

The Arab Spring Genesis: Implications for Global Politics

Asfandyar^{*}, Fakhr-Ul-Islam^{**} and Muqaddas Ullah^{***}

Abstract

The so called “Arab Spring” has surprised the world, Middle East rulers and the scholars. The Arab people who were oppressed for decades have revolted against the authoritarian rulers and have overturned a number of longstanding rulers and threatened the existing world order. To know the factors for the genesis, arguing that the Arab Spring is the product of the interplay between internal and external factors i.e. between the changing structure of international politico-military order and domestic economic and cultural influences; the events unfolded many new rivalries and friendships and has divided the world politics into many notorious camps. This paper focuses on the genesis of the Arab Spring and its implications on global politics.

Key words: Arab Spring, Middle East, global politics, Factors,

Introduction

The political turmoil in the Middle East was not an unexpected Phenomenon but its severity, dynamism and effects have greatly surprised the world. This so called Arab spring effected the Arab world in many ways, it effected Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Syria, Yemen, Iraq and Bahrain to a greater extent, has minor effects on Morocco, Jordan, while it has negligible effects on other middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia, Israel, Algeria etc. the term “Arab Spring” is an allusion to the revolutionary movements of 1948 sometimes referred to “Spring Time of Nations” also called as “European Spring”. The term was first used by Marc Lynch on 6 January 2011 in a post in Foreign policy titled “Obama’s Arab Spring”. Arab Spring” is an umbrella term for Arab awakening, Arab revolt, Arab upheavals, Arab revolution, pro-democracy and sociopolitical uprising.¹

“The Arab Spring was caused by a multitude of factors (economic, political, social, cultural and religious), but its origins also lay in belief. Not a singular belief, but a collective, multifaceted belief that liberation is not only needed, but also possible.”²

* Asfandyar, PhD Scholar, Department of International Relations, Qurtuba University of Science & Information Technology Peshawar. Email: asfandyar.shamuel@gmail.com

** Dr. Fakhr-ul-Islam, Director, Pakistan Study Center, University of Peshawar

*** Dr. Muqaddas Ullah, Assistant Professor, Department of Islamiyat, Qurtuba University of Science and Information Technology, Peshawar

Literature Review

According to Lynch, M. (2011) the sudden and abrupt waves of demonstrations and its spread in the Middle East in such a swift move have puzzled many political scientists.³

Beaumont, P. (2011) explains that the regional uprising is considered to have started when *Mohammad Bouazizi* a graduate street vender in Tunisia set himself on fire because of the violent behavior of a lady police officer on 17th of December 2010.⁴

Alexander, (2012) explains that Arab spring is ignited in a nonwestern society marginalized by global capitalist system, suffering from economic, social and political inequalities, under authoritarian regimes backed by the international order, undergoing revolutionary dynamics that may change the future of the oppressed people of the region⁵.

Tessler, M., & Miller-Gonzales, J. (2015) describe that the western media portrays the struggle of Arab world as a struggle for democracy, but this is not the case on the ground, democracy demands secularism which is considered as a taboo in the Arab world, Arabs do not want to detach from Islam, some want to have a blend of *Sharia* law and democracy. There is no compatibility between Islam and western democracy, both the ideology are incapable to coexist.⁶

Robinson, G. E. (2012) supports the narrative that Arab spring is a conspiracy of the multinational corporate that dominates the western politico military centers for any of the two purposes.

- 1) Capitalist system is driven by its nature to extend to new markets so as to recover from current financial crisis.
- 2) There is an intrinsic drive in the capitalist system to increase the profit share and keep on increasing to fulfill its thirst of achieving high economic goals which is infinite.⁷

Methodology

Qualitative research method is used in this study. This methodology consists of research articles, journals, books and news reports.

Problem Statement

The initial study of the subject in hand reveals that there is a close link between social, economic, legal and administrative discrepancies in the development of the conflict in the Arab world. Historical records show the fragile situation of the region, while the struggle for control of the region by different actors is obvious because of the strategic position of the region. The ground situation was exploited by internal as well as external actors to achieve or continue their vested benefits from the Arab peninsula. How the Arab spring started and what are the major factors

that contributed to the genesis of this historical event is the subject of this study.

