



Euro Arab Institute
For dialogue between cultures



Issues of the Arab Spring

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- **Introduction**
- Need to redefine the Arab Revolutions.
- Why Chaos is overtaking revolutions?
- ‘After two years of Pseudo Democracy of Hybrid regimes in Tun and Egy we need to rethink democracy.



- New logic of Arab revolutions:
- It is said that Revolutions born mad and crazy, but the Arab revolutions were born spontaneous, popular then rationalized. later, they were hijacked by the Islamists.
- Dante said: « The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in times of great moral crisis, maintain their neutrality'. The Islamists' neutrality was a kind of cowardice. Always revolutions are implemented by braves and exploited by cowards..



Specificities

- **from inside the system**
- Systemic and self regulation: no ideology is behind.
- “The greatest and most powerful revolutions often start very quietly, hidden in the shadows’
- Tunisians and Egyptians: they rebelled from inside the system. That was much more powerful than rebelling outside the system.”
- But Those who make peaceful revolution sometimes impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.”
- case of Egypt/July 2013.



Specific Definition

it is not an uprising (to regain social consciousness), it is a revolution.

- According to different studies Revolution is:
- a) the thorough replacement of an established government or political system by the people governed.
- b) a radical and pervasive change in society and the social structure, especially one made suddenly and often accompanied by violence.
- C) the revolution is led by political leaders or intellectuals.
- Is this applicable to the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions?



- For a) the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions were the breaking down of a political system, political cast and government= 14 July 2011, Kasba1 (Jan 24) and Kasba2 (Feb 28) then adjustment, 17 January 2014 /Tahrir square 25 January 2011/adjustment, July 2013.
- For b) it was not a radical and pervasive change in society and social structure, but a self-regulation needed in a historical time.
- For c) no political or intellectual leaders, but spontaneous then coordinated by patriotists without any ideology.



. Correlation of Specific Causes /Axis of Evil

The axis of evil always leads to revolution:

CDU= Corruption, Dictatorship and unemployment.

- How to approach corruption? Two perspectives:
- 1- structural: “corruption is considered as one of negative characteristics such as underdevelopment, poverty, ignorance, fundamentalism and repression of women”
- “social pathology symptomatic of third world instability and lack of social discipline = incomplete penetration/protection of the state.

Another structural approach analyses the “system of formal rules and institutions” = actors e. elites are able to act for personal gain.

In Egyptian case: Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime. But poverty is resulting of unemployment.



- 2- interactional approach focuses on the “behavior of actors in particular public-office settings. A “behavior that deviates from the formal duties of a public role in favor of private or personal gain”
- “Corrupt behavior is that which harms the public interest” = “using offices for promote business, creates an informal black market”
 - Corruption in Tun/Eg = relation of master and disciples, Ben Ali and others
 - corruption was a category that created sense of life for a lot of people..
 - to combat corruption, we need to **be “mindful of the interest of disinterestedness”**



- 1- leadership of corruption, function of generating corruption= Ben Ali/ Mubarek and the two families,
- 2- main adjuvant agents, function of implementation = the customs administration (the ministry of finance), the ministry of commerce and industry, the ministry of state properties.
- 3- Legitimatizing authority, function of justification = the ministry of justice.
- 4- Guards of corruption, function of covering = the ministry of interior
- 5- beautifying corruption, function of dissemination = mass media, and foreign affairs.

_____>>>>> **systemic corruption.**



Dictatorship Process

- The freedom is given = donation of the ruler
- The decider is the ruler
- The ruler is reacting...
- The ruler builds up for people his world view, thus they are the ruler 's beings=
- But they have to be the self beings.= interaction.
- We interact, thus we build up our world view as social beings.



