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ABSTRACT

The idea of this search for note case research growing tyranny of political straining the Arab countries in the contemporary prevent progress or open horizon towards progress, and presses the case political and social stability in which to the extent that takes contradictions social to express themselves in pictures of violence Ahli total potentially explosive after that was something out of it - in part - in some of those countries.

الخلاصة

إن فكرة هذا البحث تنصب على بحث قضية ملحوظة والتي تشهد تنامي الاستبداد السياسي الذي بات يجهد البلدان العربية في الوقت المعاصر ويمنع أي تقدم أو توجه للأفاق نحو التقدم، وتضغط على استقرار الحالة السياسية والاجتماعية إلى الحد الذي تأخذ التناقضات الاجتماعية فيه تعبيراً عن أنفسهم في صور من العنف الأسري حيث يتفجر الكل بشكل محتمل وبعد ذلك يكون الشيء وكأنه خارج الموضوع - جزئياً - في البعض من تلك البلدان.

Introduction:

The idea of this search for Note case resurge growing tyranny of political straining the Arab countries in the contemporary prevent progress or open horizon towards progress, and presses the case political and social stability in which to the extent that takes contradictions social to express themselves in pictures of violence Ahli total potentially explosive after that was something out of it - in part - in some of those countries.

Any society that does not fail on the composition of the majority of the political, and out of the case split Ahli Alasboi, but when the doomed political system is closed, any time power is the subject of a monopoly by social group and political elite tight, which is typically what happens when up this elite to power by unconstitutional means and illegal, or while hitting them by way of constitutional legitimacy, but insist on staying illegally and taken forms (constitutional) such as the repeated extension of presidential mandates - through election or referendum - to what God wills. It may also happen if the regulations nature tribal and family which includes the power to parents and next of kin without others and maximizes risk narrow social and political power when the ruling elite of neurological civil or based on neurological civil, which refrains him completely birthday dynamics political lead to the majority of the political configuration in the modern sense ().

The problem of the modern Arab state is a structural problem and its relationship phase specific historical witnessed the emergence of these entities, has been described state of some Arab writers in these countries as ((fruit illegal colonial regime)) because most Straining under the control of colonial powers different and extended differentiated which were subjected to various colonial styles varied between central direct rule to indirect rule and originally focused goals to achieve economic and military benefits.

Arab state origination originally for the political fragmentation suffered by the Arab world, due to project Western colonial and under the influence of this metadata, generated problematic relationship Arab state society in which assumed responsibility for governance within which foundation of this dilemma lies in that this country did not arise as a result of maturation of relationships and structures social and evolution of the state is the result of a genuine social contract.

The problematic relationship between the State society resulting from the origination is natural to the Arab state was and remains the main cause and direct the governance crisis dominant Arab political life since the establishment of the state and up to the present and which are embodied in the case of clash and confrontation continued between government authority and powers and groups and social strata anti these forces and political power .

(1) Mohammed Jaber Al-Ansari and others, civil conflicts: the internal and external factors, Beirut, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1997, p 46.

Thus, the deeper understanding of the community and the idea of consciousness can not be done without studying the state, despite the critical importance of the notes Abdullah Laroui, the science that looks at the Community State, science policy, abandoned in most Arab countries and the achievement of studies in this area was limited, mostly in the framework of the foreign institutes .

However, it can be pointed to some contributions such as the Center for Arab Unity Studies on the society and the state and contributions Waddah Sharara, Abdullah Laroui, and Ahmed Saad repellent, and Mohammed Abed al-Jabri.

The fact is that the task of identifying and understanding and consolidate our intellectual is important fateful and necessary imposed on us by the nature of the challenges facing the Arab world at the beginning of the century atheist twenty nor can we do so without study and

conscious of the Arab state, movement and its mechanisms and nature as part of the repositioning of the historic Wares own.

First research

Problems emergence of the modern Arab state

Can look at the history of the Arab world since Napoleon's campaign and up to the present time as a constant struggle in one way or another against Europe and its political, cultural and economic ().

