

The Arab Revolution and the Crisis of Governance

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Abstract: *The Arab revolution started on December 18, 2010 in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria among others. The revolution is an ideological struggle that arises from the crisis of governance resulting from political enclosures in the Arab states. Explanatory notes within the context of the internal conspiracy theory reveals that the revolutionary uprising is a consequence of the conflict between patriarchal democracy and its leadership intransigence and democratic modernism with rising expectation from the civil society for broad participation in the process of governance. The paper also place in context the external conspiracy theory arising from the shift in American foreign policy under the Secret Presidential Study Directives II that has influenced American foreign policy in North Africa and the Middle East in favour of Israel. The clamour for political change is justified by remote consensual factors like human right abuses, corruption, unemployment, poverty, growing rate of inequality and social exclusion orchestrated by religion and this is juxtaposed with the immediate causes for objective analysis. The paper tries to examine the challenges these countries would face in her efforts at building a sustainable and virile democratic nation and how this will generate favourable foreign policy outcome for western nations. Under rational consideration and away from any ideological deception, the paper argued that there is no universal pattern of governance and tends to question the consideration that western democracy is the only pathway to achieving sustainable development. On this note, the paper concludes that countries governance by patriarchal democracy should be encouraged to broaden the scope of governance rather than the use of subversive means to effect regime change at the expense of national, regional and world peace.*

Key Words: *Ideology, Revolution, Governance, Alienation, Democracy, Patriarchy*

I. Introduction

The expectation of every segment of the human population is to lead a meaningful and worthy life. These guarantees are provided by government through the effective implementation of macro-economic policies that would increase the welfare and human capital development index of society. When these expectations are not met or fall below rational human expectation, drastic measures could be used to address it. In extreme cases, revolutionary measures are employed. Revolution is a product of frustration and this result from the use of aggressive tendency to resolve the challenges associated with good governance. The resources to provide good governance are internally and externally generated. An externally resources dependent country has the propensity to use threat and subversive means to sustain the tempo of resources flow given the requisite military capability. The use of military infrastructure to create channels for resources flow into an economy has generated tension around the world.

Many developed society have employed revolutionary measure to resolve the crisis of governance in their respective society. The 1688, 1768 and 1776 revolutions in England, France and America led to significant social, economic and political reforms that have made democracy the bedrock of governance today. These revolutions were motivated from within even when there had externality factors catalytic to it. The historical reality in the Arab revolution is its exogenous relationship with metropolitan powers and the manipulations of internal discontent in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria to achieve externally oriented political and economic goals. The clamour for democratic reforms were manipulated and structured to overthrow the regime incumbents. The attendant upheavals have left the affected societies in ruinous crisis that has made national peace and development elusive. The intervention of western powers in the revolutionary crisis has questioned the morality of revolutionary reforms and the promotion good governance and nation building through political reforms. The cost of democratic reforms has become so enormous that the gospel of democracy is beginning to lose its face value. High prices have been paid in material and human form by citizens of the affected countries who are yearning for the past that has eluded them.

The paper sets out to assess the revolutionary crisis in the Arab world with a view to finding out how beneficial the uprising has been and would be to the people of the affected countries in future. The paper also seeks to find out how the lack of indigenous foundation for the revolution will affect structural reforms in the affected countries. Will the euphoria of the revolutionary success be marched up with political and economic transition that would bring about good governance? In addressing these methodological issues, the paper in sub-divided into six (6) chapters. Chapter one introduces the paper and in chapter two a theoretical foundation is

established for the paper. The ideological context of revolution and good governance are examined in chapter three and in chapter four the fundamental issues relating to the revolutions in the Arab states are discussed. Chapter five takes a look at the impact of ideology on democracy and good governance in the Arab world and draws its conclusive remark in chapter six.

Theoretical Framework

The causes of the Arab revolution can be explained within the context of the theory of economic vulnerability adopted by the author of this paper. The theory of economic vulnerability is the modified version of the realist perspective on trade interdependence. The paper attempted to establish the fact that the revolution in the Arab world is not a revolution per se but an invidious economic war between the western capitalist nations and the Arab countries with socialist affiliation with Russia and China. This position may not be acceptable to neo-liberal scholars promoting the agenda of market reforms.

From the point of view of economic interdependence, economic diplomacy has created a dialectical relationship among nations: mutual dependence and economic vulnerability. The logic of international economic diplomacy reveals that mutual dependence and vulnerability increases the propensity to initiate war ostensibly to secure unfettered economic access to national resources. Western capitalist nations are more exposed to the two levels of vulnerability in the international economic and political arena. The first level of vulnerability arises from the fear of the disruption of the supply of raw material like oil produced by the Arab countries like Iraq, Iran, Kuwait, Syria, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Qatar and Nigeria but in high demand by the west. The second level of vulnerability lies in the loss of the markets for the sale of arms and ammunitions produced by arms producing nations. This phenomenon explained the dynamics of war around the world. To lessen the cost of the vulnerability, political and economic reforms are externally engineered to secure existing markets threatened with economic closures and or conflicts is initiated to create markets for the sale of arms and ammunition. They lay the political and economic maneuver to wage war and sponsor conflicts in countries outside the zones of arms and ammunition production. This dialectical market exposes the capitalist economy to imminent collapse if not protected.