Theoretical Framework

Revolutions have developed vast theoretical thinking in the social science. Various approaches to the study of revolution have developed a variety of explanations and theoretical statements. Various theories are prominent in explaining the revolutionary process. The concern is Domino Theory and Clash of Civilizations Theory with two psychological theories that stipulate the simple realization and strong argument that psychological factors have great influence on the behavior of individuals and groups.

These theories are Frustration Aggression Theory and Relative Deprivation Theory at the individual level while the Domino Theory and Clash of Civilizations Theory best explains the political scenario of the Middle East.

Factors for the Genesis of Arab Spring

The reasons for the spread of the Arab spring were mostly common for all the countries but there were certain variations in the mode of uprising in different countries depending on the domestic factors. The way the protests were handled also determined the uprising in different geographies. The factors that contributed to the uprising can be divided into two types.

- 1) The Systemic Factors
- 2) The proximal Factors

The Systemic Factors

These are factors that are common to all countries of the Arab World, and can be explained in the following ways.

Authoritarian Regimes

Most of the Arab countries were under certain types of authoritarian regimes. These regimes were ruling the Arab countries for decades and used to provide subsidies on basic needs like food, energy, social services and employment. These regimes used to suppress the citizens through secret police services and used to buy their loyalties through providing basic necessities of life.⁸

These regimes used to exercise control of state assets and shared the profits with the citizens. The population size was small in the beginning and it worked. The petrodollars helped the rulers achieve their objectives through renter state policies. But during the last decade of the

20th century the population size increased and it was difficult for the governments to keep the people away from media and their demand increased which the government was unable to meet. There was a great class difference between the life standard of common man and that of the elites which further triggered the situation.⁹

Those countries which could provide additional economic support to the citizens by creating new jobs and subsidies like Saudi Arabia have escaped the uprising. Other countries like Jordan and Kuwait also used the economic aid from big countries and thus were able to continue the authoritarian bargain with the people of the country.¹⁰

High Inflation and Inequalities

Most of the Arab countries suffered from economic problems due to increase in population and decrease in oil prices. The situation became more fragile due to the austerities measures advised by the World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund). Many subsidies were cancelled and prices of daily commodities increased, the privatization of national institutions increased the unemployment and increase in taxation developed economic problems for common man.

The global economic crisis of 2007-8 resulted in increase in food prices and as most of the Arab countries import food from abroad which struck these countries and the price of food increased several times like in Egypt the food prices increased by 37 % between 2008 and 2010. The Arab countries observed a 32% increase in the food prices and government subsidies were not enough to meet the increased food price that provoked demonstrations in the Arab countries demanding food.¹¹

The elite class achieved prosperity through corruption while the middle class became poorer due to lack of basic necessities and unemployment. Inequalities in the region were wide spread and societies divided into haves and have not's. There was lack of public services and high unemployment which created a sense of deprivation among the masses.¹²

Nearly half of the population in the Egyptian capital Cairo was living in unplanned areas with lack of basic facilities and some were living in wooden shacks. The Tunisian people were divided into two classes the upper class living mainly in the coast areas while people of the interior region were mostly poor. Self-immolations were carried out many times by poor people like in March 2010, an unemployed fruit vendor from the town of *Monastir*, *Abdeselem Trimech*, set himself on fire outside the town municipal office in agitation against inflation and poverty.¹³

Educated Youth

Education trend in the Middle East was high in the past three decades. Young people with education in countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya increased many folds. The educational system was not meeting the modern standards in the Arab world and many educated young had no skills or technical capabilities. The government sector was unable to absorb such huge numbers and the selection was based on nepotism and cronyism. There was about 25% unemployment rate in the Arab world in the youth population ranging from 15 to 25 years of age by the end of 2008.¹⁴

The educated youth were energetic and used to compare themselves with the youth of developed countries which created a sense of relative deprivation among these youth they used to share their views through the use of social media and were aspiring for good life standards which triggered them to come to the streets against the elite class.¹⁵

