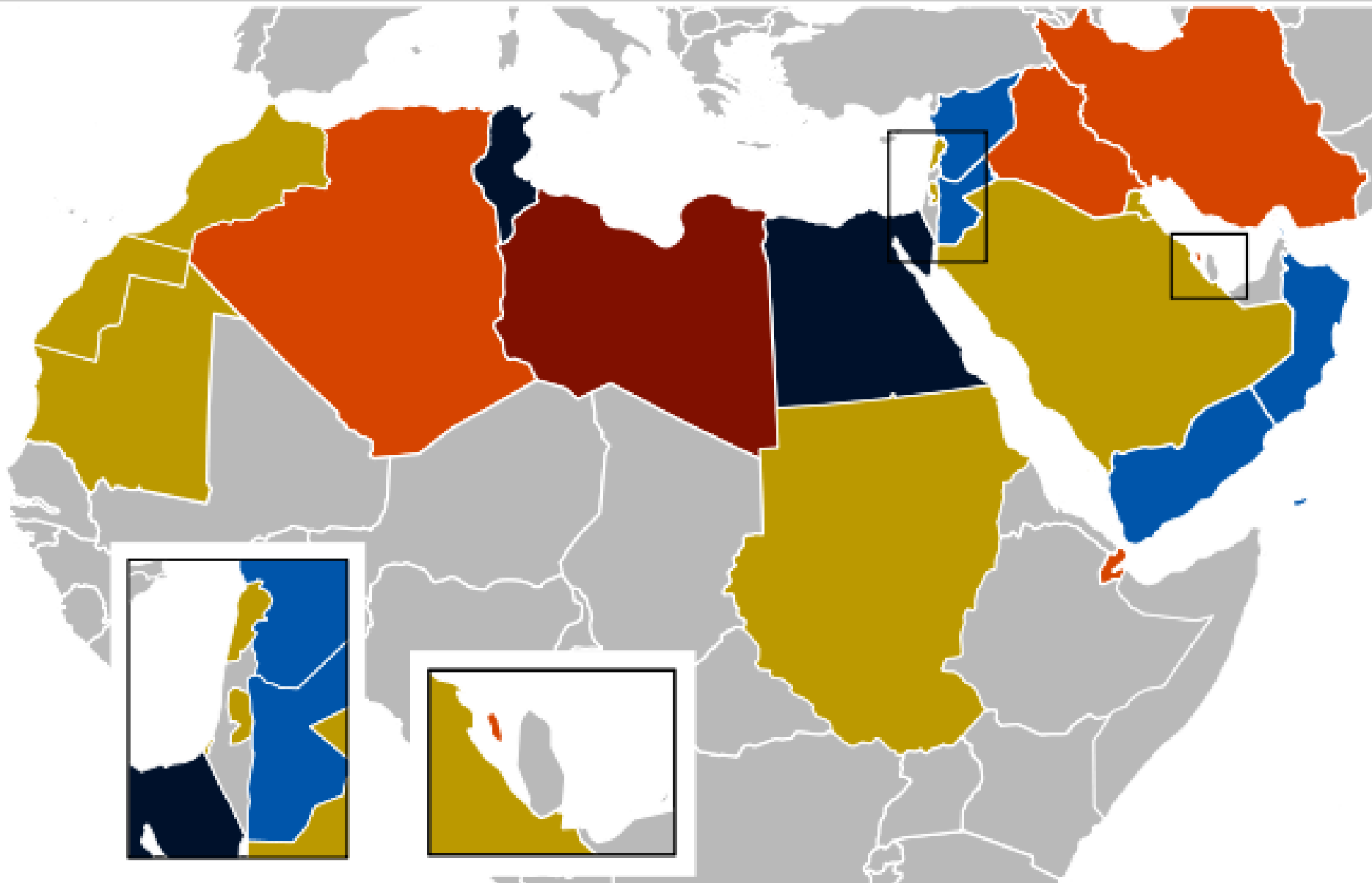


# The Arab Revolutions: Causes, Challenges and Hopes



**To the memory of  
Mohamed Bouazizi  
and all the martyrs of  
the Arab revolutions**

# Arab World: State & Society



Revolution

Governmental changes

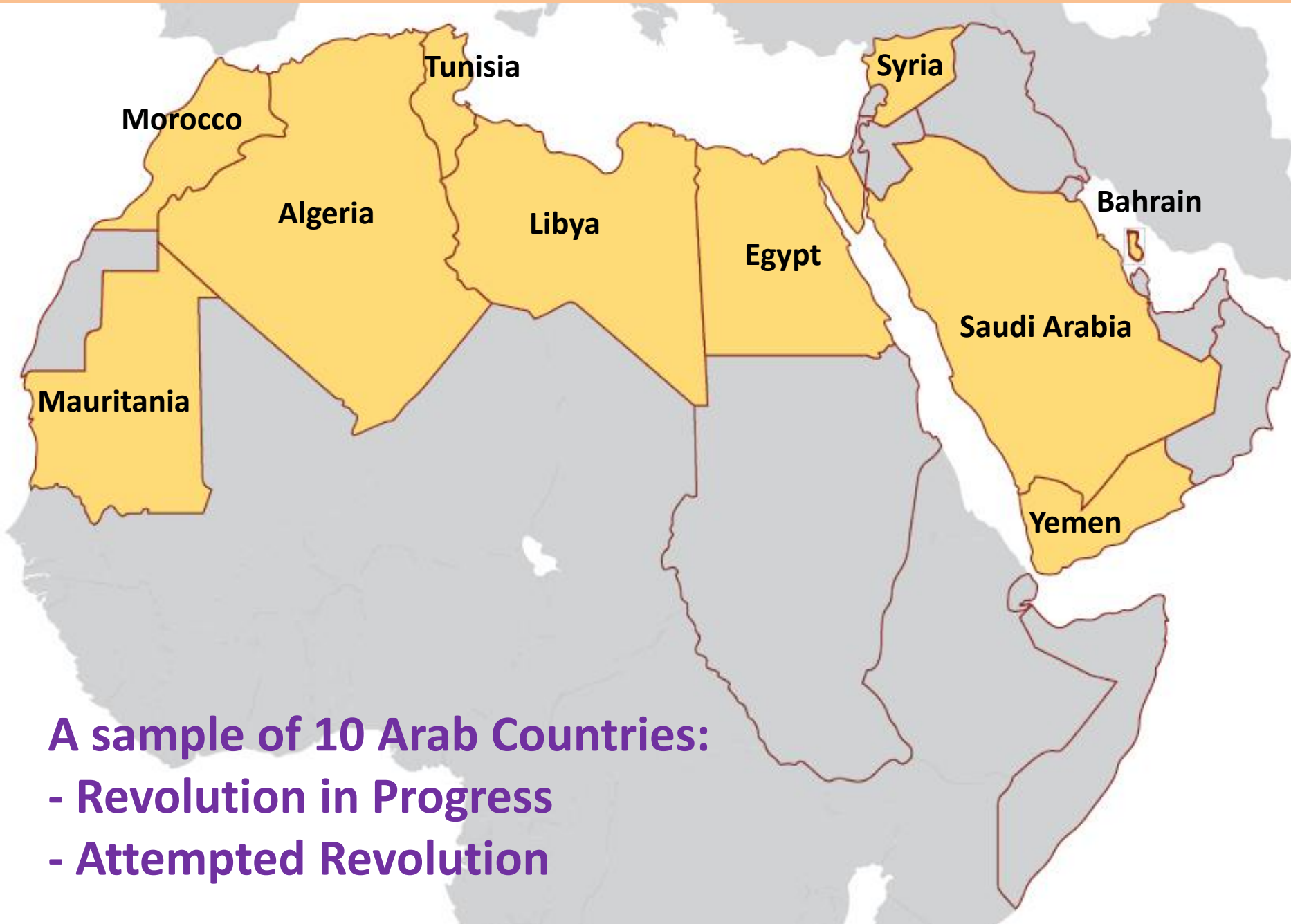
Armed conflict

Major protests

Minor protests

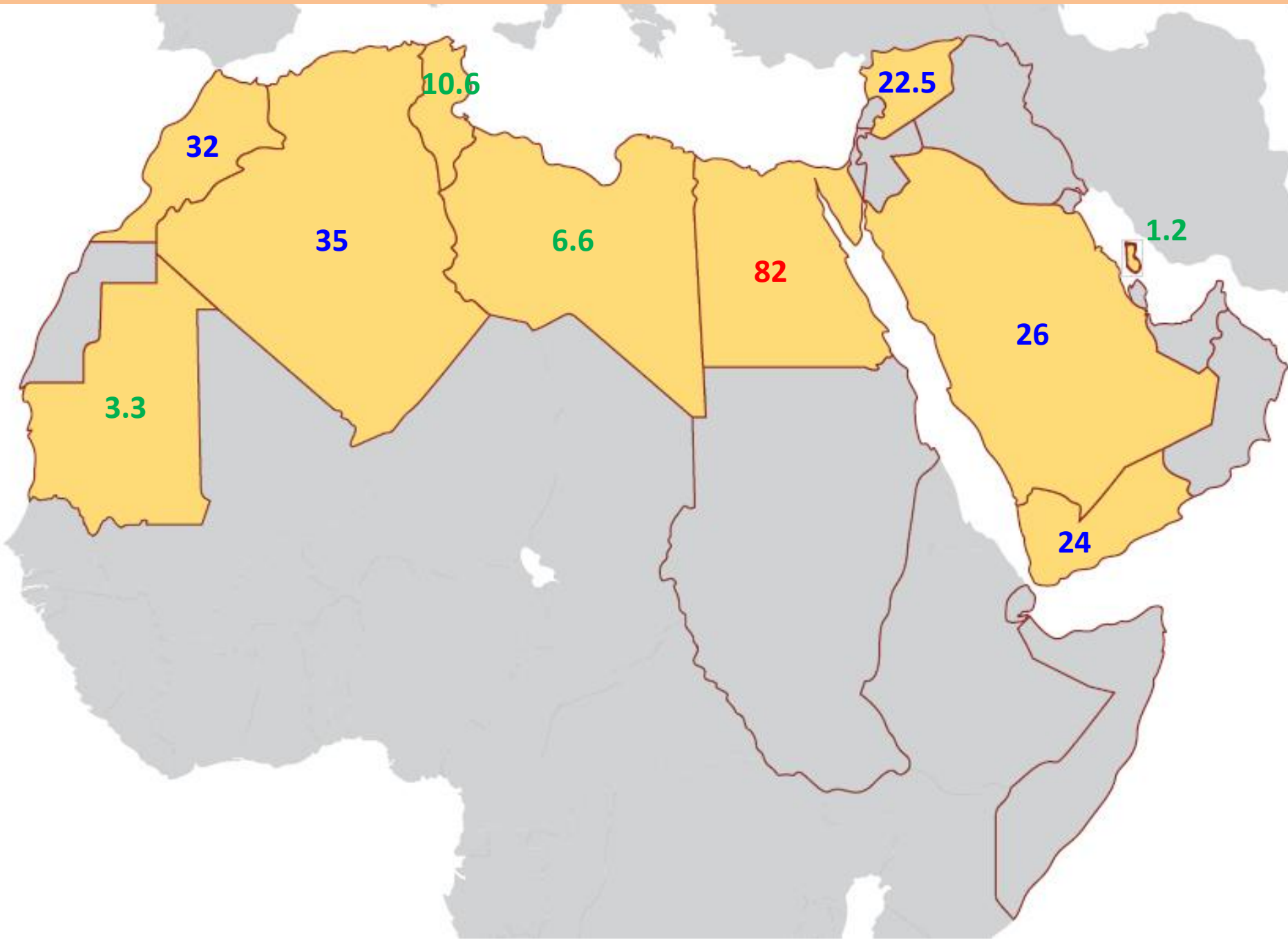
(Wikipedia, April 2011)

# Arab World: State & Society

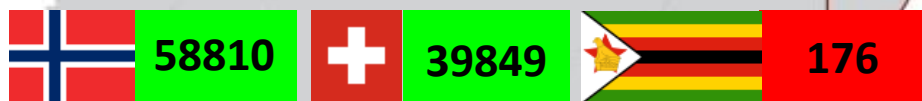
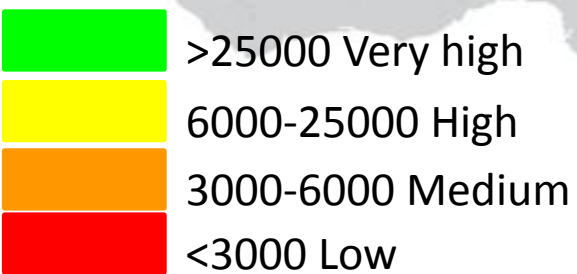
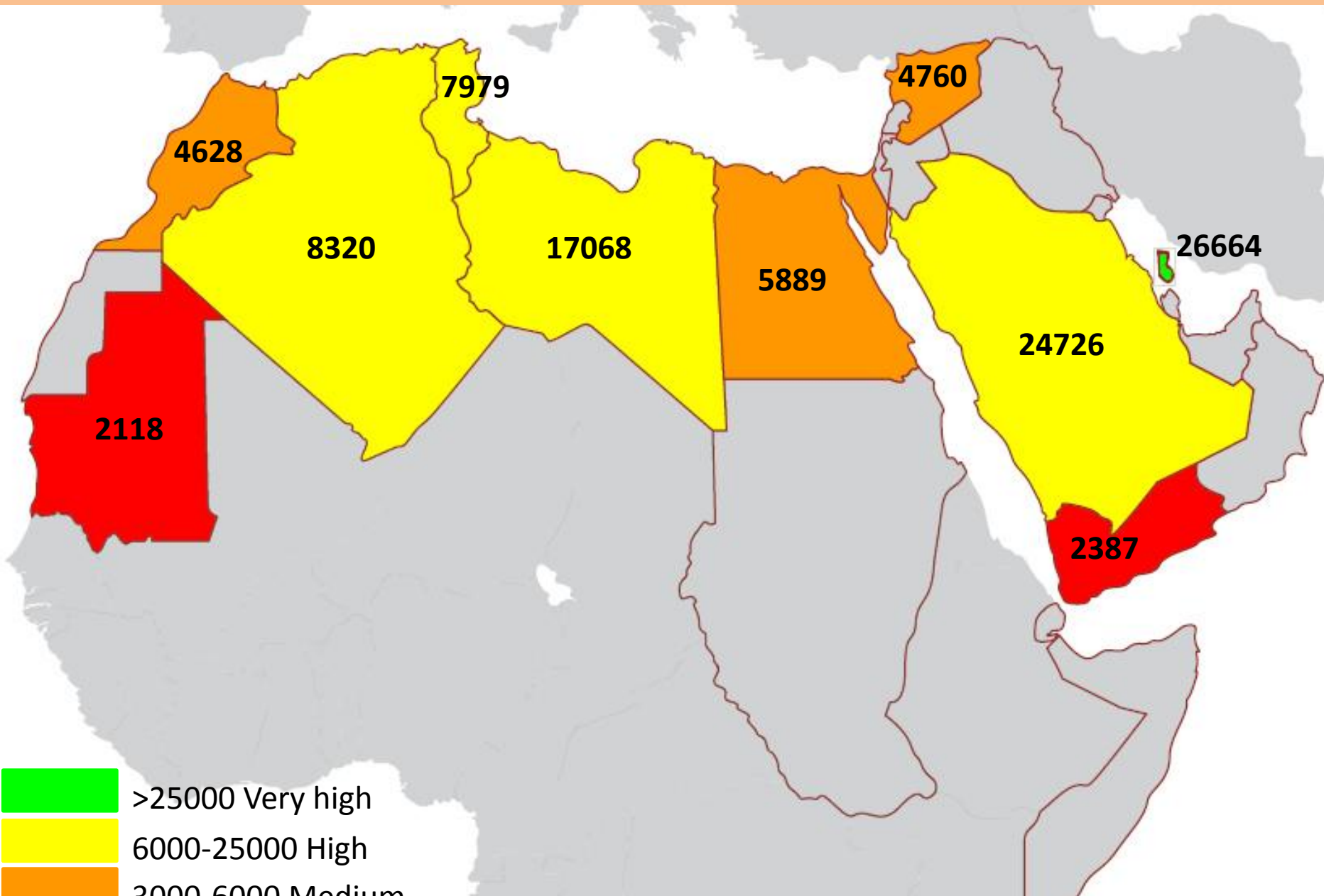


