



الجامعة الإسلامية العالمية ماليزيا

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

يُونَيْبَرِيْتِيْ اِسْلَامِيْ اَنْتَارَايَحْسِيَا مَلَيْسِيَا

PSCI 4252

GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Section 2

Semester 1, 2018/2019

**Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising
in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya**

Prepared by

FARHAD AHMAD 1427865

Prepared for

Assistant Professor Dr. Syaza Farhana Binti Mohamad Shukri

Department of Political science

International Islamic university Malaysia

Table of Contents

1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.1	RESEARCH QUESTION	2
1.2	RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:	2
1.3	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:	3
2	MAJOR FACTORS BEHIND THE OUTBREAK OF ARAB UPRISING IN TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA. 4	
2.1	UNEMPLOYMENT:	4
2.2	THE EXPLOSIVE SPREAD OF MEDIA:	5
2.3	CORRUPTION AND ABUSE OF POWER:	6
2.4	DICTATORSHIP OR AUTOCRATIC ROLE:	6
2.5	OPPRESSION OF THE PEOPLE	7
3	POLITICAL SYSTEM IN TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA BEFORE ARAB SPRING:	8
3.1	IN TUNISIA.....	8
3.2	IN EGYPT	9
3.3	IN LIBYA	9
4	POLITICAL SYSTEM IN TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA AFTER ARAB UPRISING	10
5	CONSEQUENCES OF THE POWERFUL LEADER OF TUNISIA, EGYPT AND LIBYA:	11
5.1	PRESIDENT ZINE EL-ABIDINE BEN ALI	11
5.2	PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK	12
5.3	MUAMMAR QADHAFI	12
6	CONCLUSION:	13
7	REFERENCES	14

1 INTRODUCTION

The series of mass protests which broke out in the Arab world in 2010 has become variously known as the “Arab Spring,” “Arab Awakening,” “Arab Uprisings,” or “Arab Revolutions.” (Abushouk 2016). However, from 2010, rulers and political regimes have been forced out of power in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen while civil up risings have erupted in Bahrain and Syria; major protests have broken out in Algeria, Iraq Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Sudan; minor protests have occurred in Lebanon, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Djibouti and Western Sahara. Clashes at the borders of Israel and protests by Arab minorities in Iranian Khuzestan erupted in May 2011. The sectarian clashes in Lebanon have also been described as a spill over violence of the Syrian uprising and hence the regional Arab Spring. (Ogbonnaya 2013)

The sudden outbreak of the Arab Spring in 2010–2011 captured the attention of news reporters, political analysts, and researchers studying the phenomenon, its causes, and anticipated consequences. Some of them labeled the Arab uprisings as a fourth wave of democratization in a region that did not have favorable conditions for democracy. The political changes, from their perspective, reflected some aspects of the third wave of democracy that took place in Latin America 1980s, when the prodemocratic protests in Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, Honduras, and Ecuador put more pressure on their military and single-party regimes to give way to democratic regimes that would meet with the people’s political expectations.

But from another perspective, policymakers such as Henry Kissinger were very pessimistic in relation to the outcomes of the Arab Spring. In an interview with the Wall Street Journal, for instance, he said: “I don’t think that the Arab Spring is necessarily a democratic manifestation, I think it is a populist manifestation”. (Abushouk 2016)

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

However, as we know that Arab uprising brought significant political changes in the middle east and north Africa. We witnessed that how the authoritarian regime of middle east and north Africa affected by the Arab uprising. However, this study will mainly focus on the three north African countries which are Tunisia, Egypt and Libya because these three countries was the primary affected by the Arab spring. By analyzing these three countries, we would like to find out the reason behind the outbreak of brutal uprising in the Arab states. In addition, our study also will inquire how the political regime of a number of Arab countries dramatically transformed which was unpredictable to the world. Finally, by doing this research, we will be able to know the consequence of the dictators of the Tunisia, Egypt and Tunisia.

1.1 Research Question

1. What are the major factors behind the outbreak of Arab uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.
2. How the political system of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya affected by the Arab-spring?
3. What are the consequences of the leaders of these three countries?

1.2 Research objectives:

1. To understand the major factors behind the outbreak of Arab uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya.
2. To know how the political system of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya that affected by the Arab-spring.
3. To find out what are the consequences of the leaders of these three countries?

1.3 Research Methodology:

As this study is a qualitative study to analyses the political system of the north-African countries (Tunisia, Egypt and Libya) before and after Arab uprising, we will use various secondary sources data. For instance, books, journal article, newspaper, published thesis etc.