Population Increase

The population of the Arab world increased drastically in the past few decades. The population almost tripled from 128 million in 1970 to 359 million in 2010. There was 30 % youth between the age of 25 to 30 and 65% were below the age of 25. It was not easy for the governments to create jobs for these people as the authoritarian rulers mismanaged the oil money. No infrastructure for skilled workers were produced and governments used to run the affairs through ad hoc based policies. The unemployment rate increased from 19.8% in 1990 to 29.9% in 2000 in many countries while the economic growth rate was less than 10% during this period.¹⁶

Middle Class Frustration

There was high emergence of middle class in the Arab countries because of the rent based government policies. The aggregate percentage of the middle class in the Arab countries was 47.3% in the year 2000. The Egyptian middle class was almost 44%, Tunisia 47.5%, Yemen 31.6% and Syria 56.5%.¹⁷

Middle class frustration rose to its peak in the last decade as people were not happy with their standard of living. Average life evaluation level dropped from 5.5 to 4.4 during the period of 2007-2010. The people of the Arab world were the unhappy among the world population and they were dissatisfied with the government services like healthcare, transportation and food. These frustrated middle class participated in the uprising in the Arab world and passionately worked for the overthrow of the regimes.¹⁸

Corruption

Among the most triggering cause of the Arab spring was corruption. The middle class and unemployed used to compare their life standards with the elites and the frustration of the deprived class increased as the wealth was concentrated among the privileged class. The elites were living luxurious life style while their loyal and family members were exploiting the wealth for their personal use while the masses were living in dire conditions. The stories of corruption and overseas assets of the elites when came to news sparked wide spread demonstrations and agitations and people starting chanting the slogans “*Ash sha’b uredo isqatannizam.*” the people want to overthrow the regime.¹⁹

Dignity (Karama)

The people of the Arab world were humiliated by the state agencies and corrupt autocracy for a long period of time. They were oppressed and were not given freedom of speech and travelling. The main slogans in the Egyptian, Tunisian and Libyan streets were “bread, freedom and human dignity”. Tyrannical rulers were running the affairs of the government and common people were deprived of their share in the affairs of the government. People were not allowed to speak against the rulers and elites and those who opposed the elites were jailed tortured and humiliated. People were kept behind bars without any proper procedures, telephones were taped and meetings and gatherings were forbidden in many countries. People were aspiring for dignified life and they started struggle for this noble cause.²⁰

The Proximal Factors

These factors intensified the small protests and even helped in transforming the demonstrations into rebellions and civil wars in the Arabian Peninsula. The details are given as.²¹

Social Media

The uprising was made successful by the wide spread use of social media. Cell phones, internet and satellite television were of significant importance in the Arab spring. The localized events were spread and propagated through digital media which had a lasting effect on the mind of the masses. For example the videos of self-immolation of *Muhammad Bouazizi* created more empathetic response among the youth and had a long lasting effect as compared to hearing or reading of the news.²²

The use of social media accelerated the spread of the uprising. People used to share the abuses done by the government machinery against the protestors and also shared the success stories. A sense of unity was developed among the protestors through the use of such technologies.

The news was spread to the people and satellite channels used to share the images and videos created during the protests which developed global recognition for the uprising. Certain news channels were the common cause of spreading the uprising and were banned in certain countries like the Aljazeera a Qatar based Arabic and English news channel.²³

The regimes also used the social and electronic media to identify the protestors and take actions against them. Regimes also used to block the internet access and blocked the internet in many areas. The use of social media and cell phones amalgamated the uprising and accelerated the spread of the uprising. Foreign forces that supported the uprising in certain countries worked on behalf of the protestors and spread the news of each event in favor of the uprising while it was silent in showing certain countries with trouble. Media worked according to its own agenda and has given coverage to the uprising and ignored the others according to their own needs and priorities.²⁴