The Arab revolution emerged from the potential fear of and vulnerability of the super power states to losing the economic markets in the Arab states to Russia, the threat of supply cut-off from oil resource needed to sustain industrial growth in Western Europe and the threat posed to the sovereignty of Israel by the emerging military and economic supremacy of the Arab states. The threat of supply cut-off in future and the costs of economic adjustment to the new market situations explain the resort to war by any means possible. Contrary to the expectation of liberal scholars like Richard Cobden (1903: 225), Norman Angell (1933:33) and Richard Rosecrane (1986: 13-14; 24-25) that high level of economic interdependence induces peace, scholars with realist expectation like Dale Copeland (1996:3), Kenneth Waltz (1979:106), John Mearsheimer (1992:223) and the author of this paper share the inclinations that high level of economic interdependence induces war and conflicts if leaders of the buyer countries suspect that they would be negative trade returns or cut-off from the resources producing countries in future. In this context, they would seek by any means possible to exercise political control over the government of resources producing countries either through regime implantation in the guise of democratic reforms or military coups to create rooms for strategic military, economic and political co-operation. This notion explain the surreptitious military engagement of the USA in Afghanistan, the revolutionary crisis in Libya and the demise of Maummar Gaddafi, the overthrow of Ben Ali regime in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt via civil uprising and the financing of the fratricidal war in Syria by agents of capitalism (United States, France, Germany and Britain). The resort to civil society as agents of political reforms emanates from the disconnection in political loyalty from military autocrats to the metropolitan powers. Large quantity of arms and ammunitions and financial inducement of about \$16 billion have been given to the insurgents in Syria. The financial investment of western powers in the Arab revolutions has exposed the realities that western capitalism strives on economic and political exploitation. This economic attitude has made war an investment project or viable industry and has turned countries like Mali, Congo DR, Sudan, Somalia, Afghanistan and Iraq among others into perennial theatres of war. It has reinforced the emphasis by the USA on the use of the military as a nation building instrument.

The use of military infrastructure to effect political and economic reforms is a foreign policy option favourable to the USA especially following the collapse of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in the early 1990s. This is justified by the relative military superiority of the US in the world polity. The alleged revolution is a political strategy initiated to establish hegemonic control over the economy of the Arab states at the expense of the contending communist power like Russia and China. The allegation of the possession of nuclear weapons by Iraq was used as an international blackmail to secure international support to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein and secure the Iraqi oil for the USA and her western allies. From the realist perspective, a state that is vulnerably dependent on the oil resources of other states like the USA tends to adopt aggressive foreign policy options and relied on the use force to overcome her economic vulnerability. The USA

depends heavily on oil from the Arab states and is apprehensive about losing the market to Russia and China hence the temptation to secure the oil market through covert and surreptitious revolutionary strategies.

Historical evidence have presented many western capitalist nations as the architecture of regime implantation, supporter of dictatorial regimes that promised more liberal economic opportunities and advocates of democracy in countries where there is perceived threat to her economic hegemony. The crisis of governance in the Arab states is reflective of the crisis of capitalism and the ambition of capitalist nations to renew and retain hegemonic control over oil producing nations. Democratic reforms have become the caveat for economic slavery. The degree of violence sponsored by western nations in the third world and presently in Syria have shown that morality have lost its value in international politics. An international political system regulated and governed on the basis of ideological immorality is crisis ridden and dangerous for human existence. The world has degenerated into situations where faceless people with no domestic political credentials are preferred to be entrusted with the destiny of millions of people at the expense of popularly elected governments. The purported revolutions in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria have drawn these nations 50 years backward in terms of development stride. The revolution was imposed on the Arab people by forces of imperialism and reactionary agents of globalization. The USA has been building its hegemony influence by recruiting and indoctrinating nationals on western notions of political reforms and projecting them as alternative political candidates for domestic political change. The recruitment, indoctrination, sponsorship and implantation of individuals as political candidates or leaders in many nations to pursue economic and political reforms favourable to western powers has turned peace into an elusive social commodity and economic development a mirage. Indeed, development cannot take place in an atmosphere of coarse and political instability. From all indication, the Arab people of Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria had little inclinations to revolt at the time of revolt. The revolt is spearheaded by dissident group with political affiliations with western nations. The general regret among concerned individuals in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Syria is their inability to restore the past and break away from the chains of imperial domination. They are at a cross road and this has led them to more deadly ends.

