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Title: - Human Rights: Norms and Obstacles in the Middle East

Abstract:

Some words always have positive connotations, among them ‘development’; ‘growth’ and ‘human rights’. In the Middle East, it has proven challenging to promote development and enforce the concept of human rights as it is defined internationally. Yet this region has produced its own concepts of human rights.

The difficulty in securing human rights here has its roots in the interaction of theory and practice in the Middle East. It has a tradition of high political ideals and seeking for justice a globalized orientation of the Middle East under motivation of its proponents has caused challenges for these values. This paper will attempt to examine various aspects of human rights norms and obstacles in the Middle East from a new perspective and argues that this can be a solution for process of human rights issue in the Middle East.

Keywords: Human Rights, Democracy, Norms, Obstacles, the Middle East

A: Human Rights in the Middle East

Human history shows efforts by human beings to guarantee human dignity and prestige. Thinkers have invented the concept of human rights from different religious and cultural traditions. Statesmen and jurists have helped in the promotion and circulation of this thought and gradually principles and norms of protection of rights of individuals have been registered in the laws of different countries.

Also especially in 19th century and after the First World War many steps were taken for definition of international rules about human rights.

After the second world war, through the efforts of UN, its special organizations and regional intergovernmental organizations, an extended international system was created for the protection and promotion of human rights. In the preface of the UN charter, it is stated

that members of UN believe in basic human rights, dignity, prestige and value of human being and equality of men and women's rights.

The Second World War showed that blatant violations of human rights in domestic arena can lead to disorder in international peace.

After this war it was recognized by the architects of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) that recognition of dignity and humanity of all members of the human family and their equal rights was necessary as basis for justice and peace in the world.

This declaration is stepping stone of international laws about human rights. Two international covenants about human rights (1966) that define civil, political, cultural, economic and social rights are further significant this period (Levin, 2009, p.15).

International human rights law in theory imposes obligations on its signatories. And these declarations are supplemented by further declaration passed by international organizations, but which do not oblige governments formally. These documents can influence national and international procedures about human rights and can make something that is obligatory in law.

Although we have reached to great outcomes about codification and expansion of international laws about human rights, we cannot yet talk about the consistent enforcement of human rights in practice. Indeed human rights continue to be violated in many parts of the world.

Real enforcement of these rights is dependent on many factors.

One of the important factors relates to the understanding of rules, procedures and regulations concerning human rights.

Thus teaching of human rights is very important and has been referred in some international documents. Education of human rights is an important aspect of activities of UNESCO .

The charter of UNESCO emphasizes the necessity of global guarantee for respecting justice, law, human rights and basic freedoms.

In 1974 UNESCO Passed a special document for development of education of human rights and after that has had three important conferences in this regard in 1978, 1987 and 1993. The final goal of these efforts is creation of culture of human rights and democracy, absorbing public attention to these values.

For realization of these values all people must accept the same models of behavior. Creation of this culture of human rights and democracy depends on common efforts of

educators, families, mass media, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations or in other words all of social and civil society activists (Levin, 2009, p.18).

The idea of human rights has strong religious and cultural roots in the Middle East. But the cause of many inclinations in the Middle East is problems that people of this region are faced with. Problems like housing, unemployment, lack of educational infrastructure and also some historical problems like new colonialism and international dependency are among these problems (Zakerian, 2003, p. 42).

For this reason the Middle East has faced claimants about religion and national history that always have used it as an instrument for their political privileges.

Politics in the Middle East have been defined by charismatic leadership rather than by reference to piety or moral norms. This has led to hero making in the Middle East not structure building or the support of human rights and development of democracy (Van der Vyver and Witte, 1996, 331- 40).

The delay of political systems in the Middle East in adhering to international mechanisms of human rights and democracy a lag in providing an effective mechanism for support of human rights in comparison with other regions. Although there is an Arabian treaty about human rights and Islamic declaration of human rights but none of them have effective and obligatory mechanisms for countries of the region.