2 Major factors behind the outbreak of Arab uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

According to the various studies by the researchers, they have identified many reason behind the outbreak of the Arab spring from the different perspective. However, this study will focus on the major factors behind the Arab spring in north African countries which are Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. To compare between Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, I will only focus on the mutual factors that were behind the Arab uprising among these three countries.

2.1 Unemployment:

Unemployment was one of the major factor behind the Arab uprising. Mostly people get higher qualification with the belief that it will help them to find a better job. Therefore, well educated people may feel more dissatisfaction from high rate of unemployment as compared to those who did not expect any good employment opportunities. Unemployment ultimately created a sense of deprivation in well educated people. (Farooq; Bukhari; Ahmed 2017)

Before the revolution in 2010 in Tunisia, the economic condition was weak challenges with low economic activity and unemployment rate was high. As Zekri (2016) mentioned his article that “one out of three citizens in their twenties was unemployed, wealth was concentrated among an elite group of people who were typically related to the president and his wife”. In addition, the number of unemployed rose to 700,000 from 500,000 at the end of 2010 and almost half of them were young university graduates

Similarly, prior to the Egyptian Revolution in 2011, living conditions for the average Egyptian remained poor and contributed to public discontent. Therefore, the Egyptian economy can be best described as weak and non – inclusive where three-quarters of Egyptians under

thirty years old remained jobless and increasingly frustrated with the lack of change in their lives after the revolution. (Fuhrer 2013).

The economic condition of the Libya was like in Tunisia and Egypt before, for intents and purposes the Libyan economy can best be described as weak and non-inclusive. As result large number of youth remained unemployed which lead dissatisfaction among the people, (Fuhrer 2013).

2.2 The explosive spread of media:

The widespread use of media especially social media like Facebook, YouTube, Twitter helps the protesters to fuel in the revolution in the north Africa. Some article mentioned the role media while saying that resolution Twitter -" or "Facebook revolution, "cyber- activism" and "social media revolution. However, via different media specific political awareness is shared across the Middle East region, which has certain uniformity,". Suzuki (2017)

However, it's very difficult for ruling authorities to control over social media as compare to traditional media. Hence, social media, videos and pictures played significant role in uprising. Tunisian citizens recorded whatever happened in protests corruption, political oppression and posted it on social media. Consequently, Protests turned into violent demonstrations and spread throughout the country. (Farooq; Bukhari; Ahmed 2017)

In the Egyptian case, Facebook played a crucial role in organizing the revolutionaries, while Twitter served as the primary tool of transmitting the revolutionary messages to the rest of the world. Similarly, in Libya, social networking again played a fundamental role in the dissemination of information, and communication of the timely real-life situation in Libya to the global community, which would hardly have been possible without the realistic, and at times horrifying accounts of the events' witnesses. (Zekri 2016)

2.3 Corruption and Abuse of Power:

However, the revolution was focused on the problem of corruption as one of the main factors which led to the people's opposition. The increasingly widespread corruption had inhibited economic potential in Tunisia which could have ensured a balanced development and stable administration. For example, one third of the economic resources obtained were channeled to the President's family to protect their interests. Mujani and Musa (2018).

Egypt was the second state after Tunisia in which revolt started against the corrupt regime of President Hosni Mubarak. President Hosni Mubarak ruled country for thirty years without a democratic election. Farooq; Bukhari; Ahmed (2017)

In February 2011, peaceful protest was held in Benghazi. Protestors demanded democratic reforms, elimination of corruption and violation of Human Rights in Libya (Lynch, 2013). Gaddafi's regime arrested the two citizens which provided excellent advertisement channel to demonstrators. He ordered his troops to stop protest with power, which was published on social media and uprisings spread throughout the country. Lynch (2013)

2.4 Dictatorship or autocratic role:

As we know that most of the middle east and north African countries regarded as undemocratic regime where autocratic rulers are very powerful which is the one of leading factor behind Arab uprising. However, during the beginning of the of the revolution, every day in the streets in Tunisia was heard protests of dissatisfaction to overthrow the autocratic government. Among the people's demands were for their voices to be heard and their rightful interests to be fulfilled. They wanted a just government which would be concerned about them. The tendency of government to use its power absolutely and arbitrarily caused the uprising to

oust the autocratic government which had been comfortable and taken its powers for granted for so long (Kolster, 2012).

In addition, Egypt had experienced 30-year-old regime under the dictatorship of president Mubarak's which would be better classified as a "state-security state. As a result, arbitrary detention, police brutality, threats, bribery and racketeering, sexual humiliation and torture were hallmarks of the autocratic role of the late Mubarak.

