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Religion and the Evolution of Democracy: A Revised Selectorate Model for the Arab Spring

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**RELIGION AND THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY: A REVISED
SELECTORATE MODEL FOR THE ARAB SPRING**

by

Amir Bagherpour

**Claremont Graduate University
2012**

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APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Amir Bagherpour as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for meriting the degree of doctor of philosophy (Ph.D) in Political Science.

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ABSTRACT

2011 was a seminal year in the history of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Popularly referred to as the Arab Spring, the region has experienced a wave of revolutions and instability. It can be classified in three broad categories within 2011: Uprisings that have resulted in the overthrow of standing regimes, uprisings that have failed to overthrow standing regimes, and states that have not experienced popular revolts. In the first category Libya, Egypt, Yemen, and Tunisia have all experienced uprisings resulting in the respective departure of Muamar Gaddafi, Hosni Mubarak, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and Zine Al Abidine Ben Ali. In contrast Syria and Bahrain have experienced uprisings that have not resulted into the toppling of their regimes thus far. Finally, countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran have experienced none of the instability observed in 2011 within the same time period.

In tracking the evolution of selectorates, I identified the rise of actors within the newly developing coalitions whose Islamist preferences are unaccounted for in the standard Selectorate Model. As later explained in detail, Selectorate Theory is driven by the public-private goods argument. The theory states that a leader's political survival is based on the mix of private payoffs he can provide to his selectorate and public goods provided to the general population. The once secular despots are either gone or are on the way out as evident by the removal of Hosni Mubarak, Zine Abidine Ben-Ali, Saddam Hussein, Muamar Gaddafi, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and the currently embattled Bashar Al- Assad. They are being replaced or have already been removed by governments that are led by Islamic Parties. Therefore, newly elected or appointed leaders must take into account the role of religion in their calculus for political survival in a way that they did not before. This begs the question: what about the regimes in my case studies that have not been toppled such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Bahrain? Although these are highly autocratic governments, the leaders of such governments have a legitimacy that is derived from implicit approval of their Islamist allies. This

strengthens the argument that religion must be accounted for beyond the standard Selectorate Model rationale for political survival in MENA. In such context I provide a revised Selectorate Model explanation that accounts for the role of religion.

I conclude that the standard Selectorate Theory is insufficient for MENA because it does not account for the role of religion. By testing the coalitional distribution and evolution of selectorates, I developed a revised Selectorate Model that includes the role of religion along with the standard private payoffs – public goods argument. The role of religion is expressed by the presence of religious stakeholders in the agent based model such as clerics, shura councils or Islamic parties present in all selectorates in MENA. I tracked the selectorates through a series of predictions made throughout the course of 2011 using the Senturion agent based model. It serves as a powerful alternative to standard historical analysis and wisdom. I provide an explanation of why certain regimes fell while others remained relatively stable and why some governments experiencing similar instability remain using agent based modeling (ABM) in application to Selectorate Theory.

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I. Introduction and Overview

2011 was a seminal year in the history of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Popularly referred to as the Arab Spring, the region has experienced a wave of revolutions and instability. It can be classified in three broad categories within 2011: Uprisings that have resulted in the overthrow of standing regimes, uprisings that have failed to overthrow standing regimes, and states that have not experienced popular revolts. In the first category Libya, Egypt, Yemen, and Tunisia have all experienced uprisings resulting in the respective departure of Muamar Gaddafi, Hosni Mubarak, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and Zine Al Abidine Ben Ali. In contrast Syria and Bahrain have experienced uprisings that have not resulted into the toppling of their regimes thus far. Finally, countries such as Saudi Arabia and Iran have experienced none of the instability observed in 2011 within the same time period.

In tracking the evolution of selectorates, I identified the rise of actors within the newly developing coalitions whose Islamist preferences are unaccounted for in the standard Selectorate Model. As later explained in detail, Selectorate Theory is driven by the public-private goods argument. The theory states that a leader's political survival is based on the mix of private payoffs he can provide to his selectorate and public goods provided to the general population (Buono de Mesquita, et al., 2003). The proportion of private versus public goods determines the type of government the leader will have. However, with the rise of Islamist Parties, leaders in MENA must take into account preferences that are not driven only by financial benefits, but also social and religious preferences. The once secular despots are either gone or are on the way out as evident by the removal of Hosni Mubarak, Zine Abidine Ben-Ali, Saddam Hussein, Muamar Gaddafi, Ali Abdullah Saleh, and the currently embattled Bashar Al- Assad. They are being replaced or have already been removed by governments that are led by Islamic Parties. Therefore, newly elected or appointed leaders must take into account the role of religion in their calculus for

political survival in a way that they did not before. This begs the question: what about the regimes in my case studies that have not been toppled such as Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Bahrain? Although these are highly autocratic governments, the leaders of such governments have a legitimacy that is derived from implicit approval of their Islamist allies. This strengthens the argument that religion must be accounted for beyond the standard Selectorate Model rationale for political survival in MENA. In such context I provide a revised Selectorate Model explanation that accounts for the role of religion.

This dissertation evaluates the Selectorate Model in application to the Middle East. I conclude that the standard Selectorate Theory is insufficient for MENA because it does not account for the role of religion. By testing the coalitional distribution and evolution of selectorates, I developed a revised Selectorate Model that includes the role of religion along with the standard private payoffs – public goods argument. The role of religion is expressed by the presence of religious stakeholders in the agent based model such as clerics, shura councils or Islamic parties present in all selectorates in MENA. I tracked the selectorates through a series of predictions made throughout the course of 2011 using the Senturion agent based model. It serves as a powerful alternative to standard historical analysis and wisdom. I provide an explanation of why certain regimes fell while others remained relatively stable and why some governments experiencing similar instability remain using agent based modeling (ABM) in application to Selectorate Theory. The predictions are organized as case studies tracking the rebellions or lack thereof and the political dynamics of several states in the Middle East and North Africa. The states included in the dissertation consist of Egypt, Syria, Bahrain, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Libya.

This is an empirical test of Selectorate Theory using agent based modeling in predicting the outcome of events taking place in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The predicted outcomes serve as a tool for examining the Selectorate Model by identifying the evolution of coalitions. A test in predicting real-world events taking place serves as a strong validation of my revised selectorate model as well as the agent based model itself. Indeed not all the predictions have been accurate; however, the

majority of predictions have proven to be valid with moderate to detailed specificity. The ultimate explanatory power of a model is how well the prediction matches reality. This dissertation is an attempt at not just predicting the future as an end in itself. Instead we test the validity of the predictions for the purpose of finding generalizable explanations on why regimes fall while others faced with similar centripetal forces remain in the context of the selectorates.

In an age of continued political punditry much of the policy making world is bombarded by subject matter experts who provide a valuable illustration of the historical and present environment. However, such experts are unable to provide reliable predictions on future political outcomes. Although not a perfect model or a silver bullet by any means, the Senturion agent based model harnesses the knowledge of subject matter experts using computing technology to make predictions that are much more accurate than the seat of the pants analysis which mainly relies on intuitive historical trends. This particular agent based model uses game theory logic such as expected utility. It encapsulates over half a century's work in economics, political psychology, and computing technology.

The common mode of decision-making by policymakers is to first receive detailed analysis and narratives about any particular dilemma. For example, the on-set of the Arab Spring, similar to any other particular crises, set into motion a flood of analysis to policy-makers consisting of detailed descriptions of the various factors leading up to the wave of instability facing the region.¹ Analyses ranged anywhere from cultural and historical perspectives of the uprisings to conceptual explanations common among political scientists and historians.² Explanations such as economic disparities, dissatisfaction among the masses, and social injustices causing such dissatisfaction serve as such examples. These cases are at best the culmination of wisdom that can account for events only after they have occurred. Unfortunately the current policy world more often than not succumbs to analyses that are rarely more than journalism

¹ Defense Whiz to Pentagon: Your Predictions are Destined to Fail
<http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2011/10/danzig-military-predictions/>

² Ibid.

sprinkled with opinions that are shot from the hip. Indeed, objective journalism and reporting of the news provide the necessary foundation for analyses. However, journalism coupled with unfounded analysis serves merely as an opinion or editorial commentary grounded in ideological advocacy of beliefs that are difficult to prove or disprove.

The extreme opposite approach to the journalistic narrative is the excessively esoteric research written by academics for academics. As advances in computing technology improve, so too do the quantitative methods in analyzing complex policy dilemmas or puzzles. As political scientists we often focus more on the methodology and theoretical constructs of a problem rather than solving the puzzle in a manner that can be actionable for policymakers. In short we often end up having a conversation with ourselves rather than providing decision makers alternatives to the status quo ante. The answer lays somewhere in-between describing the crises and making scientific conclusions using proven methodologies (Feder 1995).

The concept of game theory based ABMs have an elegant practicality. It posits that stakeholders, domestic and international policymakers, are self-interested rational individuals who seek to maximize the benefits to each decision they make after weighing the costs and risks associated with any action. The application of expected utility with ABMs calculates the anticipated costs and benefits of any particular decision in order to predict the actions of stakeholders in regard to any particular issue. But before making any calculation, analysts must identify who the stakeholders are, how influential they are, what their position is on any an issue, and the level of importance they place on the issue. In fact, most rational policymakers already think in this fashion intuitively. Assume a person enters a negotiation table. He or she will naturally want to know some fundamental questions. Who are the people at the negotiating table? How powerful are they in regard to achieving their goal? How important do they hold the issue being negotiated? Which groups or organizations do they belong do? Any particular negotiator or policymaker will wonder how others may react based his or her action. Therefore, a rational

negotiator will then take a position on an issue based on his or her perception of how others will react.

In spite of the fact that strategic negotiators already think and act based on these questions, the human mind has limitations on tracking how everyone will react based on all the interactions of different moves by the various stakeholders.

II. Problem Statement:

The wave of uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has posed a high level of uncertainty for global policymakers, regional leaders, and the various populations affected by this instability. In this dissertation I will evaluate whether Selectorate Theory is an adequate explanation for the events unfolding in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) since 2011. I will test and evaluate this by applying agent based modeling in order to capture the coalition distributions and the evolution of the various selectorates. I will argue that the role of religion should be accounted for in the scope of Selectorate Theory due to the rise of Islamic parties in the MENA by democratic means. The Selectorate Model states that government types are determined by two primary elements: the size of the selectorate, meaning the group of actors who have a say in policy outcomes, and the winning coalition necessary in keeping the leadership in power (Bueno de Mesquita et al, 2003). The theory is driven by an incentive argument indicating that a leader's survival is based on a mix of private payoffs and public services (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, 2010). In application to MENA I propose an expanded Selectorate Model that will include not only pressure by the population for governments to shift away from maximizing private benefits for supporters to maximizing the public good of the expanding selectorate, but will do so by concurrently considering financial gains with religious preferences. I will evaluate whether adding the role of religion in Selectorate Theory provides a clearer picture of the evolution of the Arab Spring, particularly with the rise of Islamic parties by democratic means.

I will use agent based modeling to empirically test the validity of Selectorate Theory (Abdollahian, Kugler, Feng, 2000). In my dissertation I will conduct an empirical test of Selectorate Theory using the Senturion agent based model in an attempt to determine the validity and accuracy of the crises facing the Middle East and North Africa in terms of coalitional distributions. Indeed, under longer time horizons Selectorate Theory has shown to be accurate. My agent based analysis on the Arab Spring and Iran indicates that in the transition period following a revolution the size of the selectorate and winning coalition is not a determining factor on the extent of democratization. More simply, the preferences of the stakeholders, many of them Islamist, within the selectorate determine the form of government during the transition period. In fact there are also historical instances where the respective size of the selectorate and coalition increased but the society became even more authoritarian, i.e. Iran 1979. The countries I have made predictions on are consisting of Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain, Iran, and Saudi Arabia.

The Middle East and North Africa has experienced a wave of revolutions and uprisings. The predicted states in the region can be classified in three broad categories:

- 1. Countries with uprisings that have resulted in the overthrow of standing regimes:** This category includes Egypt and Libya. They have experienced uprisings resulting in the respective departure of Hosni Mubarak and Muamar Gaddafi.
- 2. Countries with revolts that have failed to overthrow standing regimes:** Syria and Bahrain serve as such examples.
- 3. Countries that have not experienced popular revolts:** Saudi Arabia and Iran have had none of the internal instability observed in the first two categories.

Motivated by the Selectorate Model, this paper outlines the series of predictions made throughout the course of 2011 on the Arab Spring and Iran by applying agent based modeling. Having

proven to be accurate, my analysis documents the evolution of events taking place in the selected countries.

Hypotheses:

H1: The further away the winning coalition is from the median stakeholder, the greater the conditions for a political crisis or uprising. (Black 1958)

The median stakeholders were weighted based on each particular stakeholder's level of influence. For example, in the case of Syria, Bashar Al Assad has the greatest influence. Therefore, he garners the greatest weight. We captured the domestic median preferences on the issue of governance and compared it to the current or deposed leader's position. We also compared the domestic median with the global median. The global median account for all the stakeholders, domestically and internationally while the domestic median only captures the actors within the country being analyzed.

H2: Political survival of leaders in MENA is determined by religious preferences in conjunction with the public-private goods argument posited by the Selectorate Model

Prior to analyzing the results we can observe that almost all the remaining governments in MENA have a religious party within their polity. The most stable governments have either developed a coalition with the religious stakeholders or are a non-secular government in entirety. The governments which have been toppled during the Arab Spring were secular and are being replaced with less secular leaders. Based on these observations we posit that political survival is linked to religious preferences, a dimension that is not accounted for in the standard Selectorate Model.

III. Literature Review

The Selectorate Perspective

The work by Bueno de Mesquita, Smith, Siverson and Morrow (2003) on Selectorate Theory posits that within every populace of a given state there is a subgroup of actors who have influence on policy outcomes. Within this selectorate there is a winning coalition consisting of the subset of stakeholders who select the leadership and aid him or her to maintain power. Figure 1 illustrates that the size of the selectorate and the size of the winning coalition in proportion to the overall population determine the type of government a state will have. For example, a monarchy has a small selectorate comprised of the nobility within which a winning coalition comprised of members of the ruling family select and support a king as the leader. On the opposite side of the spectrum, a democracy consists of a large selectorate made up of all citizens who can vote and require a relatively large winning coalition, summarily a majority of those who cast their vote for the winning leadership. As the size of the selectorate increases, the extent of authoritarianism decreases (Bueno de Mesquita and Siverson, 1995).

There are two circumstances that result into the leader being deposed: a constructive vote of no confidence or simple deposition (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, et. al., 2003). In the cast of no confidence, the challenger must draw enough support away from the incumbent in order for the incumbent to lose backing from his winning coalition within the selectorate. If no particular leader maintains support of a winning coalition, the incumbent remains the leader by default. In the case of the Arab Spring, one such example is the lingering rule of Ali Abdullah Saleh of Yemen. In April of 2011 Saleh agreed to step down within 30 days and after surpassing the initial time period was befallen with a failed assassination attempt that seriously injured him. In spite of the major loss of confidence by the majority of the tribes within Yemen represented as members of the winning coalition, Saleh continues

to remain in Yemen due to the absence of an alternative ruler who can gain dominant support from his previous coalition.

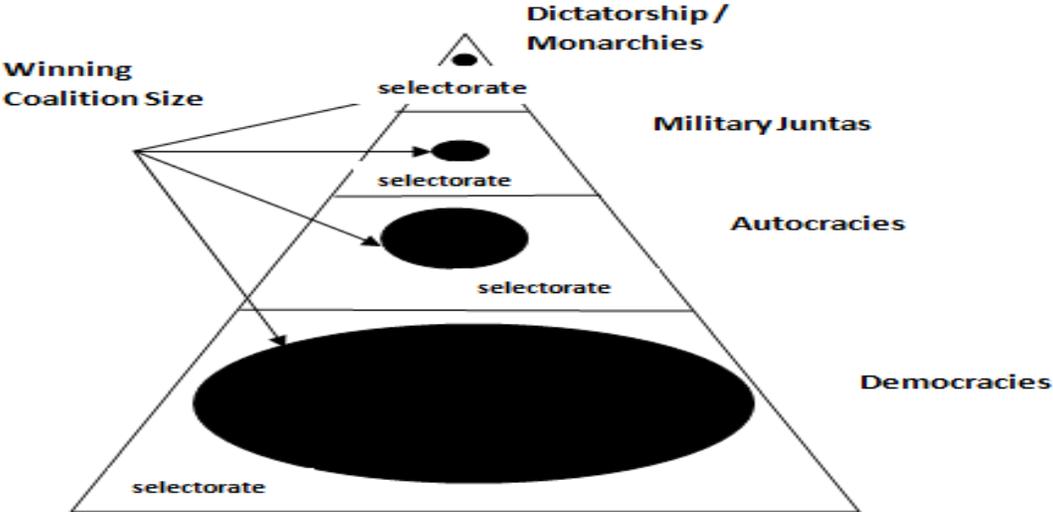
In the case of simple deposition, the challenger has to merely gain an adequate number of supporters from the incumbent's coalition. If the challenger gains more members of the coalition than the incumbent, the ruling leader is then removed as the challenger takes his place. In the case of the Arab Spring, the removal of Muamar Gaddafi of Libya served as a prime example illustrating how former members of his coalition defected to the Libyan Transitional Council. As evident by my case study analysis of Libya, the scales tipped in favor of the Libyan Transitional Council when Shokri Ghanem of the Libyan Oil Corporation defected in support of the opposition.

The number of people comprising the winning coalition also has an impact on an incumbent's prospects for political survival (Bueno de Mesquita, Smith, Siverson, Morrow 2006). According to Selectorate Theory if either the size of selectorate grows or the winning coalition shrinks, defecting becomes riskier (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, 2010). It is this risk of exclusion from the winning coalition that drives loyalty for the current leader, a major advantage for whoever holds the status quo. It is for this reason in which political systems with small winning coalitions and large selectorates tend to be most stable. In such a case, the members of the winning coalition can easily be substituted out with a large pool of candidates from the large selectorate. Because of the ease of substitution, members within the winning coalition are driven by a norm of loyalty where each member within the coalition attempts to out due others in proving loyalty to the leader. In the case of the Arab Spring, such a system is exhibited by Syria's political system. In such a case the Assad regime has maintained control of Syria by developing a small winning coalition with a large selectorate consisting of the Baath Party. My agent based model indicates that Assad has a system where many of the actors within his coalition tend to me more adamantly in support of the status quo than Assad himself. In effect, the analysis indicates that Assad's followers are extremely loyal and they depend on him for survival which according to

Selectorate Theory is driven by the dynamic that they can easily be replaced by a vast array of candidates with the Baath Party. This is one of the reasons why the Assad Regime has continued to survive in spite of an international campaign opposing his rule with what is mounting into a civil war.