They are weak in comparison with treaties of Europe, America and Africa about human rights. The Arabian treaty of human rights was codified in September 1994. In this treaty religion and Arabian identity are principles of human rights and this reduces its power.

Also bringing Zionism as a kind of racism has increased its political orientation.

Also Islamic canon has influenced over this treaty (articles 1, 4, 12 , ...)

Also Islamic declaration of human rights that was passed in August 1990 in Cairo based on resolution No. 41 / 21 m of 21 sessions of foreign ministers of Islamic conference organization has focused on Islamic interpretation of human rights. It can be analyzed in an evolutionary process:

- 1- Declaration of human rights and its necessities in Islam that was issued by unity group of Islamic world in 1979.
- 2- Global Islamic declaration that was issued by European Islamic Parliament in London in 1980.
- 3- Universal declaration of human rights in Islam that was issued by European Islamic parliament in London in 1981.

4- Islamic declaration of human rights that was issued by Islamic conference in Cairo in 1990 (Zakerian, 2003, p. 100- 27).

These declarations stress on Islamic interpretation of human rights and an effective executive mechanism has been predicted in them. Although Arab League has been slow about human rights but it had use more executive 5 measures in comparison with Islamic declaration of human rights.

In 1971 Arab League predicted creation of human rights commission. Most of efforts of this commission have been directed toward rights of Palestinian nation.

But later they tried to codify Arabian treaty of human rights and they finished it in 1994. This treaty didn't bring a new angle to the topic of human rights and just is an effort for maintenance of status quo.

Even there was no effort for fortification of nongovernmental organizations and just attention was for organizations that support government. This treaty has rejected racism and Zionism and regarded it as a threat against global peace.

Also following components are stressed:

Emphasis on the right of self determination and exploitation of national natural resources, respect for Arab nation and emphasis on the importance of family as center of society

From 1994 to 1999 just few Arab countries have joined to this treaty and therefore it has no power for enforcement.

UN like European and African countries, Islamic and Arabian countries of the Middle East and North Africa have not created a stabilized system of human rights.

Also non Arab countries of the region have not been able to enter into a constructive process with each other and Arabian countries.

Also many of countries of the region have joined to human rights treaties of UN but generally are out of control mechanisms of UN.

These realities justify violation of human rights in the region international support for human rights is for rights that have been recognized formally and without effective mechanisms we can't expect serious attention to human rights.

Also countries of the region must note that based on peremptory principles of human rights , countries must respect human rights even if they have not passed conventions and treaties of human rights . This can cause codification of protocols about human rights based on initiatives of their culture and beliefs and in this way they can create mechanism that is effective in front of other mechanisms in the world (Van der Vyver and Witte, 1996, 341- 44).

B: Universality and Cultural Relativism

There is a question about whether the Middle East is ready to accept the notion of human rights as a global principle.

Instead it can be seen that countries of the Middle East try to present a unique view based on their civil and cultural background.

They emphasize on cultural relativism and different values of different regions to put cultural relativism in front of the globalism of human rights.

They claim that universal declaration of human rights has not paid attention to civil, cultural, social and religious background of the Middle East and especially Islam.

Thus this debate of cultural relativism and globalism of human rights has been an important debate.

Two debates exist about globalism of human rights:

One of them is cultural relativism that debate of cross – culture of human rights is presented in comparison with it. The other debate is collectivism in comparison with individualism.

As mentioned before there are many reasons for debate of globalism of human rights and cultural relativism.

Historical background, Political developments, religious doctrines, cultural and traditional beliefs, institutionalized despotism, authoritarian elitism and concern for maintenance of political power can be mentioned.

Above mentioned points confirms idea of many people of the Middle East that there are many cultural obstacles in front of promotion of human rights. These factors have enabled rulers of the region to impede the globalization of human rights.

The common concerns that rulers of the region focus on it have two dimensions:

First, the concept of universal human rights affects their local values and second it damages their political authority. They believe that basically concept of human rights is a western initiative that is based on historical progress of Age of Reason. Indeed the French and American revolutions and more importantly universal declaration of human rights are generally seen as central to the origins of modern human rights (Brown, and Bjawi-Levin, 2002, p. 163- 5)

It is natural that such considerations about origins of human rights can lead to difficulty of implementation of its principles in the Middle East.