**A sample of 10 Arab Countries:**  
**- Revolution in Progress**  
**- Attempted Revolution**

# Demographics (Million population)

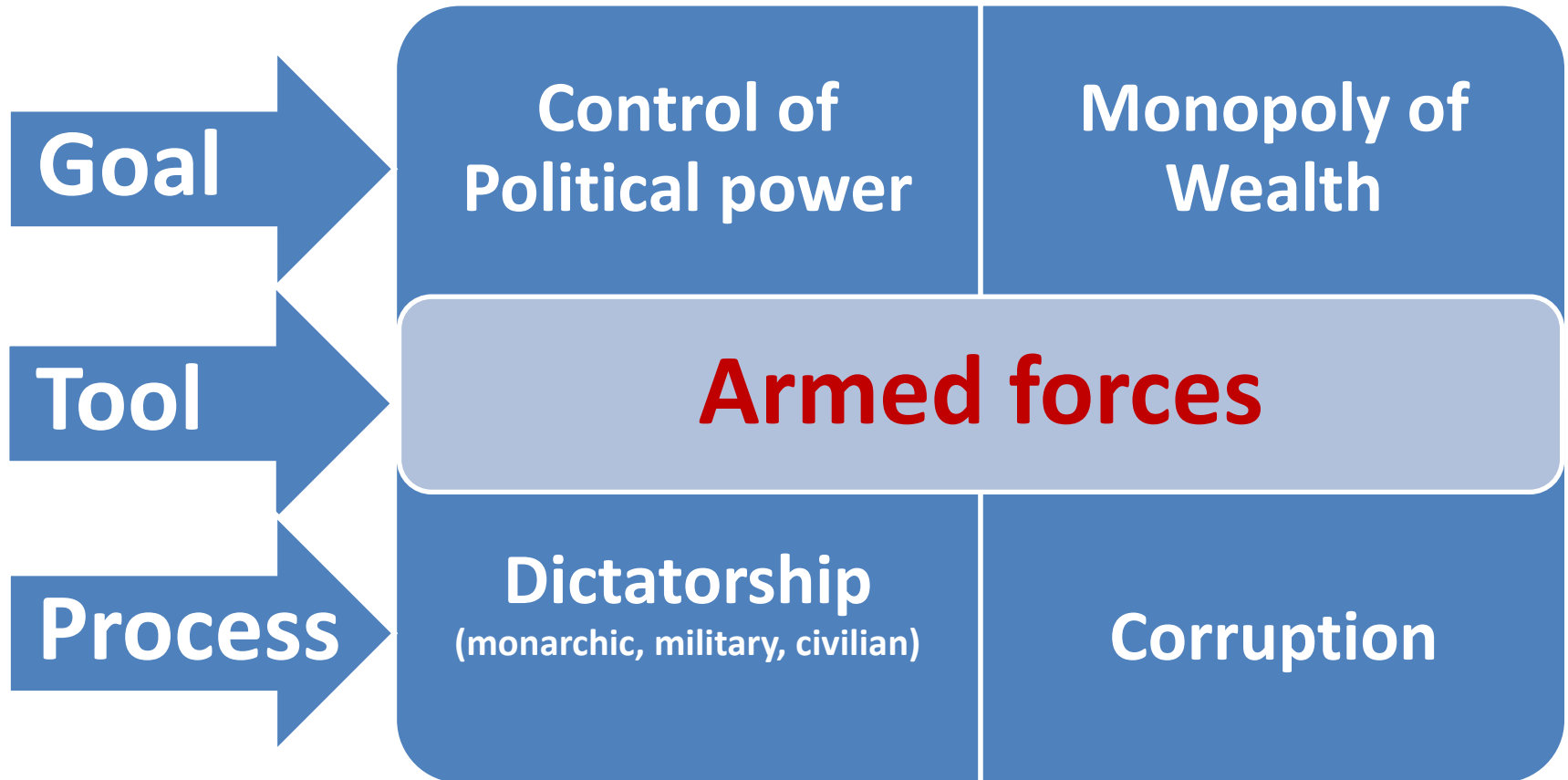


# Gross national income per capita (PPP 2008 \$)



Source: UNDP (2010)

# Mission of the State

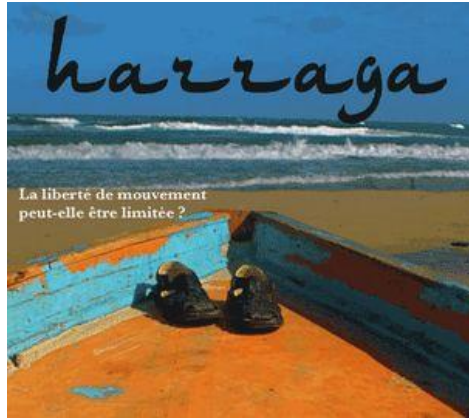


# The "Hogra" – الحقرة





# The "Harga" – الحرفة



# Other forms of “Harga”

## Inspired by Tunisian Revolt, A Wave of Self-Immolation Sweeps North Africa



Tunisia's protests spark suicide in Algeria and fears through Arab world

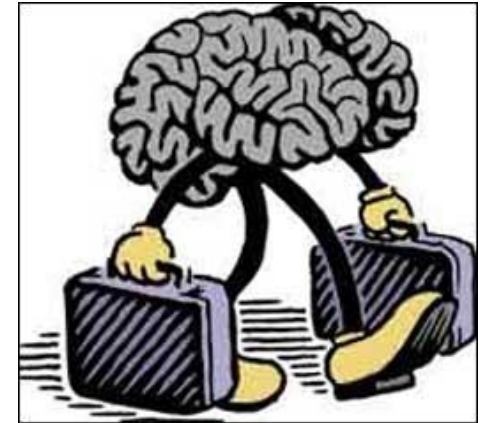
Man burns to death in Algeria in echo of man's death that began Tunisian protests while Arab states are nervous

**ALGERIA: RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS  
MINISTRY, KORAN CONDEMNS  
SUICIDE**

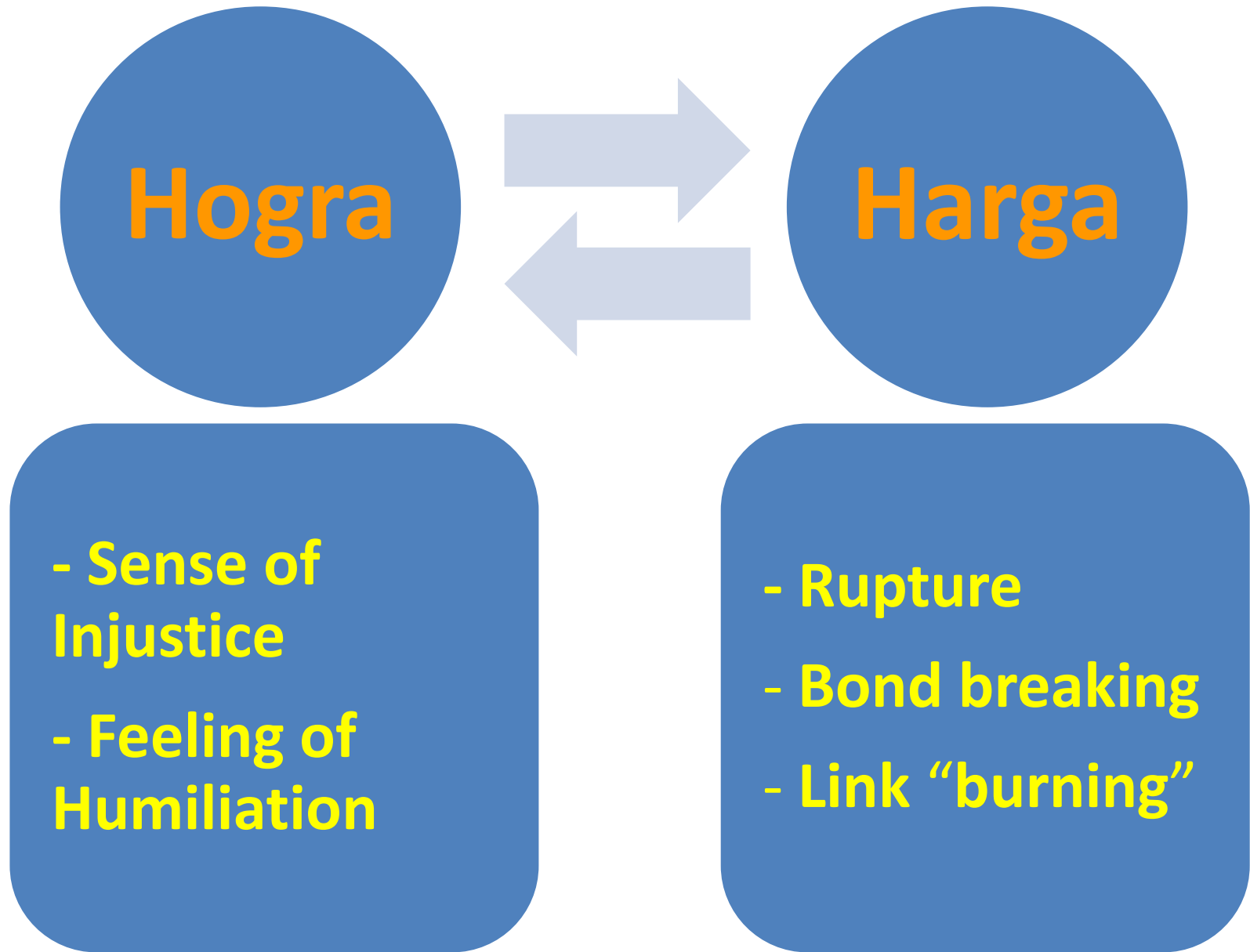
**The Arab world's horrific new trend:  
self-immolation**

**Egyptian, Algerian, Mauritanian set selves alight**

# Other forms of "Harga"



# Hogra/Hagra: Symptoms of a social disease



# Hogra/Hagra: Symptoms of a social disease

**Hogra**

## **Structural Violence**

- No decent life
- No consideration
- Surrounding wealth & fast richness
- Unemployment
- Large scale man-made poverty
- No political participation
- Electoral fraud
- Coercion / repression
- etc.