Choosing a political leader according to Selectorate Theory is driven by one primary factor: the need for the leader to provide payoffs to the winning coalition in order to be selected and survive over time (Buono de Mesquita and Smith, 2010). The mix of private and public goods leaders choose for the purpose of maintaining power depends on the size of the selectorate. In a dictatorship, the leader can survive by partitioning most of the state’s resources through private payoffs while devoting less of the resources to be delivered as public goods. The small selectorate and winning coalition allows the leader to buy off support without the need to gain public approval. Therefore, so long as the leader satisfies his or her coalition, he or she maintains power. Because the vast majority of the dictator’s populous are outside of the selectorate, he or she can limit public services while maintaining hefty private payoffs to his winning coalition. Dictators can disregard and disenfranchise the vast majority outside the inner-circle since they have little or no say on the choice of ruling authority.

Figure 1: Visual Conceptualization of Selectorate Model



Selectorate Theory logic results into several core predictions on the behavior of political leaders based on the size of the selectorate (S) and the winning coalition (W). In the first prediction, the larger the ratio of W/S reduces the leader's proclivity to stealing from the public coffers. As the size of the winning coalition grows, leaders are more prone to commit revenues to public goods that benefit broader society instead of private stakeholders. (Buono de Mesquita, et. al (2003). Based on this logic, the we reach the second prediction: The welfare of the members of the winning coalition decrease with the rise of W ; however, there is a threshold where the coalition's welfare eventually increases after a turning point based on factors such as stability and extent of democratization. The winning coalition's welfare initially decreases because public wealth is being redistributed where if it would otherwise be concentrated in the hands of the elite. The third core prediction is that total expenditures increases as the size of W increases. The logic behind this is simple as well: A proportionally large winning coalition requires more private payoffs and as a result increases expenditures. The fourth prediction is that tax rates decrease as W increases and S decreases (Buono de Mesquita, et al, 2003). This is so because the larger winning coalition results into greater private benefits, two of which are black market transactions and less return back to the public good, taxation being a direct tool for redistribution.

Selectorate Theory posits that political survival for leaders and institutions is determined by their ability to provide resources through based on a mix of public goods and private payoffs. Examples of public goods consist of primarily services such as education, healthcare, public roads and transportation, police and public safety, and potable water. Private payoffs can exist in the form of direct bribes or more sophisticated methods such as tax breaks, contract preferences, or generally any form of benefit that is exclusively reserved for the winning coalition in an unfair and illegitimate manner.

The Role of Islam in Politics

The political elements of Islam, similar to Christianity and Judaism, are derived from the religion's holy book known as the Quran. In addition to the Quran, political practices are also derived

from the sayings and living record of the Prophet Muhammad referred to as the Sunna. Political leadership is legitimized in Islam if one is accepted as a descendent of Muhammad. In Sunni Islam a successor of the Muhammad is referred to as a Caliph while in the Shia religion he is called an Imamate. The duty of the religious leader in Islamic is to follow and impose Islamic law, also synonymous with Sharia Law. For several centuries, the descendent argument was the source of political legitimacy in the Islamic world until the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan's loss of authority over Mecca to the Saud family in 1925. Following World War I, the Middle East and North Africa experienced a series of attempts to catch up with the West, most notably Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's secularization and modernization of the post-Ottoman Turkey. Similar trends toward secularism continued with Pahlavi Era Iran, Gamal Abdel Nasser's Egypt and the rise of pan-Arabism.

However, in 1979 the secular government of the Pahlavi regime ended with an Islamic revolution and fast-forward to 2011, the Arab Spring has resulted in the ousting of the once aspiring secular despots seeking regional and global influence. One argument is that the primary motive for a return to Islamization is the resistance to colonialism and control of the Islamic world by outsiders (Roy, 2004). Another common argument is historian Bernard Lewis' argument that Islamic world's failure to modernize is rooted in the absence of widespread reform movements experience by Christianity and Judaism (Lewis, 1995, 1997). In historical comparison, Lewis contends that Christianity's experience with the reformation and renaissance served as a precursor to the French and American revolutions. This in turn was part of a gradual separation of church and state. However, Islam has not experienced such a separation. As a result, the role of politics and governance remains a fundamental element of the state in the Muslim world. In short, Lewis contends that Islam, democracy and modernity are difficult to reconcile.

A differing view point is Nasr's contention that the rise of the middle class in Muslim countries is reconcilable with modernity and Islam (Nasr, 2009). What Nasr observes in such cases is middle class

that is highly religious but still motivated by economic incentive. A prime example he sites is the case of Turkey, a growing economy coupled with the rise of Islamic parties. In spite of the rise of a business minded middle class throughout various Islamic countries, Nasr also argues that the rift within Islam between the Shiite and the still dominant Sunnis will be a major source for instability and conflict in the 21st century (Nasr, 2006). In short, Nasr expresses the dominant argument within the field of political Islam – that religion and democracy are reconcilable as evident by Muslim majority countries such as Maldives, Malaysia, and Turkey. In spite of the historical examples expressing the possibility of a democratic Islamic world, the consensus remains that the religious differences within Islam make peace unstable. The Arab Spring test the validity of both these notions.

Tracking and Forecasting Selectorates and Winning Coalitions

With the application of agent based modeling, I captured the elements of the selectorate and the winning coalition along with other domestic and international stakeholders playing a role in the outcome of events in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). My data illustrates those countries following the deposition of the ruler move toward a projected path closer to Democracy. In the case of Egypt, Libya, and Yemen the selectorate and the winning coalition initiate a transition phase toward a less autocratic government; however, the extent of democratization varies significantly. The selectorate size and winning coalition size increase because of the emergence of more stakeholders engaging in policy outcomes. However, standard Selectorate Theory is driven by a single dimension: the lessening of private payoffs versus public goods as the size of the selectorate and the winning coalition increases. The Selectorate Model proves useful on the private-public goods dimensions but the religious dimension of countries with Muslim majorities is appropriate in capturing the preferences of the winning coalition or the larger selectorate.

Throughout the course of 2011 I forecasted and validated the evolution of events taking place in the Arab Spring and Iran by applying the Senturion Agent Based Model. The validated forecasts indicate

that once an uprising has begun, the form of government will be determined by the winning coalition or the position closest to the median stakeholder. The scales we use incorporate authoritarian-democratic choice. By incorporating into agent based modeling this dimension we harness the power of computer simulations in predicting what decision makers should expect based on their present positions on governance. Senturion generates a picture of the current and projected political landscape by utilizing agent based modeling with game theory logic such as expected utility (Abdollahian and Kugler et al 2000). Previous publications have tested and documented the validity of such models (Feder 1995, Abdollahian and Kugler et al 2000). The first round is merely a feedback of the model inputs. It then animates the political landscape as described by the issue continuum into a dynamic simulation of how political interests will likely evolve into the future. Each round is considered an evolution or change in negotiated outcomes between the various groups and stakeholders. The round or negotiation phase comes to an end when the cost of negotiating exceeds any benefit gained by continuing the negotiation. The position with the most weighted influence results into the winning outcome, notwithstanding the threat of veto-players. The perceptual model allows researchers and policymakers to determine which deals are feasible based on the formation of coalitions in support of any particular policy position. Understanding the intricacies of the Middle East and North Africa because of our specialization in the region improved our ability to better interpret simulated outcomes.

Agent Based Models

The origins of agent based models (ABM) ability to predict future outcomes are rooted in Bernoulli's (1738) definition of expected satisfaction, referred to initially as moral expectations. With the rise of economics as a science in the 20th century rational behavior models such as the expected utility theory began taking shape as a vessel for predicting behavior. The Von Neuman Morgenstern (VNM) Utility Theorem (1947) established the platform for future debate over development of expected utility logic. Now referred to as VNM rationality, the theorem posits four axioms: (1) Completeness of preferences,

(2) Transitivity of such preferences, (3) Continuity of preference between a probability of 0 to 1, and (4) the holding of preferences independently from the possibility of another outcome. In applying the expected utility model we loosen theoretical rigidities associated with full rationality and substitute it with bounded rationality. Individuals have a bounded rationality because they are not capable of looking into an unbounded time horizon, but rather see only a move ahead of their current choice. (Bueno de Mesquita 1997).

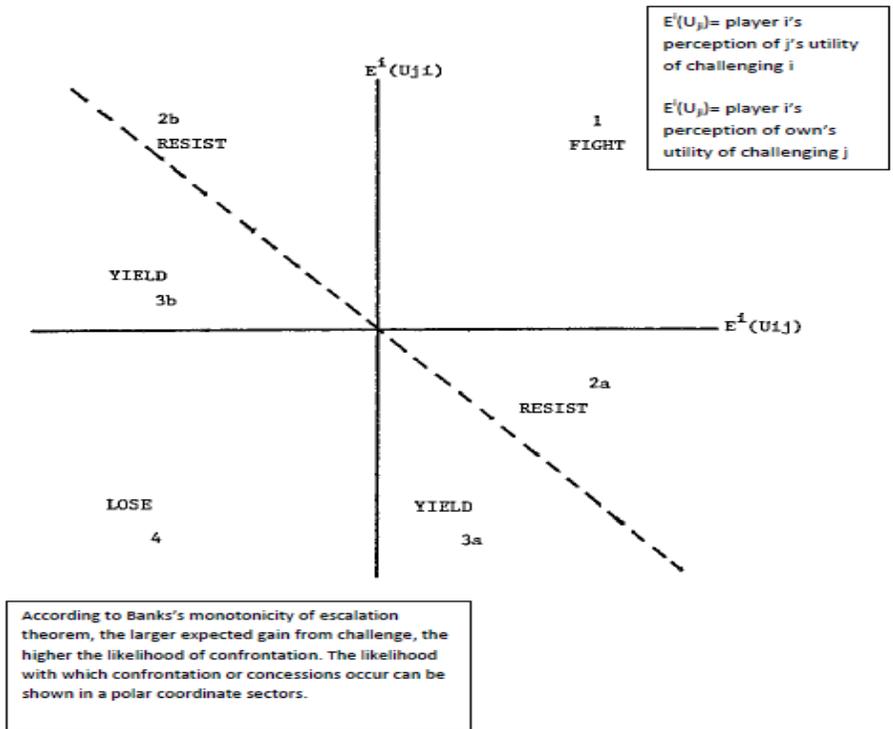
Agent Based Modeling with the application of game theory and expected utility took shape in the application of international politics with the publication of the War Trap (Bueno de Mesquita 1981). The War Trap applied Black's (1958) median voter theorem along with the Bank's monotonicity principle to predict dispute outcomes between states resulting in competition, confrontation, cooperation or negotiation. In the "War Trap Revisited", Bueno de Mesquita extended the predictive capability of his expected utility model by a risk function in accounting for stakeholders preferential risk behavior (risk neutral, risk averse, or risk taking).³ Although Bueno de Mesquita identified the range of expected behavior between dyads, Lalman (1988) extended the precision of the predicted dispute outcomes by calculating the direction and intensity as vectors. Bennett and Stam (2000) conducted a cross validation of Bueno de Mesquita and Lalman's international interactions game by including all possible dyads in the international system from 1816 to 1984 instead of just analyzing European dyads. Although the relationship was less clear among all interstate dyads their universal test provided a critical validation that the model can be applied across different regions.

Figure 2 depicts the effects of perceptions on the escalation of conflict. If both players perceive a positive expected utility from challenging or fighting, then the outcome will be conflict, as depicted by the first quadrant. In opposite fashion, if both player perceive a negative expected utility by challenging each other, then neither will fight. The perceived losses from both side is depicted by quadrant four,

³ Kahneman, Daniel, and Amos Tversky (1979) "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk", *Econometrica*, XLVII (1979), 263-291.

making it a condition for deterrence. Quadrants 2b and 2a depict the condition for under which one of the challengers will resist while seeking better terms through fighting. Quadrants 3b and 3a will depict the situation where one side, perceiving it cannot gain from fighting, will yield or acquiesce to the challenger instead of fighting.

Figure 2: Expected Utility: The Effects of Perceptions on the Escalation of Conflict



The practicality of agent based modeling in world politics developed further with the likes of numerous publications such as *Negotiating Peace in Kosovo* (Efird, Abdollahian, et al). Such practical applications incorporated dyadic relations with augmentation of coalitions to better predict political outcomes and evolutions prior to the outcome at the onset of a crisis or conflict situation. In both theoretical and empirical terms, it is determined that the application of game theoretic ABMs is not as effective in predicting the onset of a crisis as it is in predicting its outcome once the beginning step has been initiated (Bueno de Mesquita, 1985; Lalman, 1990, Abdollahian, et. al., 2000).

⁴ Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "The War Trap Revisited," *The American Political Science Review*, Volume 79, Issue 1 (Mar., 1985), 156-177

Assumptions:

- Decision makers are trying to maximize their expected utility with regard to both policy and personal security satisfaction.
- Each player's actions are informed by what that player expects to see happen in the next round of play and by what happened in the round immediately preceding.
- Players are operating with "bounded rationality". Players calculate the perceptions of other players' expected utility on an issue with a given level of uncertainty.
- In the game, each player knows three factors:
 - The potential influence of each actor on each issue examined.
 - The current stated policy position of each actor on each issue examined.
 - The salience each actor associates with those issues.
- The model assumes that the costs of bargaining rises at an increasing rate as the simulation continues through successive rounds.
- As the number of rounds increase, the costs of negotiating will reach a point where it does not make any more sense to continue
- The predicted final policy outcome is equal to the position of the median voter in the last round of simulation if there are no veto players (Black 1958)
- If there are veto players, then the predicted outcome is the policy, if any, that those actors agree to in the final round.
- When the costs of bargaining exceed a given threshold then the bargaining will end without agreement.
- Issues are single-dimensional with single peaked preferences
- Issues are monotonic, meaning decision-makers expected gains from a dispute increase, so too does the decision maker's willingness to use force in pursuit of such gains (Banks 1990)

Empirical Validation:

As stated in the introduction, this dissertation is an empirical application of agent based modeling coupled with the use of computing technology in validating the predictive capabilities of the model. But more importantly is powerful tool showing the evolution of coalitions through the lens of a Selectorate Theory explanation. The ABM is applied and tested using the Senturion software.

The seminal publication indicating the empirical validity of agent based models is Feder's declassified publication tracking the accuracy of predictions of ABM using Policon and Factions software platforms compared to the predictions made by CIA analysts.⁵ Policon is a first generation ABM software incorporating the use of computers for analyst at the CIA seeking to make political predictions. It was used by the CIA from 1982 through 1986.⁶ Factions was developed internally as a platform similar to Policon by the Directorate of Science and Technology's Office of Research and Development.⁷ The declassified publication provides comparative empirical results testing predictions on issues concerning stability in over 30 countries. Feder's declassified publication cited that Policon and traditional methods were both found to be accurate about 90% of the time. However, Policon and Factions were more detailed in their predictions, managing to hit the bull's-eye twice as often. This dissertation serves a similar purpose to Feder's publication as an attempt to further validate the application of ABMs as a powerful alternative to traditional methods of analyses, particularly for the unclassified world of policymakers and stakeholders.

Connecting Selectorate Theory and Agent Based Modeling

Agent Based Modeling in application with game theory and expected utility cannot predict the onset of a conflict or crisis. However, once the crisis has been initiated it can predict whether the regime will remain or fall by identifying the winning coalition and the distance with the median stakeholder

⁵ Stanley A. Feder, "Factions and Policon: New Ways to Analyze Politics," *Studies in Intelligence* vol. 31, no.1 (Spring 1987), pp. 41-57. Originally Classified "Secret" and "Noform."

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

(Black 1958). By this logic, if the leader can maintain a coalition that is dominant or close to the median stakeholder, he will survive. If his coalition begins to disintegrate, he is expected to eventually fall. The leading authority can also interchangeably be called the veto-player. The further the veto-player's influence is degraded, the more likely he will to cease his influence to veto or prevent his own downfall. An expected utility explanation for why regimes fall is simple: After the onset of an uprising, once the net utility of success in overthrowing the regime surpasses the net utility of failing to overthrow it, the regime will fall (Abdollahian, Efirid 2000). This simple agent based model in application to expected utility and game theory allows us to predict the outcome of an uprising or crisis. In this dissertation, I incorporate the work by Bueno de Mesquita, Smith, Siverson and Morrow (2003, 2010) on Selectorate Theory in further answering the question of why regimes either survive or transition. Having identified religious actors and their formation of coalitions, I will propose that the role of religion must be accounted beyond the standard Selectorate Model if we are to understand the true logic of political survival in the Middle East and North Africa.

IV. Method and Organization

This dissertation is less focused on the method and theoretical construct of the agent based applications and is more concentrated on the empirically practical application of the model in predicting political outcomes of the Arab Spring and Iran. I have made a series of predictions over the course of the year tracking the evolution of events taking place in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The sample set of countries consist of Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and Iran.

In this dissertation I will predict, analyze, and evaluate the validity of the ABM while also evaluating the public-private goods argument of Selectorate Theory. This is conducted by obtaining the inputs, running the inputs through Senturion computer simulation, interpreting the outputs, and tracking the validity of the forecasts by comparing the predictions with the actual outcomes using open source news sources (i.e. Reuters, Associated Press, BBC). The analysis will be conducted through six steps (Efird, Abdollahian, et al 2000):

1. **Frame the Issue:** Asking the correct question is arguably the most pertinent step to getting the best predictive answer to any problem.
 - a. Identify the issue: The issue must be monotonic.
 - b. Develop a continuum by defining the range of possible outcome pertaining to the issue.
2. **Input the data:** The data on stakeholders are obtained by either interviewing subject matter experts obtaining information through open source media reports combined with academic knowledge.
 - a. Identify the individual stakeholders and the groups they belong to.
 - b. Identify the level of group influence. Define their level of individual influence, individual salience in regards to the issue, and their individual position on the issue continuum.

Policy Position: This is the stakeholders' preferred or stated position based on the defined range of positions on the issue continuum.

Power: The most powerful group and individual within the group are indexed at 100. Each stakeholder is attributed a value relative to the most powerful stakeholder. For example, two stakeholders with influence score of 45 and 55 combining their power will be equal to the most powerful player at a score of 100.

Salience: This captures how important the issue is to each stakeholder. It is a measurement of the stakeholder's willingness to achieve his or her stated policy position. This is measured on a scale of 0 to 100 as follows:

90 - 100: This is the most important issue. The stakeholder will drop anything he or she is doing at any moment to address the particular issue.

70 - 80: This is important to the stakeholder. It is one of the most important issues, but not a life or death level.

50 – 60: This is one of several important issues. Other issues are certainly more important.

30 – 40: The stakeholder cares about this issue, but it is not that important compared to all the issues he or she has to deal with.