Any emphasis of this point that human rights has its roots in western doctrines damages their status in the Middle East. Government officials of the Middle East believe that cultural values which are embedded in their own societies can be the basis for

alternative conceptions of human rights. They tend to argue that, after the Second World War, standards of human rights cannot be the basis of actions for all countries because all countries have not participated in building them. Countries of the North believe that globalism of human rights can be preserved by joining new countries to human rights conventions.

The universalist account suggests that human rights norms are seen in all cultures and societies. For instance, if there is a country that its cultural values are against human rights like right of living, freedom of speech, right of participation, release from torture, ...? On this basis the subject of intercultural values of human rights is presented and it is said that global norms of human rights have root in all cultures and societies and all human cultural values are in accordance with principles like freedom, right of living, release from torture and fight against despotism. Finally countries of the Middle East in globalism process of human rights have had marginal role or never have resisted against this globalism.

Anyway for study of human rights in the Middle East or other places we must analyze its evidences like civil society, election and democracy. It is important to study the way of growing of civil society in the Middle East and the way of activity of governments.

C: Definitions of civil society

Undoubtedly civil society wants to be a medium for closeness of public interests and governmental interests. religious centers (churches and synagogues), professional centers (labor, medicine, engineering) and trade unions cooperate with each other to secure interests of people.

Definition of civil society in the Middle East is different from western definition. Eval Bellin says that governmental officials of the Middle East use civil society for progress of mobilization and renovation Islamists use it for a legal portion of power and independent activists and intelligentsia use it for development of borders of freedom (Schwedler, 1995, p. 10- 2).

One of definitions of civil society is that it has clear set of institutions or organizations that have role of mediator between public and private life. Churches, synagogues, labor unions, political parties, societies, clubs and national organizations participate for development of social structure. These bodies have an essential role in political life. They help people to develop their loyalty beyond family relationships. In other words civil society is a form of social order that is based on special kind of legal structure. Social order is built by legal structure that is composed of equal individual rights and is supported by government. What is important for civil society is not form of civil

society or its member's religion or loyalty, but leaning of civil society on just rules is important.

Religious and trade societies, scientific and intellectual associations must be based on law and rules. Yalmer defines civil society as a form of human interaction that has made possible equality of rights and is supported by institutions and organizations. Organizations that is rare and powerful. Civil society has religious, trade a labor orders. Saad Eddin Ibrahim is one of fervid proponents of civil society.

He describes civil society as the pillar of democracy as organized collective and voluntary participation in public atmosphere that exists among associations, developed communicative societies and other interest groups. He believes that conditions of realization of civil society depend to etiquette, acceptance of differences and peaceful procedures. He argues that free civil associations are in front of political officials and basic and primitive associations like family, village and traditional societies. Augustus Richard Norton believes that civil society is an arena for groups, societies, clubs, corporations (syndicates, federations, associations, parties and groups) to be like a shield between government and citizens. The most important feature of these organizations is their independence of society (Rosenblum and Post, 2002, p. 55).

1: Place of Civil Society in Arab Communities

If civil society is autonomous social center that is separated from government then it seems that many traditional, tribal, regional and religious bodies can play the role of civil society. Many argue that these structures are reality of the Middle East and sociologists and political activists must use these bodies as a stronghold for preservation of social autonomy. Despite the fact that these bodies ar far from definition of civil society, this question remains that whether these organizations can fortify democracy and pluralism?

The answer is that these institutions have no integrated classification. They have different groups that sometimes are in the process of modernization and sometimes are at the service of autocratic rulers (Delfruz, 2002, p. 220).