Determinant of a Revolution

A revolution is a product of ideology which has its basis on rational and irrational human calculations, expectation and reasoning. It takes place when the conscience of man resists a predominant state of affairs or existing realities that tends to work against realistic social expectations. The exposure of man to different realities has influenced his thought about the essence of life. Such exposure often leads to irresistible agitations for political and economic reforms and a manifestation of aggressive tendency for its fulfillment. By Marxist inclination, a revolution as a product of irresistible historical forces that creates room for contextual struggle between the bourgeoisies and the proletariat for adjustment in the existing political, economic and social order. Arendt (1965:24-40) argued that a revolution is a kind of restoration whereby the insurgents attempt to restore liberties and privileges which were lost as a result of the government temporary lapse into despotism. The Arab revolution has amendable relationship with Arendt's view. In another dimension, Tocqueville (1955:8) defined a revolution as the over throw of the legally constituted elite which initiated a period of intense social, political and economic change. Brinton (1952:3-4) differentiated between types of revolution and recognized coup d'état and major revolution and in his analysis argued that coup d'état leads to the replacement of one elite group by another one whereas major revolution lead to social, political and economic transformation. In this vein, Blanksten (1962: 72) argued that coup d'état and revolution has profound consequences on society. More broader classification is given by Lasswell and Abraham (1950: 252) who identified palace revolutions, political revolution and social revolution in the same vein as Lieuwen (1960:22-24) and James Rosenau (1964:62-64) considered caudillismo or predatory militarism of the Latin American type as the typology of revolution. Rosenau argued that palace revolution or caudillismo is a personnel war fought over the occupancy of existing roles in the structure of political authority. Discussing the revolutionary situation in Latin America (caudillismo), Rosenau argued that a revolution is an authority war fought by insurgents seeking the re-arrangement of political authority.

In the above expositions, the views of Arendt and Rosenau have relational values with the Arab revolution. The Arab revolution seeks to restore liberties and privileges lost to political despotism and absolute monarchy and the re-arrangement of existing political order in favour of representative democracy. It is an attempt to replace patriarchal democracy with surrogate democracy (western democracy) with a view to broadening participation in the infrastructure of governance. This type of revolutionary social change has led to the overthrow of Hosni Mubarak (Egypt), Ben Ali (Tunisia), and the death of Maummar Gaddafi (Libya) but left in its trail enormous task of nation building and the daunting challenges with national integration. The repeated crisis in Egypt and Libya has eclipse the utility of the revolution more so as the battle to overthrow the Bassar Al Assad regime in Syria has discredited the revolutionary intent of the neo-revolutionaries (foreign

backed insurgents). The danger associated with foreign backed revolutionary struggle is the difficulty of reaching a political compromise and consensus.

One distinguishing feature of the Arab revolution is the international conspiracy associated with the revolutionary uprising. The financial, military and logistic support given to the insurgents in Libya, Egypt, Tunisia and Syria has questioned the credentials of the Arab revolution. Around this mythical consideration, a revolution could be seen as a product of both internal and external discontent expressed by internal and external agents against the political, economic and social policies of the regime incumbent. The primary objectives of the insurgent are to overthrow the political leadership and gain control of the political, economic and social artifacts of development in the affected society. But do they have the moral and political will to do so? The answer is no. The crisis of governance and nation building in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria will be more daunting than it is in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Arab revolution is a sponsored revolution. A sponsored revolution may take the form of revolutionary coup, reform coup and palace revolution; or revolt by dissident groups (Huntington, 1962:23-24). The Kemal Ataturks revolution in Turkey (revolutionary coups), the coup in Argentina in 1955 and the Augusto Pinochet coup in Chile in 1981 (reform coups) and the Jerry John Rawlings coup in Ghana (1979/1981) are revolutionary coups. The collapse of the morality for nation building in Ghana led to the revolutionary overthrow of the regime of Fred Akuffo in 1979 and Hilla Limann in 1981 by Jerry Rawlings. This mode of internally generated revolt has brought about significant transformation and changes in the political economy of Ghana much as the reform coup of Augusto Pinochet brought about significant economic restructuring of the Chilean economy. The kemal Ataturks revolution in Turkey led to the end of the ottoman empire.

The Arab revolution is an internal war or mass protest that has massive external support. Assessing the revolutionary situation in the Arab states generates the hypothesis that internal social and political structures are necessary preconditions for the effective management of the post revolutionary situation. These social and political structures are lacking in the affected Arab states and this could make post revolutionary reforms difficult. According to Karl Deutsch (1984:102-104) the degree of mass participation in a revolution, its intensity, casualty and its duration provides adequate data for the description of a revolution. The ideological foundation and *raison d'être* of the insurgent is critical to the outcome of the revolution. If the insurgents are ideologically committed to pursuing clearly defined goals, progressive changes would be initiated to facilitate the process of nation building, otherwise, more post revolutionary crises would be witnessed as is the case in Iraq and Afghanistan. A revolution is said to be successful when the revolutionary (not insurgents) are able to wrestle political power, occupy strategic political position and initiate an integrated political, economic and social reforms that would transform the society. The classification of those involved in the struggle for political reform as insurgent means that they are not reformist but retrogressive agent assigned premeditated role to play in the polity of the Arab states by power external to it. Do we call the Arab revolution a sponsored political crisis or a civil war or a revolution?