Resemblances

- the conception of the relation between the state apparatus and the regions was the same.
- Making people poor and marginalizing them. Ben Ali's/Mubarek proverb "make them hungry , they will follow you and obey"
- Group of interest of the two families, and group of pledging allegiance, corruption...
- Regional disequilibrium as the y increased the taxes on casts/regions and exempted the coastal regions and blocked the regional development.
- Social inequity, illegal getting rich and accumulation of wealth, smuggling of money abroad, alienation of people to the rich people.
- The mere reform was refused by the people.
- **The freedom and change were a burning desire and a goal in it-self**



Attitudes towards the revolutionaries

- Mubarek/ Ben Ali, ministers and religious referential group against the revolutionaries. Also During the adjustment process in Tunisia and Egypt.
- The revolution/adjustment is a “fitnah”/connotation of secession.
- Keeping the situation as it was better than chaos.
- The revolutionaries were described as lawless bands, vandals...pack of thieves..
- The adjective thief was attributed also to revolutionaries of kasba1 and Kasba2. Tahrir Square June 2013.
- Mad people, traitors.. Spies
- Both Mubarek and Ben Ali removed some ministers. Islamists in Tunisia and Mursy in Egypt



Integration in Tunisia/Egypt

Frame and attribute are criteria of groups formation and groups identification

- Frame is “a locality, an institution or a particular relationship which binds a set of individuals into one group. It means also location or a special base on which something is placed according to a given purpose, it is also the field”.
- Attribute is “being a member of a definite descent group or caste. Attribute may be acquired not only by birth but by achievement, but frame is circumstantial”. Company and university refer to the frame.
- Tunisia/Egypt integration is based on the attribute/memory and contract based on the common history of the group.



Re-Thinking the Revolution

- Tun/Egy were facing an ethical and structural problem
- the determination facing of revolutionaries facing the indetermination of the regimes.
- Tun/ Egy were facing a substantive problem of values, traditions and national ethic thus the revolutionaries were determinate to dethrone Both Mand Ben Ali who were indeterminate
- willingly they were revolutionary beings and moved towards a new era of democracy, as firmly they had been pushed towards dictatorship”.
- The new post-revolutionary integration is based on “democratic contract, attribute and memory”.



- Is it a partnership? Where is the platform, did we prepare it? Platform means an applicable standard of unity.
- The process of integration consists on “shifting loyalties, expectations and political activities toward a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing political parties”
- We need an instance of voluntary integration of all “our” principles.



Becoming of the Revolution

- Troika Political coalition and Muslim Brothers failed in :
- promoting employability on focusing on investment.
- balancing the consumer purchasing power and controlling prices
- gathering people on a new social contract
- regional development and promotion of Tourism
- re-habilitation of poor quarters and sustaining poor families.
- searching new parameters of regional integration



- Instrumentalism of religion is a violence against humanity. It is also a religious fascism as it lead to a more totalitarian despotism.
- They did not work on:
 - secularization of the 2 countries and religion is a disuniting element.
 - promulgation of a “civil society” national charter.
 - supremacy of freedom
 - liberation of women from Islamic religious teachings



Islamists pretending “an Islamic Holocaust” were not fighting with the dictators in the region for the sake of Arab people but for getting the power, so it was not a conflict for principles...

- The real revolutionary militancy in the Arabic spring is not changing the authority from an actor to the other, but is has to be achieving the rupture with the rituals and sacredness of the Authority...

We needed to change the vision, the structure not the robes.

Tunisian and Egyptians did change the robe of Ben Ali and Mubarek with the Islamic robe. Then, they woke up, the revolution is a process not an achievement. It is the ongoing revolution.

What is needed?

- After the Adjustment of revolution process (Egpyt/July/ 2013, Tunisia/January 2014)it is needed to we need to
- rethink the economy/ energizing the economy should be a process to achieve a revolution in the economy and for revolutionaries.
- Economy for employment and employability: it is good to have a diploma but better to have a job.
- Economy not to sacrifice people but to finance projects for people.
- Economy that serves social civil beings not economic beings.
- Economy of anti-corruption not for corruption.
- New economic social contract based on consensus
- call for a national mobilization: an economy of revolution to affirm our equal presence, ambitions and interests of common good.



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