And led a confrontation between Europe and the Arab world to the emergence of the first attempts aimed to update the part of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt to start renovation structures and military Aleroukratih then the legal system at a later stage of education, the economy and patterns of daily life in the ranks of groups lavish

(1) Abdelali ring, sociological state vision, Dawn Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, i 1, 2004, p 77.

(2) Abdullah Laroui, the concept of the state, Beirut, Arab Cultural Center, 1988, p 45.

(3) Hisham Sharabi, the patriarchal system and problematic failure of Arab society,

and consequently the first roots of the emergence of the modern state came from abroad and by external stimulation is colonialism. Valther real-imperialist European is built to state structures governing modern, and the issue here can not be explained only in accordance with the sayings spread cultural Diffusionist model which explains the prevalence of the state from the center and toward the parties through adoption Optional, or simulation (Mimetism) or the use of force and who sees in the reflection of the state a distinct set of cultural and religious values and European which traces its roots to the Roman law, Renaissance and which are not commensurate with the communities in which a comprehensive religion spontaneous (). And the ability of these statements explanatory located precisely in this vision of the cultural dimension, The forms of the state in the Arab world is not only a problem. Quote cultural facing social problems in adapting to the internal environment of new phenomenon modern Arab state is also the product of a historic structural elements with external dimension (neo-colonialism) and this entity will continue in the next phase of colonialism in playing the role of linking the new state global economic powers (), These two dimensions embrace together to form the reality of a struggling Arab state.

He was born of contact with the next European contradiction deep between two models Houdarien model secular rational taking of Western experience, and the traditional model Almjdhir in the teachings of Islamic thought prevailing values and not evidenced by this contradiction of bilateral hanging over our intellectual tradition and modernity, heritage and modernity, secularism and religious thought. etc., which are still undecided, for example extreme ideal coexist, whether political or religious, without contradiction conscious along with practice social realism, and does not produce serious contradiction between word and deed any tension measured in mind. And at the level of principles has claimed individual devotion absolute social values embodied in the nation, unity and liberation, justice, and equality, and to him, but he - and in both - clings goals private (family, ethnic and tribal) that do not relate to never those values, even those that do not contradict with (3), and surprisingly, the modern state apparatus did not work to undermine the social values of traditional society, but it also has to codify social relations and push it further into this contradiction ... This is explained by the second dimension is important is that the state not established by a national bourgeoisie.

(1) Nazih Ayoubi disposal, the Arabs and the problem of the state, Beirut, Saqi Books, 1992, p 28.

(2) Nazih Ayoubi, source, p 28.

(3) Hisham Sharabi, source, p 87.

but by the bourgeois colonial foreign carried exaggerating the size of the state apparatus in particular its military wing bureaucratic to serve their own purposes in the colonies, and what was the particular circumstances of the capitalist system global impose great difficulties on attempts Independent accumulation capital in the parties, it has remained the bourgeoisie in the parties are unable to strengthen its manner that allows them to reduce the control of the state bureaucracy to exercise is economic sovereignty and ideology contrary

continued needy to rely on the state apparatus and its employees for the purposes of accumulation of capital, and perform a number of functions productivity , and so we find the capitalist class and the working classes both in a position of weakness toward the state list in the parties (), and so included the state structure ruling on pastoral colonialism and the bureaucracy of the modern state Venspt same place community, completed its functions and for citizens was entity externally imposed on them, so that free participation in public affairs and even if Dmantha constitutionally impossible unless adopted by the state sponsored, while citizen finds himself isolated, it is up to the initial traditional social structures, in search of charity and to ensure its survival.