10 – 20: This is a minor issue for the stakeholder and he or she rarely pays attention to it.

0– 10: The stakeholder does not care about the issue.

3. **Run the data and Receive Simulated Output:** By incorporating agent based modeling with expected utility and game theory logic described in the literature review along with the stakeholder's risk propensity, the computer simulation predicts what the decision makers should expect if their stated positions are sincere in present time. Senturion generates a picture of the current political landscape. The first round is merely a feedback of the model inputs. It then animates the political landscape as described by the issue continuum into a dynamic simulation of how political interests will likely evolve into the future.

Each round is considered an evolution or change in negotiated outcomes between the various groups and stakeholders. The round or negotiation comes to an end when the cost of negotiating exceeds any benefit gained by continuing the negotiation.

4. **Interpreting the Outputs:** The position with the most weighted influence results into the winning outcome, notwithstanding the threat of veto-players. The perceptual model allows the policymaker to determine which deals are feasible based on the formation of coalitions in support of any particular policy position. Understanding the intricacies of the Middle East and North Africa because of my specialization in the region improved my ability to better interpret simulated outcomes.

V. The Case of Egypt

On February 6th of 2012, Egypt's democratic Parliament gathered, only three weeks after the newly elected legislature held its first inaugural session. When given a chance to speak one of the members from its Islamist bloc began praying out-loud in the middle of the session. The speaker of the new Parliament, Mohammed Saad al-Katani of the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party, immediately ordered the member's microphone be cut-off and shouted, "this is a house of debate, not a Mosque. If you want to pray, go to a mosque but remember that I am just as much of a Muslim as you are."⁸ This incident is just one example of the political turmoil taking place in Egypt's newly elected legislature, a fierce debate between the secular platform of the Freedom and Justice Party as the majority and the minority Islamist bloc. In spite of the threat of extremists within the democratically elected legislature, this instance confirms the notion that Egypt's government is led by secular rules in which all religious and non-religious parties are governed by.

Almost exactly one year ago on February 7th 2011 I correctly forecasted that if Hosni Mubarak departs Egypt, the prospects for a democratic transition would be likely.⁹ My simulation indicated that if Mubarak departed early, a coalition leaning toward a Liberal Democracy would emerge with the various political parties advocating for a multiparty system versus the military and intelligence apparatus advocating for a one party system. The combined trade-off between military rule in the interim and the emergence of an election process indicated a trend toward democratic transition. In November of 2011 I updated the initial forecast, further strengthening the initial claim that Egypt will have Democratic

⁸ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=il-u8_8hwj4&feature=youtu.be

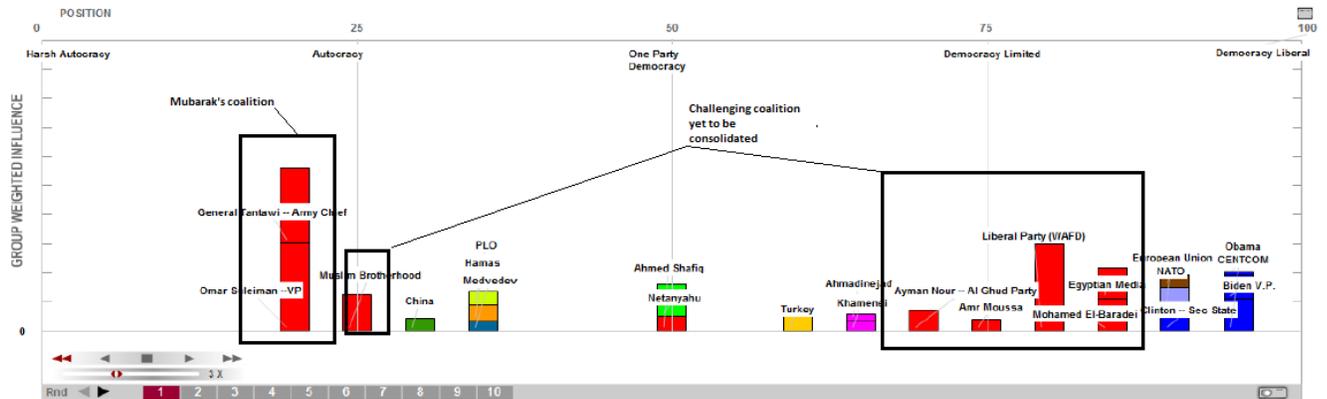
This is footage from an outburst in the Egyptian Parliament between an Islamist member and the speaker on February 7 2012.

reforms by allowing for election of national leaders. I noted that the military would undermine some of the democratic processes as a tradeoff for maintaining order and stability in the transition phase.

Democracies are created from negotiations resulting in pacts. The prospect of Democracy in Egypt relies on the political parties' ability to maintain their pacts by keeping their commitments. The initial solidarity between the political parties served as an indication that they will remain civil until they have some guaranteed form of governance that secures their positions in Egypt's new government. In February of 2011, I along with Dr. Ashraf Singer correctly predicted that the Egyptian military's role as the interim custodian in the transition period is appearing less like Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 and similar to the Turkish Coup D'état of 1980 (Bagherpour and Singer, 2011). Fast-forward to almost one year later. My updated forecast in November of 2011 as illustrated by Figure 4 shows the bifurcation between Egypt's military and the elected legislature. This bifurcation indicates the emergence of a shadow government represented by a military acting independently from a future elected legislature. Although parties such as the Islamist Al Nour party have aspirations, the center-of-gravity in the Egypt's revolution was rooted in a populist demand for reforms. This had less to do with religious ideology and more to do with high unemployment and economic inequality. In comparison, the Turkish coup in 1980 was far more violent compared to Egypt's current revolution. However, the conditions and outcomes are astonishingly alike. In September of 1980 the Turkish military deposed the civilian government and abolished the Parliament along with a suspension of the Constitution. These are the same actions taken by the Egypt's military in the interregna. But the transition from a Turkish military regime in 1980 to a newly formed Democracy began three years after the coup with a one party election in 1983, whereas Egypt's security forces are claiming a much shorter hand-over of power. By analyzing the playbook from Turkey we can conclude that Egypt too must undergo its series of evolutionary transitions from current military rule to repetitive fair elections in which only then we can label the end-state as Democratic.

The initial and updated simulations depicted in Figures 3 and 4 suggest that the various undeveloped political groups in Egypt form a united but unstable coalition for sake of solidarity following the early days of Mubarak's departure. As the political parties began taking form for the election season, their positions on democratic governance became less consolidated. In spite of the analysis indicating Egypt's engagement in democratic transition, my ABM application illustrates the emergence of stakeholders and groups pushing for a less secular Egypt. This corresponds with my hypothesis positing that the role of religious preferences plays just as much of a part in political survival of leaders as does the role of private payoffs and public services. As Egypt becomes more democratic, it is becoming less secular than the previous Mubarak regime. If Egypt continues its democratization process, the country will continue to be less secular while at the same time shifting toward a greater desire for public goods and services for the population.

Figure 3: Projected Forecast on the Prospect for Democracy in Egypt on February 7th 2011



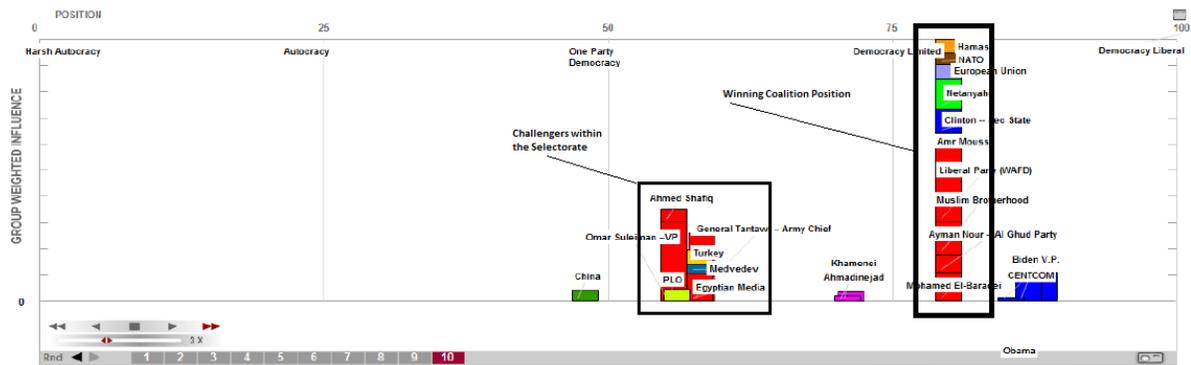
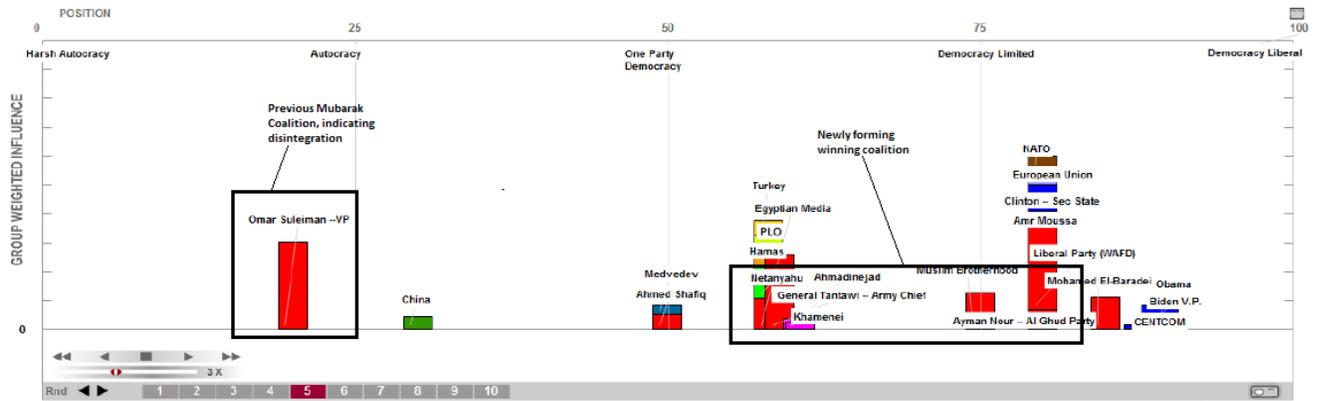
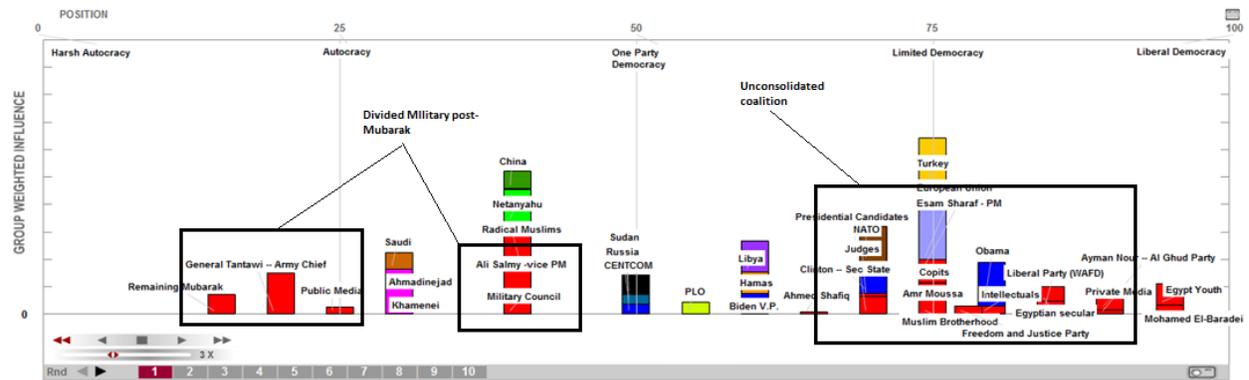
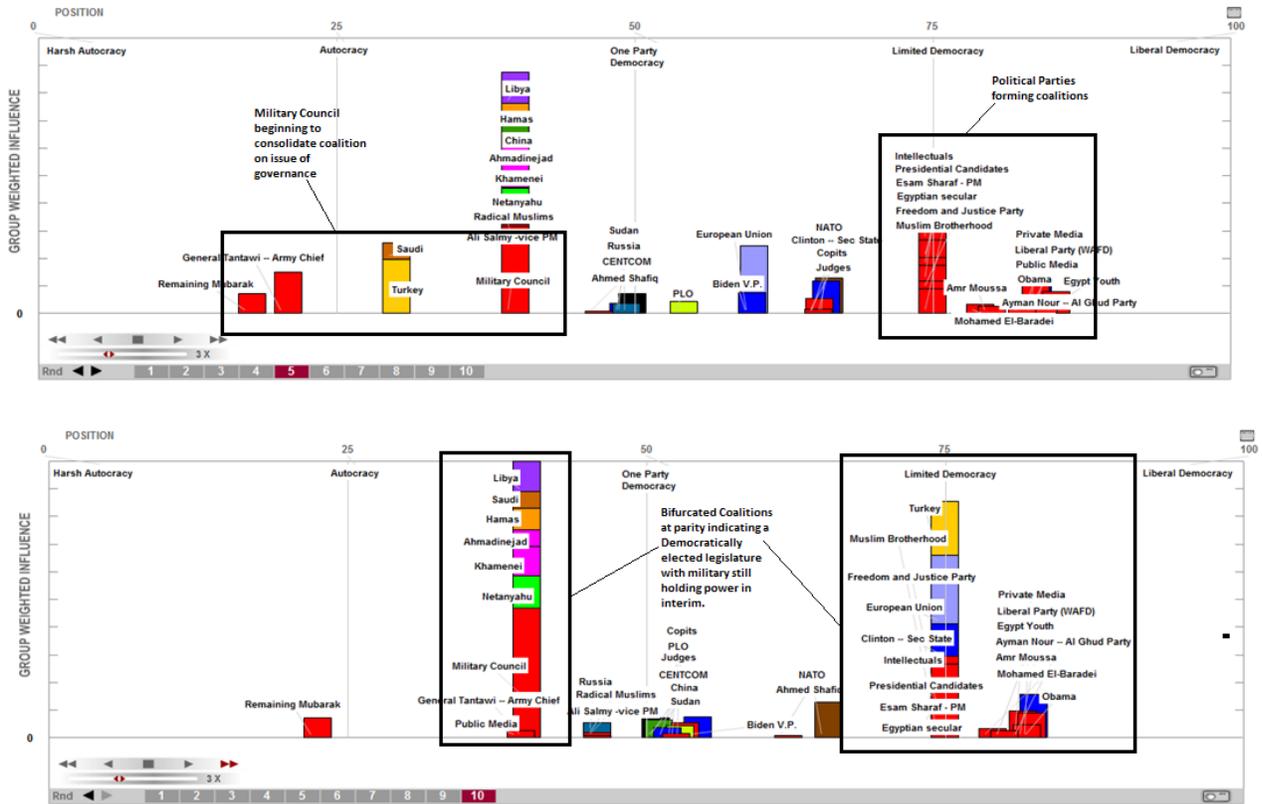


Figure 4: Projected Forecast Update of Egypt's Prospects for Democracy in Egypt on 15 November 2011





My analysis illustrates in Figure 5 and 6 that the median stakeholder in Egypt is positioned in the range between a multi-party and single-party system. This is a far distance from Mubarak’s authoritarian government previous to the uprising. The gap between the median stakeholder and Hosni Mubarak during the uprising depicts the dissatisfaction between the status quo and a shifting influence calling for Mubarak’s departure. The move toward democracy is evident by the emergence of multiple parties and recent elections concluding with the Freedom and Justice Party winning the majority of seats in the Parliament and a minority Islamist bloc gaining one-third of the seats.¹⁰ Although it is difficult to predict if Democracy will last for the long-term, the forecast based on the median stakeholder provides early evidence that Egypt is engaging in a democratic transition. In spite of religious elements within the Muslim Brotherhood’s Freedom and Justice Party, the platform set forth by the majority of the elected

¹⁰ http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/final-results-confirms-islamists-winners-in-egypts-elections/2012/01/21/gIQAXpwbGQ_story.html

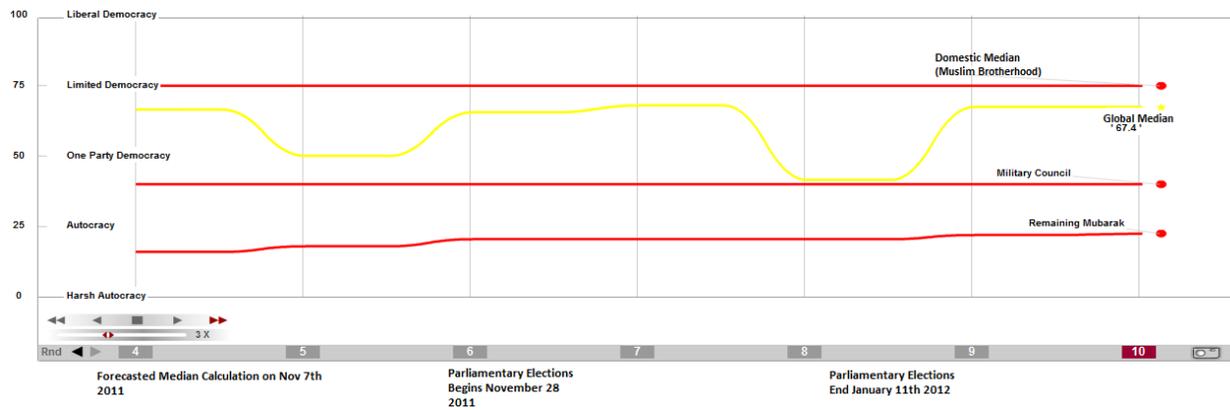
polity have thus far been secular, particularly the need for improved public services and economic opportunity.

My revised Selectorate Model requiring the role of religion to be accounted for, holds as a valid explanation for democratic transition in Egypt. This is so because the platforms for reform continue to be driven by the need for public services as a solution for an economically deprived population. However, as the level of democracy increases, the role of religion in politics has also increased more significantly than the preceding non-democratic government under Mubarak. Extended private benefits for the ruling military class in addition to many newly elected leaders are surely present in an imperfect democratic process, but nonetheless, the recognition of Islamic principles remain a significant concern. Figures 5 and 6 illustrate that the median stakeholder position moved closer to a multi-party democracy while during the same period the influence of Islamic parties such as the ultraconservative Nour Party strengthened.