Today Arab civil society is composed to five parts:

1- In many Arabian countries Islamic structure forms expanded sphere. Groups, societies and Islamic movements and Islamic organizations that provide social and charity services are parts of this sphere. Some of these organizations work for decades. Although Islamic organizations try to upgrade Islam in the world but groups inside these organizations have different organizations. Some of these organizations are part of religious institutions of governments and some of them want to be independent. Examples are some special committees that support

damaged people of Palestinian intifada. Some of them like Muslim Brotherhood are against government many of these groups are supported by religious funds, charities and government (Hawthorne, 2004).

2- NGOs have increased from 1980 decade. Some Arab governments have accepted them and many others have shown their concerns for these Islamist groups that work by name of charities.

3- Professional societies are the most active groups in Arab world. They are fruitful for their society and their members have high education and somewhat are independent financially. These societies have been prior to civil movements. In Sudan in 1964 and 1985 they tried remove military regimes from power. In Egypt, morocco and Tunisia they have been good pressure groups from 1970. As a whole they are labor unions, professional syndicates and commercial foundations and their major objective is providing social and economic services for their members.

4- Societies that their major goal is unity. They sometimes provide services for their friends, relatives and colleagues. The best example is Divanis in Kuwait Divanis are composed of private relatives, friends and colleagues and they gather together for commercial and political issues.

5- Societies that are proponents of democracy. They want to do democratic changes and put pressure on Arab governments to follow international democratic norms. Educational programs for democracy, control of electoral process, law making for women and the youth and political mobilization of people are among their activities (Hawthorne, 2004).

But in a more grand level, two spectra of civil society have extensive activities even beyond national borders. They are Islamists and parties. Islamists want to collapse secular regimes or at least establishment of Islamic systems. Groups like Muslim Brotherhood have influence in many Arabian countries like Jordan, Sudan and Egypt. Although parties are under control of authoritarian governments but their activity is beyond national borders. Parties like Baath have many proponents in Iraq, Syria and Jordan.

2: Islamist Movements and Parties

Islamic movements can be studied separately from secular movements because of the role of religious systems in them. Islamic religious system is the main cause of formation of Islamic movements and their participation in collective actions. In this religious system there is ideological obligations and Islamist obliging themselves to implement its principles?

In other words Islamic religious system depicts special missions for followers of Islamists and effort for their realization is part of their political obligations.

They believe that existence of an Islamic system and its continuation is the most important principle in Islam.

The basis of this principle is this belief that religion and state are inseparable. They argue that the only legitimate government is one in which its legislation is based on Islamic canon.

In other words government in Islamic societies must be Islamic in form and content. Thus obligation of all Islamic movements in the Middle East is establishment of an Islamic system instead of illegitimate secular regimes. For instance Muslim Brotherhood that was formed around the end of 1920 decade has declared its final goal establishment of an Islamic system (Ahmadi, 2011, p. 70).

Although Islamists have reached to popularity but they have not reached to power like their popularity. Many in Turkey and Arab world are absorbed by their slogans. Political accountability, social justice and legal rights, establishment of Islamic state and end of foreign influence (mainly the US) are among their slogans. Many Islamist radicals believe that violence and terrorism are their last resort and they support of jihad for collapse of corrupted regimes and establishment of Islamic system. Governments, blame radicals for civil war in Algeria or violence in Bahrain or threats to secular government of Turkey. Moderate Islamists in Kuwait, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and Turkey try to follow their activities by establishment of institutions of civil society, introduction of Islamic canon and control of regime by political parties and national assembly. In these countries Islamists have relative security about election of election and municipality (Binnendijk, 1999).

Images of political parties cannot be depicted clearly. Many Arab parties have been a combination of formal and in formal groups. For instance, phalanx party in Lebanon first established as a fascist party. Then it became an instrument for political control of Jamal family. In Iraq Saddam changed Baath party to a party with iron order. Also one of their features is their person centrism. Many of Arab parties have no power for change to populist policies of Arab countries. However some old parties like independence party of morocco and Al-Umma party and Al-Ittihad party in Sudan have tried to develop freedom at the end of 1970 decode (Ahmadi, 2011, p. 71).