Similar characteristic could be seen in Qaddafi's regime in Libya. He did not tolerate any sign of class or other political grouping that might become a source of opposition, democratic or non-democratic. In this case the revolutionary committees have been purged periodically to prevent any group or individual from gaining enough power to become a threat to Qaddafi. (Ata Anbarani 2013).

2.5 Oppression of the People

Another major factor behind the Arab uprising was the oppression of the fellow citizen. As these regimes were controlled by the powerful dictator or autocratic ruler, the justice toward people were absent. So human right violation was common matter in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. According to the Salih (2011) "the consensus is that these regimes routinely use all instruments of physical violence to remain in power. If the situation dictates that they need to kill their people to preserve their position, they do not hesitate to do so".

For instance, in Tunisia the power of the leader was more of a license to wrong the people. For victims of injustice, this had a deep impact on their lives, particularly the families of those who died in the hands of the authorities.

According to the Ogonnaya (2013), In Egypt, Libya and Tunisia Oppression on the People like socio-political exclusion, torture and other ill-treatments remained widespread in

police cells, security police detention centers and prisons. In most cases these violations were committed with impunity.

3 Political system in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya before Arab spring:

3.1 In Tunisia

Political system was authoritarian with personal rule of Bin Ali Tunisia enjoyed the Arab world's best educational system, largest middle class, and strongest organized labour movement for a long time. However, behind those achievements, Ben Ali's government tightly restricted free expression and political parties. The main feature of this regime was corruption. Like any personal ruler ship system, Ben Ali's family was also unusually personalist and predatory in its corruption. As the whistleblower Wiki Leaks Web site recently revealed that the U.S. ambassador in Tunisia reported in 2006 that more than half of Tunisia's commercial elites were personally related to Ben Ali through his three adult children, seven siblings, and second wife's ten brothers and sisters. This network became known in Tunisia as "the Family"(Anderson, 2011).

Military forces in Tunisian regimes existed in the shadow of the country's domestic security services from which Ben Ali, a former military Police officer, hailed. Modernization helps Tunisia to liberalization economy, but the political system was authoritarian with personal rule of Bin Ali. In fact, the lower class in society especially peasants in rural era and workers in urban era were deprive of all the advantages of this modernization. Ata Anbarani (2013)

3.2 In Egypt

Egypt is the most powerful, populous, and influential Arab state. In Egypt, like Tunisia, the regime under Mubarak ruler ship-imposed modernization and secularization to Egyptian society by authority, but similar to Tunisia couldn't provide basic services for millions of people who were suffering from unemployment and poverty, whereas a lot of business elite connected to Mubarak's son, Gamal Anderson (2011).

However, Egypt experienced multiparty legislative elections after 1976, but always authoritarian rule was dominating the society. "Economic liberalization characterized by the distribution of patronage to economic elites and robust single-party institutional structures provided autocrats with resources to sustain authoritarianism in the North Africa and Middle East Republics" especially Egypt. Egypt showed tremendous ability in repressing the social groups and stifling the social movements. The army in Egypt was dominating society in subtle and less blatant ways, so when regimes faced with economic and political crisis their impulse was to resort to greater repression rather than to liberalize. Often that repression was utilized against both religious and secular oppositions, and against Islamists who renounce violence. So, the political regime in Egypt was a blend of oppression, repression and corruption in which there was no place for popular legitimacy and democratic rule. (King, 2009).

3.3 In Libya

This feature exists due to natural resources that have affected the society, economy and politics. Libya as a rentier state that receives substantial rents from foreign individuals or governments. After a military coup by Colonel Muhammad Qaddafi in 1969 the rentier feature of state in Libya reinforced. After the coup, Qaddafi set about changing the country according to his own ideology. This ideology was a mix of socialism, Arab nationalism and Islam.

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

Petroleum rent was an indispensable element of his plans Sandbakken, (2006). Qaddafi couldn't make a strong and firm national identity by emphasizing on Islam and his revolutionary ideology and the dilemmas of Libyan national identity is remained up to now. However, Islam is historically significant in Libya yet (Anderson, 1986). The main goal of Qaddafi was uprooting of any sign of class or other political grouping that might become a source of opposition, democratic or non-democratic. In this case the revolutionary committees have been purged periodically to prevent any group or individual from gaining enough power to become a threat to Qaddafi. Ata Anbarani (2013)

4 Political system in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya after Arab Uprising

The first to undergo a political change in the Arab world since 2011 was Tunisia, a small country located at the Centre of the Maghreb countries. Tunisia formed a democratic political system from the authoritarian political system. In October 2011, Tunisia held its first democratic parliamentary elections. The moderate Islamist Ennahda party won more than 41% of the vote in the constituent assembly tasked with drafting a new constitution. Veteran dissident Moncef Marzouki was then elected president. BBC (2012)

After successful revolution of the Arab spring, the Egyptian enjoyed the first "Democratic election" in their history. The first round of presidential elections was held on May 28, 2012, and the leader of the Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party'. Morsi became the first freely elected civilian president in Egypt's history. former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafik, who was popular among the supporters of the old regime, went to the final round of election. On the 1-year anniversary of Morsi's inauguration, he was ousted in a military coup

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

overseen by Abd al-Fattah al-Sisi the military initiated the coup under the guise of protests called Tamarod.