Impact of State Response

The response of the regime against the uprising catalyzed the demonstrations. When regime used police force against the protestors it created sympathy for the demonstrators and many others joined the protests. The regimes used harsh tactics like arresting, beating, harassing and even killing the demonstrators. Police force used to intermingle within the protestors in civilian dress and used to damage the image of the protestors. Regimes used to portray the uprising as extremists to spread hate in the west against the uprising. All these tactics failed and Islamists worked together with the secularists to oust the dictators and they got success.²⁵

The Role of Army

Armed forces played a significant role in the Arab Spring. The armies used to shift the power balance in favor of the protestors or the regime. The Tunisian army declared in the start that it will not intervene in the process which enabled the protestors to continue their protests. This finely resulted in ousting *Bin Ali* from power and he flew to Saudi Arabia. In Egypt the army first sided with the regime but later decided to overthrow *Mubarak*. The election resulted in Muslim Brotherhood rising to power electing *Muhammad Morsi* as president but then the whole process was reversed and military took over the power and imprisoned the elected president. The military chief *Abdul Fatah al Sisi* became president and suppressed the protests with military might. The Muslim Brotherhood protested with more intensity and continuity against the

overthrow of *Morsi* but military was not in favor of the protestors so it did not get success.²⁶

The regime in Algeria escaped the uprising although there were all the possibilities available for the uprising but the military sided with the regime and demonstrations were suppressed through iron fist. The most vulnerable country in the Arab world did not observe any change in the so called Arab Spring.²⁷

The Syrian forces were more loyal to the regime of *Bashar Al Asad* and it kept the regime intact against any demonstration. The western support to the rebels continued and a civil war erupted in the country still the uprising couldn't remove *Bashar* from power. This indicates that the military had the final decision authority in changing the regime or keeping it intact.²⁸

Foreign Intervention

Foreign intervention was the prime deciding factor for the regime change and success or failure of the uprising. Examples are many in the Arab Spring like Bahrain which suppressed the mainly *Shiites* uprising with the help of *Sunni* Saudi forces. Similarly the Libyan forces were loyal to the Qaddafi regime with some minor defection but it was the NATO direct military intervention which killed Qaddafi and his regime.²⁹

Syria was at the brink of collapse against the Islamic State when US and Russian forces intervened to save the country and destroy the Islamic State. Russia supported the Syrian regime and bombarded the opponents of *Bashar* while US bombarded the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq due to ideological differences thus resulting in stability of the *Bashar* regime.³⁰

Iraq was going to be captured by Islamic State when it was in control of most of the Iraqi territories when US came to protect its Iraqi installed regime and bombarded the areas under Islamic State control by leading a coalition of 67 countries thus saving the *Malki* regime. This is a ground reality that Middle East regimes are installed and protected by foreign forces for their vested interests and any change in the region is only successful if it is favored by foreign powers.³¹

Islamic orientation

The Islamic culture of the Arab world is a strong political and cultural force that drives people in the Muslim world and in particular the Middle East, so it was a common observation that any change in Middle East could result in Islamic Revolution.³²

There was a strong presence of the secular ideology in the uprising and both the seculars and Islamists sacrificed their opposite stance and cooperate with each other in toppling the regime. The main

theme of the uprising was *Freedom, Dignity and Social justice*. The Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt joined hand in hand with the secular forces similarly the leader of the Tunisian *Ennahda* party *Rashid al-Ghanoushi* declared that they don't want an Islamic state but they are struggling for a secular state. Still the religious mind of the protesters worked combine with the seculars. There was no distinct leadership of the uprising and religious mind was dominated in the uprising although the westerners were supporting the secular sects of the demonstrations like the Libyan National Transition Council (NTC) was a secular organization of the Gaddafi defectors who lead the uprising and the civil war.³³