- Frustration
- Despair
- Hopelessness
- Dreamlessness
- Horizonlessness

- No solidarity
- Individualism
- Loneliness
- Forced corruption

**Hagra**

- **Passive response**
- **Violent active response**

### **Quit social / polit. sphere**

- Retreat
- Citizen resignation

### **Quit civilian sphere**

- Armed resistance

### **Quit the country**

- Emigration (various forms)
- Brain drain
- Boat people

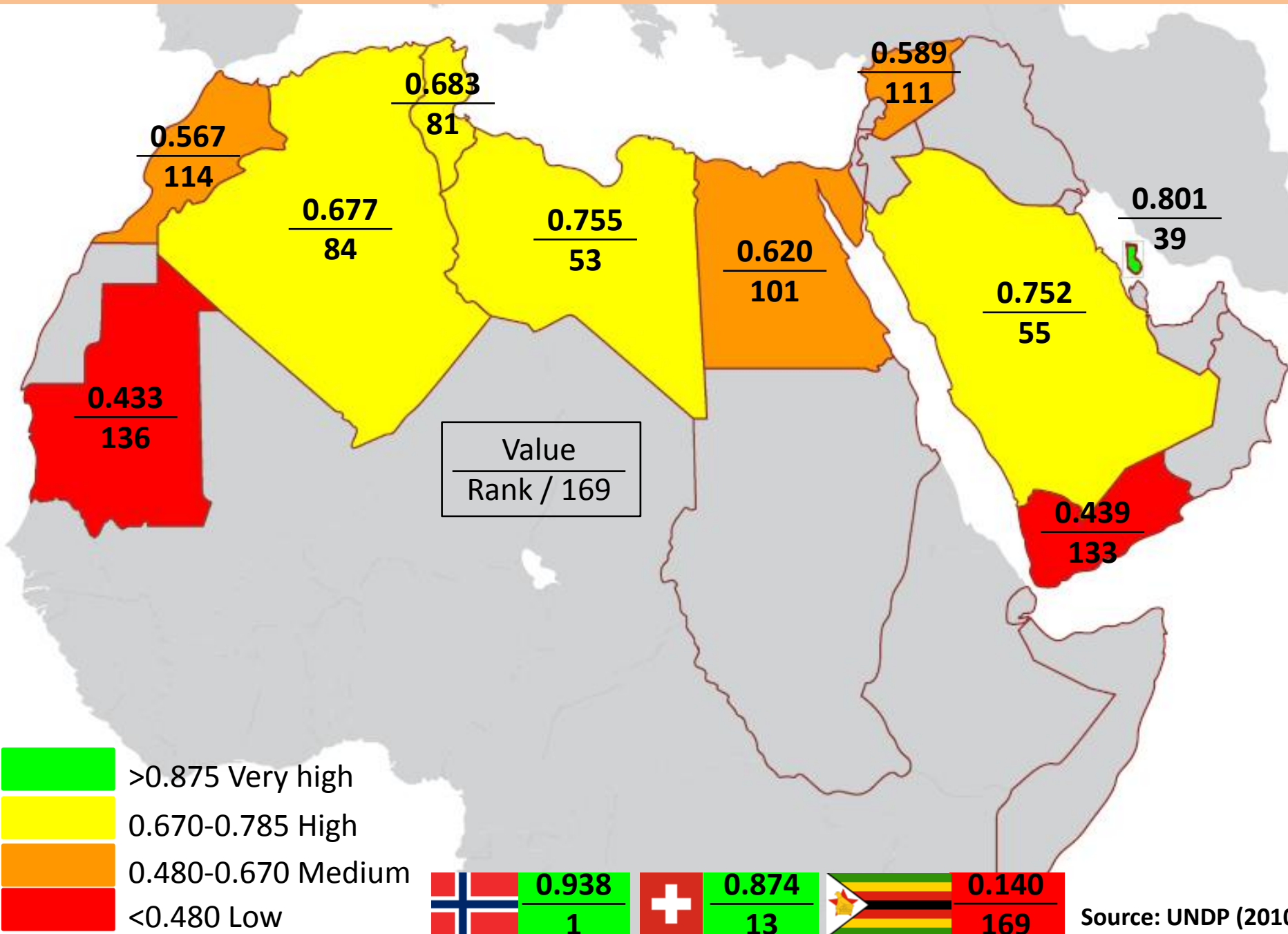
### **Quit life**

- Suicide (various forms)
- Self-Immolation

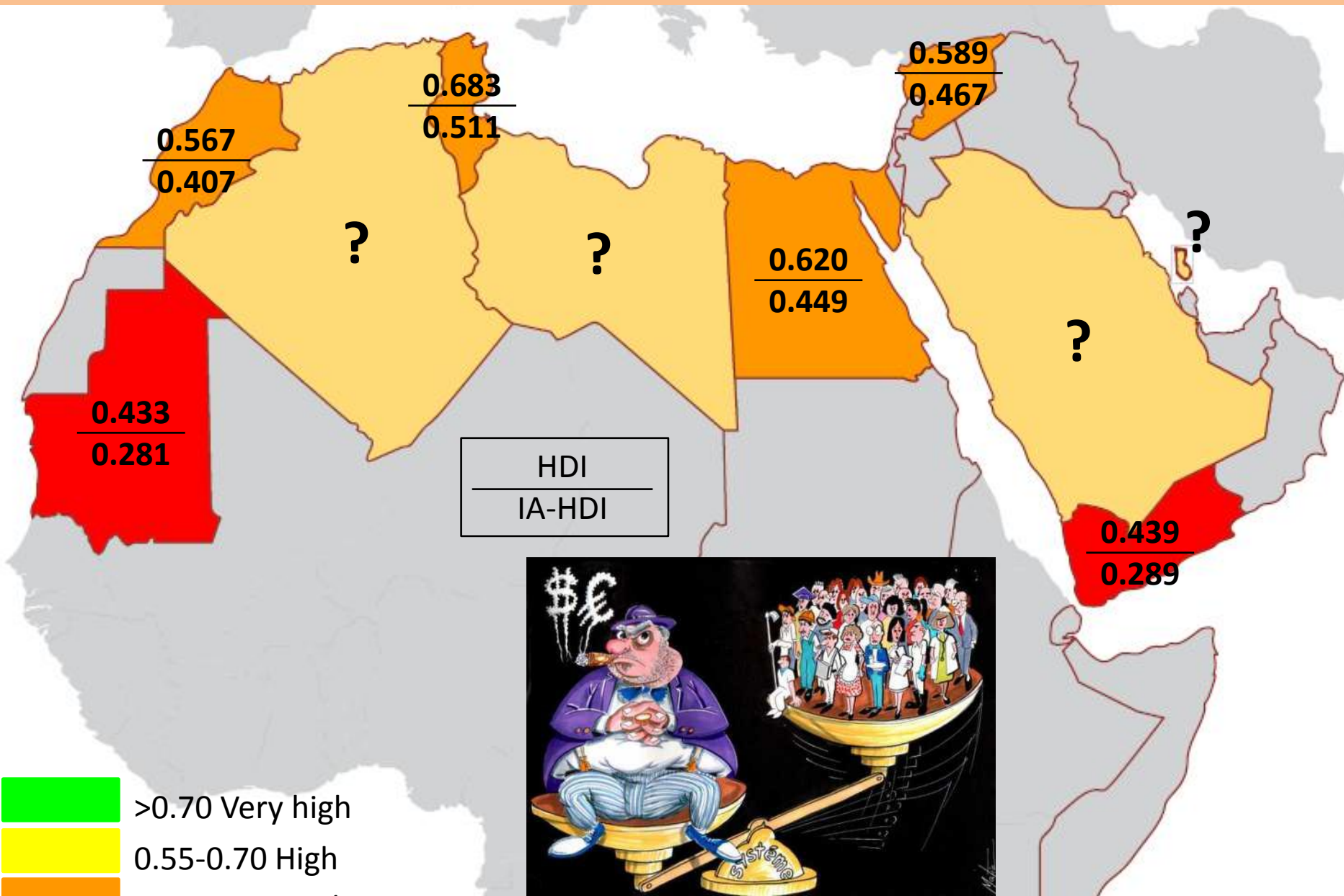
# Social injustice



# Human development index



# Inequality-adjusted human development index



HDI  
IA-HDI



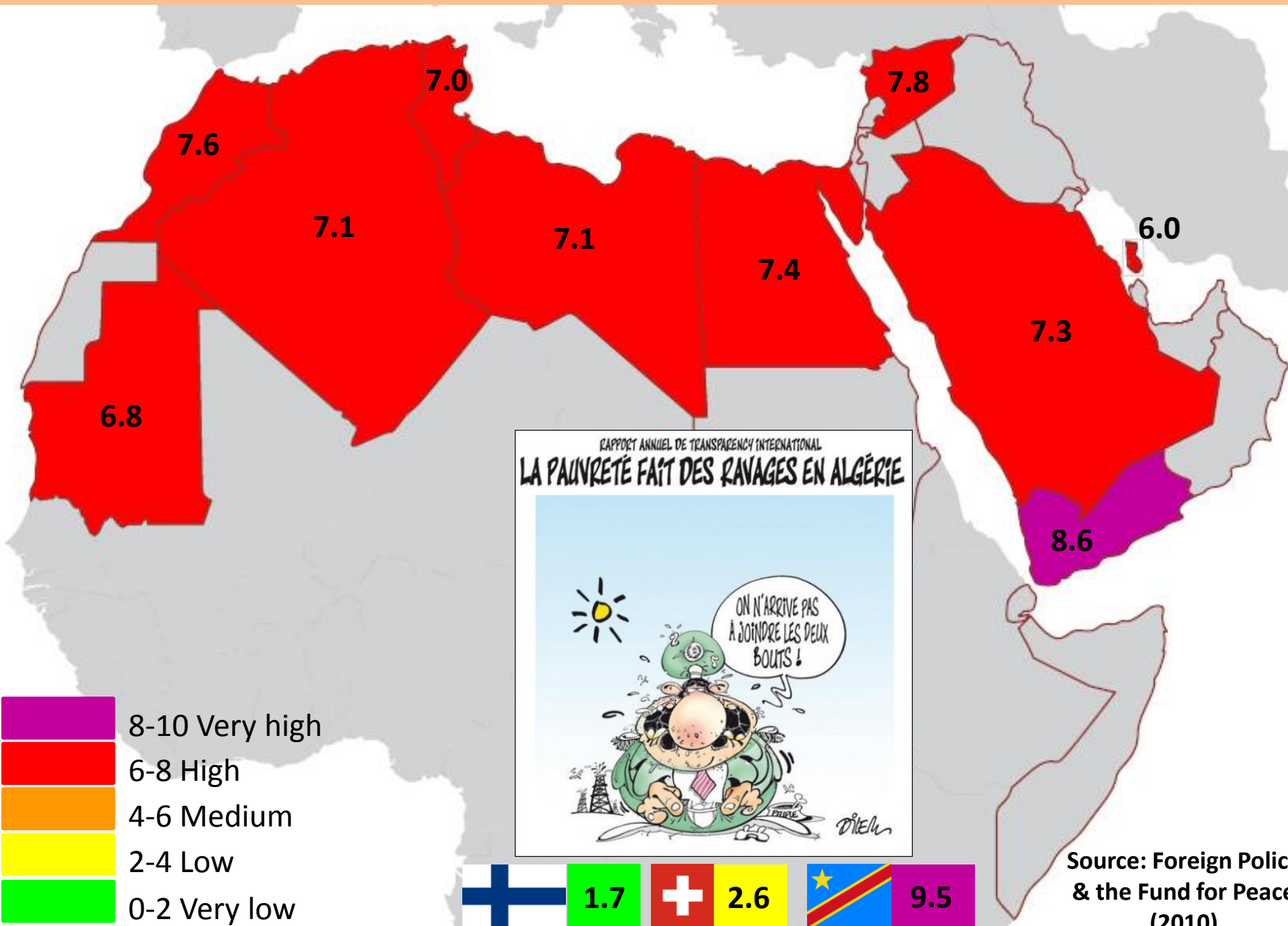
- >0.70 Very high
- 0.55-0.70 High
- 0.35-0.55 Medium
- <0.35 Low

	<b>0.938</b>		<b>0.874</b>		<b>0.140</b>
	<b>0.876</b>		<b>0.813</b>		<b>0.098</b>

Source: UNDP (2010)

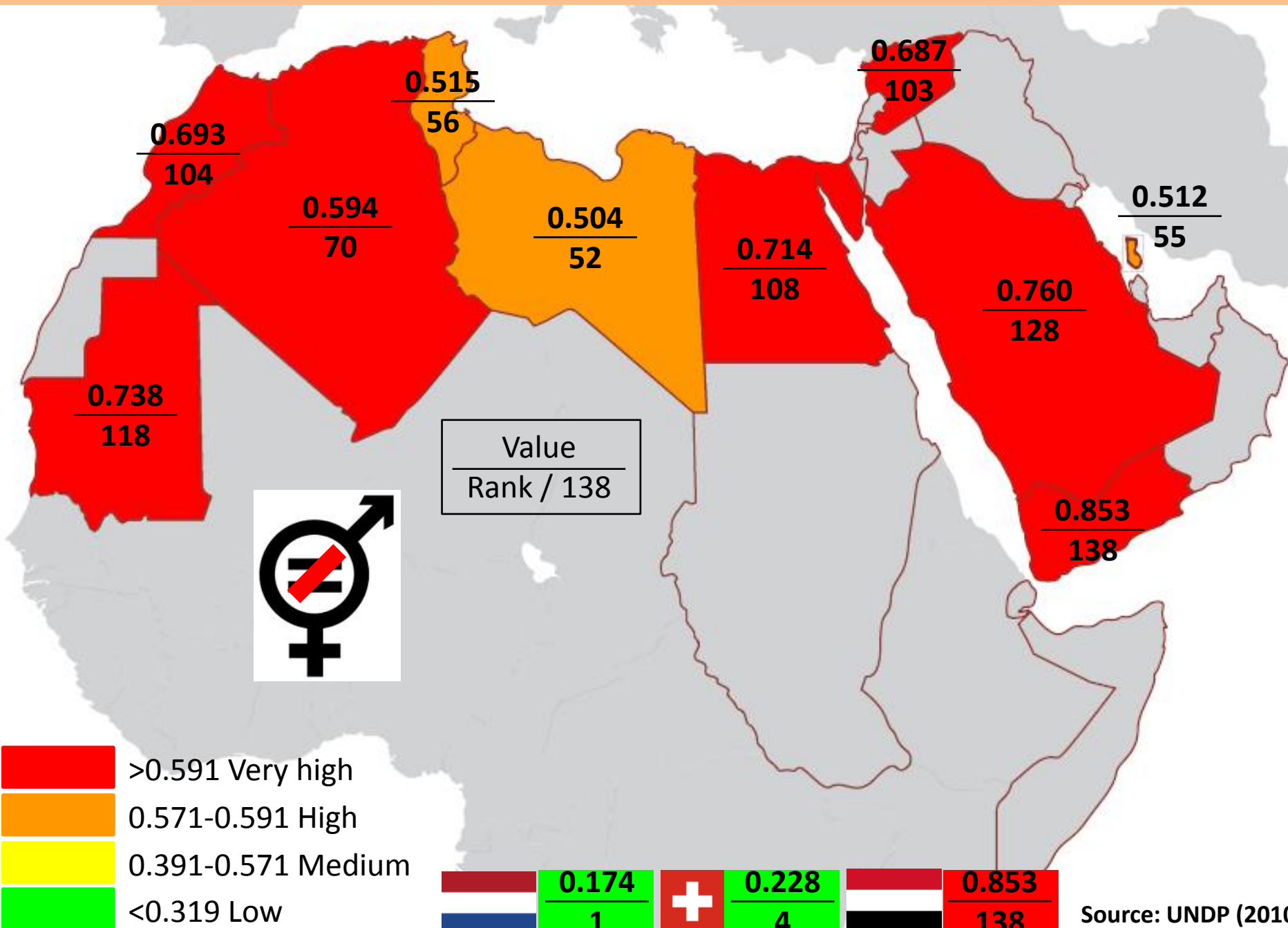


# Uneven economic development index



Source: Foreign Policy & the Fund for Peace (2010)

# Gender inequality index (2008)

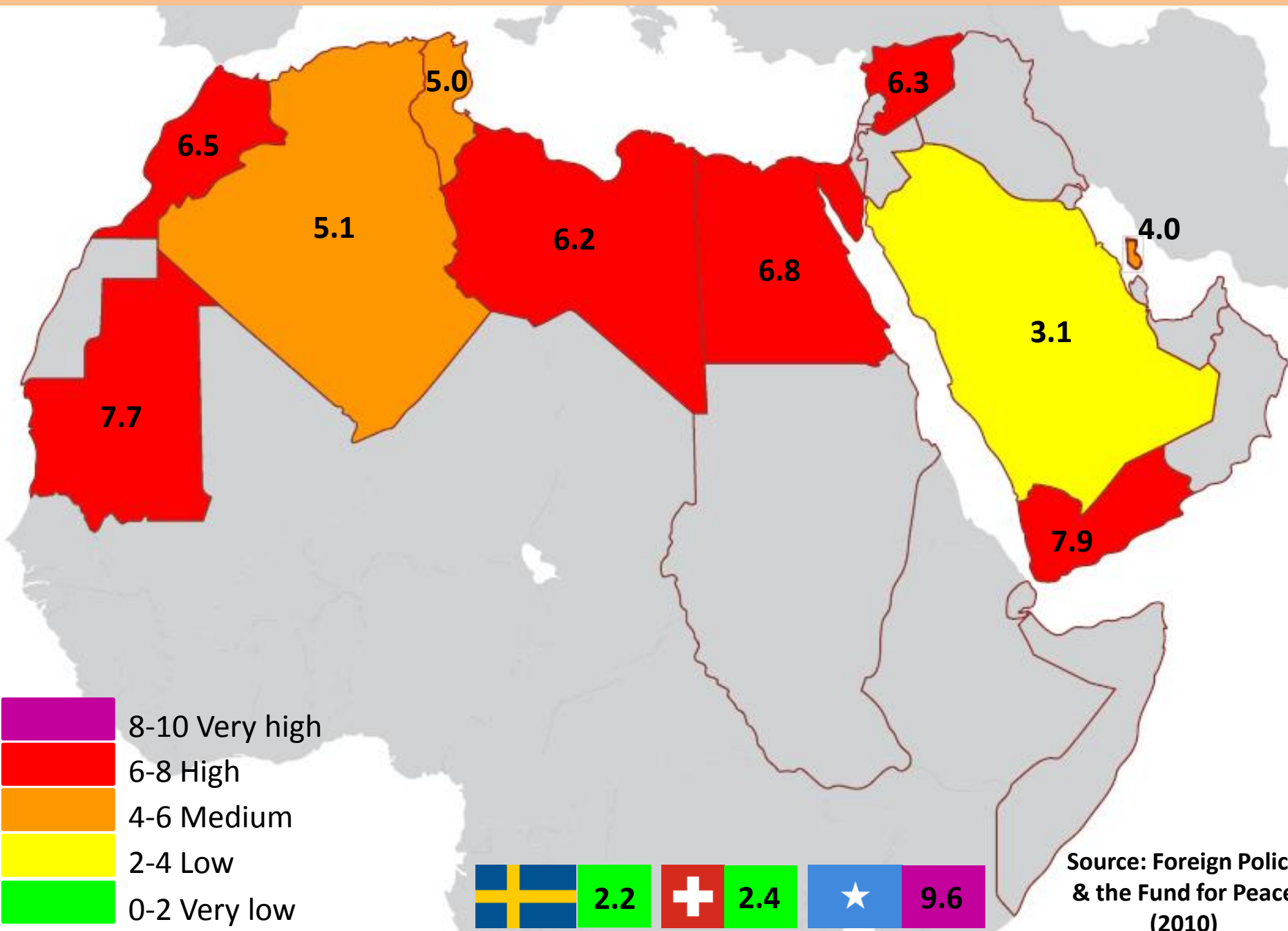


Source: UNDP (2010)