The question that demands urgent attention from us and for which answers must be sought is on which side of the revolutionary divide is the Arab revolution. One cannot deny the fact that the Arab revolution results from the discontent with the mode of governance by intransigent leaders. But one thing that has made the Arab revolution to lose its revolutionary glamour is the extent of foreign intervention in the revolutionary struggle. There is no doubting the fact that the Arab revolution is a product of socio-political, economic and religious alienation of majority of the people in the political system. Structural alienation engenders illiteracy, unemployment, absolute poverty, inequality, frustration and aggression. In many societies, these variables could cause people to revolt. In Plato's (1951:54) supposition, the differences in economic interest lead to political factionalisation and political instability. In analysing the evolutionary potentials in a city state, he argued that poverty produces revolution, meanness and villainy whereas riches produce luxury, idleness and villainy. Even though Aristotle (1962 -59) agreed with Plato's assertion on poverty as pre-condition for a revolution, it cannot be treated as a universal attribute given its relational values with revolutionary variables in Libya under Maummar Gaddafi. Many countries like Nigeria with high rate of poverty are yet to experience a revolution. Like in the French, American, Russian (1917) and the English revolution, there was no economic depression in Libya. The revolution in the Arab states emerged from the platform of relative economic prosperity. Two theoretical assumptions can be made here. A revolution is precipitated by absolute poverty and or economic prosperity followed by interim decline in the economic fortune. In these instances, the social expectation of the people rises above the measurable social ends provided by government. Lipset's (1959:73-80) assessment of the revolution in Latin American reveals that a revolution is precipitated by the degree of educational attainment. Most of the revolutions the world has witnessed were influenced by educational and economic variables. Below is an overview of recorded revolutions in the world.

Name	Year
French revolution	1789
America	1776

Russia	1917
Chinese	1949
Viet Minh	1954
Cuba	1959
Algeria	1962
Turkish	1919
Nazi	1913
Egypt	1952/2011
Iraqi	1958
Argentina	1955
Syria	1956/2011 and ongoing as at April 2013
Jordan	1957
Thai	1957/1958
Burma	1958
Pakistani	1958
Sudan	1958
Venezuela	1958
Dominican Republic	1963
El Salvador	1960
Haiti	1957
Honduran	1956
Colombia	1953, 1957
Brazilian	1955
Ghana	1979/1981

Source: Raymond and Manus, n. d. A theory of Revolution

The degree of development recorded in many of these societies has provided justification that revolution is a precondition for development. If this assumption can be taken to be true, then the revolutionary struggles in the Arab world are justifiably geared toward the initiation of more development processes that would enhance the frontiers of good governance. In this context Nigeria should be expecting its share of revolutionary pills any time any day. The harsh reality that has generated tension in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen and Syria is over ripe in Nigeria.

Lessons drawn from the Arab revolution have shown that there is growing contradiction between global capitalization and democratic reforms on the one hand and patriarchal democracy and regime intransigence on the other hand. The Arab revolution is a political instrument of capitalism designed to capture the economy of the Arab states with strong inclination for socialist development. It is a product of the ideological indoctrination of a social class in the Arab world and a clear manifestation of the tyranny of capitalism. The revolution is a political illusion created to capture the political and economic dynamics of the affected countries feared to have links with terrorist organisations. Terrorism and the Arab revolution are triggered by the economic nationalism embedded in the spread of propertied capitalism. Propertied capitalism seeks to make western capitalist nations richer and third world countries poorer. The emergence of strong economies in the Arab states is threatening the sovereign economic powers of the USA and Israel hence the militarization of the process of democratization through orchestrated revolution. It is an irony to note that democracy in the third world is measured by a country's level of political and economic loyalty to the western capitalist nations. Countries like Nigeria, Kenya and Togo among others with poor democratic credentials but with good economic openings for the western nations enjoy good political relations with the west whereas Libya under Gaddafi with good governance credentials but poor economic openings for western nations had adverse political relationship with the west. This dialectical relationship is reflective of the crisis with capitalism and its philosophy of economic exploitation and aggression. Economic aggression has become overbearing following the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in the early 1990s. The collapse of the USSR has increased the propensity of the USA to deploy military instruments in the pursuit of her global political ambition. This politico-economic strategy could become an instrument of self-destruction for the USA more than the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2008. The attack on the world trade centre by the Al-Qaeda organization reflects the inability of capitalism to manage the social infrastructure it created to work against socialism and by extension its inability to manage the backfire effect of economic and political aggression. The extension of the frontiers of aggression has negative implications on political, economic and social reforms in third world nations.

Terrorism and revolutionary struggle have become interwoven in the Syrian crisis thereby making the war more protracted than earlier imagine. The war against terrorism is fought from many fronts. The first front was the overthrow of regimes with direct link with the Al- Qaeda organization by external military