After the Muslim Brotherhood-led government was deposed, Abdel Fattah el-Sisi, former chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces, was sworn-in on 8 June 2014. He was able to do so because he won 96 percent of the vote (“Abdel Fattah El-Sisi Sworn in as President of Egypt”). The Egyptian military coup was an undemocratic action that undermined the power of a democratically elected government. Morsi was a legitimate leader who was elected by the Egyptian people. Zekri (2016)

Al-Sisi has since been elected president twice (2014 and 2018) with 97% of the vote the al-Sisi regime remains a brutal place to engage in the politics of protest, dissent, or nuance. While change had come, political power continued to reconfigure itself in familiar authoritarian ways.

In the case of Libya, The National Transitional Council (NTC), which led the revolt, declared Libya officially "liberated" and promised a pluralist, democratic state. In July 2012, it organised elections for an interim parliament, the General National Congress (GNC), in which liberal, secular and independent candidates beat the Muslim Brotherhood-aligned Justice and Construction Party. BBC (2012)

5 Consequences of the powerful leader of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya:

5.1 President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali

As Demonstrations erupted and spread throughout the country, leading to repression but a slow political response from Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali's regime. Popular mobilization in Tunisia was largely spontaneous, but sections of the country's main trade union, the Union

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

Générale des Travailleurs Tunisiens (UGTT), and professional associations subsequently played a part in organizing it. Police repression increased but as the army signaled it would not take action against the protesters. As a general strike unfolded on 14 January, Ben Ali fled to Saudi Arabia and the 30 years of his regime came into an end.

5.2 President Hosni Mubarak

After the fall of Ben Ali in Tunisia, protests spread in Cairo and throughout the country. They gradually increased, gathering speed after calls for a ‘day of rage’ on 28 January. On 29 January President Hosni Mubarak announced a new government. To show that his son Gamal would not succeed him, he appointed Omar Suleiman, head of the General Intelligence Service, to the vice presidency. However, protesters were by then demanding Mubarak’s resignation. DALACOURA (2012)

After eighteen days of protests in Cairo and in other cities, President Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down on February 11, 2011. This ended Mubarak’s 30 years of power in Egypt. According to the Egyptian government fact-finding panel, 846 people were killed and more than 6,400 were injured during the uprisings. BBC (2012).

5.3 Muammar Qadhafi

Events in Tunisia and Egypt shaken the rest of the region. A few days after Mubarak’s fall, protests against Muammar Qadhafi broke out in Benghazi, Libya’s second largest city, and quickly spread ‘across the whole of the east and to some parts of the west’, although they remained relatively small-scale in the capital, Tripoli. The rebellion was led by the National Transition Council (NTC). The UN Security Council sanctioned military intervention by NATO from March, but this did not trigger a popular uprising in the West; outside intervention may even have hardened the attitude of some pro-regime loyalists. However, by early

September 2011, after months of apparent deadlock and a war which cost tens of thousands of lives, Qadhafi's regime collapsed and he himself was brutally killed on 20 October along with his son Mu'tasim and respected Revolutionary Command Council Member Abū Bakr Yūnis Jābir, who had no official powers. DALACOURA (2012)

6 Conclusion:

Arab Uprising was very significant event because Arab Spring not only inspired uprisings throughout Arab regions, but protests that occurred all around the world. However, this paper sought to compare political system of north African countries Tunisia, Egypt and Libya before the after the historical Arab uprising in 2010. So, we found some of the major mutual factor behind the Arab uprising among these three countries which are unemployment, social media, corruption, autocratic role and oppression. Therefore, above mentioned factors lead to bring significant political changes in the middle east and North Africa which was unimaginable to the people because Arab regimes accustomed to the authoritarian regime where the democratic values were absent. However, along with the major political changes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, minor political reform happed other part of the Arab regimes.

In addition, although these three north African countries were successful to stepdown powerful dictators of their country along with high cost of bloodshed, still the future of the Egypt is uncertain because democratically elected leader could not continue more than one year because of military coup by the general al Fattah Sisi.