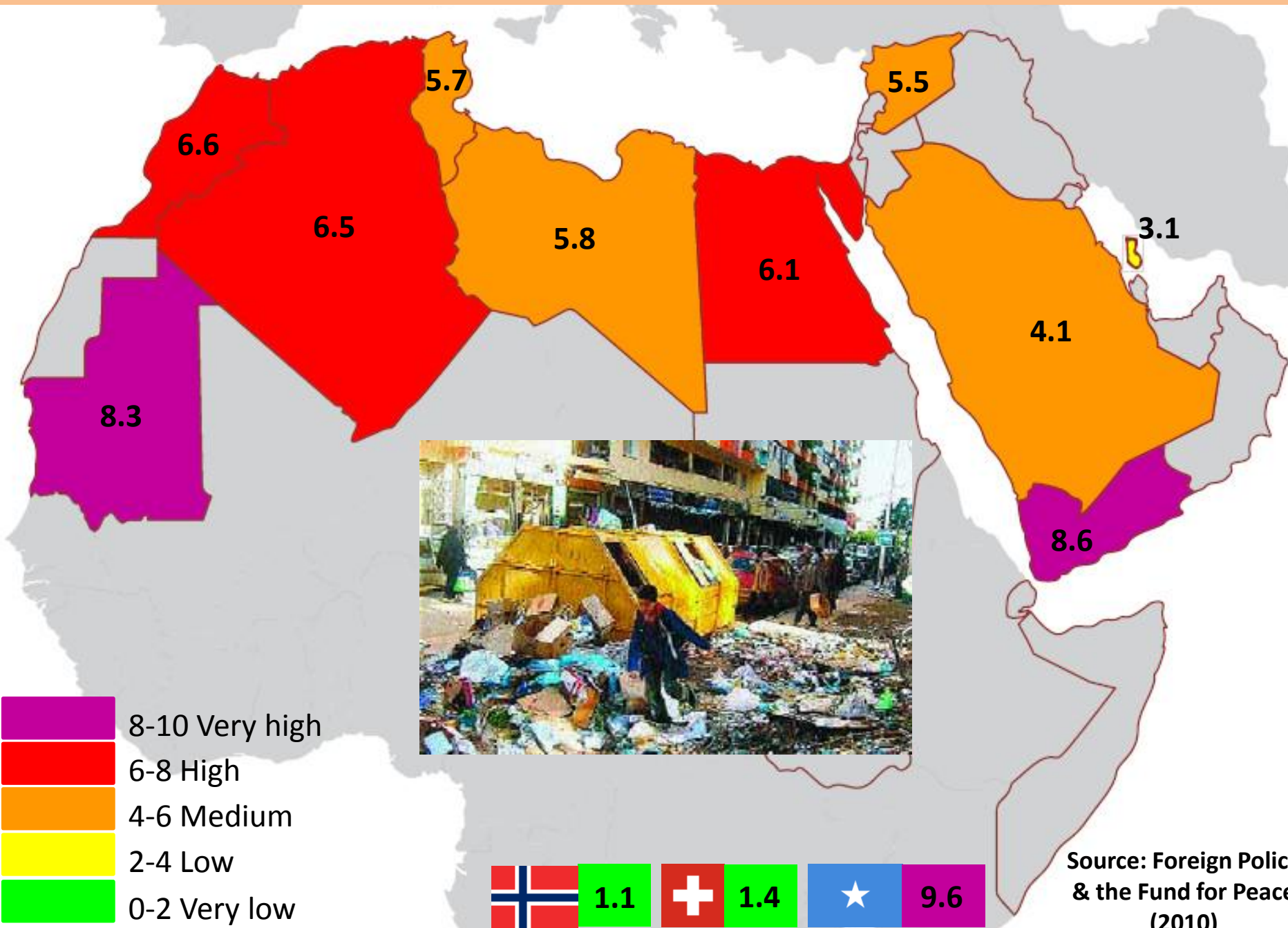
# Economic decline and deterioration of public services



# Sharp and/or severe economic decline index



# Progressive deterioration of public services index



# Militarization



# Population control



## Control of Algerian population

- Police
- Gendarmerie
- Army
- DRS
- Paramilitary militias

**25 / 1000 population**  
**(permanent counter-insurgency)**

Country	#policemen / 1000 population
FI*	2.14
CH*	2.53
SE*	2.57
UK*	3.92
FR*	4.12
DZ**	7.30

\* European Sourcebook of Crime and Criminal Justice (2006)

\*\* 2009



# Population control



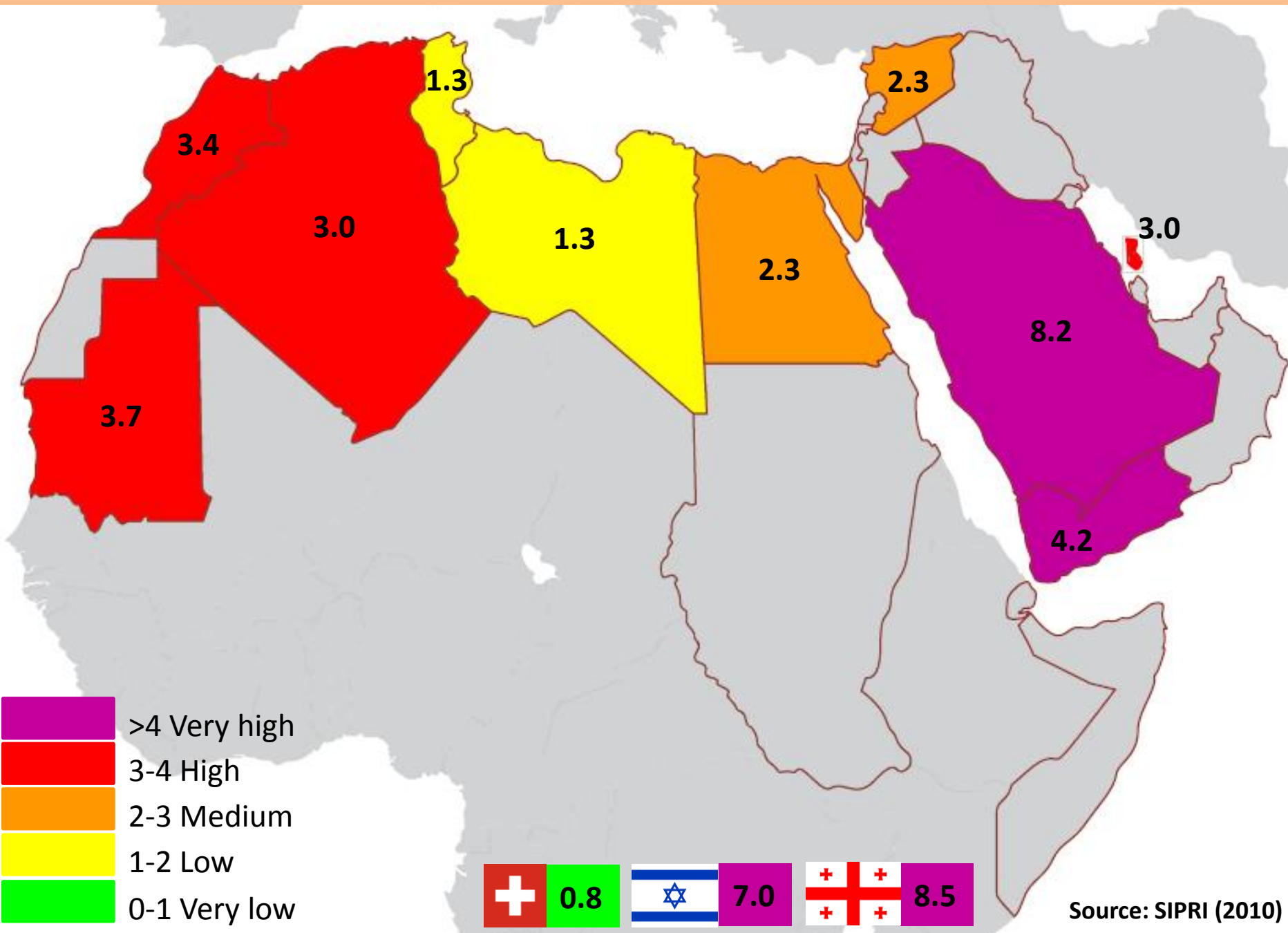
12 Feb 2011 Street Protest in Algiers  
10 policemen for 1 demonstrator