Although the uprising was against the suppression and inequality, the Islamic ideology was considered as the best solution to the problems of the region and the results of the elections in the Arab countries showed the same as in Morocco the Islamic Justice and Development party scored the highest numbers in the parliament and its leader *Benkirani* became the prime minister. The Tunisian *Ennahda* party won 40 percent of the parliamentary seats and became the dominant party in the parliament. The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the *Salafist* parties won 60 percent of the seats in the Egyptian post Mubarak elections and *Muhammad Morsi* became the president of Egypt. All these are signs of an Islamic resurgence but the Muslims were only diverted to the democratic system through use of Islamic rhetoric and democratic Islamists came to power to neutralize the hardliner Islamists. The Islamists parties that came to power in post regimes scenario in many countries are not strictly Islamic and they don't want an Islamic State rather they want a secular state but they want to use Islam and Islamic rhetoric of the people of the Middle East to achieve social justice and to change the statuesque. These Islamists parties also do not want to have conflict with the western countries therefore they portray themselves as democratic and secular. The democratic and secular stance of the post regime parties in power created a clear rift between the Islamists and the democrats. Like the Muslim Brotherhood has divided into five new parties like *Tayar Masry* and *al-Adl* Party. Similarly there has been a clear division between those who want *Sharia* law to be dominant and those who restrains the secular democracy in the region.³⁴ Muslim scholars like *SayyidQutb* inspired the Muslims youth to forcefully seize and refurbish the *Jahili*(Ignorant) state and establish an Islamic State based on the principals of Quran and Prophetic methodology. His book *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (The Mile Stones 1964) was a guide line for the jihadists and played the same role as Lenin's "*What is to Be Done*" (1902) for the Marxist. The jihadists are determined to bring the revolution through seizing power against the *Jahili* (Ignorant) system.

Islamists can be divided into three categories on the basis of their aspiration to implement *Sharia* law and their struggle for power in the Middle East.

Secular Islamists

These are Islamists who want to practice Islam in their individual life and want to be pious with the power in their hand. They accommodate the secular parties and want to maintain the status quo and don't want to alter the established system. Tunisian *Ennahda* and Palestinian *Hamas* are the best examples of these types of Islamists.

Reformist Islamists

These are Islamists parties who want to be part of the existing system and want to bring gradual change in the system. These parties want to slowly reform the system and incorporate Islam in the democratic system. They are in favor of the amalgamated Islamic and secular system. Muslim Brotherhood is a best example of the gradual change to Islamic political system.

Revolutionary Islamists

These are Islamists following the teachings of *Ibne Tammiya* and *Sayyid Qutb*. They want to bring Islamic system by eradicating the capitalist system. They are against the capitalist installed system. They favor the uprooting of the tyrant regimes and are challenging the world order. They want to implement *sharia* in its true spirit. Islamic State is the symbol of such type of revolutionary Islamists.³⁵

Discussion & Findings: Implications for Global Politics

The impacts of the Arab spring can be divided into four main domains:

- 1) Regional Chaos
- 2) Regional Power Struggle
- 3) Global Refugees crisis
- 4) War of Ideologies

Regional Chaos

The Middle East is greatly affected by the Arab Spring. Millions of people were displaced and other millions were killed. War caused devastation and destruction of infrastructure, state institutions and public property worth in millions of dollars. Many people were killed in war zones and during demonstrations while thousands deaths occurred in Atlantic Ocean when people were fleeing from war at home towards Europe. The regional impact of the Arab Spring can be seen through chaos, civil war and displacement in many countries like Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Libya.

Regional power Struggle

The so called Arab Spring has yet to give way for the hoped glorious summer but it seems to have developed an autumn of insecurity, war and violence along with all the repercussions of the instability in the region. The struggle for dominance in the region by different countries is not a new phenomenon but the Arab Spring has created an atmosphere where regional actors are directly involved in the affairs of other countries and the war developed an opportunity for different actors to peruse their interest through direct attack and through proxies. Regional politics has become more complicated based on cross-cutting alliances, sectarian and geopolitical interests. Saudi Arabia, Iran and Turkey are now in direct confrontation with each other. There is a direct war between different regional actors in the war turned countries of the region.³⁶

Global Refugees crisis

Refugees arriving into the European continent are of Muslim origin mostly from war turned Middle East. There for many European countries are reluctant to open borders to these refugees. Huntington argues that conflict between the Muslim and European civilization is very old that started from the Muslim conquest of Spain in 711 A.D. according to him; *“Islamic and European civilizations have clashed from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The Crusaders attempted with temporary success to bring Christianity and Christian rule to the Holy Land. From the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks reversed the balance, extended their sway over the Middle East and the Balkans, captured Constantinople, and twice laid siege to Vienna”*