infrastructure. Afghanistan which provided the haven for the leader of the Al- Qaeda Organisation, Osama Bin Laden, during the Taliban regime and Iraq under Saddam Hussein were the first frontline states for anti-terrorist attack. The Saddam Hussein regime was overthrown for having a suspicious financial relationship with the Al-Qaeda. The fall of the Taliban regime and Saddam Hussein opened up the second phase of military affront against terrorism. This involved the concerted search for Osama Bin Laden and his eventual death by a drone strike in Pakistan in violation of the sovereign political right of the Pakistani nation. The death of Osama Bin Laden opened up the third military front and assault against regimes with culpable relationship with the Al-Qaeda organisation. Here Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Syria were listed as the third phase of military affront. The attack on Libya and the eventual death of Muammar Gaddafi, the overthrow of Zein El-Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt between 2011 and 2012 by the forces of imperialism re-affirms America's self determination to take the war against terrorism to any part of the world and to rule the world by any means. The demise of Saddam Hussein, the invasion of Afghanistan, the operation of the American drove forces in the Middle East, the deadly overthrow of the Gaddafi regime and the financial and military support given to insurgent forces in Syria by the USA, France, Germany and Britain violates the morality in international law and the universal principles of non-interference in the domestic affairs of nation state. In executing the imperialist agenda, the regime intransigence of Ben Ali (23yrs), Al- Kalifa Saleh (33 years), Muammar Gaddafi (44years) and Hosni Mubarak (30 years) and their political avarice provided room for the insurgents to truncate the course of genuine development in these countries. The claim by western nation to initiate democratic reforms in the Arab states is as baseless as their ambition and intention to use democracy as a caveat to secure more political and economic rights for selfish ends. The donation of 16 billion dollars by the USA to the insurgents in Syria and the supply of arms and ammunitions to the rebel forces in Libya, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Bahrain and Yemen and the lifting of the embargo on the supply of arms to the insurgents speak less of philanthropy and much of the political avarice to implant surrogate leaders in power to further the selfish economic ends of capitalism. This informed the arrogance of the Barak Obama administration to provide all the necessary logistic, military and financial support to the insurgents to ensure that the Bassar Al Assad regime falls. The melodrama that led to the attack on Iraq has been invoked in Syria with the use of chemical weapons on the Syrian people to justify direct military operation against the Assad regime. This politics of ambivalence that has made the US and her allies to cry louder than the bereaved abuses civilized standard in conflict resolution among and within sovereign nations. The recent discovery of an ammunition depot in the resident of a Lebanese in Kano in the wake of the Boko Haram crisis put paid to the fact that the Arab crisis was planned for by the powers external to the Arab society long before its execution. The large caches of arms and ammunition stock pile may have been preparatory to its deployment in Nigeria.

The Mythical Revolution in the Arab States

Many revolutionary struggles are rooted in ideological perception and myths that manipulates people's conscience to accept an ideal state preferred by a ruling cliché. This is not to deny the fact that some revolutions are genuine struggle for a positive change. The Arab revolution is a product of ideological deception driven from both internal and external environment. Generally, contradiction is inherent in every human society, and worse still in capitalism. Global capitalism is facing a crisis of relevance with the use of democracy as a caveat for political reform. This political infrastructure is destroying the basis of human freedom, liberty, peace and sustainable development. The contradiction in the Arab states start with the inter-generational inequity created by capitalist ethics in the resources distribution network. This aspect of economic globalization have expose the reign of primitive accumulation by intransigent leaders steep in patriarchal values thereby resulting to the agitation for economic and political reforms as a means to improving the standard of living. Proponents of the revolution have argued that the standard of living in the Arab states is abysmally low. The rate of youth unemployment is estimated to be 15% -20% and 1/3 of the population of the Arab world lived on less than 2 dollar per day. It is also estimated that about 30% of the 400 million inhabitants are illiterate with high level of economic and gender inequality. Between 1990 and 2012, the maternal mortality ratio in 1000 live birth (death of women per 100,000 live births) is estimated to be 23% in Bahrain in 1990, 22% in 2000, 21% in 2005 and 20% in 2012. The statistics for other selected countries are presented in the table below.

Table 1: Maternal mortality ratio (death of women per 100,000 live birth) 1990, 2000, 2005 and 2010.

Country	1990	2000	2005	2010
Bahrain	23	22	21	20
Saudi Arabia	44	27	25	24
Libya	99	67	61	58
Iran	120	48	30	21
Algeria	220	140	110	97
Tunisia	130	84	68	56
Jordan	110	79	77	63
Egypt	230	100	78	66

Syria	240	120	89	70
Yemen	610	1000	710	460
Nigeria	1,100	970	820	630
UAE	24	14	13	120
USA	12	14	18	21
Australia	10	09	07	07
Norway	09	08	07	07
Germany	13	07	07	07
UK	10	12	13	12

UN Maternal Mortality Estimation Group, WHO, UNICEF, UNFPA, World Bank 2012

For developing countries like the Arab states these statistics are not too bad if really there are generated from objective sources. I have tried to find out the poverty and inequality level in these societies but the data are not available in the public domain. But know it that Libya under Gaddafi was far better off than many countries in Africa in terms of human development index and maternal mortality ratio. Those who have justify the revolution may have subjected these societies to the variable influence of economic inequality, backwardness, humiliation, corruption, unemployment, abuse of human rights and regime intransigence. The impact of these variables on youth activism underscores the growing influence of social media and e-communication (internet, face book, twitter, e-mail and text messages) in social struggle. It is a signal to world leaders to brace up for the task of good governance and avoid the wrath of youth nationalism. Youth nationalism is increasingly becoming a potent force in the agitation for reform. Governments across third world countries should embark on pragmatic policy of youth development to forestall future incidences of revolt.

Ideology, Democracy and Good Governance in the Arab States

It will be difficult to appreciate the import of the agitation for democratic reforms in the Arab states without understanding the concept of ideology. This is because the framework of human action is influenced by ideology. A world without ideology is a death world. The political and economic values that have threaten the social existence of man, peace and stability and under develop some segment of the human society is rooted on ideology. An ideology is a set of conscious and unconscious ideas that defines ones goals, expectations and actions. It is a comprehensive vision that influences one's perception and analysis of things, events and decisions. This perception is defined and shaped by the dominant class of a society and served as the blueprint for public administration. It therefore implies that all social, political and economic actions are ideologically oriented. Ideology creates an idea, the idea creates a vision, the vision creates a goal, and the goal creates the means to actualise the vision (Otinche: *forthcoming book*). The lack of congruence between these variables creates social dislocation that is reactionary and revolutionary in the polity. The ideological determinant of public administration explains the agitation by the Arab people for political reform via revolt and the meddling in the internal affairs of other countries by the developed countries. Ideology provides the basis for the promotion of political, economic and social justice (equality/inequality, equity and fairness in resources distribution) or injustices. It determines the framework of governance, political relations and public administration and guarantee the peaceful coexistence among men. It sets the standard for the universal application of rules of engagement in domestic and international politics and the mode of governance.