**Blue Revolution**



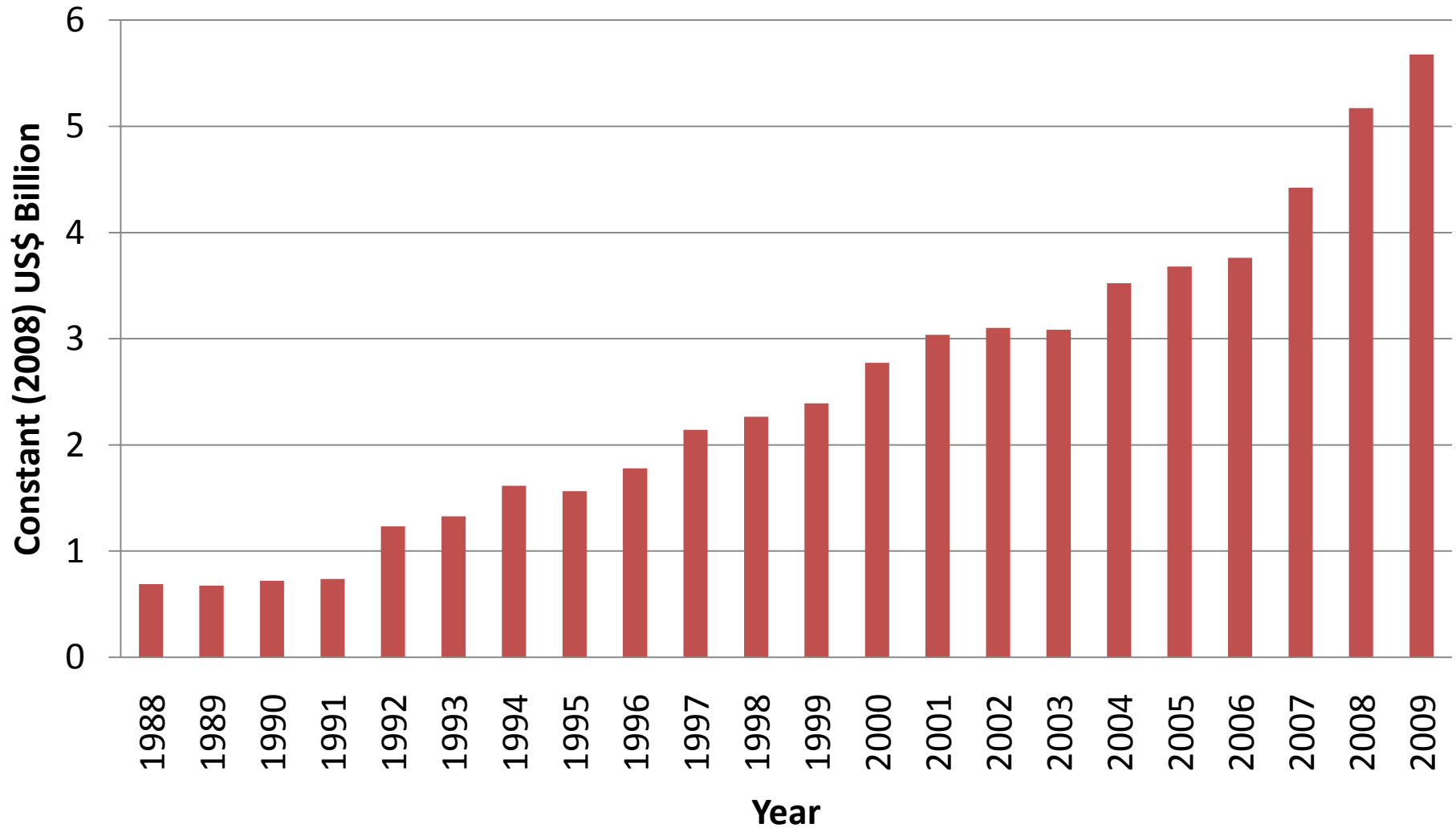


# Military expenditure in % GDP (2008 )

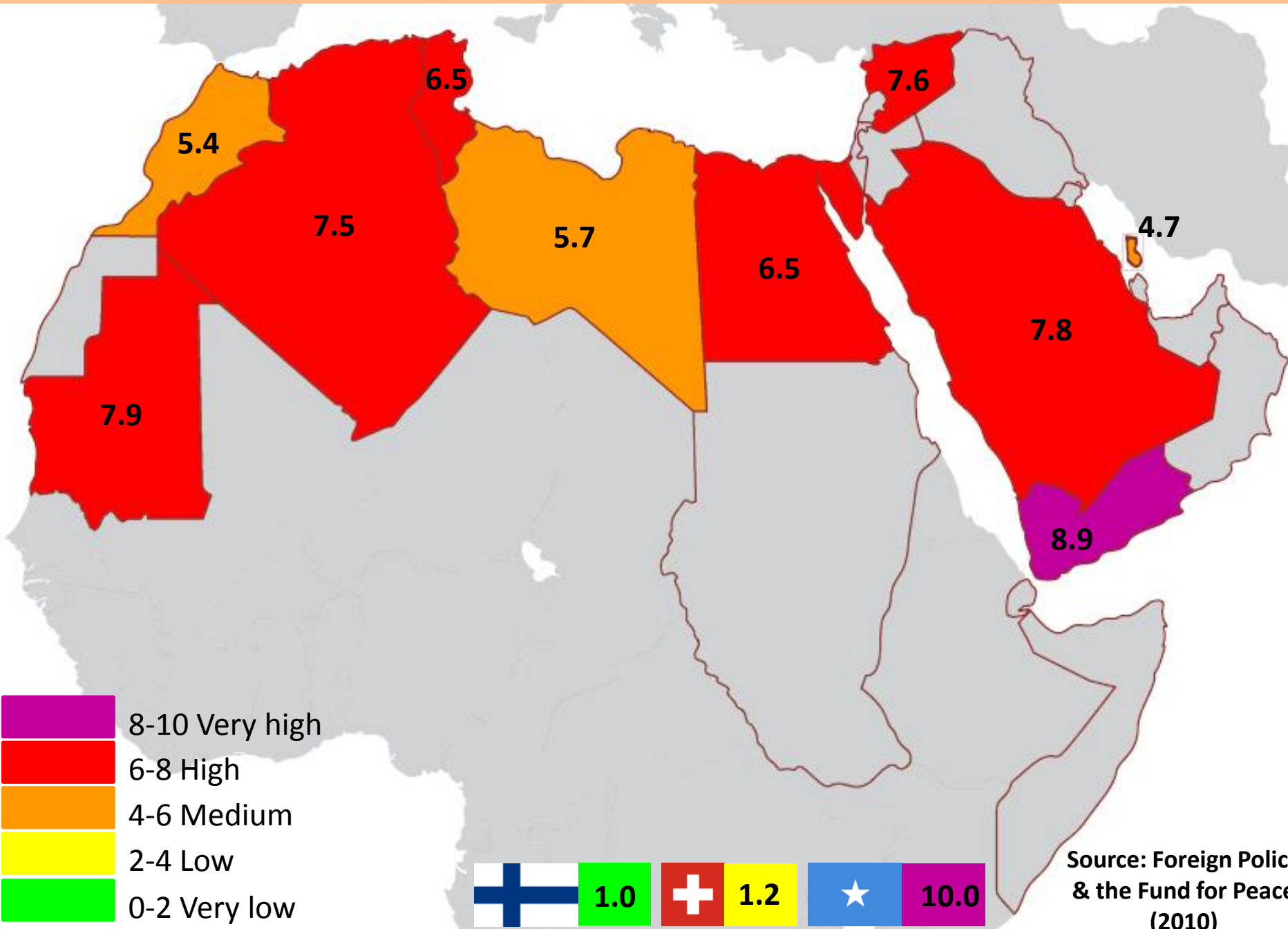


Source: SIPRI (2010)

# Military expenditure in Algeria



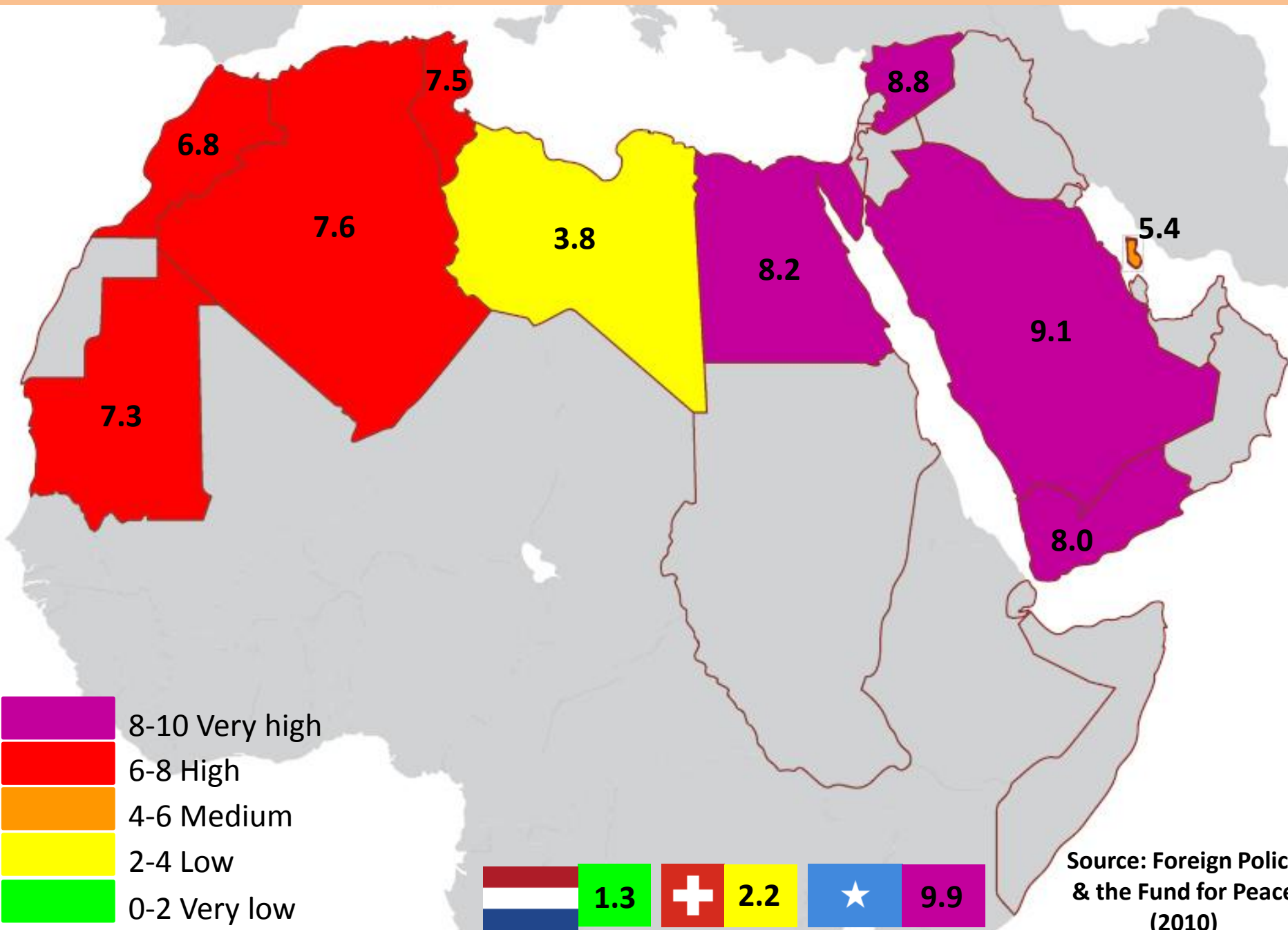
# Security apparatus as a "State within a State" index



# Rights and freedoms

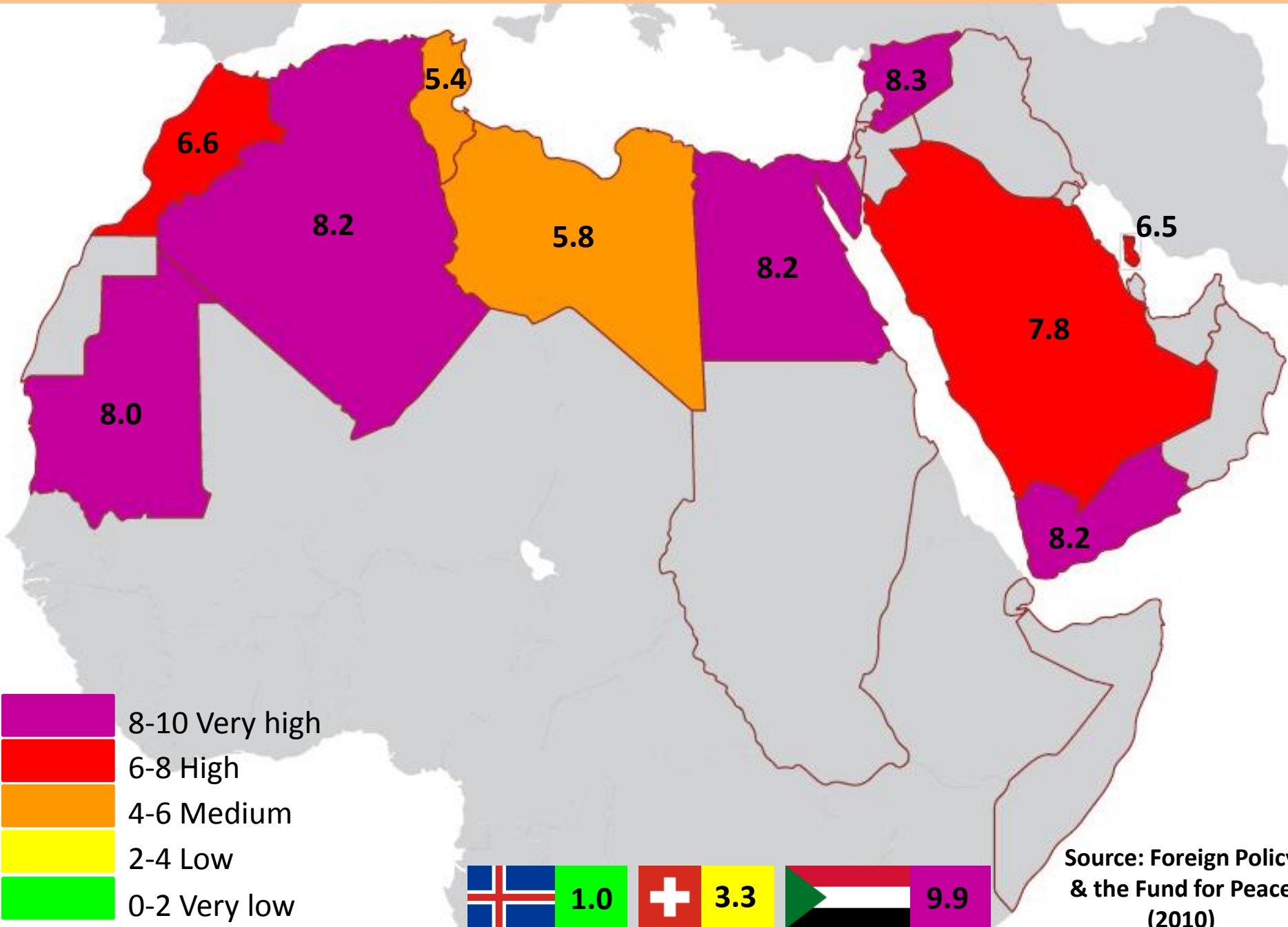


# Violation of human rights index

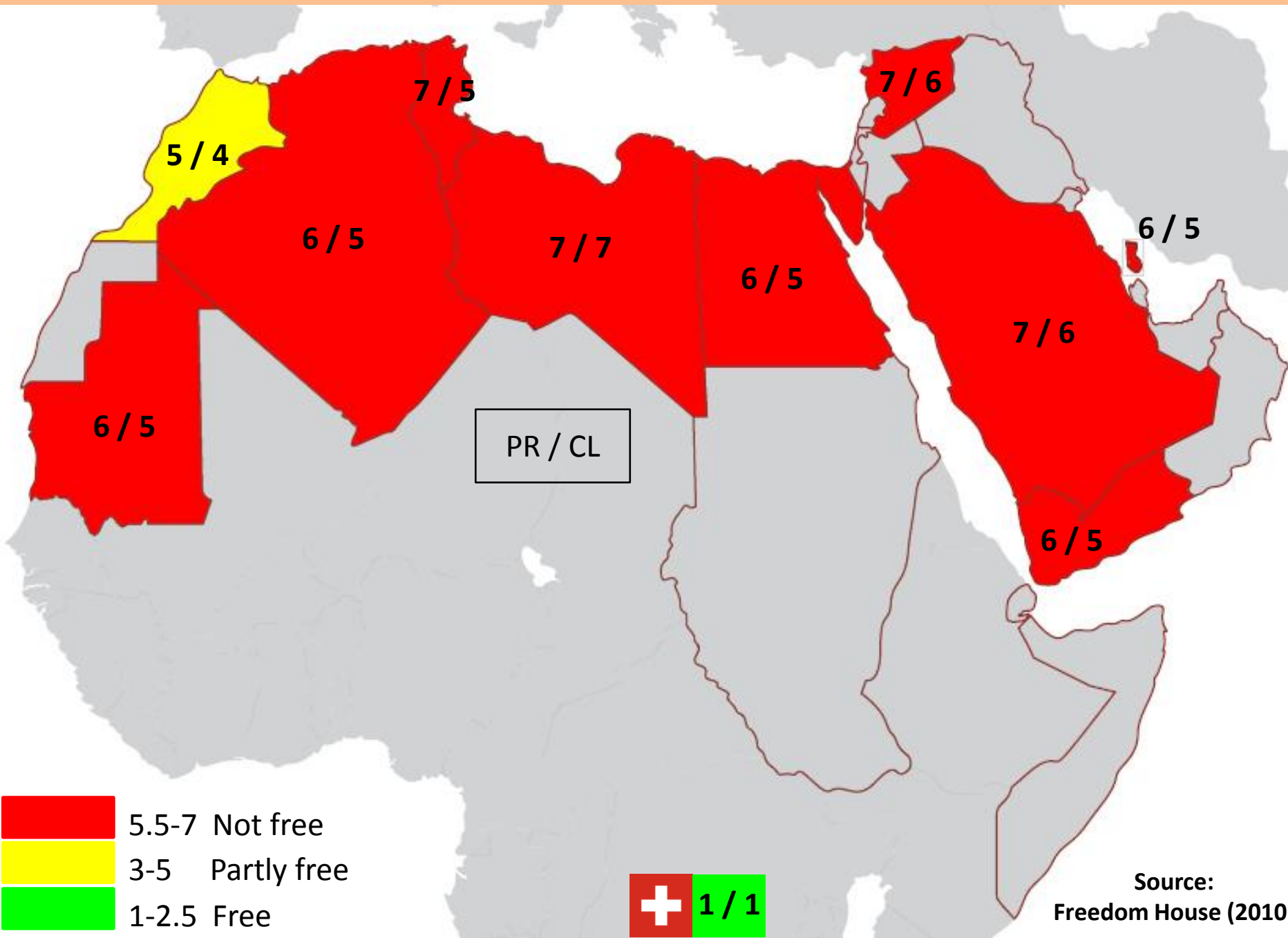


Source: Foreign Policy & the Fund for Peace (2010)