D: Obstacles to Achieving to Civil Society

1: Middle Eastern Mentality

Mentality in this region is product of two elements: despotism and one dimensional religious teaching. Because of defeats of governments in centuries, people of this region like to see life as a chancy game. The belief is that each person has no way and they must accept negative consequences of life. Social environment is an environment with international conspiracy that wants to corrupt life of people.

Nearly you cannot lean on anybody. There is no rule for prediction. The life of people of the Middle East has the feature of isolation Religious sermons preach about the other world and worldly affairs are regarded as invalid. This one dimensional view has created its own culture. Islam can be source of inspiration for national goals. But one dimensional and other worldly culture are obstacles against state building. Thus maybe civil society cannot be understandable in mentality of the Middle East that is formed by special historical teaching (Sariolghalam, 1997, p. 67).

2: Middle Eastern Concept from the Government

The second phenomenon that works against civil society in the Middle East is subordination of citizens from government. Colonialist view can be cause of such a behavior. All challenges against authority are regarded as efforts for reaching to material objectives.

Societies are formed for change of a situation or request for enforcement of a law. Also merchants that have been influential in change of behavior of western governments have not been successful in the Middle East. As a whole trade groups have no dependency to government. But in the Middle East these groups have adopted themselves with government because government has the power of distribution of incomes.

In the absence of a powerful private sector, government has the opportunity of creating jobs. Thus economic survival is related to subordination.

Other aspect that strengthens subordination is security. In the situation that national security is not institutionalized, security of regime or person that is head of the state is prior to national security. All aspects of security are restricted to security of a person, a family or a small group of people. Thus domination of government is stabilized. The situation of the Middle East confirms this fact (Sariolghalam, 1997, p. 68).

3: Middle Eastern Style of Social Interaction

The third element that prevents institutionalization of civil society is attitude of people about group works. People of the Middle East very soon impose on each other a kind of institutional limitation like tribal, ideological, social or political limitation. They

have problem in free contact with each other. They hesitate about relation for reaching to common goals. Because of traditions of autocratic states, structure of beliefs of people is highly dependent to their situation it is difficult to trust others, especially when common goals are presented Beliefs about society are highly dependent to ideology and sentiments.

Because of lack of political stability, the Middle East at social level is highly political. Nearly all issues have a political dimension. In a civil society situation, authority is based on role, performance, ability and individual characteristic of a person. In the Middle East authority is dependent to power mobility is not the product of hard working but is because of political relations. Independent persons and institutions are regarded with suspicion. Weakness of beliefs and loyalties prevent stabilized societies. In this situation mutual social relations at their best sense are artificial. Disciplined procedure of conceptual dialog is prerequisite of any society. In the Middle East different and contradictory levels of thought, have created serious difficulties for emergence of independent societies (Sariolghalam, 1997, p. 69).

4: Type of Government

States of the Middle East have structural similarities with other developing countries. Petrodollars, financial and military support and weakness of domestic opposition has led to power of states have dominated over society and economy. Although Bourgeoisie can be an important force for democratization but it is dependent to governmental support. Instead, weakness of the middle class and its economic dependency to government is the cause of strength of governments. States dominate over distribution of political power and incomes by economic actions and prevent alternative powers by creating order – subordinate relations (Abootalebi, 1998, p. 13).

Government pillars of power in the Middle East are mainly based on informal (tribal) and group relations that leads to maintenance of their power. Power limitation is different. Countries of Persian Gulf from Saudi Arabia to Oman are examples of autocratic states. South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Turkey and Brazil are examples of positive change toward society. But in the Middle East powerful families, military and administrative officials are dominant. Labor unions can be a force for balance with governmental power and promotion of democracy.

Anyway, Labor unions as one of principal bases of civil society don't exist in the Middle East or are under pressure of governments (Abootalebi, 1999, p. 19).

Also civil institutions are normally in capital or big cities and have limited relation with other cities.