From here emphasize the conclusion d. Hisham Sharabi that the modern Arab state is not only the Sultanate of moderation in the modern form Valkhash special Arab state such as the Sultanate is monopolizing Profile (religiously and Jura) power, which is the tool repressive state and coercive and which derives its legitimacy not from a legal source unconstitutional, or even a traditional but the reality of power and individuality, and in light of this reality becomes the ordinary individual unconscious effectiveness, and turns to the same without citizenship and free himself and stripped of his human rights, civil and executed power to influence decisions related to his society broader (), and so the continuity of the Arab state the ruling is, of course, subject to the continuation of this situation, which is reflected in the nature and characteristics but before that you must understand the internal influences societal and cultural dimensions and internal ideological used by the state - Oman - to stop the circle of modernity, which, if completed ended its existence.

- (1) Nazih Ayoubi, *ibid*, p 36.
(2) Hisham Sharabi, *ibid*, p 87.

The second topic

The social and cultural dimensions and ideology in the Arab reality

Awakening experiences time and successive strife and civil wars Interior in contemporary Arab societies to the fact Mzodugh a fragile society and state fragility, when state political crisis, cracking social structure and alternate the rift and dissent, has take the dynamics of the division to Saddam declared or implied clashing where social groups begin to express for differences vocabulary political before disclose its stockpile Alasboi and when any division social or Saddam Ahli witnessing community, start state to lose its power and political fester Haunted and lose cohesion and functions, may collapse Kkianah University or Taatdhirr in the form of authorities civil (and Mlishawih) Tantzaha partisanship (community groups) from the State and the remnants of its agencies, as happened in Lebanon in 1975-1990, and is happening today in Iraq since the US-led invasion of the country in 2003, and may occur in any other Arab country to the similarity of data structures.

Feed Alhishashat of each and Taatzafaran in the production of the dilemma itself fragmented entity socio-political, not be the state in good health if topped community health and community be healthy that hit the state's disease, their relationship relationship correlation and determination and one in good times and bad, and wants them to obtain from the other obtained from the same, those related link between them in the whole history of societies, not a property unique to the Arab community. The thinking in this connection thinking in the structure of the relationship and not thinking in (assets) formative, ie, that he apply himself to note - and to analyze - the interrelationships between the social and political system and the functioning of the relationship, does not mean answers the question problematic traditional: the result of? Is society that produces the state or state produces society? Note that this question does not accept the restoration, among other problematic system of the relationship between state and society is not thinking about obsession precedence time for one of the parties, but thinking in relations selection (Determinacy) between them (1).

What beyond the simplistic view to (civil society) used these days, consciously Formative and structural interdependence between state and society, and to comprehend the effects generated by their **Defies** relationship (ie, the state and society) them together, and the possibility of an inclusive nation. If stems owners this view (simplistic) to the relationship between society and the state of the state repressive and authoritarian and hostile to society and the people and the nation, and that response and scaled - and perhaps change - but gets by organizing community against, activist and reluctant against the state ..., Taking fighting (thought) and practice in the establishment of the letter (civil society) and its institutions, and in exchange movement to the point of confrontation with the state, ignoring a number of facts theoretical political and social realities or fail to detect them.

(1) State and society dialectics unification and division in contemporary Arab meeting, Abdul Ilah Belkeziz, the Arab Network for Research and Publishing, Beirut, 2008, pp. 57-59.

A - social dimensions:

And Shall dimensional formations social a human group collects links to lend them a degree of internal solidarity among its members, and make them prepared to conduct mass according to these links and this solidarity, the pursuit of special interests of the group, and in the Arab world these configurations are stationed solidarity internal foundations either class or ethnic, tribal, and as a result of distortions that have occurred in the process of social evolution - Arab economic during the last two centuries note that formations social sense that Astalhana him above is consistent in sequencing vertical or divided horizontal (), although the leadership transition of the elites of formations of modern social ago After colonization, it did not mean the absence of formations traditional, and irony that elements formations modern resort in moments of controversy social conflictual to raise these traditional loyalties in his battles, and therefore, these configurations almost devoid of influence motivation for the update because of inconsistency this which brings us to the case of severe weakness characterized Arab civil society in the light of real development crisis and a huge imbalance in the distribution and great differences in incomes.