Some mode of governance has been classified as democratic and some as undemocratic. The history of democratic practice is as old as the history of human civilization. Democratic practices have historical roots in traditional societies like the Greek city states of Athens, Ancient Yoruba Kingdom, traditional Igbo society and the traditional mode of governance of the Utugwang people in Cross River State, Nigeria. In the Utugwang society, the Council of Elders, Youth Organisations and Age Grade play dominant roles in the process of governance. Democratic practices in Utugwang society in medieval and contemporary times lies in the openness in decision making; and the choice of political leadership by the Council of Elders. This has over time had positive implications on political development in the Utugwang society. In contemporary times, argument about democratic reforms centre on press freedom, freedom of association and movement, open electoral process, free and fair elections and quick dispensation of justice, multi-party politics, majority and minority rights, constitutionalism and the rule of law. Many societies including the acclaimed fathers of modern day democracy are lacking in absolute good democratic credentials. The English revolution (1688), the French revolution (1768) and the American revolution (1776/1777) enthrone modern day democratic principles of equality, liberty and fraternity. The revolutions were motivated by internal factors and have well planned internal structures for the effective co-ordination of the reform efforts. These revolutions laid the foundation for good governance.

The concept of governance has been over-emphasized in contemporary times as if it is a new value system in political relations. Each phase of human civilization has specific good governance values associated with it. The evaluation of good governance therefore depends on the stage of human development, prevalent political values and man's consciousness. In general terms, governance implies popular rule based on a set of laid down rules and regulations defined as the most appropriate for society by a leader (s). Such rules defines the mode of conferring authority on rulers, the mode of exercising the authority, the processes by which rules are

made, enforced, adjudicated and or modified. Good governance is measured by the extent to which government use economic, political and judicial instruments to promote human welfare (Otinche, 2013: forthcoming). The fountain of good governance are constitutionalism, the rule of law, transparency and accountability, openness in decision making, due process in public administration, political, economic and social justices, harmonious state-civil society relations and efficiency in public services delivery. The degree of government responsiveness, adherence to the basic tenets of constitutionalism and people's participation in the processes of governance determines whether a government is good or bad. The process of governance in the Arab world is guided by Islamic ideology and patriarchal political values that has relatively restrict the political space for the youths and women. This prolonged art of political, economic and socio-cultural exclusion and alienation contradicts contemporary political, economic and socio-cultural values and civilized relations. Since the end of the World War II, the world has witnessed significant transformation in governance relations. The process of decolonization was accompanied by multi-party politics and the transfer of political power from metropolitan elites to the indigenous governing elites. The consolidation of the gains of decolonization and political freedom in the newly independent states were cut in the web of ideological conflicts between capitalist and socialist democracy. By the 1960s, Western capitalist countries became uncomfortable with the wave of socialist reforms initiated by many third world countries. A war of supremacy between the two dominant actors (USA and USSR) ensued and this created a crisis situation in the Congo in the early 1960s leading to the death of Patrice Lumumba, a pro-socialist reformer; and the death of General Murtala Ramat Mohammed in Nigeria in 1976 via coup d'etat. These same political forces are contesting for political and economic relevance in the Arab states.

The revolution in the Arab world cannot be explained away from its historical past. The Arab revolution is a political conspiracy initiated by western capitalist nations to reverse the trend of socialist political and economic development. The conspiracy is initiated in phases in the third world nations. The first phase was through colonization, second by decolonization with regime implantation, the third phase ushered in the military institutions as agents of democratization and modernization and the fourth phase via political reforms using civil society activism. Imperialist military agents were raised and sponsored into power via military coups. This international conspiracy brought Saddam Hussein, Maummar Gaddafi, Hosni Mubarak, Idi Amin of Uganda and Mobutu Tsetse Seko (Congo DR) among others to power and placed seemingly pro-socialist regime under the control praxis of western capitalism. The architect of the Iranian revolution Ayatollah Khomeini, now the supreme leader of Iran is a product of such trend of globalisation.

The indigenous process of development and democratization initiated by the Maummar Gaddafi regime promote patriarchal democracy that is at variance with western notion of democracy. The imposition of western democratic credentials on every nation has raised many questions about the propriety of the universalism of governance values and the travails and tribulations of the radical enforcement of democratic values on nation states. As Jega (2007:1) retorted:

The contradictions which have arisen from democratic transitions and these (*the sic*) processes of democratization have led to increased interrogation of the relevance of the prevailing models and instructions (*sic instruments*) of democracy to the reality of contemporary African political and economic development.