He farther claims, *“On both sides, the interaction between Islam and the West is seen as a clash of civilizations”* (p.32). The most reluctant country among the European Union is Hungary which has been at the front line between the Ottomans-Hapsburg wars during 16th and 18th centuries. As Hungary remained at the forefront from southern Muslim countries invasions and had remained under Ottoman rule for a brief period of time and possess many mosques of the Muslims so this border country of the Europe is afraid of another Muslim invasion.³⁷

War of Ideologies

The current world order has no Muslim representation in reality. Muslims used to have greater role in the world affairs but after the fall of Ottoman Empire their role has been insignificant. Middle East has been under the influence of world powers and there is strong aspiration for the

revival of Muslim renaissance in the region which emerged with full swing during the Arab Spring in the form of Islamic State.

Global Jihadists vs. Global Powers

Islamic State commanded and controlled areas in widely spread Muslim world ranging from Afghanistan to Philippine, Chechnya, Libya, Nigeria, Egypt, Iraq and Syria and have global ambition threatening the world order. It was a breakthrough in the international politics as the Muslims were able to achieve land mark victories after the fall of Ottoman Empire.

The Islamic State was based on the process of *Hijra* (Migration) *Jama'a* (Congregation) *Rad Taghut* (destabilizing the Tyrant), *Tamkeen* (Consolidation) and *Khilafa* (Caliphate).³⁸

The State was self-sufficient in all aspects of political and social life as many skilled people have joined the efforts of State formation both from local population as well as from Europe and other developed countries. The estimated selling of oil by the Islamic State was about 70,000 barrels daily from Syria and Iraq (at \$26-\$35 per barrel of heavy oil and \$60 per barrel of light crude) to internal market customers and external buyers in Iraq, Lebanon, Turkey, and Kurdistan. The daily income ranged from \$ 365 million to 1.1 billion.³⁹

The State announced the development of Islamic golden Dinar, Silver Dirham and Copper Falus which posed a real threat to the dollar monopoly in the world affairs. The state was run by a welfare system with share of each citizen in the income of the State. The Islamic system of *Zakat* for the Muslims and *Jizya* for the protection of the non-Muslims or *Dimmies* was established. The territory under the control of the Islamic State enjoyed complete peace and harmony and no one could dare to violate the Islamic law. The local administration was fast and efficient in providing the services to the citizens. The *Alhasba* (accountability) brigade used to conduct surprise visits in order to check the implementation of *Sharia* and the quality of goods and services to the people. The state focused on police, Islamic outreach, tribal affairs, recruitment and training, education, *sharia* courts and aid-based services (humanitarian assistance and facility management) although it was in a state of war on all fronts which showed the dedication and commitment of the people working for the creation of this new state.⁴⁰

The remaining and expanding strategy was a real threat to the following entities of the world political powers hubs.

- 1) The US hegemony
- 2) The current global political order

- 3) The US and British installed elites of the Middle East in particular and the Muslim world in general.
- 4) The *Shiites* political power in Middle East
- 5) The economic system of the capitalist world

Soon after the announcement of the Islamic State a coalition of 79 countries was formed spearheaded by the US in alliance with the *Shiites* of Iran and Arab world started a ground and air assault from their bases in Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, UAE etc.

The Islamic State was invaded from many fronts with different confronting political factions working in alliance and cooperating to destroy the Caliphate.⁴¹

Conclusion

The domestic factors which are common causes of the uprising can best be explained by the Frustration Aggression Theory which predicts the transformation of frustration and deprivation into aggression and violence. The case of Arab spring is a best example of the Frustration of individuals and groups their deprivation resulted in aggression, agitation and violence.

The Relative Deprivation Theory is also applied to the revolution in the Arab world because people were deprived from basic human rights like freedom of expression and movement. Basic necessities were not in the reach of common people and elites were living luxurious lives. The deprivation of the people developed frustration which persisted for decades finally resulting in mass protests leading to civil war that resulted in overthrow of regimes which failed to resolve the miseries of the people.