In conclusion, Future studies will focus on Will Tunisia be able to maintain its impressive record of democratic successes, and can Egypt bounce back from its previous struggles?

7 References

- Anderson, L. (2011). Demystifying the Arab Spring: Parsing the difference between Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. *Foreign Affairs*, 90, 2–7. May/June. Retrieved from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67693/lisa-anderson/demystifying-the-arab-spring/>
- Anbarani, A. (2013). Typology of Political Regimes in North Africa before Arab Spring Case Study of Egypt, Tunisia and Libya. *International Journal of Asian Social Science*, 3(5), 1089-1096. Retrieved from [http://www.aessweb.com/pdf-files/ijass%203\(5\),%201089-1096.pdf](http://www.aessweb.com/pdf-files/ijass%203(5),%201089-1096.pdf)
- Abushouk, A. I. (2016). The Arab Spring: A Fourth Wave of Democratization? *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 25(1), 52-69. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1111/dome.12080>
- BBC News, 2012. "Arab uprising: Country by country". BBC News, 2012-09-04. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-12482293>
- Conde, G. (2017). On the evolutions of the Arab Spring. *Regions and Cohesion*, 7(2), 96-105. Available at <https://doi.org/10.3167/reco.2017.070206>
- Dalacoura, K. (2012). The 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East: political change and geopolitical implications. *International Affairs*, 88(1), 63-79. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2346.2012.01057.x>
- Farooq, S., Bukhari, S., & Ahmed, M. (2017) Arab Spring and the Theory of Relative Deprivation. *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 8, No. 1. Retrieve from https://www.ijbssnet.com/journals/Vol_8_No_1_January_2017/13.pdf
- Fuhrer, R. (2013). *The Arab Spring In North Africa: Key Comparative Factors And Actors*. Retrieve from

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/2902/?utm_source=stars.library.ucf.edu%2Fetd%2F2902&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages

Kolster, Jacob. (2012) Tunisia: Economic and Social Challenges beyond the Revolution.

Tunis: African Development Bank (AfDB) Group. Retrieve from

<https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Tunisia%20Economic%20and%20Social%20Challenges.pdf>.

King, S.J., 2009. The new authoritarianism in the middle east and north africa. Indiana:

Indiana University Press

Khair El-Din Haseeb (2012) The Arab Spring Revisited, Contemporary Arab Affairs, 5:2,

185-197, Available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/17550912.2012.673384>

Kamal Eldin Osman Salih. (2013). The Roots and Causes of the 2011 Arab Uprisings. Arab

Studies Quarterly, 35(2), 184-206. Available at

<https://doi.org/10.13169/arabstudquar.35.2.0184>

Lynch, M. (2013). *The Arab Uprising: The Unfinished Revolutions of the New Middle East*

(1st Ed.). New York: University of California Press

Ogbonnaya, U. M. (2013). Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya: A comparative analysis

of causes and determinants. Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations,

12(3). Retrieve from <http://alternatives.yalova.edu.tr/article/view/5000150718>

Salih, Osman Kamal Eldin, 2013. "The roots and causes of the 2011 Arab uprisings". Arab

Studies Quarterly, vol. 35, no. 2, pp. 184-206. Retrieved from

http://www.pinxit.com/page101/page115/downloads-23/files/Arab_Spring_Causes.pdf.

April 2, 2019 Arab Uprising: A comparison of political system before and after uprising in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya

Suzuki. H (2017). Post-Arab Spring Political Changes in the Middle East and Japan's Response: Searching for a New Axis of the System. Volume 7, Issue 2, Summer 2017: 96–105 Available at < doi: 10.3167/reco.2017.070206 ISSN 2152-906X (Print), ISSN 2152-9078 (Online)

Sandbakken. C (2006) The limits to democracy posed by oil rentier states: The cases of Algeria, Nigeria and Libya, Democratization, 13:1, 135-152,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13510340500378464>

W. K. Mujani and S. N. Musa, Arab Spring: Review of Factors for People's Uprising in Tunisia, International Journal of Civil Engineering and Technology, 9(3), 2018, pp. 558–565. Retrieve from
<http://www.iaeme.com/IJCIET/issues.asp?JType=IJCIET&VType=9&IType=3>

Zekri, I. (2016) Dictatorships to Democracies: The Democratic Progress of Tunisia and Egypt Following the Arab Spring. RETRIEVE FROM
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315983963_Dictatorships_to_Democracies_The_Democratic_Progress_of_Tunisia_and_Egypt_Following_the_Arab_Spring