B - the cultural and ideological dimensions:

The in Islam and political history and culture, with regard to Islam, Vamufkron Islamists agree in their perception of the nature of the state, and use the concept and one that is found in the dictionary under the rule states if the summarized definitions we found dealing with all ميدانين war, money and lead two things: prevail, and rotation, that prevail in war lead to the acquisition of money and exploitation, but the war debate and the authority of the time one group, must be diluted and that the effects of another group (1) state when Ibn Khaldun is only machine of oppression and dominance and exploitation pleasures and luxuries.

1) Saad Eddin Ibrahim, the future of society and the state in the Arab world, Oman, the Arab Thought Forum, 1988, p 234 .

This is the reality of the state, and its concept is authoritarianism can not imagine a country without oppression and without monopoly certain group of goods available and contrast can not imagine freedom, but outside the state any within the Beatitudes, the jurist and historian and philosopher assume state unfair and fair state and work possible advocacy and advice, so that is likely Justice the injustice but all are convinced that the state before being fair or unfair means possession of any that you are in the king other and justice in the state is not merely to maintain security and organizing conflict people, and Tdafhm either full justice, truth, freedom, there is no to any of that in State whatever characterized the system and the mind (1), and that was true expression of the reality of the Islamic state in different eras, and the fact that Islam itself is not responsible for this situation but it is through competition standing in the Islamic history, or at least resentment underlying In the absence of a mechanism whereby the different layers can express their demands were some classes sometimes pay to rebel violently

and often lend such ideological insurgency and wear a mask religiously Authority denounce the evils and defects of the ruling class, and was indignation stems in essence ... From the perspective of the religious attitude, but any body did not come to select a program to the demands of a secular non-replacement of Prime nation did not pose any structural adjustments, with some exceptions (2) This is still the case, as the interest characteristics of nationalism, and the growing unity of contradictions between the developing countries and developed countries industrially, turn a lot of political leaders and writers social Arabs to Islam more and more are seeking it for explanation theoretical forms of nationalism for Administrative Organization legal, and often compares presidential form of government that has gained in the soil Arab character absolute rule as the Islamic heritage, and resemble President caliphate and Ertion Allegiance in election President and the Presidential Council on Shura it ... Etc., and although he was replaced Islamic law legislation secular-style European in many countries, the

(1) Abdullah Laroui, ibid, p 115.

(2) Maxime Rodinson, economic history and history of social classes in the Islamic world, translation Shabib Beydoun, Beirut, Dar New Thought, 1981, p 34.

(3) in a Levin, the development of the Arab Social Thought, Cairo, Dar New World, 1989, p 169.

Islamic law declares in situations more and more as a legal system optimally ensures balance the interests of the individual and society, and defending rights in the face of injustice prevailing in both socialism and capitalism (1).

And clear idea of the mask ideological that we talked about in the theories of the state and law based on different interpretations of the instructions of Islam used hand circles official to justify the actions of existing systems and support its political goals, as used, on the one hand circles official to justify the actions of existing systems and support its political goals, as you use, On the other hand, social protest movements and political and Islamic parties and organizations of the Islamic character in the campaign against opposition to existing regimes. The thing that we would like to stress it as one of the most important elements of Arab political culture that legal equality were not characteristic of the Arab regimes and Eastern traditional both in terms of religious affiliation or sexual is not known Ottoman regime citizen The political rights, but only under deprived of those rights, power is the recognized Only that man continued to religion with certain collective rights (such as the right to practice their religion and the judiciary in the personal status ... etc.) and what the law was governing

personal status along with it control crescendo other social life was not known Arab community principle unifying law in relation to all citizens of any the principle of civil law is religious - or in other words the principle of secularism (2) - This situation has continued under contemporary governments Although formal changes in laws. So what produces these dimensions in its impact on the state of authoritarianism?

The third topic :

State and society and authoritarian

Differentiates Marx between the modern state and the state in ancient times, as in the old state was the political framework is the real content of the state in isolation from everything else from other sectors, either modern state is edited between the political state and the state is political, and so, what distinguishes the modern state for old state in the eyes of Marx is the separation between what is political and what is not political in the political structure of the state, the state constitution means or the political system in its various components (an absolute monarchy, government, councils, management, etc.)