The Domino theory best explain the transfer of spring from one country to another. The uprising started in Tunisia soon transferred to Egypt under the domino effect and then it travelled to neighboring Libya. The fall of Libyan regime motivated the demonstrators in Syria and Iraq. The US and USSR came to hold the regimes in Iraq and Syria as they could fall under the Domino effect. US also helped in sustaining its allies against the uprising in countries like Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain etc.

Arab Spring is an amalgamated product of the of internal as well as external factors; in most of the cases the internal triggers for uprising are exploited by certain foreign forces to achieve certain objectives. Most often the uprising is backed by foreign forces at local level and from abroad because the prevailing system in the Arab world needs to be changed that will fuel the capitalist system prevailing in the world. This

change is to sustain the global status quo not for the people of the region but in fact it is an overhauling of the system that will help to sustain the world order.

The ruling houses of the Arab world have the potential to escape the effects of the Arab Spring. They possess experience of facing the *Nasserism* threat in 1950s; they are using the same rent based policy of increasing the cash flow and keep the society depoliticized. Furthermore these states have a good relationship with the global powers.

The theory of clash of Civilizations best explains the active involvement of the western powers in the conflict. Western powers used direct military action to overthrow some regimes and to stop the collapse of certain regimes by the Islamists. Most of the elites locally and from abroad are afraid of the success of Islamists in the region therefore they are using force to out root the Islamists.

The start of chaotic events in the Arab world commonly known as Arab Spring didn't come in vacuum because the region was suffering from certain political, religious and economic recession for the past many decades. The frustration of the people was directed to certain direction by certain forces portraying it a struggle for democracy and freedom. The people struggle was sponsored by foreign forces when it was in favor of the world hegemonic power and was reversed back when there was threat to the western interest.

The events opened some new alliances of *Shiites* and US against the Islamic State. The real clash of civilizations was witnessed by the history when the world divided into the pro Western and pro-Islamic camps. The situation raised from the war in the Arab world is a best example of the clash of civilizations which was predicted by Samuel Huntington in his famous book the *Clash of Civilizations*. Although there is no true representation of Muslims in the current world politics after the demise of the Ottoman Caliphate, The emergence of Islamic State developed an interesting scenario on the world political stage when the two powers clashed on ideological basis. The world leading power was able to oust the Islamic State from its captured territories but the war is continued on many fronts from Africa to Philippine and Afghanistan to Syria and Iraq.

The Domino theory can best explain the spread of Islamic State. The announcement of Islamic State united the jihadists of the world and history witnessed that most of the jihadists pledged their allegiance to the Islamic State and now the war of ideologies is continued on global level proving the *Clash of Civilizations Theory*.