Governments don't let citizens to be free and independent people always think that they are under control of government. The most important measures that political systems of the Middle East use for their domination are:

- 1- Influence of executive power over legislative power and liquidation of parliament (Kuwait in 1967 and 2000) and intervention in election (Egypt 1995, 2005 and Jordan in 1997).
- 2- Prevention of establishment of parties or multi party system and pressure on parties in a way that they do hidden activities.
- 3- Political systems don not enforce laws that they themselves have passed.
- 4- Establishment of associations that is dependent to government. These associations are obstacles against creation of civil society.
- 5- Use of governmental propoganda for arousing people.
- 6- Information and security activities inside the society.
- 7- Use of mobilization by some Arabian systems.

These factors cause activities of some civil society forces outside existing political structures and this leads to political violence between these forces and government This behavior of governments prepare the ground for collapse of political culture and causes tribal relations (Al-Sobaihi, 2008).

5: The Structure of Nongovernmental Organizations

In Arab countries NGOs have limited power and this is because of their structural problems and political structure. Research has shown that they have weakness in different aspects. 42% for education, 47% for public relations, 54 for Budget and 44% for mobilization of people are their percentage of weakness and this affects their effectiveness. In Sudan 81 percent of NGOs have monetary problems.

Another problem is their dependency to tribe and Islam and these two factors reduce their effectiveness. Islamists have been oppressed because they want to subvert their oppressive governments. Those who have used their tribes have not regarded rights of other tribes (Delfruz, 2002, p. 135).

But some of them are trying to pursue democratic changes while relying on foreign aid. But many of them are with their non democratic governments. Peter Mansfield says that lack of an effective civil society in the Middle East is because of cooperation of some NGOs with government and there is no sign of their change (Proceeding of a Seminar in Amman-Jordan, 1997).

E: Solutions

Al-Sobaihi believes that a civil society institution must have four characteristics:

1- Power of adaptation: It must be effective in the long term absorbs different age grouped and acts based on necessities of each period.

2- Independence: States must not intervene in creation of these institutions. Also these institutions must be independent in monetary affairs.

3- Expansion A civil institution must have subsets for absorbing more members. Also they must be expanded geographically.

4- Solidarity: There must be the least differences in an independent institute and all conflicts must be resolved peacefully. But now civil institutions in Ayah Countries are not like this. They liquidate after a short period or work on the basis of their founder and after their resignation or death these institutions are weakened (Al-Sobaihi, 2008).

Al-Sobaihi proposes three solutions for growth of Arabian civil societies:

1: Legal and political solution

If way of activity of these institutions is not shaped based on Legal and political principles then we will not have civil society. There must be following guarantees for their activities:

A: national constitution that accepts multi party system and supports democracy, freedom and human rights.

B: Separation of powers must be guaranteed

C: Public participation in forming to decisions must be guaranteed.

Although these guarantees seem obvious, but the history of Arab countries after the First World War shows that these basic principles are violated. There has been cheating in election and governments have put pressure on judiciary and have not allowed it to be independent. Thus till the time that governments are not limited to their legal structure, real civil society will not formed.

2: Cultural solution

If democratic principles are not regarded in Arabian countries these institutions can't work properly. Basically civil society has a close connection with cultural values like individual freedom and freedom of speech. If they are unable in execution of a coherent political culture, then they will be unable in continuation of their goals. In a transcendental political culture there must be the opportunity for peaceful competition. This can bring public trust and rulers can think to national interests instead of their party interests.

3: Economic and social solution

The history of modern states has shown that if they develop economically, political violence will reduce and political participation will increase. Civil society institutions cannot grow without economic facilities. Thus economic and social progress is necessary for stability of civil society. In Arabian countries two economic parts prevent creation of independent civil institutions:

- a. *Traditional agriculture*: Till the time that agriculture will not change to industrial agriculture, it will be an obstacle in front of economic and social developments.
- b. *Oil*: The most important factor that makes governments independent of their people is Oil. Arab governments continue to their domination over Arab countries by oil income. This can lead to less attention to tax. National control over spending of taxes. In other words economic necessity has been founder of political democracy and democracy has not been a gift from government ((Al-Sobaihi, 2008).