Figure 5: Projected Median Position for Egypt’s Governance following Mubarak Departure on Feb 7 2011



Figure 6: Projected Median Position on Egypt's Governance on November 15th 2011



There were a total of 16 predictions made during the course of 2011 on Egypt. The first analysis on February 7th 2011 consisted of 6 overall predictions. Of these six predictions, five of them occurred while one of them was a counterfactual scenario based prediction. Of the five predictions all of them were accurate. From these pertinent predictions 40% of them were detailed, 40% were moderately specific, and 20% were general. The validity of the remaining 10 predictions has been undetermined at the time of this dissertation given the results and effects of the proposed elections were too early to be determined. This transition led by the military's role as custodian of the Egypt is period of discontinuity. In this regard time will judge tell the validity of predicting the future form of government in Egypt. Fully detailed forecasts on Egypt can be found in the appendix.

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 2/3/2011 and Analysis Completed 2/7/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
There will be a democratic movement initially with the Army supporting it. The Army will provide a relatively peaceful transition in the short-term. The Army's primary goal will be assuring a peaceful transition of power while preserving its own interests.	Egypt's Military Sets Short Timetable for democracy -- Reuters The military has served as custodian to the Egyptian people. They dissolved the Constitution and the previous Parliament and restored order with a commitment to hold elections and referendum. This has been conducted in a relatively peaceful fashion. Date Validated: 3/1/2011	* Detailed to Moderately Specific * Validation Accurate	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/03/01/us-egypt-idUSTRE70O3UW20110301
If Mubarak departs early, the prospect for Democracy in the short-term will be high. The military and state apparatus will support a democratic transition. The simulation indicates that if Mubarak departs soon, there will be a coalition leaning toward a Liberal Democracy with various parties aligned on position and the state apparatus aligned closer to a one party system but still surpassing the threshold for a Democratic state.	Egypt's Referendum is a Step Toward Democracy -- Washington Post The military has backed the referendum peacefully. Although there is some disagreement, the Army is backing the referendum supporting parliamentary and presidential elections. Date Validated: 3/21/2011	* Detailed to Moderately Specific * Validation Accurate	http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/egypts-referendum-is-a-step-toward-democracy/2011/03/21/ABK D868_story.html
Newly empowered political parties, such as WAFD, Al Ghud and to a lesser degree the Muslim Brotherhood, will pressure Mubarak to begin a forced, yet measured transition. Regime change will likely be negotiated due to continued support from the Egyptian Army and intelligence services for an orderly transition.	Road to the Trials of Egypt's Mubarak -- Reuters Mubarak steps down and a military council takes control, Vice President Omar Suleiman says on state television. Date Validated: 2/11/2011	*Detailed * Validation semi-accurate (Mubarak was forced abruptly and shortly place on trial, but the transition of power is not abrupt and measured	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/08/03/us-egypt-mubarak-trial-idUSTRE77220D20110803
If for some unanticipated reason Mubarak departs quickly, a highly fractionalized polity will rapidly evolve where previous military support for a stable transition succumbs to popular support represented by El Baradei for faster results. However, the Intelligence services will remain adamantly opposed to any change and increased political violence is expected.	EU Calls on Egyptian Authorities to Halt Violence -- Reuters Egypt is due to hold a parliamentary election starting on Nov. 28 but protesters accuse the army of seeking to keep power from behind the scenes until a presidential election which may happen late next year or in early 2013. Date Validated: 11/20/2011	* Detailed *Validation Accurate (conditional using <i>if</i> as qualifier for scenario)	http://af.reuters.com/article/idAFL5E7MK0Q320111120
If Mubarak remains in Egypt during a measured transition, the prospects for a stable democracy remain limited. There will be an initial jockeying for position leaning toward a liberalized Democracy as most political interest are capitalizing on the current anti-Mubarak situation, but almost all Egyptian political parties, with the exception of Al Ghud, will quickly revert to more autocratic means even more repressive than the current regime in order to maintain stability.	Not Applicable. The scenario did not take place	N/A Counterfactual	N/A
Short of major unforeseen violence or political terrorism attacks, fears of accelerating anti American sentiment are likely to be unfounded. Egyptian bureaucracy, political institutions as well as the military will not significantly shift current support toward the US, although some US credibility has already eroded since the uprising.	U.S. shifts to closer contact with Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood -- Reuters We believe, given the changing political landscape in Egypt, that it is in the interests of the United States to engage with all parties that are peaceful, and committed to non-violence, that intend to compete for the parliament and the presidency," -- Secretary Clinton Date Validated: 6/30/2011	*General *Validation Somewhat accurate	http://blogs.reuters.com/faitworld/2011/06/30/u-s-shifts-to-closer-contact-with-egypts-muslim-brotherhood/

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 2/3/2011 and Analysis Completed 11/7/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Egypt will develop two parallel governments: a legitimate legislature comprised of elected officials and paradoxically a shadow government consisting of military and intelligence apparatus. The shadow government will be less autocratic than the previous Mubarak regime, meaning there will be more stakeholders sharing power within the authoritarian structure. However, it will not meet the threshold for even a one party semi-democratic system similar to Russia.	Elections have not occurred yet . Egypt remains in turmoil. Newly erupted protests against the Egyptian military indicates their reluctance to hand over power, but according to news reports, the final evolution that can either validate or disvalidate my prediction has not occurred. Date: 11/27/2011	* Undetermined at time of dissertation because elections have not occurred yet * Detailed Prediction	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/27/us-egypt-protests-idUSTRE7A10EC20111127
Fearing the rise of more anti-Israeli sentiment, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel will support the Egyptian military and intelligence apparatus as a partial assurance or hedge against further dissent. Israel will consistently turn to the Egyptian military much more so than any of the future elected leaders such as Presidential candidates Amr Moussa or Mohamed El Baradei.	Israel's new peace camp is playing into Hamas' hands -- Haaretz "The new regime in Egypt would not maintain business-as-usual with the policies of the Israeli occupier." Date: 02/13/2012	* Moderately Specific * Accurate validation	http://haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/israel-s-new-peace-camp-is-playing-hamas-hands-1.412566
The military apparatus will still remain as the dominant force governing Egypt.	Egypt's military not to leave power before June, say premier -- Gulfnews.com "Egyptian Prime Minister Kamal Al Ganzouri said Wednesday that the country's military rulers would stay in power until June 30, dampening expectations for an earlier transfer of power to a civilian administration." Date: 11/27/2011	* Moderately specific * Accurate Validation	http://gulfnews.com/news/region/egypt/egypt-s-military-not-to-leave-power-before-june-says-premier-1.977936
The shadow military regime will still persevere, resulting into only limited or marginal gains for the democratic movement.	Egypt remains in turmoil. Unable to Validate at time of dissertation. Date: 11/27/2011	* Undetermined at time of dissertation * Moderately Specific Prediction	
The Muslim Brotherhood along with the Freedom and Justice Party will continue their position in the opposite direction by promoting anti-American sentiment as their political narrative.	U.S. Lacks a Champion in the New Egypt -- Associated Press "It [U.S.] is getting no help from the most legitimate force in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood." Date: 2/12/2012	* General prediction * Accurate validation	http://cnsnews.com/news/article/us-lacks-champion-new-egypt
Egypt's economy is driven primarily by tourism; however, it also has a substantial portion of its GDP comprised of agriculture and transport sectors. Egypt will have a semi-open economy that is regulated and controlled by the government.	<i>Undetermined at time of dissertation</i>	* Undetermined at time of dissertation * General Prediction	

VI. The Case of Libya

Throughout the course of 2011 I correctly forecasted the evolution of the uprising against Muamar Gaddafi.¹¹ To summarize the forecasts, I predicted that Gaddafi would fight to the end against a highly factionalized opposition that could only prevail with a NATO intervention. I also accurately simulated the evolution of the conflict's phases described as an initial stalemate, a transition phase where the opposition gained the upper hand, the endgame for Gaddafi and a post-Gaddafi democratic transition. In the issue of governance, on October 20th 2011 I forecasted that Libya will transition to a hybrid between a tribal system and multiparty democratic system. The national government is expected to have a selection process based on predetermined representation by tribal affiliation. In accordance with the Selectorate Model the country will be less authoritarian because of the emergence of a larger selectorate represented by the various tribes and emerging political parties.

In terms of religion, we are observing the rise of Islamic Parties in Libya. Two of the leading parties in Libya, the National Gathering for Freedom, Justice and Development (FJD) and Party of Reform and Development (PRD), have publicly stated their support for Sharia Law. While stating their religious platform these parties also continue to push for free-market nationalist agendas.¹² One of the other leading political parties is Al Haq. Although there is a strong Islamic strain running through its agenda as well, Al Haq has prioritized its platform as a promise to deliver public goods and services through oil revenue. Al Haq's campaign platform promises to the Libyan people free electricity, free education, free healthcare, cheaper food prices, free land to build on, a free car ever 11 years, free phone and internet, a free house, and social security payments for the unemployed.¹³ Although these may be inflated promises, the point is clear: there is an emergence of a movement that is driven by a desire for public services intertwined with Islamic principles.

¹¹ For further details on the forecast go to www.sentiagroup.com

¹² <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/02/03/us-libya-parties-idUSTRE8120ZX20120203>

¹³ <http://www.youtube.com/user/AlhaqpartyLibya>

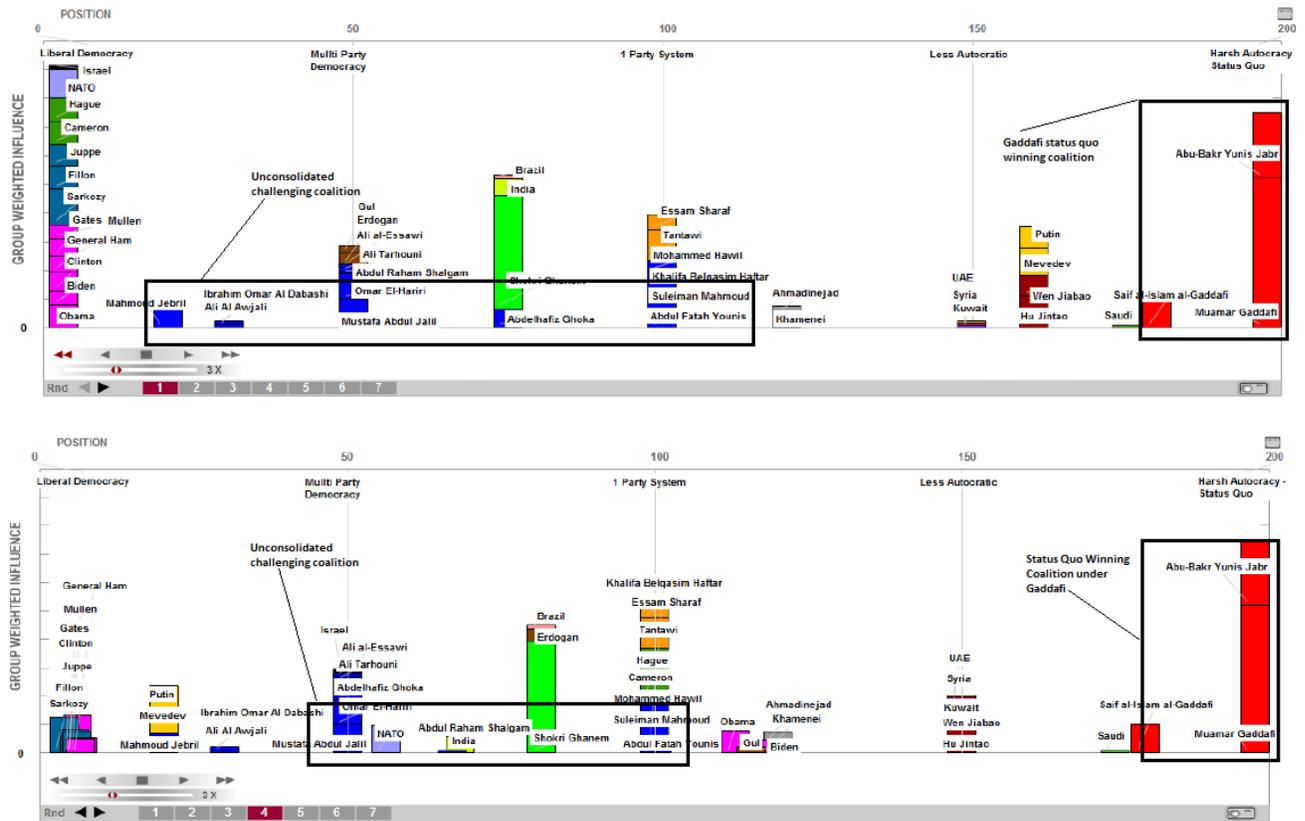
My revised explanation for Selectorate Theory posits that religious identification will be a key determinant for political survival. In such case the standard Selectorate Model explanation will not be sufficient in determining the behavior of the leadership based on the private-public goods argument. In opposite fashion, the priority for the emerging leaders is projected as to an economic reform agenda. Figures 10 and 11 depict the projected median of the selectorate nearing the threshold for a multi-party democracy.

Based on this simulation depicted in Figures 7, 8 and 9, I predicted that Libya will attempt a democratic transition that will be highly unstable. This transition will be expressed through an election process. However, it will fall short because of the intertwining of tribal and religious politics with elections. This is projected to hinder the long-term stability of any democratic movement. For example, the fairly large Gaddafia tribe is expected to resist the new order based on its previous commitment to Muamar Gaddafi and the privileges that came with it. This does not mean they can stop the transition process completely, but they can certainly hinder it. The emergence of more than thirty parties competing in the Libya's anticipated elections in 2012 provides yet another signal that democratic preferences remain unclear, while tribal or religious preferences appear more viable.

Thus far I have described Islamic democracies in which Selectorate Theory sufficiently describes the public-private goods motive for political survival. To recap, such examples are Turkey, Malaysia, Maldives and what is projected to be Egypt. I have also described Islamist states that are not democratic but have semi-democratic tendencies, Iran serving as the prime case. The projected form of government in Libya serves as a unique case where the government is anticipated to have a multi-party democratic election process while religion remains a priority just as much of a push for public services. An example that is similar is the case of Lebanon. Lebanon's government is described as a confessionalist parliamentary system where the election of the legislature must be proportional to the religious demographics of the country. To guarantee that the various religions be represented in the government,

by law the President must be Christian, the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim and the Speaker of the Parliament a Shiite Muslim. This serves as a unique example of a democratic country on the upper bound, a predicament where the country's public-private goods motive does not hold as the primary driver for political survival. I posit that upper bound semi-democratic societies such as Lebanon and to lesser democratic extent with Libya remain unstable because of the religious or tribal differences driving political survival instead of private payoffs or public goods. By having democratic elections under the proposed Sharia Law, Libya will either emerge into a theocratic state led by an autocrat or highly unstable government driven by tribal and religious competition.

Figure 7: Projected Forecast on the Prospect for Democracy in Libya on March 24th 2011



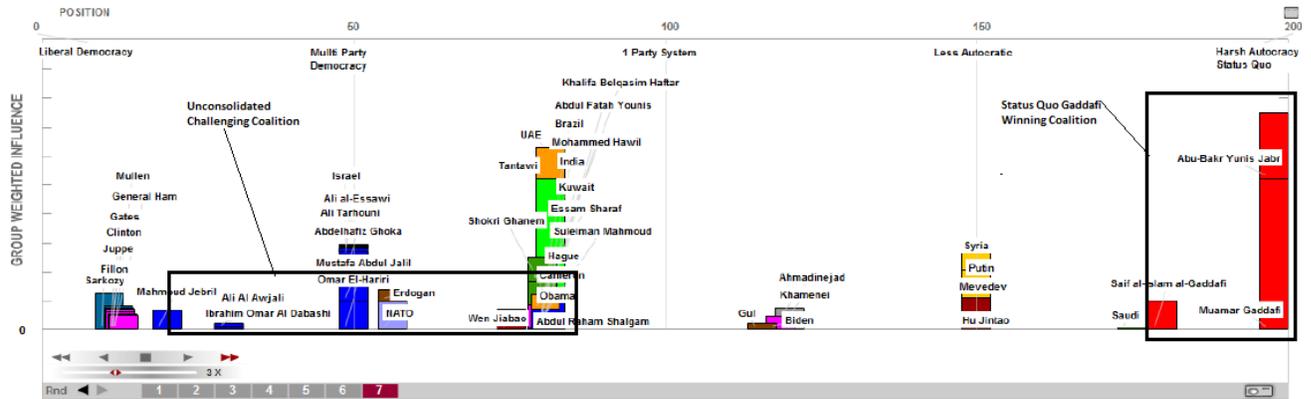
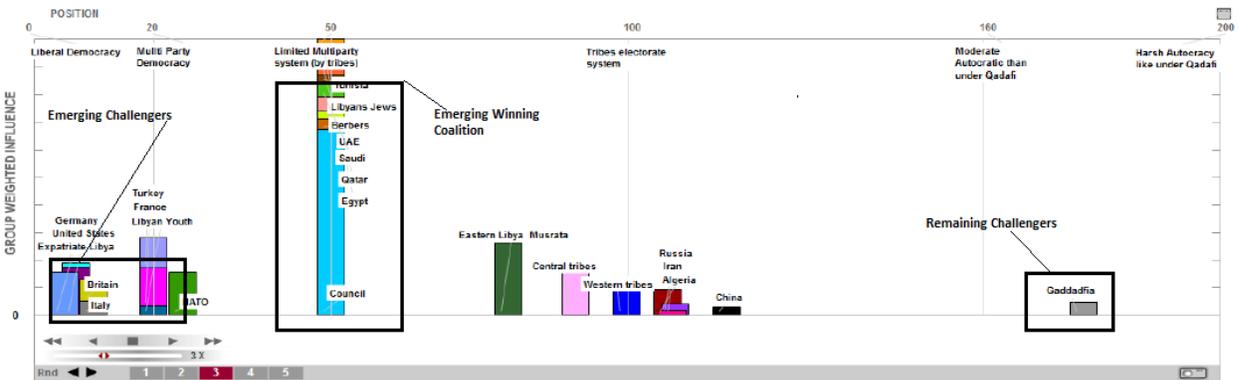
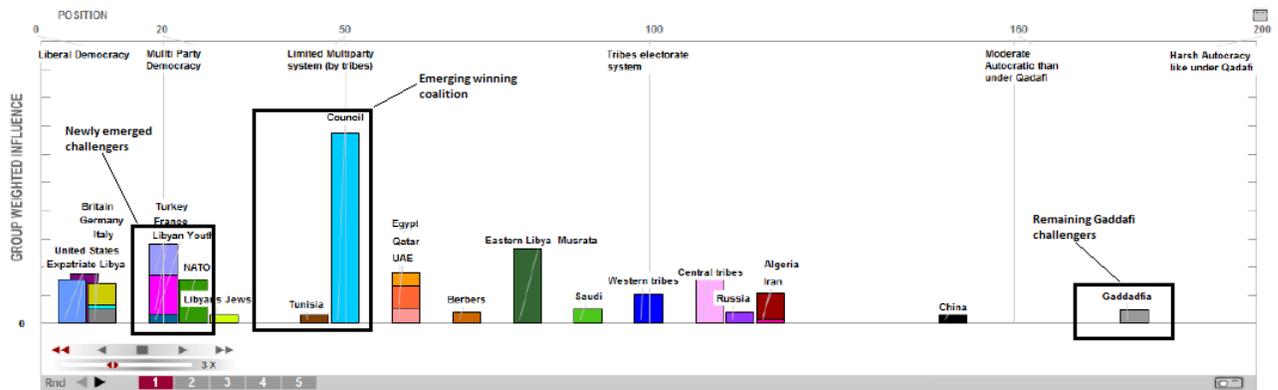