Co-incidentally, the debate about the Arab revolution is about the politics of political reforms (democratic transition) and the international conspiracy associated with such democratic transition or political reforms. Genuine revolt must have high domestic credentials for it to succeed. Another insight into the nature of democratic rebirth in North Africa and the Middle East is reflected in the views of Dunn (1993: xii):

If we are to understand the hazard(s) and opportunities of modern democratic life, we still need to grasp the odd and paradoxical past of this simple idea, the sources of its continuing forces, and the reasons for the sense of disappointment and distrust which has haunted it ever since it began.

The socio-cultural, political and economic background of the Arab states is a hunched on the contemporary process of democratisation. It does not agree with the act of democratization by force challenging good governance in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria. Genuine processes of democratisation lies in the appeal to good reason rather than on irrational political calculations. This is captured by the view of Duns (1993: VI):

The power and appeal of the idea come from its promise to render the life of a political community something willed and chosen the social and political existence that human beings share into a texture of consciously intended common action. In a democracy, the people (the demos), its human members, decide what is to be done, and in so deciding, they take their destiny firmly into their own hands. The power and appeal of democracy come from the idea of autonomy of freedom for oneself.

From this rational calculation, the agitation for democratic reform must be endogenous and not exogenous. The clamour for democratic reforms in the Arab world has exogenous relationship with western capitalism. Capitalist democracy is associated with economic slavery; and economic freedom, market competition, improved investment relations, entrepreneurship development and efficiency of production. Capitalist democracy enhances the opportunity for employment generation, wealth creation, capital accumulation and investment. It emphasized the decentralization of modules of wealth creation and wealth management for national growth and development. To this extent, capitalist democracy has acquired more economic value hence its export to other countries by any means. A country's democratic credentials determine her access to loans, grants and aids and other interventionist measures from western countries. The greatest challenges posed to world peace today lies in the arrogance with which the USA and other western nations are exporting democracy, human rights, liberty and political freedom to other nations. Western capitalist nations have failed to realize that no country and system of government has monopoly over the infrastructure of good governance. The huge energy the US government is investing in promoting democracy by force would yield more meaningful results if deployed via evolutionary processes of national reforms. The spillover would yield more domestic challenges in youth violence, arson, reckless shooting and murder as is presently the case in the USA. The spread of democracy and propertied capitalism by force has increase human misery and destitution and high refugee status. Over 2 million refugees have emerged from the Syrian crisis alone. Western nations are laying the foundation of democratic institutions in third world nations with the political bricks made with human blood. The increasing reign of terror unleashed by western nations for economic and political gains shows that the value of capitalist democracy is beginning to wane. The attempt to build democratic structures in Syria, Libya, Tunisia, Egypt and Iraq to secure the sovereignty of Israel has threatened the peace and stability in the Middle East and the world at large. Unlike the case of Libya and others, the fall of the Bassar Al- Assad regime will threaten the sovereignty of Iran (who is the next likely US target), cripple the economic and political strength of the Arab nations and reduce the political influence of Russia in international politics to infinitesimal level. Syria is one of the strong arteries of the Russian economy.

In the general context, democracy and good governance test the openness of the political and economic systems, the framework of the rule of law, transparency and accountability, constitutionalism as well as the level of government responsiveness to the people. In Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, there were appreciable degree of economic freedom, high levels of education and national consciousness. These cannot take place without challenges. Globally, national economic prosperity is always associated with national challenges. The resolution of national challenges requires a dynamic approach. Many people in the Arab states were experiencing decline in living standards, low wages/income among the low and middle income group, high inflation and unemployment. The high level of unemployment among the youth and the resultant political and economic alienation and mass disenfranchisement with government is a consequence of crony capitalism. The index of economic growth in the Arab states may provide convincing results.

Table 2: Index of Economic Growth for selected Arab States

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Yemen		2,9000	35.0%	65.4%	45.2%	6
Morocco		4,670	9.8%	47.7%	15.05	30.1/27.3
Syria		4,730	8.3%	55.3%	11.9%	7.3/5.8
Jordan		5,240	13.4%	54.3%	14.2%	7.3/5.3
Egypt		5,860	9.7%	52.3%	20.0%	Na
Algeria		8,220	9.9%	47.5%	23.0%	Na
Tunisia		8,220	14.0%	42.1%	3.8%	6.1/<5
Libya		18,720	n.a	47.4%	30.0%	na
Bahrain		23,980	15.0%	43.9%	n.a.	<5/<5
Saudi Arabia		22,850	10.8%	43.9	n.a.	na

Source: Behr, I. Finnish Institute of International Affairs, 2011. 2010 Global Hunger Index IFPRI.

Key

1. GDP per Capital
2. GDP Growth
3. Unemployment rate
4. Population under 25 years
5. Poverty rates.
6. Hunger index. 1990 and 2010

The above data on the index of economic growth in the selected states does not present a more worrisome picture as it is in Nigeria. If these data are generated from an objective source by Behr, it was then used as an ideological weapon to ignite support for the Arab uprising. As Behr (2001:2) argued, the Egyptians saw some of their freedom taken away from them in a manipulated parliamentary election by a regime that clamped down on

public protests and independence of the media. In the case of Egypt, the regime became highly corrupt and police violence and abuse of political power become a national way of life. In reaction, protesters bemoaned the lack of principles and listlessness of their government in the international area and the subjection of the Mubarak regime to the poodle of America. The unquestionable loyalty of the Mubarak regime to America and his close ally with Israel angered the youths who revolted to reclaim the lost political, economic and social glory of Egypt. These arguments are sympathetic and ideological slogan that beclouds the real intention of the revolution. It represents the deceit associated with globalization and imperialism.