# Group grievance index

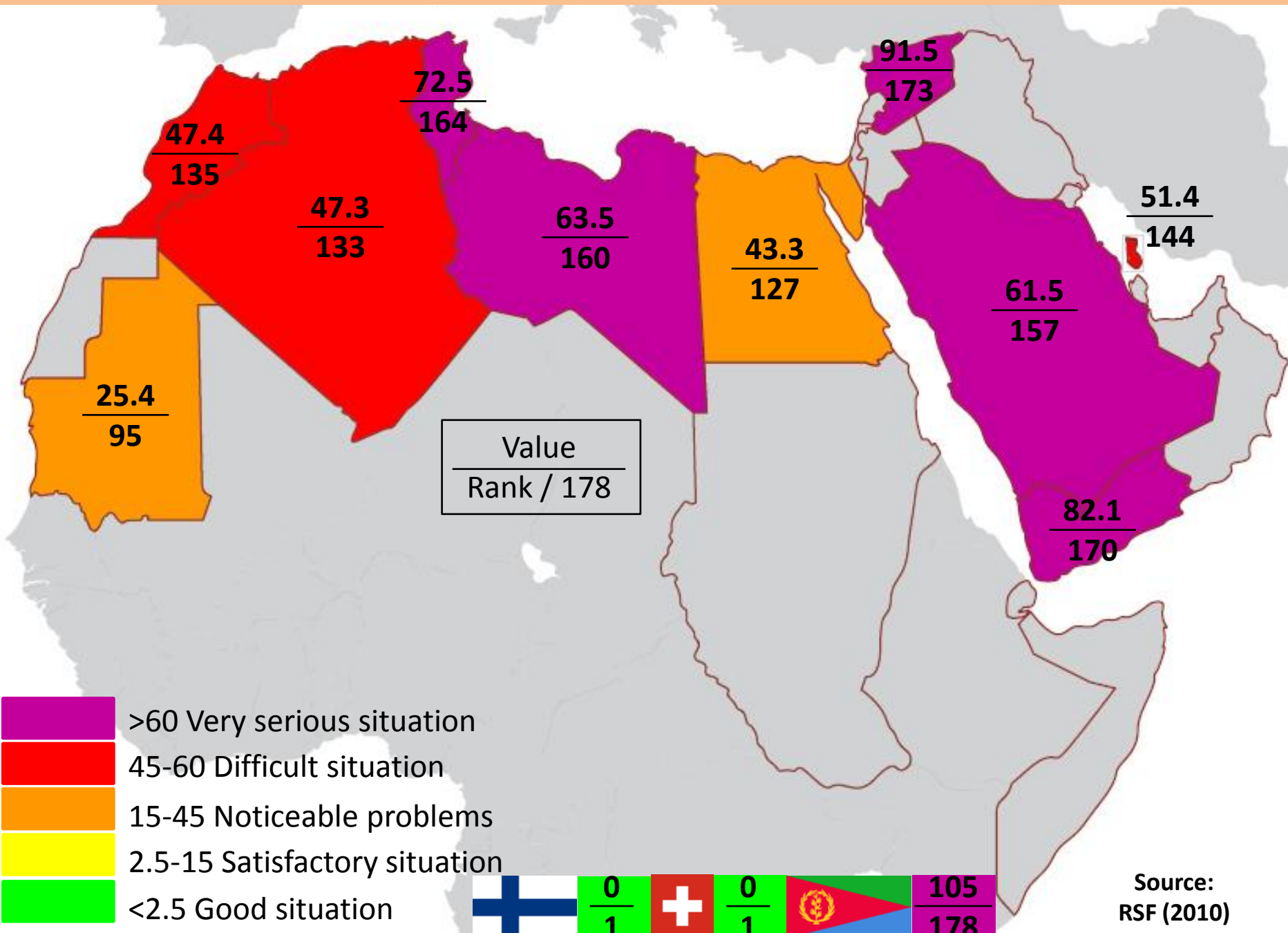


# Political rights index and civil liberties index



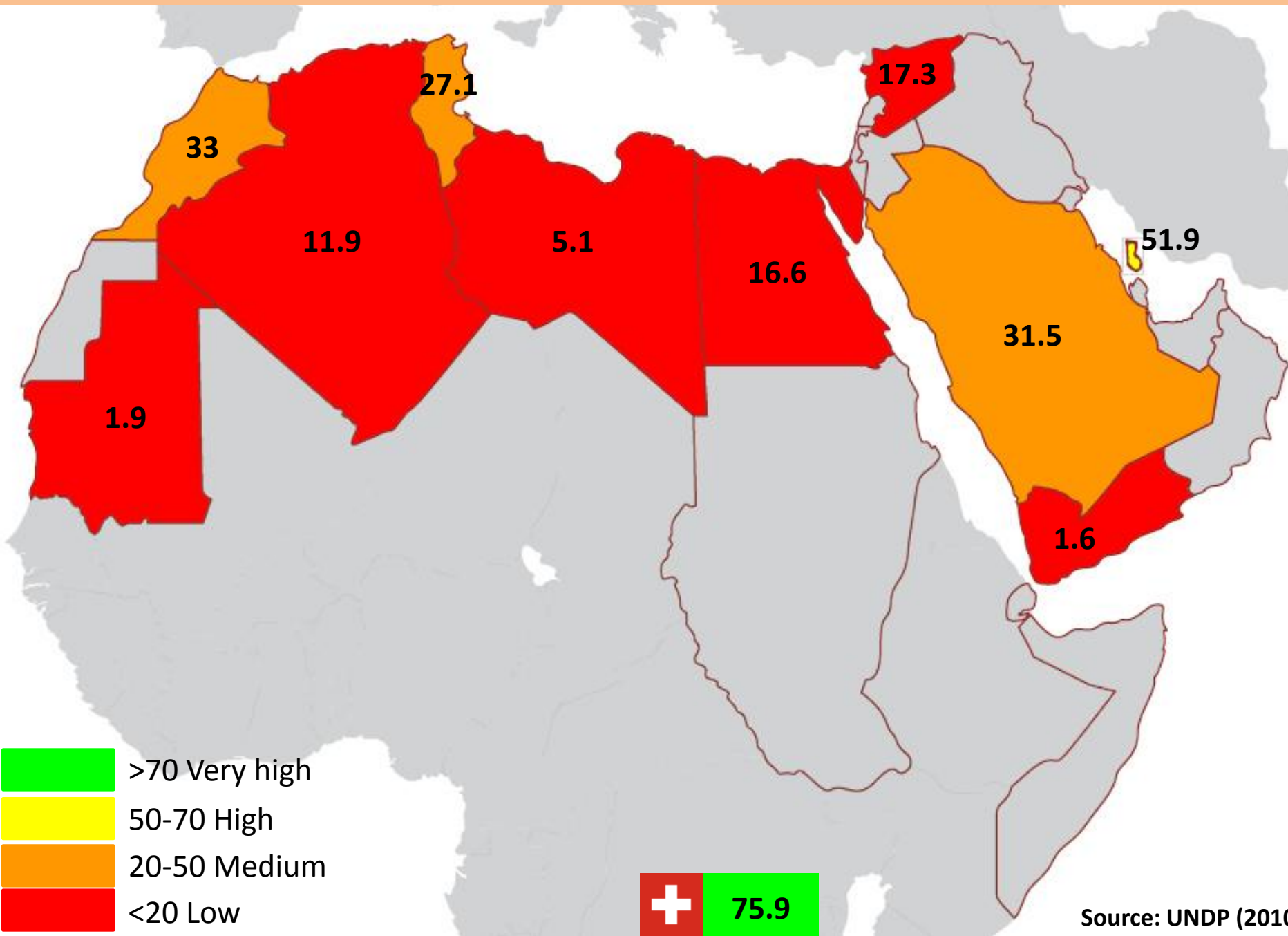
Source:  
Freedom House (2010)

# Press freedom index





# Internet users (/100 people)



Source: UNDP (2010)

# More on Human Rights in the Arab World

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Recherche rapide ...

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- Emirats Arabes Unis
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- Libye
- Maroc
- Mauritanie
- Palestine
- Qatar
- Soudan
- Syrie
- Tunisie
- Yemen
- Autres Pays

REJOINDRE ALKARAMA  
**ADHÉREZ**

**Maroc: Jeune étudiante torturée dans les geôles marocaines pour ses opinions politiques**

Fouzia Azougagh, jeune étudiante de 25 ans, a été enlevée le 18 février 2010 à Taza par des agents des services de sécurité à un arrêt de bus pour être emmenée au centre de détention de Témara. Du centre de Témara aux locaux de la police judiciaire à Casablanca, elle a été gravement torturée. Le 12 novembre dernier, elle a été condamnée à 6 ans de prison ferme dans le cadre de la « loi antiterroriste ». Fouzia est actuellement incarcérée à la prison de Salé et attend d'être rejuguée en appel dans les mois prochains. Elle a commencé une grève de la faim.

LIRE LA SUITE...

**Syrie : 301 personnes arrêtées au cours des manifestations du mois de mars**

Alkarama, 31 Mars 2011

Des centaines de militants politiques, de blogueurs et de manifestants ont été arrêtés arbitrairement lors des mouvements de protestation pacifiques qui ont secoué la Syrie en mars 2011.

LIRE LA SUITE...

**Yémen : Un adolescent battu à mort par les forces de sécurité sous les yeux de son père**

Alkarama, 30 Mars 2011

Muhabv Abdallah Hussein Al-Yaouri, un adolescent de 15 ans, a été

**2010 RAPPORT ANNUEL**

**FORMULAIRE POUR DÉCLARER UNE VIOLATION**

How many victims?  
How many families?  
How many years?  
We don't know...

alkarama.org

hoggar.org

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HOGGAR Institute

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**Bienvenue - مرحبا بكم**

أعزائنا القراء والمساهمين،

يسرنا أن نرحب بكم على النسخة الجديدة من موقعنا، وقد أعدنا هذه الفرصة لوضع كل منشوراتنا على الموقع، وكذا تقارير عن نشاطاتنا السابقة، نشكركم جزيل الشكر على وفائكم وتفكيركم.

Chers lecteurs et contributeurs,

Nous avons le plaisir de vous accueillir sur la nouvelle version de notre site. Nous avons saisi cette occasion pour mettre en ligne la totalité de nos publications et les comptes rendus de nos activités passées. Nous vous remercions de votre fidélité et confiance.

**Tribune Libre - منبر حر**

Misère du monde et France de la honte  
Kamal Guerroua - 12-04-2011

Unrest In Algeria: The Window is Closing Fast  
Lakhdar Ghetas - 12-04-2011

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توصيات تتعلق بالمصالحة والعفو في الجزائر  
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Reading Notes on French Colonial Massacres in Algeria  
Abbas Aroua - 16-08-1999

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**Diwan - الديوان**

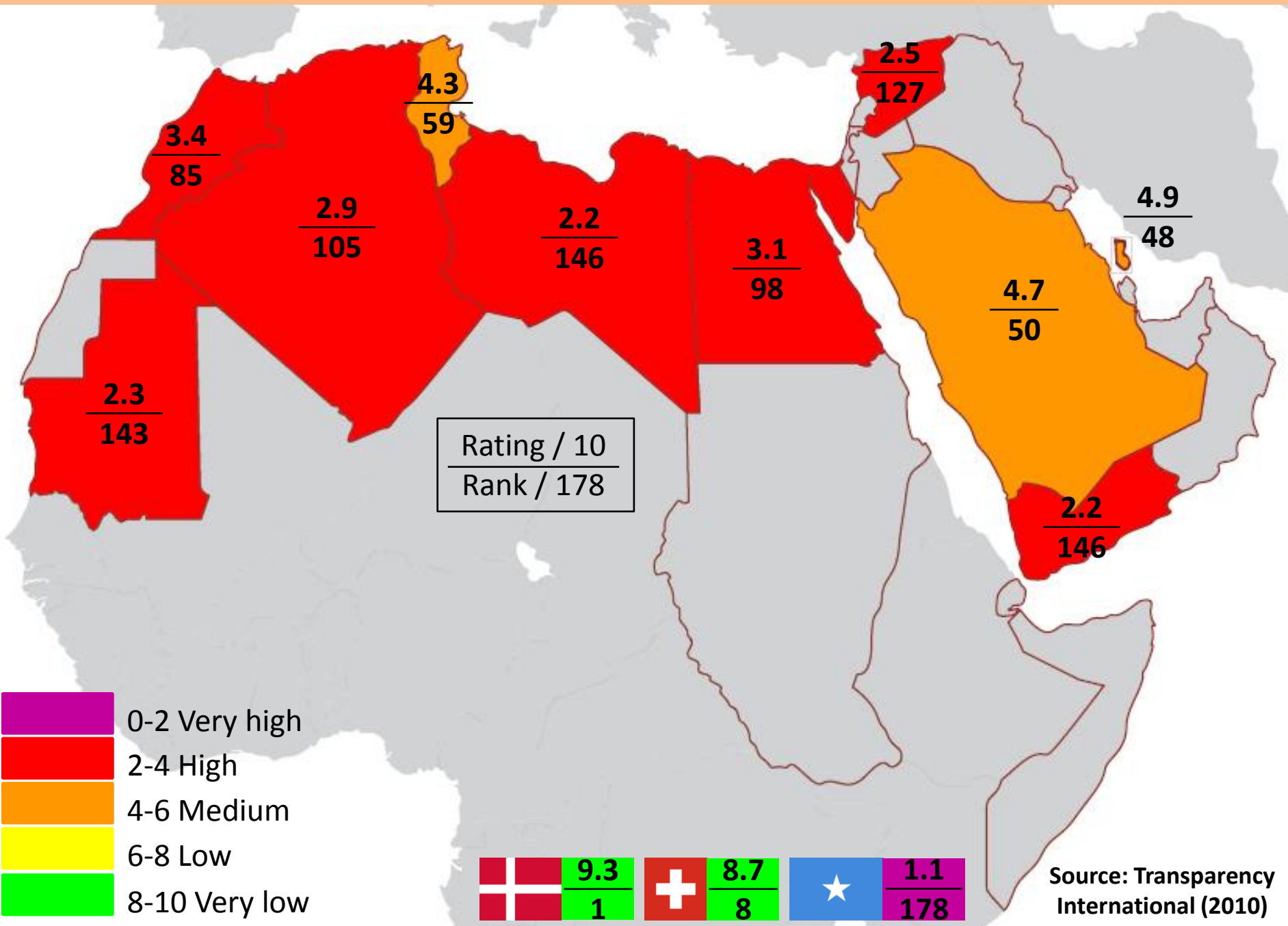
Is Constitutionalism compatible with Islam?  
Raja Lahlu - 02-04-2011

Democracy and Islam in Malek Bennabi's Thought  
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# Corruption – Fragility – Failure – Deligitimization