Figure 8: Projected Forecast on Prospect for Democracy on Post Gaddafi Libya on September 5th 2011



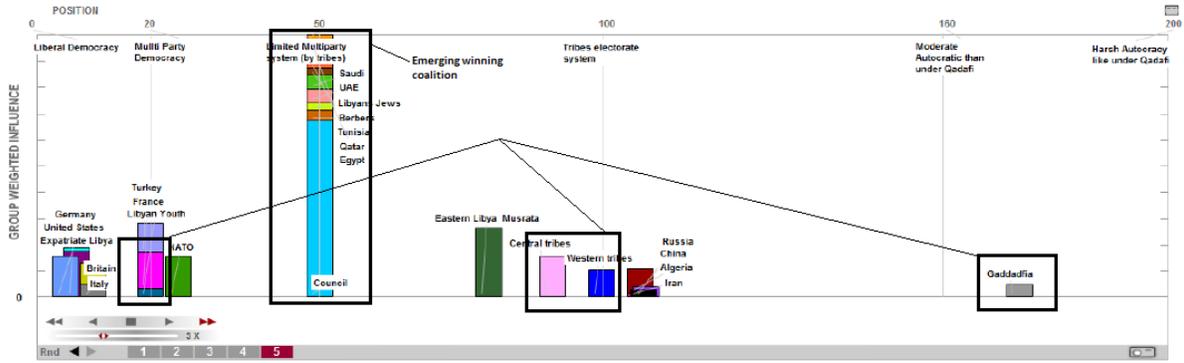


Figure 9: Projected Median Stakeholder Position on March 24 2011 While Gaddafi Remain

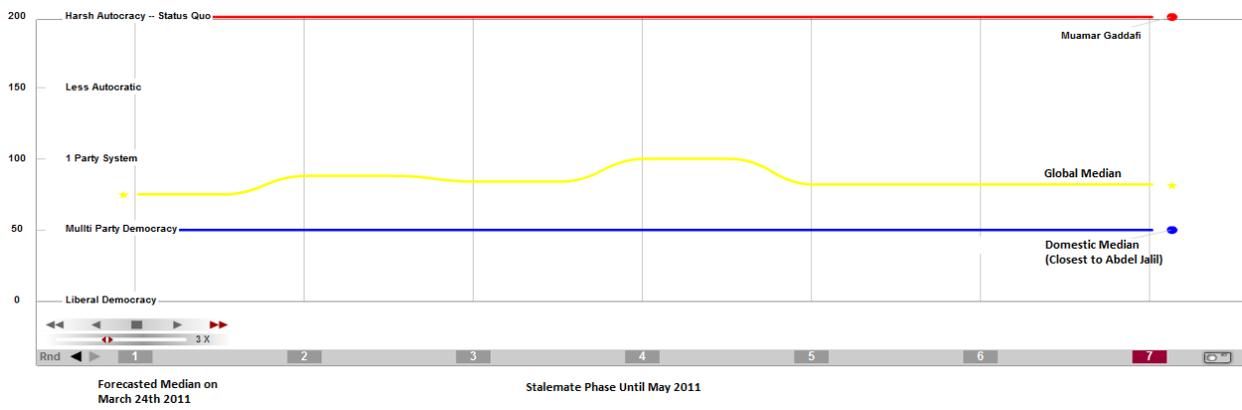
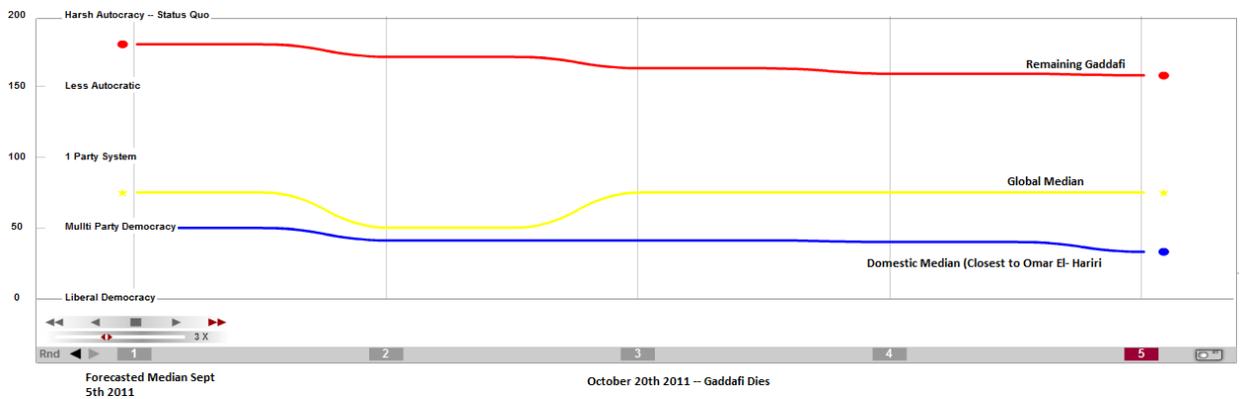


Figure 10: Projected Post-Gaddafi Median Stakeholder Position on November 15th 2011



There were a total of 14 prediction made on Libya throughout the course of 2011. Four of the predictions are too early to validate. These are predictions on the future governance of Libya. In regard to the predictions I was able to track and validate, nine out ten were accurate ranging from highly detailed to moderate specificity. Based on the median stakeholder simulations on Figures 10 and 11 we

can see that Libya is engaging in a transition phase where the size of the selectorate is expanding, making it less authoritarian in the interregna. However, we can also observe the trend where Libya is also becoming less secular. This was readily apparent when the Libyan Transitional Council announced in October of 2011 that Sharia Law will become the main source of legislation in Libya.¹⁴ Following any popular revolt, the size of the selectorate will increase in the interim period. This is so because majority of the disenfranchised seek to be included into the decision making process to gain access to benefit once kept from them (Goldstone, 1995). In the case of Libya, we can see this trend with the emergence of dozens of political parties and inflated promises to the general population. However, my predictions indicate a trend in Libya where the selectorate size will stabilize to a point where it will remain larger than the previous Gaddafi regime but will not meet a stable threshold for a lasting democracy. The interaction between religion and democratization is clearly apparent with the implementation of Sharia Law. This is an indication that the public-private goods argument described in the standard Selectorate Model needs to account for the role of religion in order to accurately describe the calculus for political survival within Libya. Fully detailed forecasts on Libya can be found in the appendix.

¹⁴ "Sharia law to be main source of Legislation in Libya" by Kim Gamel, *Associated Press and Christian Science Monitor*, October 25 2011. <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Latest-News-Wires/2011/1025/Sharia-law-to-be-main-source-of-legislation-in-Libya>

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 3/22/2011 and Analysis Completed 3/28/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
The conflict will continue with no reconciliation or cessation between Muamar Gaddafi and opposition forces in the near term unless he leaves the country by force.	Allies Renew Demand for Gaddafi to Give Up Power -- NY Times "Leaders of the four dozen countries and international organizations meeting here on Tuesday made it clear that they agreed that Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi would have to relinquish power, even though regime change is not the stated aim of the United Nations resolution authorizing military action against his forces. " Validated: 3/29/2011	*Detailed *Specific	http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/30/world/africa/30london.html?partner=rss&emc=rss
The conflict will be prolonged and although an American-European led No Fly Zone will favor the rebels in a more even fight, hostilities will continue with no near term solution for a unified Libya. (unless removed completely)	"Libya Inches Toward Stalemate" Validated: 3/29/2011	* Detailed *Accurate Validation	http://online.wsj.com/article/BT-CO-20110329-701244.html
However the internal debate within the U.S. over commitment to the conflict will eventually wane as President Obama and his advisors become divided on the extent of U.S. commitment.	"Obama administration still deeply split on Libya" Date Validated: 3/30/2011	*Detailed *Accurate Validation	http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2011/ss_military0362_03_30.asp
Muamar Gaddafi is much more resilient than he appears. He will remain committed to fighting even with 50% loss in strength.	Gaddafi will 'fight to last drop of blood' as rebels advance in Tripoli -- The Guardian As Libya's dictator prepares for what is widely expected to be his last stand, he vowed that he would not be forced into exile. (He fought on until September -- 7 months until he fell) Date Validated: 9/21/2011	*Moderately specific to general * Accurate Validation	http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/21/gaddafi-fight-blood-rebels-tripoli
The United States along with France and Britain will remain committed to supporting anti-Gaddafi forces on a limited scale. The further degradation of Gaddafi's power will motivate the effort to continue supporting the rebels with the prospect of near endgame.	Libya bombing called successful; endgame unclear -- Associated Press Moammar Gadhafi vowed a "long war" as allied forces launched a second night of strikes on Libya on Sunday, and jubilant rebels who only a day before were in danger of being crushed by his forces now boasted they would bring him down. Date Validated: June 8th 2011	*Moderately specific to general * Accurate Validation	http://news.smh.com.au/breaking-news-world/nato-eyes-libya-endgame-gaddafi-defiant-20110608-1fstz.html
The BRIC countries will remain in support of Gaddafi, but as his power wanes, they will enter the debate on issue of governance in support of a 1 party system.	BRICS Nations Oppose Use of Force in Libya -- VOA Leaders of the BRICS countries, five of the world's major emerging powers, issued a joint declaration Thursday urging a peaceful resolution to the crisis in Libya. Date Validated: April 14th 2011	*Moderately specific *Accurate validation	http://www.voanews.com/english/news/BRICS-Nations-Oppose-Use-of-Force-in-Libya-11983134.html
A slightly authoritarian 1 party system emerging. The further Gaddafi's forces are weakened, the greater the prospect for a democratic movement. However, there will be a significant splintering in the debate for governance into three camps: those who favor a liberal democracy, those who favor a multi-party non liberal system and those who prefer 1 party system (similar to China or Russia). There will be significant deadlock, but a 1 party system will still emerge as the winning coalition.	No system has emerged yet. At time of prediction it was too early to tell and remain too early to validate.	* Detailed *Unable to validate	
If Muamar Gaddafi departs Libya, the newly formed government will be highly factionalized. This will lead to prolonged deadlock on determining the form of government, but the winning coalition will eventually resemble a slightly authoritarian 1 party system similar to Russia or China. Russia and China will then be in support of this winning coalition as they seize an effortless opportunity.	No system has emerged yet. At time of prediction it was too early to tell and remain too early to validate.	*Moderately Specific to general * Unable to Validate	

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected and Analyzed 5/18/ 2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
After the defection of Shokri Ghanem along with degradation of Gaddafi's power by at least 40%, I predict that the initial stalemate is transitioning into a phase where the opposition now has the upper hand. At this point, the Gaddafi government is beyond the point of sustaining a stalemate and is susceptible to collapse.	Official: Libya oil minister defects to Tunisia -- CBS News Ghanem is one of the most prominent members of Qaddafi's government to defect amid fighting between the military and rebels."Most of the officials remaining in Tripoli are forced to stay under intimidation and pressure. They are not happy with what is happening," Date Validated: 5/17/2011	*Moderately specific * Accurate Validation	http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2011/05/17/501364/main20063511.shtml
If we can align Shokri Ghanem and the Libyan Oil Corporation with Libyan Transitional Council, the coalition becomes much more united resulting into an even higher likelihood of collapse by the Gaddafi regime, bringing the conflict closer to an end.	Oil chief Shokri Ghanem confirms defection because of "unbearable violence" -- English Libya TV "I left the country and decided also to leave my job and to join the choice of Libyan youth to create a modern constitutional state respecting human rights and building a better future for all Libyans" -- Ghanem Date Validated: 6/1/2011	* Moderately specific *Accurate Validation	http://english.libya.tv/2011/06/01/oil-chief-shokri-ghanem-confirms-defection-because-of-unbearable-violence/

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 8/27/2011 and Analyzed 9/5/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction
Post-Gaddafi Libya will transition to a limited multiparty tribal system. The national government will have a selection process based on pre-determined representation by tribal affiliation. This new government may have Democratic elements, but it will not meet the threshold for a true Democracy requiring fair and free elections.	Transition and government form is not complete yet Date: 12/1/2011	*Detailed *Unable to validate yet.
The eastern tribes situated in Misrata will pose the greatest reluctance to more democratic representation followed by the central tribes and the western tribes. In absence of a strong central authority Libya runs the risk of increased tribal conflict. The apprehension by the Eastern tribes centered on Misrata will pose the greatest threat to any form of consensus building necessary for a limited multiparty tribal representative system. There will also be remnants of the Gaddafia tribe continuing to pose the greatest resistance to new forms of governance in Libya.	Transition and government form is not complete yet Date: 12/1/2011	*Detailed *Unable to validate yet.
The newly formed Libyan government will not be affected by extreme or conservative Islamic ideology. Quite the contrary Libya will be fairly liberal compared to its neighbors in the Middle East and North Africa. Although Islam is part of Libya's identity, the future government will be driven more by tribal politics rather than religious ideologies.	Transition and government form is not complete yet Date: 12/1/2011	*Detailed *Unable to validate yet.
Libya will transform into an open economy with few structural barriers to commerce once it becomes stabilized and secure. However, an open economy will present limited changes in structure given that Libya's only significant export will continue to be oil. There will be a much greater desire for foreign direct investment because of the support for an open economy.	Transition and government form is not complete yet Date: 12/1/2011	*Detailed *Unable to validate yet.

VII. The Case of Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is by definition a dictatorship. On October 27th 2011 I forecasted that Saudi Arabia's government structure is stable and not prone to change in the short to medium time horizon. I concluded that the status quo governance structure in Saudi Arabia will remain unchanged with little or no reform. Even if the single ruler structure under the House of Saud is weakened by 50%, there will be little or no change to the power structure according to my ABM simulation in Figure 13. A challenge to Saudi rule will marginally strengthen the coalition in support of the royal family. This will occur when Turkey moves closer in support of the status quo if they view a weakening of the royal family's power. The United States along with the great powers will not change their position even with a dramatic waning of influence unless the Saudi Royal family nears inevitable collapse. The projected forecast in Figure 12 depicts a system where the selectorate and the winning coalition are situated firmly in support of a single ruler under the House of Saud. There is no credible challenge to the Saudi rule. The youth, the female population, and Shiite minorities are the primary groups preferring democratic reforms; however, they remain disenfranchised and irrelevant to the stability of the ruling authority. Figure 14 shows that the median stakeholder position does not change, suggesting a stable undemocratic Saudi Arabia that is not prone to reform. A challenge to the leadership in Saudi Arabia will not pose a threat to the governance structure of the country. Any challenge will most likely derive from an internal power struggle within the Saudi royal family. Therefore, a change in personality which can occur from the death of King Abdullah who is very old will not necessitate change in governance.. This simulation further indicates the stability of the Saudi regime.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the least democratic and most religious country in the Islamic world. They use their massive oil wealth to provide private payoffs to their ruling family members and tribal leaders in the form of disproportionate allowances. They also provide large government subsidies

to Saudi citizens in the form of land, allowances, and other material goods. After observing the toppling of the Mubarak regime in Egypt, the Saudi King Abdullah reacted by increased benefits for his citizens by providing additional funds for housing, studying abroad and social security.¹⁵

In spite of such use of private payoffs and public goods in Saudi Arabia as described by Selectorate Theory, the agent based simulation illustrates that a major part of the selectorate in Saudi Arabia is the highly conservative Shura Council. Without support from the Islamic Shura, the Saudi Royal family would lose all legitimacy based on their proclaimed role as protectors of the religious shrine in Mecca. Therefore, the Saudi royal family relies implicitly on their support in order to survive. The Shura Council dictates a strict interpretation of Islamic Law known as Wahhabism, named after the Muslim theologian Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab. This makes Sharia law paramount to any economic initiative. The case of Saudi Arabia shows that the King Abdullah's calculus for political survival is based on the acquiescence of the Islamic clergy, a dimension that has little to do with public-private benefits and more to do with religious ideology. Figures 14 and 15 depict simulations showing the direction of the median stakeholder in Saudi Arabia. The distance between the median and the winning coalition is miniscule. They are both situated above the threshold for a 1 ruler system and I observe no change in positions. In short, Saudi Arabia is stable in the short to medium term time horizon so long as they continue to receive revenue from their oil profits along with implicit support on their rule from the Muslim Ulama.