One unique fact about the Arab uprising is the impact of globalization on man's conscience and modules of rational economic freedom. Globalization has increased the frontiers of human freedom, conscience, economic opportunities, distributive justice and the efficiency of public administration. From all objective criteria, economic wealth is equitably distributed in Libya and Bahrain whereas the level of poverty is very low in Tunisia. In terms of democratic growth, the kings of Jordan and Morocco introduced democratic reforms that transferred considerable measures of political powers to elected bodies. The scope of democratic reform was broadened in Tunisia where about 55 political parties came into being following the political reform introduced by Ben Ali. Genuine political reforms has long gestation period and any attempt to fast track the process will generates systemic disequilibrium as it is today in the Arab States. This no doubt has contradictory consequences on national development. The wave of market reform (privatization) carried out in Jordan, Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia has deepened the economic malaise in these countries as well as the economic grievances over the distribution of national wealth. In the face of this displeasure, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain gave out generous financial benefits to the citizens in the bid to forestall the protest to no avail. Relatively open parliamentary election and political participation was allowed even to Islamist groups and opposition groups in Jordan and Morocco but with some measure of discrimination against others. Bahrain and Kuwait increased the scope of political participation but Egypt and Saudi Arabia has a closed political space. The data on the table below shows the index of democratic freedom in the Arab states.

Table 3: Index of Democratic freedom in the Arab States

Country	1	2	3	4
Morocco	166	82	66	113
Jordan	177	50	63	82
Bahrain	122	43	71	39
Algeria	125	92	64	84
Egypt	138	115	60	101
Tunisia	144	64	85	81
Yemen	146	144	80	133
Syria	152	150	83	111
Libya	158	130	94	53
Saudi Arabia	160	83	83	55

Source: Behr, Timo and Aaltola, Mika 2011.

KEY

1. Democracy ranking
2. Corruption
3. Press freedom
4. Human development index.

The level of public administration in Jordan and Bahrain is miserably low. In terms of press freedom, Egypt has a liberal media environment and Tunisia the most restrictive one. The failure to create wide gestation framework for political reforms in the midst of the above existing realities heightened the feeling of lost of dignity and disillusionment with and attracted the revolt from the people. Realistically, any reform process that is hastily initiated and implemented would lack a vision, plan, visionary leadership, effective co-ordination and success band.

II. Conclusion

The revolution in the Arab state has exposed the realities and the dilemma of propertied capitalism and the ambivalence in the morality of international politics and the process of democratisation. The dilemma of international politics, democratisation and hegemonic ideology has turned the world into theatres of war and undermined world peace and the liberal spheres of mutual interdependence. The threat of economic vulnerability has continued to endanger world peace and sovereign political relations. The intervention of the United States of America, France, Britain and Germany in the internal affairs of the Arab nations has devalued the logical ideals of democratic reforms. The goal is rational and good but the means to achieving the goal is bad and irrational. Democratic reform cannot be initiated and promoted from the barrel of the gun but can be encouraged from without. The cost of the war of attrition in human and material terms can never be regained in the immediate future due to the structural challenges it has created.

The process of democratic reforms is less likely going to succeed for certain reasons. The revolution lacks internal and domestic legitimacy and the revolutionary forces lacked a political leadership, an ideology, structural organization and programme of action for post revolutionary reform. The external basis of the revolution (using mercenary forces) makes its success more lucid and fluid as limited platform exists for dialogue and consensus building. The post revolutionary challenges of nation building would be more daunting for the Arab states as it is in Afghanistan and Iraq. Forces loyal to the ousted regime would never give up the fight as the case of Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt and Libya has shown. This has automatically turned these countries into spring bed for arm struggle and markets for arms sale. The sale of arms and ammunition by European countries is promoted on the veil of democratic reform, the rule of law, constitutionalism and good governance. One instructive thing to note is that the war against despotism and terrorism can only be won by the United States through mutual cooperation, mutual integration and interdependence than through aggression and antagonism. Terrorism itself is a product of ideological conflict between capitalism and socialism. Therefore, cautioned should be exercise while imposing democratic reforms on seemingly stable patriarchal regimes. Realistically, there has never been and there will never be a universal pattern of governance. Therefore, the United States of America, France, Britain and Germany should come out of their imperialistic cocoon and promote the course of genuine reforms through dialogue and social engineering than military engineering otherwise the same course which they seek to promote violently would consume them. The inordinate ambition of western countries to reform the world political and economic system by any means possible is a reflection of the desperate move to promote capitalism by aggression and democracy by violence. This attitude is a reflection of the fact that human civilization in Western Europe has reached its nadir of development. The glory of God has departed from Western Europe and is moving to Asia and the Middle East and no amount of sponsored violence would halt the growing trend of human civilization and development in the Arab world. Any system that seems to be at war with everybody does not stand the test of time. The blood of the innocent people spilt in the unjust wars will certainly cry out for vengeance. Those who take delight in making the world ungovernable for others for selfish reason should remember that they are paving way for their imminent down fall.

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