- (1) Samir Amin, the crisis of the Arab community, Cairo, Arab future House, 1985, p 139.
(2) Morris Pariba, the formation of the modern state in the eyes of Marx, translation Yazji, road, July 1994, No. 4, p 94 .

As non-political, he is associated civil society in the diversity of its factions (individuals, families, communities literal, organizations) political state is authorized formal element of the state and non-state political him as a material element or content, and so republic like absolute monarchy just a simple form of the state. The essence of it facing out-of-state constitutions. The fact is that the old state were not known this separation between what is political and non-political because the

political framework in which was surrounded everything and therefore of the entire nation, and orbit the political was not well in the state for their orbits other, there is no after the Constitution of distinguished political and state realism and physical any of the people in his presence real civil, state political were not appeared yet as the shape of the state material was political expresses identity the whole state without having the rest of the sectors in which any independent existence and this means that the old state was based on autism or fusion between the political state and society Civil which he had reached after some kind of separation (1) and apply this analysis to a large extent on the Arab state which is described, for example, Waddah Sharara as against society, because it reordering of content social, and then controls all within it and throughout the hotel, has been re-formulated as matching is Fowlie Arab states modern Egyptian state in the era of Muhammad Ali had in his view b ((process throw nets huge whole society and confined)) The Arab countries Contemporary solved centers supervision which is located at the intersection of political relations internal economic, and the meaning This it controls modern sectors that have arisen with the penetration of capitalist and to the administration, which took the placement centers colonial but also controls the social sectors outside this circle, which constitute the bulk of the community and the historical rule and productivity which it is based, and is this control through annexation keys any tops of these communities to the governance and crew slowly to the upper class of society that are on the basis of capitalist relations (2).

All of the above does not only lead to authoritarian and severe that determines Dr Khaldoun Hassan Capt. founded in

1 - monopoly sources of power and authority in the community 2 - Baqrth Economics 3 - do legitimacy of the government is based on

(1) fair Ayoubi, a former source, pp. 125-126.

(2) fair Ayoubi, source, p 126.

oppression through the practice of organized terrorism against citizens (1), which is the basis of the governance in all Arab countries described by Samir Amin as authoritarian in materiality, even if different paths through which historical and social formations which are based on base (2).

Thus, the modern Arab state in her political bilateral nature where it is used every cultural perceptions traditional in order to strengthen its control over the Arab community, which at that like authoritarian regimes other does not have a political program social (3) only Braszmatiha seeking always to stay in power indifferent but so welcoming paradox created by modern apparatus and between irrationality and violence mechanisms.

Conclusion

We discussed the external factors in the genesis of the Arab state dimensions in addition to cultural, social and ideological in the Arab reality as well as internal factors deep itself has caused the emergence of authoritarianism and totalitarianism in the Arab regimes and it we can say that there are factors that led to the emergence of tyranny and authoritarianism in the Arab regimes are:

1 - crisis of political legitimacy suffered by the authority and the state in the country for Contemporary Arab This crisis has multiple addresses, including that of power and (the state) not under the constitutional legitimacy and democracy and during the test popular free and no longer produce the same through the mechanisms of political representation inherent and trading of power by the forces of the political community to talk, but were based on dominance and monopoly and monopoly: a civilian was or militarily, or on the basis of overcoming nervousness civil to the other, including the relationship between the political and religious in formation power and system functioning state remained ambiguous always, so we did vulnerable to interception social and political of this or that power. In both cases: the establishment of the authority of the state as such a cause of conflict of internal from political sites are different: they are secular when Islamists because she did not under sharia law, which

Asboih traditional when secularists because they list on the basis of sectarian or tribal thing, not the relations of citizenship, a tyrannical when Oppositions Civil because it lacks the rules of democratic life of freedom and representation and multi-party, a sectarian confessional in the eyes of objections sectarian and confessional requests share to participate on the basis of Asboi For these reasons and others, fed contradictions social structure of the crisis the political

sphere and tend - in front of the absence of a real case of political modernity - to express themselves borrow the language of non-political expression of political demands?