¹⁵ "Saudi king offers benefits as he returns from treatment." by BBC staff. *BCC News*. 23 February 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12550326>

Figure 11: Projected Form of Government in Saudi Arabia Forecasted on October 27th 2011

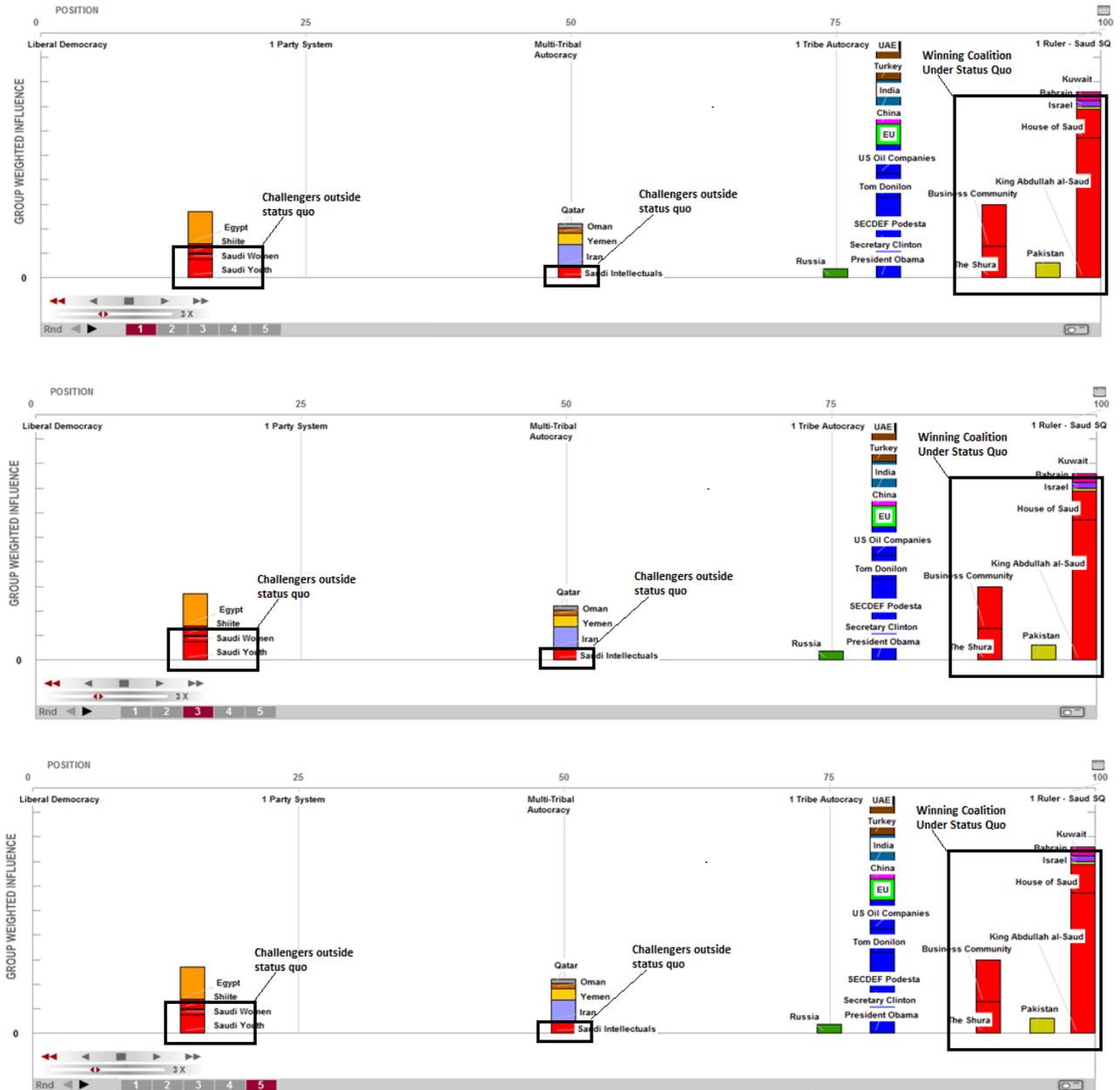


Figure 12: Projected Form of Government with 50% Loss of Power by Saudi Royal Family

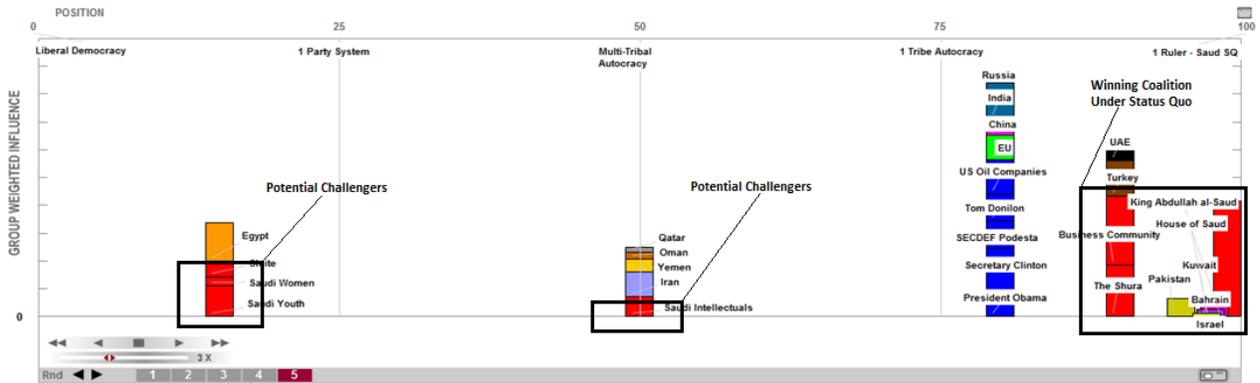


Figure 13: Median Stakeholder Position on Saudi Governance forecasted in October 2011

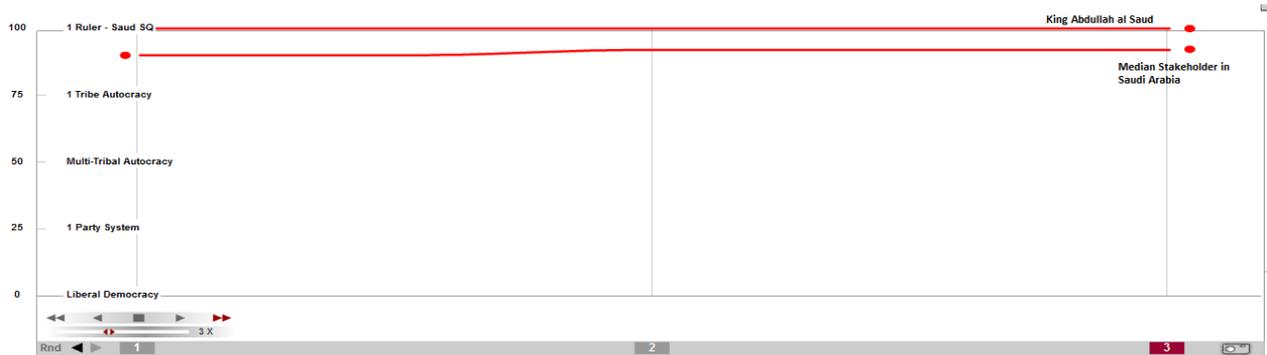
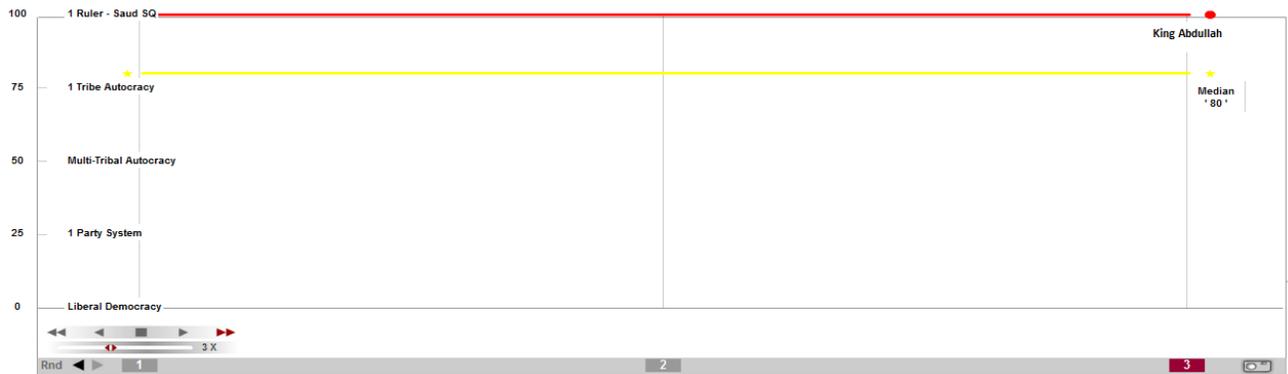


Figure 14: Median Stakeholder Position on Saudi Governance forecasted in December 2011



There were 3 major predictions made on the issue of governance and stability in Saudi Arabia. One of these predictions is a counter-factual scenario that has not occurred. In the two predictions that could be tested, both turned out to be accurate with moderately specificity. In summary there is no prospect for democratic reform in Saudi Arabia. The highly authoritarian and religious government is expected to remain in power. The fully detailed forecast can be found in the appendix. The inclusion of religion into the Selectorate Model indicates that Saudi Arabia is both highly authoritarian and religious. The Saudi royal family's cohesion between private payoffs and Islamic legitimacy by the Ulama has created stability for them in the short to medium time horizon. This supports the argument for revising the Selectorate Model to accounting role of religion as a fundamental element in the political survival of leaders in MENA. A fully detailed forecast can be found in the appendix.

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 10/26/2011 and Analysis Updated 10/27/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Saudi Arabia's government structure is stable and not prone to change in the short to medium time horizon. The status quo governance structure in Saudi Arabia will remain unchanged with little or no reform.	Change and balance in the Saudi kingdom -- Washington Post During the Arab Spring of turbulence, Saudi Arabia has remained surprisingly stable. Assessing Saudi political change is like watching the grass grow: It's so gradual you barely notice it. Date Validated: 11/21/2011	* General to moderately specific *Accurate	http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/change-and-balance-in-the-saudi-kingdom/2011/11/21/gIQA0b2OIN_story.html
The United States along with the other great powers support the single ruler structure under the Saudi Royal Family and are not expected to change their position. They will not take any measures that could shake the foundational structure of Saudi Arabia. However, the analysis also indicates that the United States and the great powers will only support the Saudi Royal Family so long as it remains stable.	Unable to validate. Events have no evolved enough to substantiate	*Moderately specific *Unable to verify	
There is no prospect for democratic reform. There are few foreseeable alternatives other than the Saudi regime. This limits options for the United States as much as it tries to hedge with any other tribe or faction. There is no prospect for democratic reform.	Change and balance in the Saudi kingdom -- Washington Post Normal nongovernmental organizations and political parties don't exist here, and activist networks are frail. Date Validated: 11/21/2011	*General to moderately specific *Accurate	http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/change-and-balance-in-the-saudi-kingdom/2011/11/21/gIQA0b2OIN_story.html

VIII. The Case of Iran

There is more conflict taking place within the Iranian regime than anytime following the death of the Ayatollah Khomeini in 1988. This does not necessarily mean the Islamic Republic of Iran is going to collapse or that the country's leaders will follow the fate of Mubarak and Ben Ali in the short-term. The tension observed in Iran can be distinguished in two forms: conflict between the government and the disenfranchised citizenry and conflict within the government. In the first case, the various opposition groups such as the student movement or minority factions whether violent or peaceful are perceived by the Iranian government primarily as nuisances rather than existential threats. The latter, tension within the government, is primarily a conflict over resources or power and not a debate over fundamental changes necessary for improving the lives of the citizenry. In short, there is no indication that Iran will make reforms that move it closer to a liberal democracy. Much of the fight over power and distribution of wealth within the state apparatus is driven by the question of succession following the death of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. It is reported that the Supreme Leader is ill with his death in the near horizon. This certainly plays a part in the calculations of all the senior stakeholders in Iran's government. Thus there is competition taking place between the various power brokers in order to secure their future in Iran upon the death of Khamenei.

However, there continues to be international pressure mounting regarding Iran's nuclear program and their adversarial positions toward the United States and Israel. The analysis indicates that Iran will experience substantive change in governance only with the passing of the Supreme Leader. When Khamenei passes, Iran will develop a new ruling structure consisting of a hybrid between the Supreme Leader structure and the 3 Leader Structure. This will result in substantive change in the distribution of power, but will not result into a Democratic Iran.

The current question however remains: Why did Iran not experience an uprising in 2011 while many of its regional neighbors such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Bahrain did? As predicted the debate within Iran has been primarily over distribution of resources within the power apparatus. Khamenei has maintained a coalition that has gained support following the rise and fall of President Ahmadinejad. So long as he continues to maintain this coalition through rewarding his followers while coercing the opposition, Khamenei will keep his grip on power. In 2011 we saw no development of new coalitions powerful enough to oppose Khamenei or make substantive calls for reform.

In October of 2011 Khamenei expressed the option of eliminating the office of the President in Iran, a clear signal of continuing the inward consolidation of power.¹⁶ Furthermore, there are few signs of a splintering within the military or collapse within the hardline conservatives leading the Parliament. In conclusion, the idea that Iran will experience domestic reform toward democracy remains dim, justice from within a distant notion.

In regard to Selectorate Theory, figures 16 and 17 illustrate that the selectorate is situated in the range between the status quo and a harsh military autocracy. The domestic opposition groups are projected to remain marginalized and the same applies to the exiled groups. Iran maintains a relatively large selectorate, but is still an authoritarian state. It serves as an example of a stable authoritarian regime because the winning coalition is small and can pull from a large selectorate. As a result of this arrangement, members within Khamenei's winning circle are substitutable because of the large pool of candidates waiting to replace them. This drives a norm for loyalty as the actors within the large selectorate jockey for access to the leader by acts displaying their commitment (Buono de Mesquita and Smith 2010).

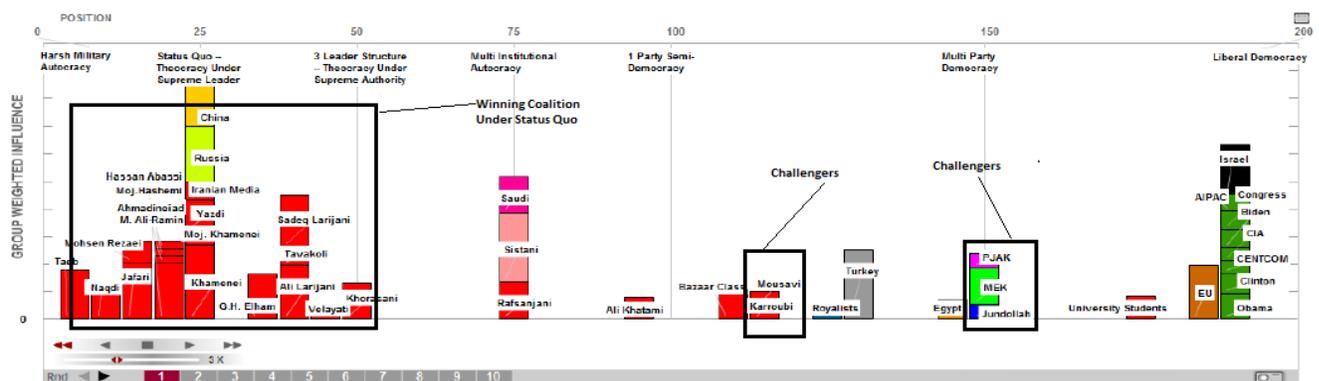
The public-private payoffs argument once again is not sufficient in describing the Khamenei's calculus for political survival. Therefore, as we have explained in the other cases described earlier, we

¹⁶ <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/11/16/will-ayatollah-khamenei-eliminate-the-iranian-presidency/>

must include the role of religion into the equation. The Supreme Leader's power is derived from religious legitimacy under the Islamic Constitution granting him divine authority. Under such authority he can practice dictatorial power. His logic for political survival is just as much based on religious legitimacy under an Islamic law as is the private benefits he provides to his inner circle.. The country is less authoritarian than Saudi Arabia because of the large electorate, but the role of religion plays just as much of part in the long-term political survival of its leadership.

Despite Supreme Leader Khamenei's overwhelming influence by consolidation of a strong winning coalition, the simulation tracking the median stakeholder reveals that the international actors place a tremendous amount of pressure on the status quo structure. The distance between Khamenei and the median position indicates the growing dissatisfaction between the status quo and those seeking to change it. The updated projection in June of 2011 shows a median that is situated right above a single party preference. The increasing distance between Khamenei and the median stakeholder are the result of international stakeholder pressure. This has little to do with the domestic or the marginalized exile groups. Nonetheless the system appears stable compared to Arab Spring countries that are undergoing revolutions.

Figure 15: Iran Regime Type Forecast on March 13th 2011



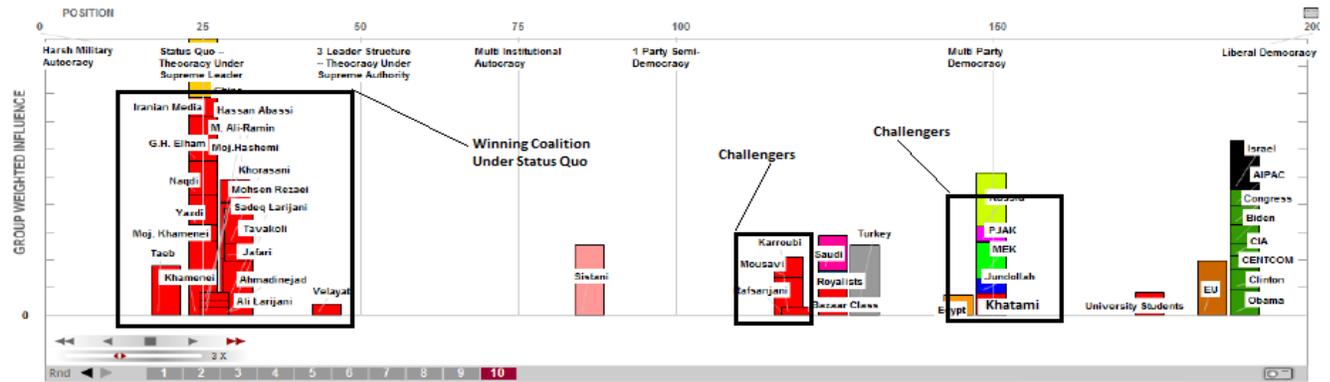
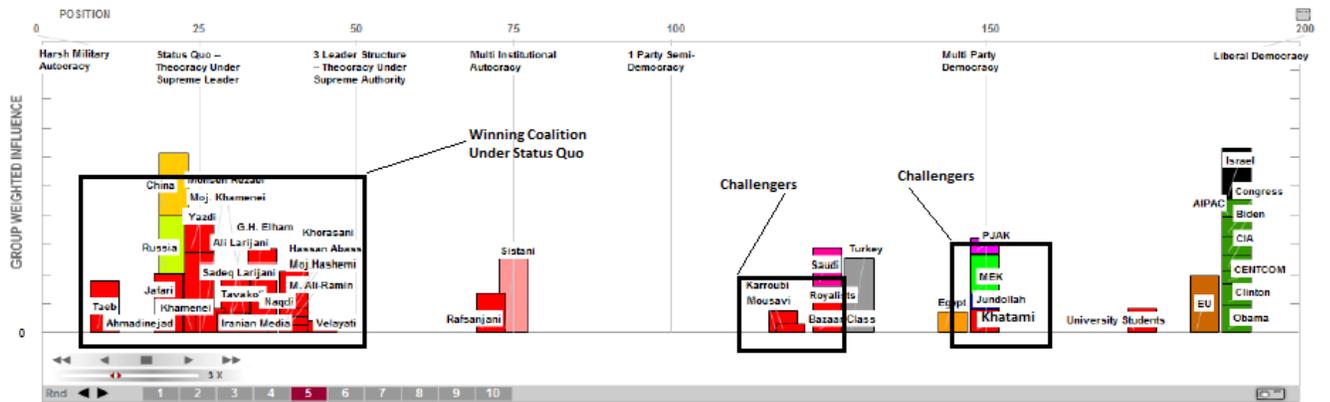
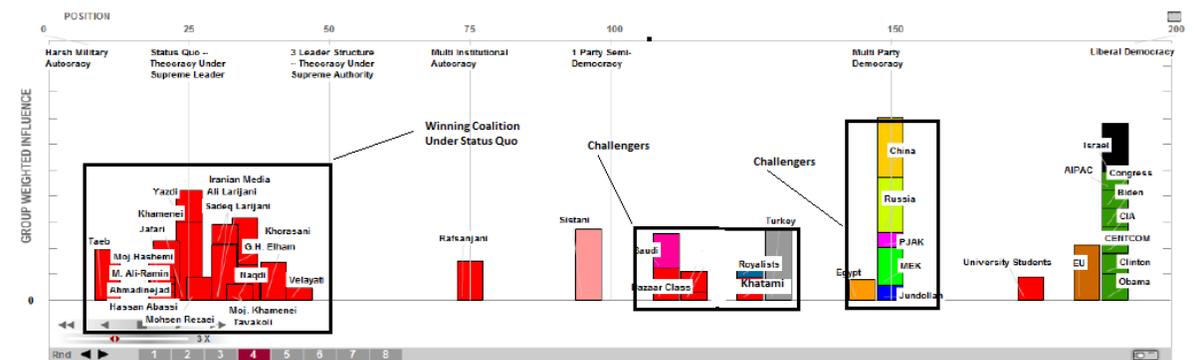
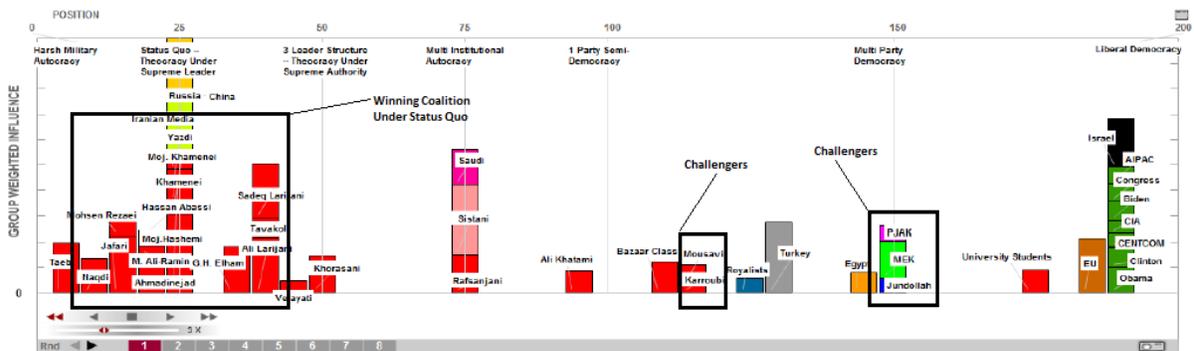