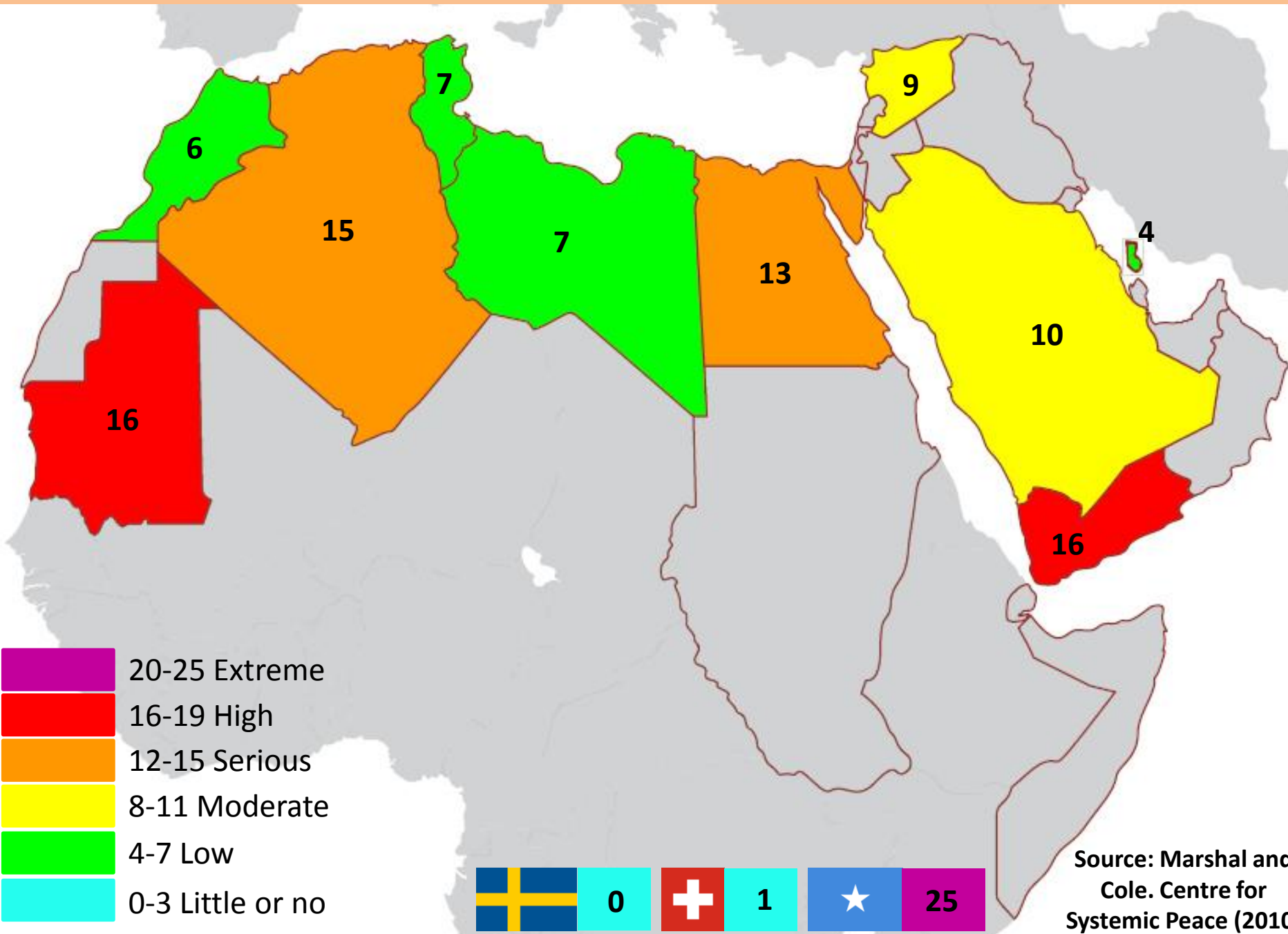


# Corruption perceptions index

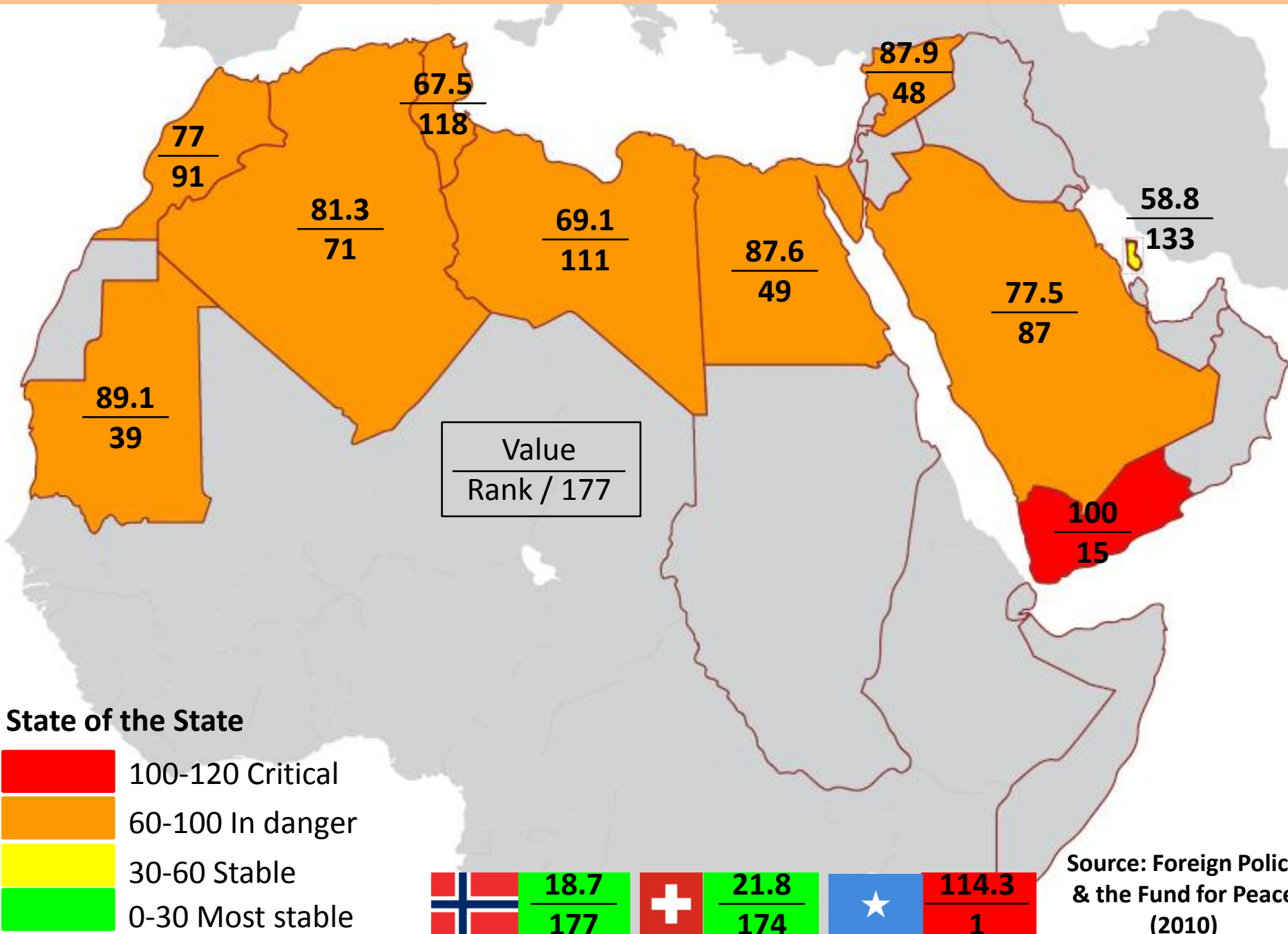


Source: Transparency International (2010)

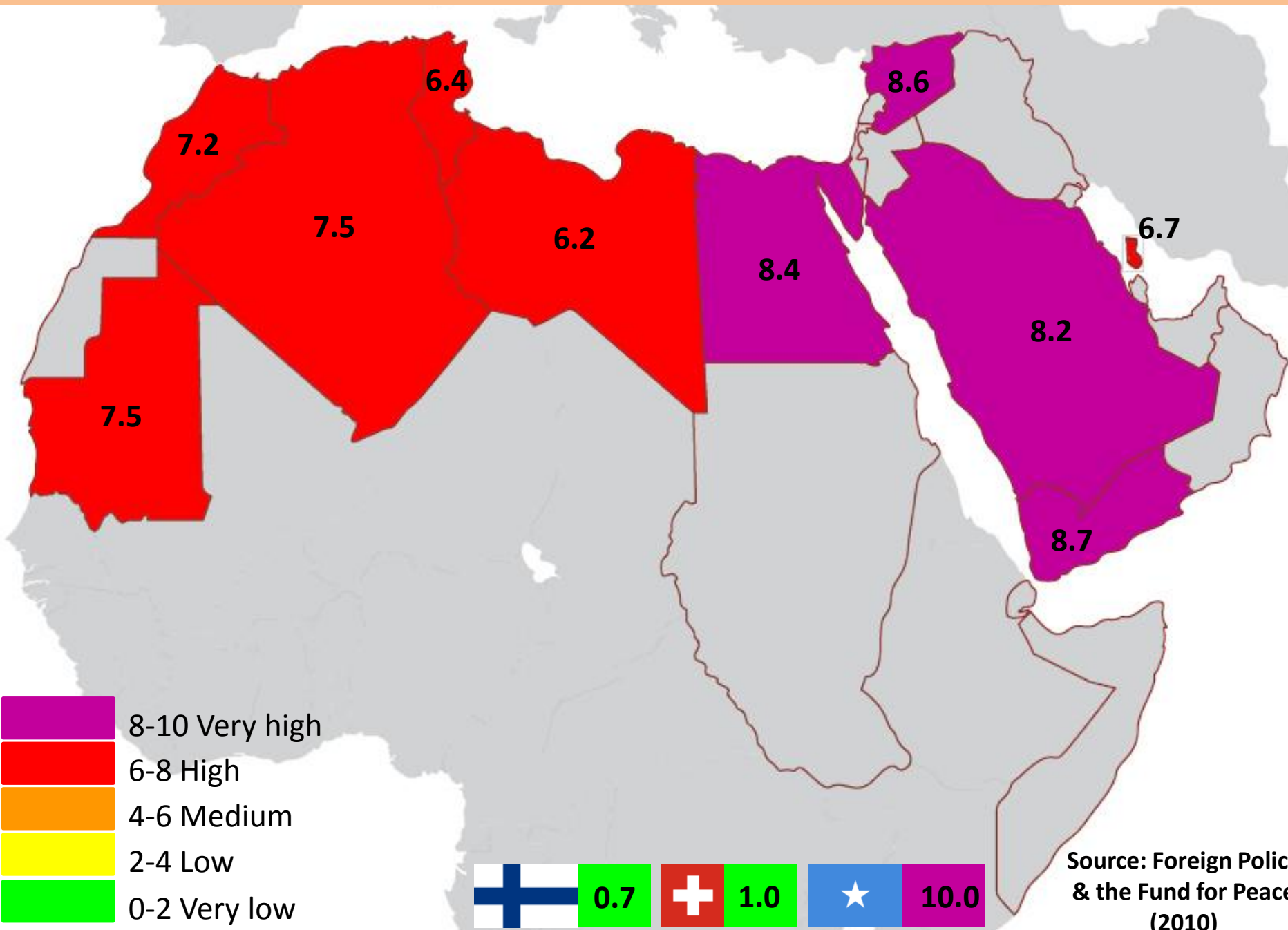
# State fragility index (2009)



# Failed state index



# Criminalization and/or delegitimization of the State index



Source: Foreign Policy & the Fund for Peace (2010)