Notes & References

- ¹Lynch, Marc. "After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian Arab state." *Perspectives on politics* 9, no. 2 (2011): 301-310.
- ²Eghdamian, Kat. "What was the role of religion in the Arab Spring?." *Open Democracy*. The full text available at <https://www.opendemocracy.net> (2014).
- ³Loc.Cit., Lynch, Marc., (Op.Cit.,)
- ⁴Beaumont, Peter. "The truth about Twitter, Facebook and the uprisings in the Arab world." *The Guardian* 25 (2011): 2011.
- ⁵Alexander, Yonah. "Special update report terrorism in North, West, & Central Africa: from 9/11 to the Arab Spring." *International Center for Terrorism Studies* 3 (2012).
- ⁶Miller-Gonzalez, Jennifer, and Mark Tessler. "Maghrebi youth in the wake of the Arab Spring: General observations and evidence from Tunisia and Algeria." In *North African Politics*, pp. 34-59. Routledge, 2015.
- ⁷Robinson, Glenn E. "Syria's long civil war." *Current History* 111, no. 749 (2012): 331.
- ⁸Winckler, Onn. "The "Arab spring": socioeconomic aspects." *Middle East Policy* 20, no. 4 (2013): 68-87.
- ⁹Saleh, Layla. "" We Thought We Were Playing": Children's Participation in the Syrian Revolution." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 14, no. 5 (2013): 80-95.
- ¹⁰Lawson, George. "Revolution, Nonviolence, and the Arab Uprisings." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2015): 453-470.
- ¹¹Op.Cit., Winckler, Onn.
- ¹²Ardic, Nurullah. "Understanding the Arab Spring: Justice, dignity, religion and international politics." *Afro Eurasian Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 8-52.
- ¹³Patel, David S. "Roundabouts and revolutions: Public squares, coordination, and the diffusion of the Arab uprisings." *Unpublished paper* (2013).
- ¹⁴Loc.Cit., Ardic, Nurullah.
- ¹⁵Gardner, Edward Hudson. *Creating Employment in the Middle East and North Africa*. International Monetary Fund, 2003.
- ¹⁶Beck, Martin, and S. Huser. "Explanations for the Arab Spring." *Center for Mellemøststudier* (2013).
- ¹⁷Lesch, David W. "The uprising that wasn't supposed to happen: Syria and the Arab Spring." *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East* (2013): 79-96.
- ¹⁸Beissinger, Mark R., Amaney Jamal, and Kevin Mazur. "Who participated in the Arab spring? A comparison of Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions." *Princeton University*. <http://www.princeton.edu/~mbeissin/beissinger.tunisiaegyptcoalitions.pdf> (2012).
- ¹⁹Op.Cit., Ardic, Nurullah.
- ²⁰Op.Cit., Lesch, David W.

- ²¹Dalacoura, Katerina. "The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications." *International Affairs* 88, no. 1 (2012): 63-79.
- ²²Howard, Philip N., Aiden Duffy, DeenFreelon, Muzammil M. Hussain, Will Mari, and MarwaMaziad. "Opening closed regimes: what was the role of social media during the Arab Spring?." (2011).
- ²³Op.Cit.,Ardic, Nurullah.
- ²⁴Lawson, George."Revolution, Nonviolence, and the Arab Uprisings." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (2015): 453-470.
- ²⁵Gerges, F. "The Arab Spring popular uprisings—myth and reality." Retrieved from *OpenDemocracy* <https://www.opendemocracy.net/north-africa-west-asia/fawaz-gerges/arab-spring-popular-uprisings-%E2%80> (2014): 2.
- ²⁶Ibid.
- ²⁷Op.Cit.,Saleh, Layla.
- ²⁸Op.Cit.,Cit., Gerges, F.
- ²⁹Op.Cit.,Dalacoura, Katerina.
- ³⁰Op.Cit.,Patel, David S.
- ³¹Hoffman, Michael, and Amaney Jamal. "Religion in the Arab Spring: Between two competing narratives." *The Journal of Politics* 76, no. 3 (2014): 593-606.
- ³²Bayat, Asef."The post-Islamist revolutions." *Foreign Affairs*(2011).
- ³³Moaddel, Mansoor. "The Arab Spring and Egyptian revolution makers: Predictors of participation." *Population Studies Center Research Report* 12-775 (2012).
- ³⁴Bayat, Asef."The Arab Spring and its surprises." *Development and Change* 44, no. 3 (2013): 587-601.
- ³⁵Op.Cit.,Bayat, Asef.
- ³⁶Ryan, Curtis. "The new Arab cold war and the struggle for Syria." *Middle East Report* 262 (2012): 28-31.
- ³⁷Huntington, Samuel P. "The clash of civilizations?." *Foreign affairs* (1993): 22-49.
- ³⁸Hashim, Ahmed S. "The Islamic State: From al- Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate." *Middle East Policy* 21, no. 4 (2014): 69-83.
- ³⁹Brisard, Jean-Charles, and Damien Martinez. "Islamic state: The economy-based terrorist funding." *Thomson Reuters Accelus* (2014): 3.
- ⁴⁰Lister, Charles R. *The Islamic State: A Brief Introduction*. Brookings Institution Press, 2015.
- ⁴¹McCants, William, and William FaiziMcCants. *The ISIS apocalypse: The history, strategy, and doomsday vision of the Islamic State*. Macmillan, 2015.