Figure 16: Updated Iran Forecast on June 27th 2011



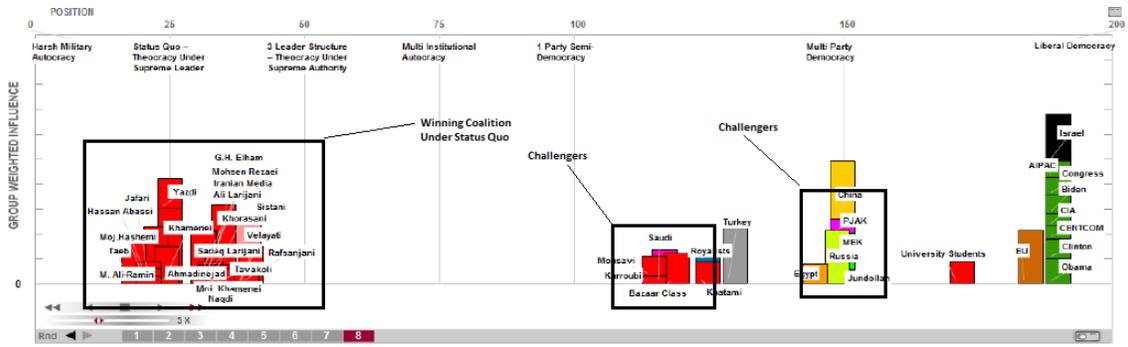


Figure 17: Median Stakeholder Position for Iran Forecasted in March 2011

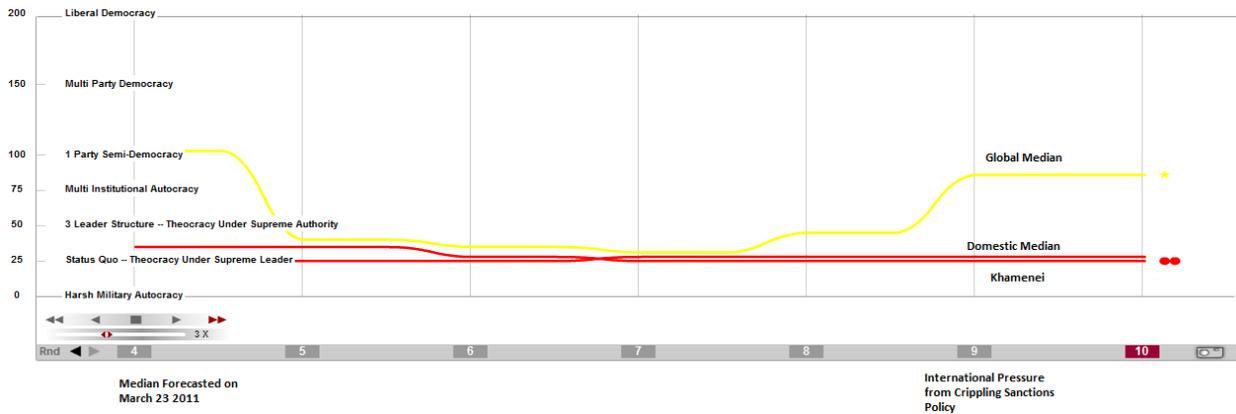
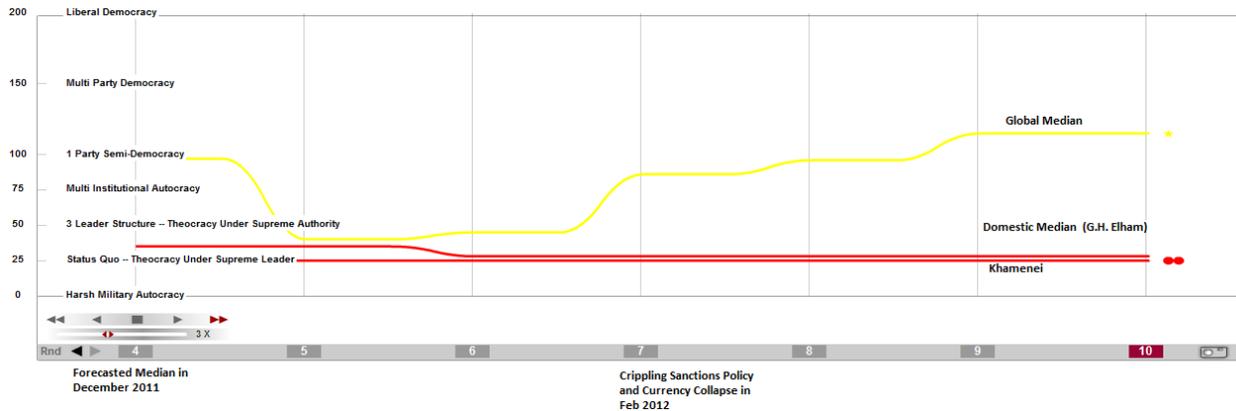


Figure 18: Median Stakeholder Position for Iran Forecasted in June 2011



There were seven major predictions made on the future governance of Iran. All of these predictions were accurate. Of these predictions, five were moderately specific while two were general. As predicted in the forecasts the winning coalition to be the status quo structure under Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. Although there has been fallout between President Ahmadinejad and Ayatollah

Khamenei with prospects of a tumultuous season in anticipation of the Parliamentary elections in 2012, there is little indication of change in the governance structure within the Islamic Republic of Iran while the Supreme Leader lives. While continuing to rally his supporters inward he continues undermining the institutions that would otherwise be used as the regime's power base. In October of 2011 Khamenei expressed the option of eliminating the office of the President in Iran, a clear signal of continuing the inward consolidation of power.¹⁷ Furthermore, there are few signs of a splintering of the military or collapse within the hardliner conservatives leading the Parliament. In conclusion, the idea that Iran will experience domestic reform toward democracy remains dim, justice from within a distant notion. The Selectorate and the winning coalition remain stable so long as Khamenei lives. Having provided a scenario for his passing in my forecast conducted in March of 2011, I predict that there will be a change in governance following the death of Ayatollah Khamenei. The new governance structure is expected to be a hybrid system situated between the current supreme leader system and a three leader system with more influence weighed from the clerics and military apparatus. Nonetheless, even with the death of Khamenei Iran is not expected to remain authoritarian with the role of religion playing the dominant role in the legitimacy of the regime. Fully detailed forecasts on Iran can be found in the appendix.

¹⁷ <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/11/16/will-ayatollah-khamenei-eliminate-the-iranian-presidency/>

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 3/3/2011 and Analysis Completed 3/11/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Rafsanjani will be further isolated and forced to converge toward the ousted reformists. Rafsanjani is still a powerful figure who controls a vast financial empire will continue to be isolated and will eventually diverge even closer toward the position of reformists and bazaar merchant class.	On March 9th, Rafsanjani was ousted from his position as head of the Expediency Council. The data was collected on March 3rd and prediction did not change; however, it occurred faster than expected. Date Validated : 3/9/2011	* Moderately Specific * Accurate Validation	http://www.atimes.com/ati mes/Middle_East/MC22Ak04.html
The students call for reform will not have the intended effect for substantive change in the short-term.	Iran Bans Pro Reform Publications. Two Iranian publications which carried articles critical of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's policies were shut down on Monday, the official Irna news agency reported. Analysts say the move could be aimed at silencing critics and avoiding the revival of street protests which broke out after the contested re-election of Ahmadinejad in 2009. -- Reuters Date Validated : 9/5/2011	*General *Accurate Validation	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/09/05/us-iran-publications-ban-idUSTRE78441720110905
The student movement will not lead to reform but it will hurt the IRGC and the fundamentalists by keeping them divided.	Ahmadinejad's enemies scent blood in Iran power struggle -- Reuters This has continued to be a fight within the IRGC and hardliner camp. Date Validated : 5/19/2011	* Moderately Specific to General * Somewhat accurate validation (the IRGC and fundamentalist camp has become increasingly divided but it is difficult to prove that the cause of it is the reform movement)	http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/19/ahmadinejad-iran-power-struggle
The longer Khamenei remains, the greater the reconciliation of power centered on the supreme leader.	Khamenei Moves to Regain Grip on Absolute Power -- Reuters Date Validated : 6/27/2011	*Specific *Accurate Validation	http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2011/07/khamenei-moves-to-limit-damage-to-his-absolute-power.html

Senturion Prediction (Analysis Updated June 27th 2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
In reaction to his loss of power and on the brink of political oblivion, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad will continue to attempt regaining favor by Supreme Leader Khamenei.	Iran: Ahmadinejad vs Khamenei -- <i>InsideIran.org</i> Ahmadinejad has now found himself in the company of previous Iranian presidents who have been marginalised or sidelined, such as the impeachment of the Islamic Republic's first president, Abulhassan Banisadr, a longtime critic of clerical involvement in politics Date Validated : July 7th 2011	*Moderately specific to detailed (This is specifically and exactly what happened -- Ahmadinejad tried to regain favor but failed) *Accurate	http://www.insideiran.org/news/iran-ahmadinejad-vs-khamenei/
The competition for governance will continue in a fractionalized debate among hardliners with the reconsolidation of power under the Supreme Leader continuing to ebb and flow.	Iran's Conservatives: The Headstrong New Bloc <i>InsideIran.org</i> Besides political tensions, the unorthodox religious views of men close to Ahmadinejad have alienated the clerical community that is dominated by conservatives. The power accumulated by presidential chief of staff Esfandiar Rahim Mashaie, and the Rasputin like influence he reportedly exercises over the president, has also alarmed conservatives. Ahmadinejad's falling-out with Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei in April brought these long-simmering resentments against the president into the open. Date Validated : August 29th 2011	*Moderately specific (the key to this prediction is that the debate is among hardliners and not between hardliners and reformists -- reformists hold little power) *Accurate	http://www.insideiran.org/media-analysis/khamenei-takes-victory-lap-with-new-instructions-for-ahmadinejad/
He [Ayatollah Khamenei] will provide support for the Larijanis, bringing them closer to parity with Khamenei's camp under the Supreme Leader structure.	The Ayatollah's Consigliere -- <i>Wall Street Journal</i> The Larijanis continue to gain influence as Ahmadinejad's power wanes, questioning the existence of the office of the Presidency in the future. Date Validated : November 16th 2011	*General to Vague *An accurate generality	http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052970204190504577040190007689600.html

IX. The Case of Syria

The evolution of events in Syria for 2011 covering the short to medium time horizon indicates that Bashar Al Assad has managed to survive because of his ability to maintain his domestic coalition in addition to regional and international support by players such as China, Russia, and Iran. Assad's relative influence began to wane as former supporters, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, turned against him in support for the opposition. But he was able to maintain his autocratic rule throughout the course of 2011 because the distribution of power was in favor of the alliances he had built domestically and internationally. In such case Assad has crafted a system in Syria where his winning coalition members rely on him as an indispensable element to their own survival. The regime has been able to withstand remarkable pressure from the international community along with a defecting military due to the structure of the selectorate in Syria. The regime has a single party structure made up the Ba'ath Party. In such an instance Assad has a large pool of candidates from within his Ba'ath Party. This large selectorate allows him to pull substitutes as potential replacement for members of his inner circle if necessary. Assad's ability to easily substitute members of his winning coalition drives a norm of loyalty (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith, 2010). Such a dynamic creates a system where members compete to show their loyalty in fear of being ousted from the inner circle. For this reason, Assad's government withstood a tremendous amount pressure where other regimes faced with similar circumstances may have folded much sooner.

Assad's ability to resist and maintain power is apparent by the continued killing of thousands of Syrian citizens. But coalitions continue to shift against him. Following months of a brutal onslaught by the Assad regime, the international community expressed the situation in Syria as a human rights crisis. Many who were once Assad's allies have turned against him. Turkey for example has recognized the Syrian opposition as a legitimate alternative to Assad and has gone as far as providing sanctuary to the

opposition leaders now situated in Ankara. Although much of the international community has turned against him in support of aiding the Syrian opposition, Bashar Al Assad still has support from Iran, Russia, and China.

The international coalition opposing him is stronger compared to Assad's alliance; however, China and Russia continue to act as guardians of the regime at the United Nations while Iran's presence as a regional power makes Turkey and Saudi Arabia reluctant to acting more aggressively vis-à-vis military action. Although not as powerful, Iran and Russia in particular have positioned themselves in such a manner so as to prevent action from being taken against Syria. In short, they are acting as veto players. In November of 2011 my forecast update for Syria anticipated the escalation of conflict from a brutal suppression to a civil war. In spite of the degradation of Assad's power, he still remains resilient and is not expected to depart Syria unless there is a foreign intervention.

Assad's Syria has many similarities reflecting Hussein-era Iraq. As an Alawite, Assad is a minority ruling a country that has Sunni majority much in the same fashion that Saddam Hussein ruled a Shiite majority Iraq as a Sunni minority. Syria is a country that is highly authoritarian and does not include religion in major organs of government. The public-private payoffs argument holds true under the Assad regime as the primary motive for his survival, a typical example of an autocrat who has provides few benefits to the disenfranchised while providing major concessions to his winning coalition. However, without the role of religious leaders within his winning, Syria has become highly unstable.

My initial forecast in May of 2011 indicated that Assad will react to the protests in Syria by providing additional concessions to his inner circle with the intent of making his coalition more stable in the wake of widespread opposition. Similar to many autocrats in MENA, he has used the threat of Islamic extremism as an argument for his secular rule. Bashar al Assad's marginalization of the Muslim Brotherhood and the violent suppression by his father Hafez reveals the significance they place on such a threat.

My forecasts depicted in Figures 20 and 21 indicate that as the opposition begins to form a coalition advocating a democratic alternative, the role of religion comes into play. Although there are secular elements within the Syrian National Transitional Council, a major force driving the opposition is the Muslim Brotherhood (MB).¹⁸ In similar trend to Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood is already promising Islamic Sharia as a major source for future legislation if elected to power with the prospect of a post-Assad Syria.¹⁹ If this becomes the case, a revised Selectorate Model that accounts for the role of religion should be considered. If Syria begins a democratic transition, the role of religion is expected play into the calculus of political leaders just as much if not more than the role of private-public goods. This is evident by projected role of Islamic stakeholders in the opposition movement such as the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood.

Figures 22 and 23 depict the projected median stakeholders using the Senturion agent based model. In the first projection from May of 2011, we can see that the distance between the median stakeholder and Bashar Al Assad is miniscule, indicating the lack of international and domestic influence opposing his rule. In November of 2011 the distance between the median stakeholder and Assad remain miniscule. The Assad regime becomes more isolated internationally but the distance with median only grows significantly only when accounting for international stakeholders. The median surpasses the threshold past a single party semi-democratic preference while Assad holds on to power if international pressure continues to mount. If this gap continues Assad's rule will be become less tenable.