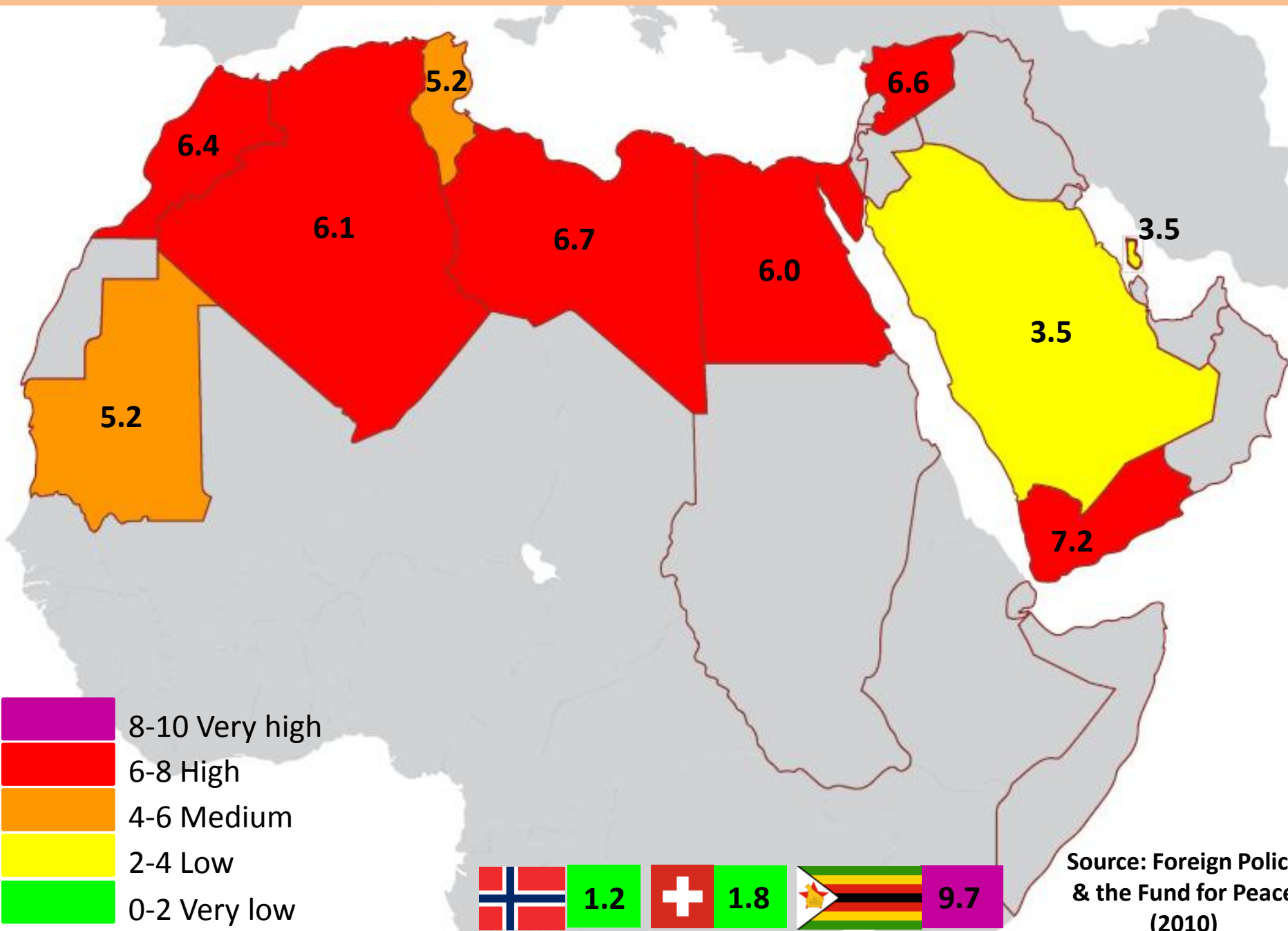
# Human flight

## COLONIALISME: LA FRANCE N'A TOUJOURS PAS DEMANDÉ PARDON AUX ALGÉRIENS



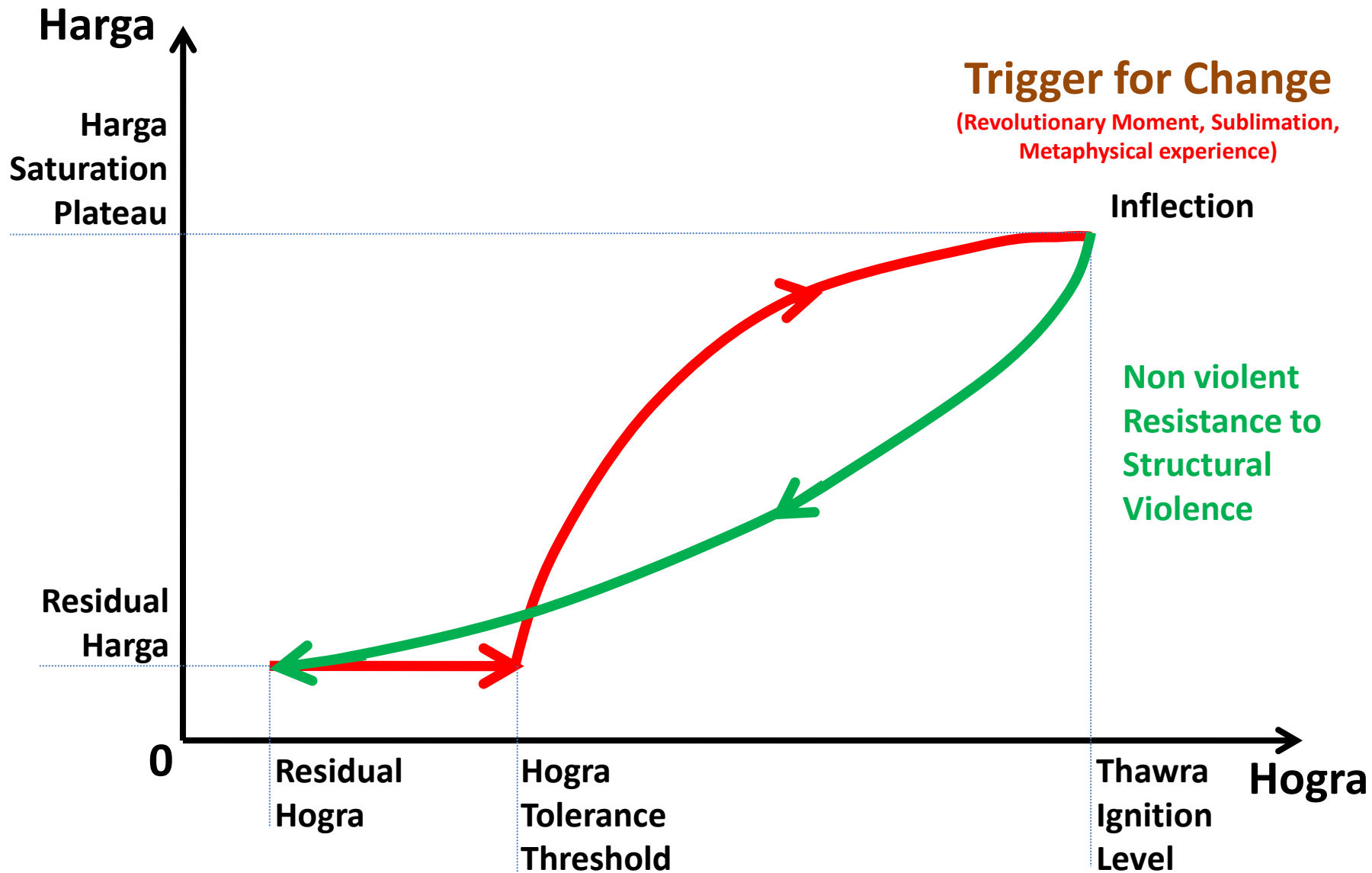


# Chronic and sustained human flight index



Source: Foreign Policy & the Fund for Peace (2010)

# Reversing the Hogra/Harga curve



# Types of Transitions

**No Freedom**

**Freedom**

**No Wealth**

**0 - 0**

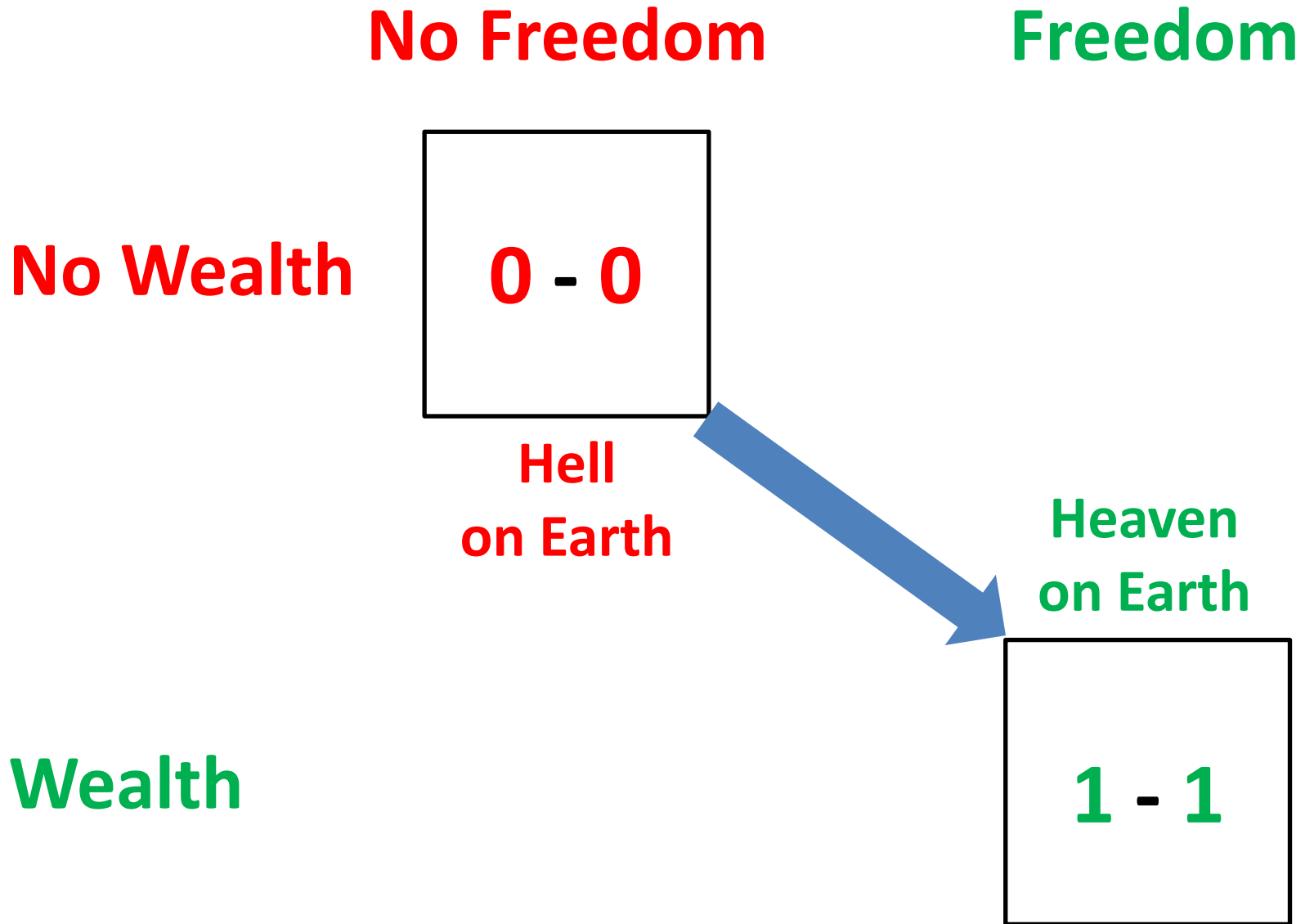
**0 - 1**

**Wealth**

**1 - 0**

**1 - 1**

# Types of Transitions



# Types of Transitions

**No Freedom**

**Freedom**

**No Wealth**

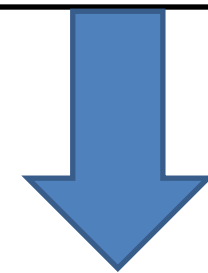
Hellven  
on Earth

**0 - 1**

**Wealth**

Heaven  
on Earth

**1 - 1**



# Types of Transitions

No Freedom

Freedom

No Wealth

Hellven  
on Earth

Heaven  
on Earth

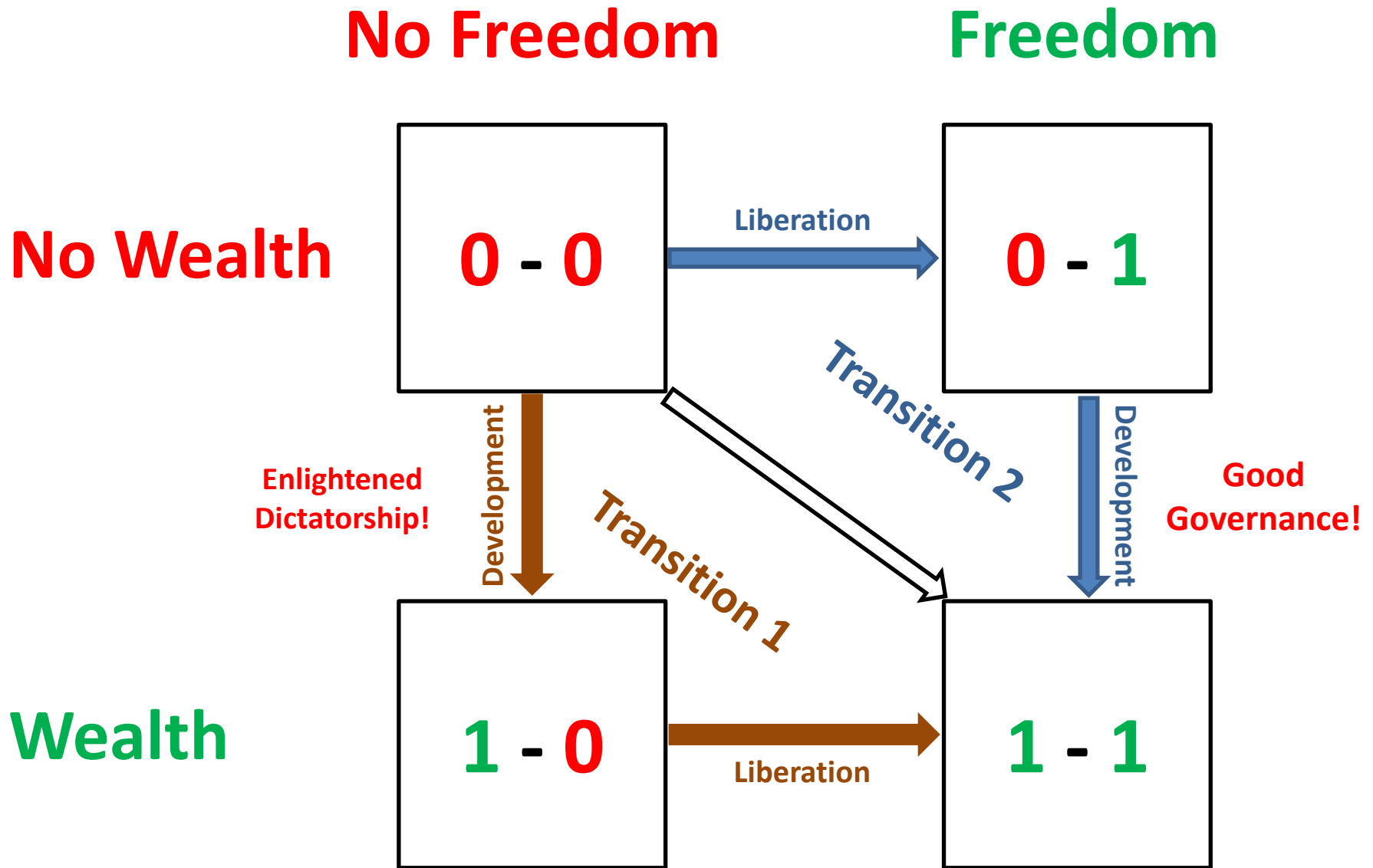
Wealth

1 - 0



1 - 1

# Types of Transitions



# Types of Transitions

<b>Strategies of Transition</b>	<b>Relative Strength of Elite and Mass</b>	
	<b>Elite Ascendant (Top-Down)</b>	<b>Mass Ascendant (Bottom-Up)</b>
<b>Force</b>	<b>Imposition</b>	<b>Revolution</b>
<b>Compromise</b>	<b>Pact</b>	<b>Reform</b>



# Types of Transitions

Way	Actor		
	State	Opposition	External
High Violence	Military Coups	Armed Resistance	Military Intervention
Non Violence	Hand Over	Civil Resistance	Soft Persuasion

# Types of Transitions

Way	Actor		
	State	Opposition	External
High Violence	Military Coup	Armed Resistance	Military Intervention
Low Violence			
Non Violence	Hand Over	Civil Resistance	Soft Persuasion

# Types of Transitions

Way	Actor					
	State	State/ Opposition	Opposition	Opposition/ External	External	State/ Opposition/ External
High Violence	Military Coup	<b>Bi- Coalition</b>	Armed Resistance	<b>Bi- Coalition</b>	Military Intervention	<b>Tri- Coalition</b>
Non Violence	Hand Over	<b>Negotiation</b>	Civil Resistance	<b>Colour Revolution</b>	Soft Persuasion	<b>Mediation</b>

# Types of Transitions

## Examples of Best and Worst Scenarios

Way	Actor					
	S State	SO State/ Opposition	O Opposition	OE Opposition/ External	E External	SOE State/ Opposition/ External
<b>HV</b> High Violence	Military Coup	Bi- Armed Coalition	Armed Resistance	Bi- Armed Coalition <b>Iraq</b> <b>(2003-2011)</b>	Military Intervention	Tri- Armed Coalition
<b>NV</b> Non Violence	Hand Over	Negotiation <b>Spain</b> <b>(1975-1977)</b>	Civil Resistance	Colour Revolution	Soft Persuasion	Mediation

# Types of Transitions

Way	Actor					
	S State	SO State/ Opposition	O Opposition	OE Opposition/ External	E External	SOE State/ Opposition/ External
<b>HV</b> High Violence	Military Coup	Bi- Armed Coalition	Armed Resistance	Bi- Armed Coalition	Military Intervention	Tri- Armed Coalition
<b>NV</b> Non Violence	Hand Over	Negotiation	Civil Resistance	Colour Revolution	Soft Persuasion	Mediation

What about political change in :

- Tunisia
- Egypt
- Libya
- Yemen

?

# Challenges

## Revolutions in Progress

### Democratization & consolidation of State of Law

- Resist counter revolution
- Control of democratic process
- Democratic control of armed forces and security apparatus
- Reform of administration
- Empowerment the institutions
- Build a political culture
- Dealing with the past (truth, justice, reparation, lustration, etc.)

### Development and Social Justice

- Good governance
- Fight corruption
- Wealth production
- Fair wealth distribution
- Meet basic needs of people



# Challenges

## Expected Revolutions

- Conditions of revolution are everywhere
- “Spring window” may be too narrow
- No effect of surprise
- Activation of sectarianism (ethnic, tribal, religious, ideological)
- Overcoming ego (individual and collective)
- Nature and structure of armed forces
- Respect of non violent resistance
- Dealing with external involvement