F: Elections and Political Reforms

Basically election is a mechanism for evaluation of public support of the current situation and democracy without election is meaningless. Leaders of the Middle East always talk about democracy and these satirical slogans are supported by foreign powers. Election in countries of the Middle East regard less of some exceptions is superficial. In Egypt that claims about proper election from 1979, there is a tendency among intellectuals for lack of participation. For instance in some parts of Cairo less than of 5 percent participated in election. On the other hand in 1993 election of Yemen was without cheating and one year before civil wars this country was supposed to be the best Arabian country based on democratic norms.

Consideration of electoral laws in the Middle East shows that this region has good position of political freedom and electoral competition. Elections in Egypt (1980 , 1984 , 1992 , 1996 , 1998) , Kuwait (1992) , Lebanon (1992 , 1996) , Yemen (1993) , Morocco (1993) and Jordan (1989 , 1993 , 1997) shows this fact . But even if there has been no cheating in election, leaders of these countries do not accept to resign from power in favor of opposition. Just in some parts opposition has been successful In Jordan (1989, 1993), Kuwait and Lebanon (1992) and palestine (1996) oppositions have been successful. Moreover, some neighboring countries try to misuse of this tensions. In some cases oppositions reprimand rulers but this don't lead to subversion of rulers (Lenore, 2001, p. 138).

In many parts of the Middle East electoral activities direct public demands. Many of these activities are superficial and therefore results of election are not real on the other hand if democracy has not many proponents, free political activities would not happen.

At the beginning of 1960 decade, many efforts were done for decrease of governmental control over the press and associations. Lack of free political activity in Bahrain led to some serious clashes between government and opposition in 1994 and 1996.

Also Leaders of opposition have not democracy behavior and just when public pressure increases, reforms are regarded.

Naturally by decrease of public pressure reforms also stops. In fact the Middle East is a region that public support has decreased and is not respected (Lenore, 2001, p. 138).

Mohammad Mosleh, professor of the Middle East Studies at New York University says that many deterring factors prevent reforms in the region.

1- The first obstacle is something that is called by Ibn Khaldun as prejudice. Many ruling groups in Arabian countries have kept their prejudices successfully. Thus they can maintain their power. In countries like Egypt, Syria and Algeria political and military prejudice is supported by the Army and has connection with powerful commercial groups. In other Arabian countries like Jordan, morocco and Persian Gulf countries prejudice based on family relations.

2- Second factor is complicated structure of Arab governments. This structure gives multilayer security services to governments.

Third factor is a group of new commercial elite that work for foreign industries. These groups have connection with ruling political elite because they want a stabilized order to guarantee labor force and money (Hamidian, 2005, p. 118).

Some believe that low speed of democratization in the Middle East is because of lack of civil society and its culture. Some even say that there is no hope for democratization of this region. These western analysts have forgotten that between 'Magna Carta' and woman's suffrage in 1920, 7 centuries have passed.

What Samuel Huntington calls the waves of democratization have had anti waves of authoritarianism in some of European countries. Anyway, any claim about lack of proper conditional for democratization in Arab world must be discussed. There is a bilateral relation between civil society and government. When civil society flourishes it can affect on government for a participation in it (Ibrahim, 1998, p. 375).

Because of global developments about democratic values and human rights, growth of international communications, growth of economic and social bodies, developing civil society and government, a short wave of democratization has shaped. This interaction is

different from one Arabian country to another in two last decades civil society has been growing. Domestically authoritarian or populist governments have not been able to oppress civil society totally. Regionally armed conflicts have weakened government. Also new regional progress has led to power of electoral systems in Arabian countries. Also internationally order – subordinate relation between Arabian countries and two great powers has changed. Global wave of democratization has had an obvious effect on Arabian middle class. Civil society institutions have put pressure on government for economic, political and social accountability. Low speed of government for answering to these requests has led many young people that have no rights of voting toward Islamic militants (Ibrahim, 1998, p. 375).

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