(1) Khaldoun Hassan al-Naqib, authoritarian state in the contemporary Levant, Beirut, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1991, p 32.

(2) Samir Amin, the state and the economy and politics in the Arab world, Al Mustaqbal Al Arabi, October 1992, No. 64, p 13.

(3) Hannah Arendt, the foundations of totalitarianism, translation Antoine Abou Zeid, Beirut, Saqi Books, 1993, p 56

2 - and this is linked to the first factor, the absence of social integration and national fusion in the Arab country. And so that our communities are suffering from indigestion real integration reformulate configured on the basis of class and class and modern political and cut with formations sectarianism traditional that pulls people into loyalties sub junior (tribal, sectarian, regional, sectarian) at the expense of loyalty to the homeland, and still partisanship these traditional - and until further notice - are social units more established, continues saturation idea to belong represents a culture Society, it is increases with increasing modernization and recapitalization, and that's exactly because of the lack of modern political lay the idea of citizenship and entrenched in the soul of loyalty to the homeland, not the tribe or sect, Because of the lack of political legitimacy of the authority and its adherence to traditional Bmahecha as due to weakening the authoritarian state of the national political fabric and depriving society of modern political relations representation (parties, trade unions, civil societies) compensates for traditional links Chdh to cages partisanship. It is natural that the absence of social integration and national fusion drives people to identify themselves Ktoaúv and doctrines and clans and families not as one people not beholden to him, but loyalty to the country and the state, and while erupt political crisis and fester, Ankvyé each to his doctrine and imbued with looking the other like (last).

3 - The third of these factors - related to what came before - the fragility of the social structures of Interior and exposure in front of external influences and pleased impenetrable, so that the social groups that feel, from its Alasboi, that their rights digestible in the apportionment of wealth or power, or both, or they are excluded from participating in the management of public affairs, or feel intimidated on the same group or groups major because different in religion, sect or ethnicity, are - usually - easy prey for interventions foreign, especially when you find a leadership in the (protection) foreign means of self-defense or for bullying and often used colonialism fears (minorities) social (ethnic group and sectarian and confessional) and invested in colonial strategies against our communities and our homelands (and continues to do so even today) Moheme those leaders sincere gains that will flow if the groups give their cooperation with him. It may be sectarian conflict and ethnic cooperation on the agenda required of them, as happened in Lebanon, Sudan, Iraq, Libya and Syria.

4 - and comes fourth of those factors, which indicates the absence of a community project jointly and compatible it is based on Kan Authority, the state and the rules of public life, not be the subject of objection or dispute as live experience (national state) in the Arab countries evidence of itself that political and social system based not focus agree, but there is no agreement in the community - between forces - on the big issues, the state and its identity and its political system, and the identity of the community and the nation, and the relationship of religion and politics, and reference cultural and political authority, and the relationship of community wealth, and the meaning of political representation and peaceful transfer of power - It is worth mentioning to say that he While miss this project community mosque and the common, which is a social contract agreed where citizens on a common vision for the type of system they want, and the kind of national self-determination to whom aspire, there is no sense of political life, even if held to appropriate electoral and institutional, which is - definitely - meaning which is not completely when you are not already political life.

5 - The fifth factor is the failure of the project of the Arab Cultural Renaissance and from the project of religious reform since the end of the nineteenth century and dragged him that failure of deterioration and degeneration seen in matters of religion, identity and heritage and culture, and fell for the diligence, and intolerance and lock, and uncontrollable tendencies (totalitarianism) in the thinking and the accompanying generation of conflicts, denial and exclusion and increasingly claim to possess the truth a culture that establish tyranny and authoritarianism.

So the most important factors by what we see, which led to the founding tyranny and authoritarianism in the Arab countries.

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