¹⁸ "A 'Cosmic wager' on the Muslim Brotherhood." by David Ignatius. *Washington Post*. February 15th 2012.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Figure 19: Syria Regime Type Forecast on May 15th 2011 (Assad's initial reactions and suppression of the uprising)

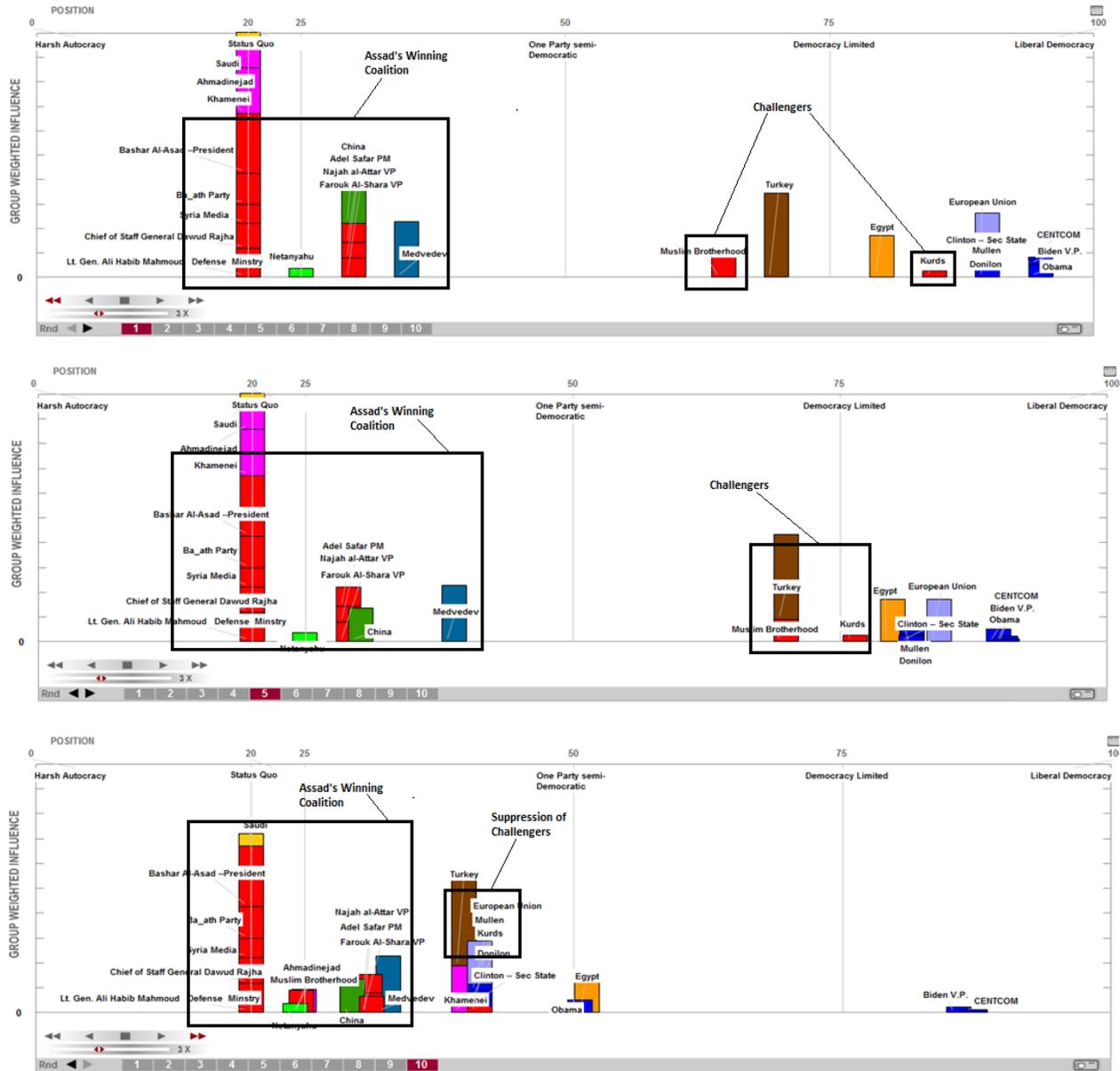


Figure 20: Syria Regime Type Forecast on November 9th 2011 *(escalation to civil war and eventual stalemate)

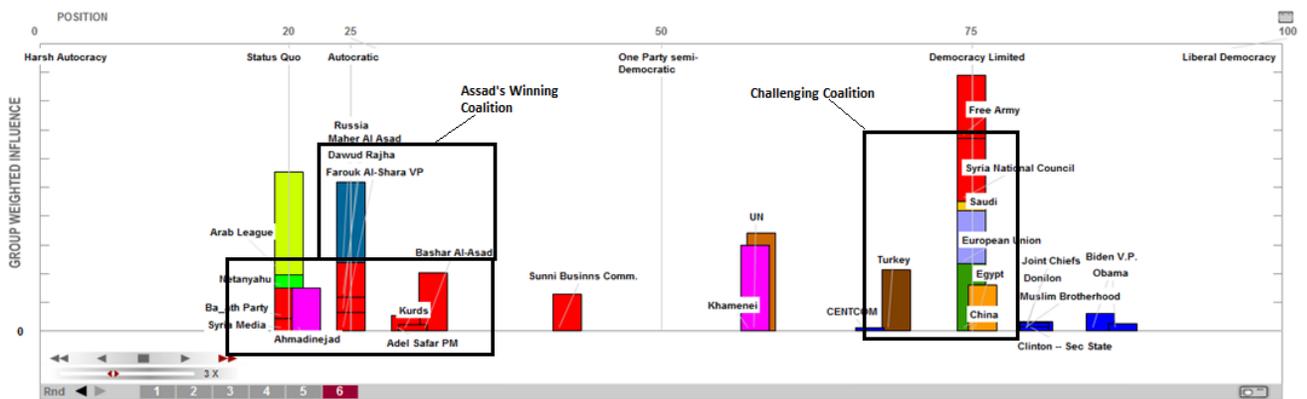
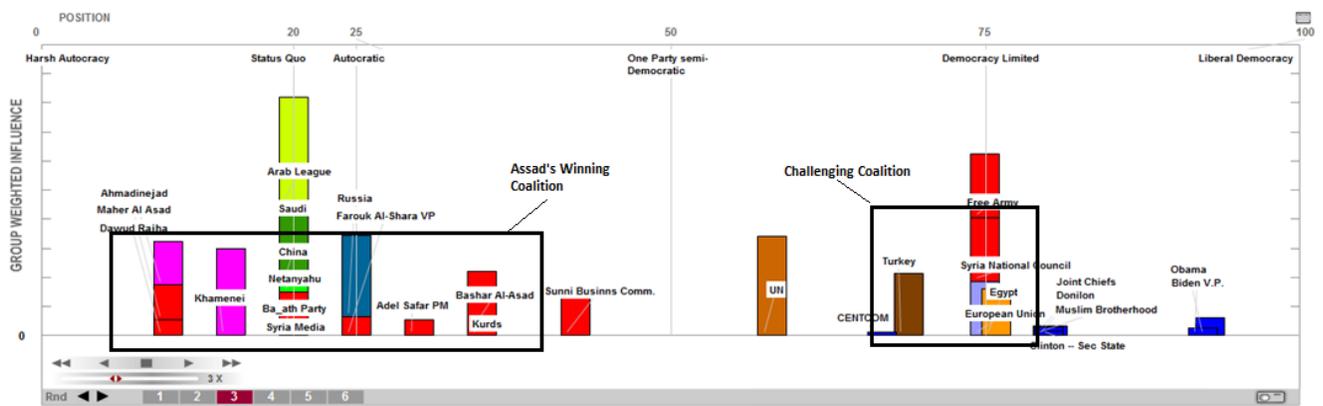
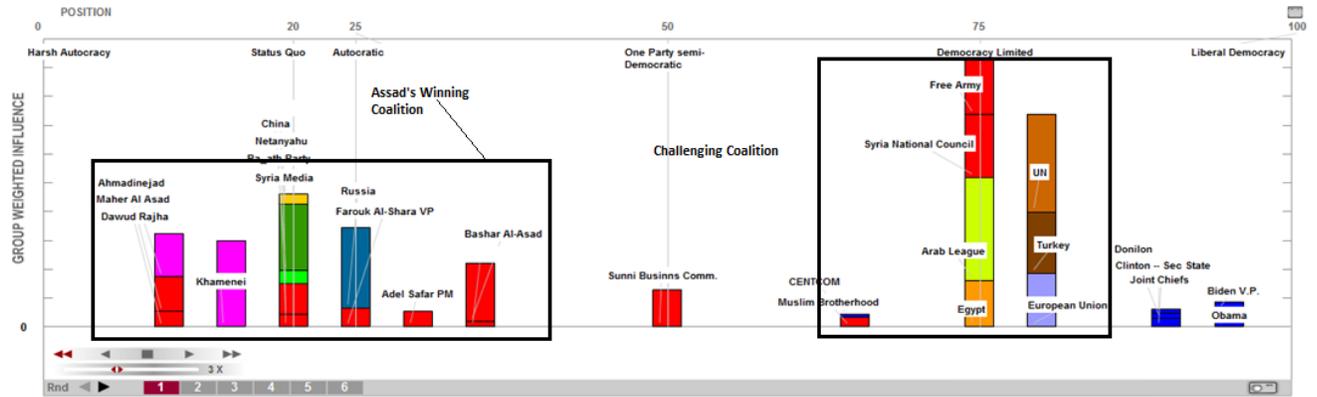


Figure 21: Projected Median Stakeholder Position on Syria's Governance in May 2011

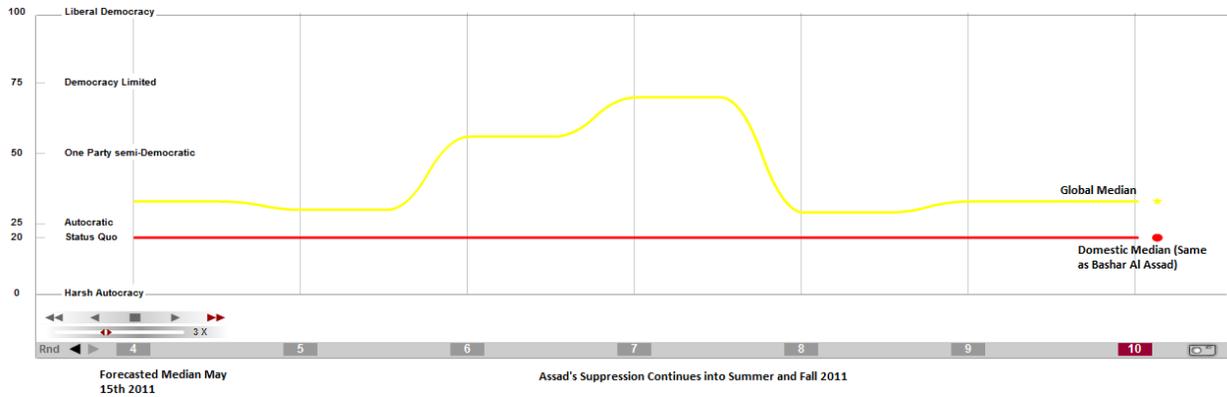
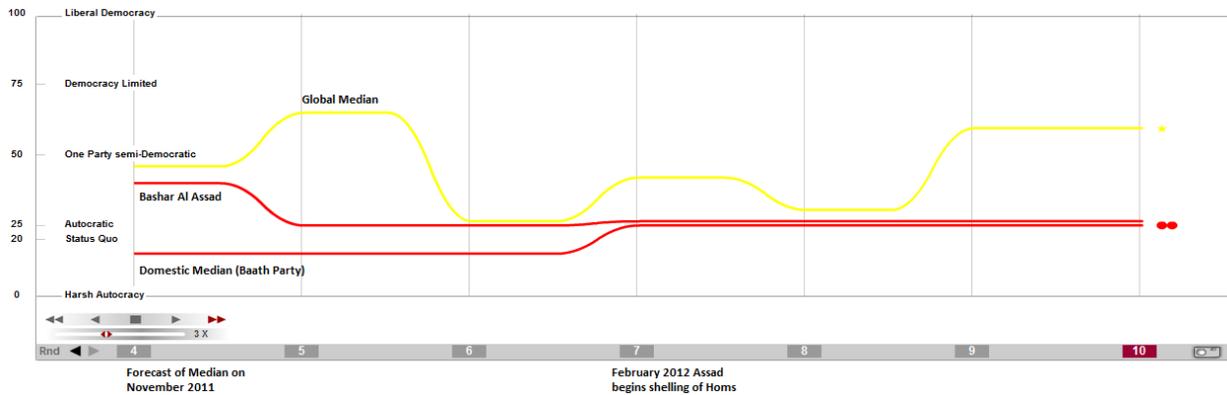


Figure 22: Projected Median Stakeholder on Syria's Governance in November 2011



Of the 16 major predictions made throughout the course of the Syrian crisis, 3 have no answer because the short-term outcomes have not been resolved. Of the 13 predictions that could be tested, 10 of them were valid at a 77% accuracy rate. Half of those predictions were detailed while the other half were moderately specific. This is a rather remarkable achievement given the relative unreliability of expert data on Syria. The overall predictions on Syria have been remarkably accurate. I have identified the evolution of the uprising in Syria by several phases. In the first phase I accurately projected a short-term pacification by Bashar Al-Assad where there was little competition from the resistance. In the second phase, I projected a consolidation of support from the international community. In the third phase, I am projecting an escalation to civil war with an inevitable stalemate. At such time,

notwithstanding an assassination, the Assad regime can only come to an end with direct international intervention in the form NATO action observed in Libya. Otherwise, the stalemate in Syria is expected to be prolonged. In regards to Selectorate Theory, Assad was able to maintain rule through private payoffs to his coalition with very little benefits going to his disenfranchised citizenry. Yet the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood and their calls for Sharia Law in a post-Assad Syria is yet another example on why the role of religion should be incorporated into a revised Selectorate Model for application to MENA. More detailed forecasts on Syria can be found in the appendix of this dissertation.

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 5/13 and Analyzed 5/18/ 2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
The impact of the protests will be marginal at best on the ruling authority of Bashar Al-Assad. He will still remain in power with continued support from his coalition. However, his power will slightly wane within the coalition, resulting into increased concessions to his supporters. In seeking to mitigate the potential for any loss of authority, Assad will provide additional powers to his loyal coalition, thereby making his rule more stable.	Defiant Assad addresses Syria on TV as UN arrives in Damascus -- The Guardian In spite of continued media reports of Assad's departure and the end of his rule, Assad has remained in power. He has provided concessions and payment to his supporters, rallying pro-Assad demonstrations in solidarity with the regime. Defiant Assad addresses Syria on TV as UN arrives in Damascus. Date Validated: 8/21/2011	* Detailed * Accurate Validation	http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/21/syrian-president-assad-addresses-nation
The concession will strengthen consensus within his domestic coalition, making his leadership more stable in the short-term. In effect Assad will augment any potential loss of power by rewarding his loyal followers more than he would have prior to the protests.	Syria Introduces Law Allowing Independent Political Parties -- Christian Science Monitor Contrary to media reports Assad remains in power. Date Validated: 7/25/2011	* Detailed * Accurate Validation	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2011/0725/Syria-introduces-law-allowing-independent-political-parties
There is no credible prospect for democratic change in Syria. The status quo authoritarian structure in Syria will remain nearly intact as Assad's support from the Ba'ath Party, the Syrian media, and the military remain loyal to the status quo structure.	Syria Introduces Law Allowing Independent Political Parties -- Christian Science Monitor Article 8 of the constitution stipulates that the Baath Party is "the leading party in the society and the state." There have been no substantive changes toward democratic reform. Date Validated: 7/25/2011	* Detailed * Accurate Validation	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2011/0725/Syria-introduces-law-allowing-independent-political-parties
In spite of the prevailing status quo structure in Syria, I predict that Vice Presidents Najah al-Attar and Farouk Al-Shara along with the Prime Minister Adel Safar will continue to push for limited economic or political reform by slightly less autocratic means. This attempt to make reforms will not prevail because the majority of power centers within Assad's camp will continue to advocate no change from the status quo autocratic structure.	Syria Introduces Law Allowing Independent Political Parties -- Christian Science Monitor The bill, approved by the cabinet yet awaiting agreement from Syria's parliament, is the regime's latest concession to protesters. But it includes some restrictions that could limit its impact. Date Validated: 7/25/2011	* Detailed * Accurate Validation	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2011/0725/Syria-introduces-law-allowing-independent-political-parties
If Bashar Al-Assad loses even 50% of his power, he will still have a strong enough coalition to effectively rule Syria. In fact, my analysis indicates that the ruling coalition will be even stronger given that he concedes a limited amount of power.	Syria introduces law allowing independent political parties -- Christian Science Monitor Assad retains strong support in Damascus, but dissidents in the capital are becoming more vocal. Assad remains in power with a firm grip over most, but not all the country. Date Validated: 7/25/2011	* Moderately specific * Accurate Validation	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2011/0725/Syria-introduces-law-allowing-independent-political-parties
As Assad continues to make limited concessions to his loyal supporters, the Muslim Brotherhood along with the Kurdish opposition will be weakened in their resolve to oppose him. Any foreign support will be ineffective.	Syria Introduces Law Allowing Independent Political Parties -- Christian Science Monitor ..restrictions suggest that Kurdish nationalist parties may not be recognized, along with the Muslim Brotherhood, a Sunni Islamist party currently banned in Syria. Date Validated: 7/25/2011	* Moderately specific * Somewhat accurate (although the MB and Kurds were weakened, there resolve continues)	http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Middle-East/2011/0725/Syria-introduces-law-allowing-independent-political-parties

Senturion Prediction (Data and Analysis Updated 7/21/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Core support for Bashar Al-Assad remains strong with no indication that he is planning to leave Syria. The uprising is gaining support from the general population and a wave of military defections is reported. These power shifts are not sufficient to threaten the current regime.	Syria's Assad bolstered by huge show of support -- CBS News Hundreds of thousands of ecstatic supporters of the Syrian President crowded the streets of Damascus Wednesday to show their loyalty, as the country remained divided by seven months of unprecedented protests that have left almost 3,000 people dead in the most serious challenge to Bashar al-Assad's 11-year rule. Date of Validation: 10/12/2011	*Detailed *Accurate	http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503543_162-20119060-503543.html
The update shows that as anticipated Assad is delegating some of his power to subordinates in return for a unified effort against the opposition. The international community remains split.	Syria's Assad bolstered by huge show of support -- CBS News Assad has continued to delegating power and remains in support. International community is split. Russia and China remain committed to UN veto. Date of Validation: 10/12/2011	*General *Accurate	http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-503543_162-20119060-503543.html
The Iranians, Saudis and the Chinese will continue to support Assad.	Saudi Arabia recalls ambassador to Syria -- BBC Although Saudi has ceased support for Syria, China and Iran remain in strong support. Date of Validation: 8/8/2011	*General *Inaccurate	http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14439303

Senturion Prediction (Data and Analysis Updated 8/13/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Similar results and conclusions from my initial forecast in May 2011 and update in July 2011 stand. Although there have been a wave of military defections along with isolation from the international community, Bashar Al-Assad will continue to remain in power with strong support from Saudi Arabia and Iran.	Saudi Arabia recalls ambassador to Syria -- BBC Although Saudi has ceased support for Syria, China and Iran remain in strong support. Date of Validation: 8/8/2011	*General *Inaccurate *Poor update and tracking of the Saudi Ambassador's	http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14439303
The international community's isolation of Assad will have little effect on him departing Syria unless enacted by external force. Bashar Al-Assad will continue to remain in power with what appears to be an effective pacification enacted by the government's brutal onslaught of dissenters.	Syria remains defiant as pressure mounts on Assad -- News Tribune Syria is entering its eighth month of unrest, which, according to the United Nations, has resulted in some 3,500 dead, mostly civilians, in a government crackdown on protesters. Date of Validation: 11/15/2011	*Moderately Specific *Accurate Prediction	http://www.thenewstribune.com/2011/11/15/1906742/syria-remains-defiant-as-pressure.html

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 11/9/2011 and Analysis Updated 11/20/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
The coalition opposing his rule will become stronger and more unified compared to the regime's current coalition.	Syria opposition labors for united front -- Jerusalem Post Fragmented for months, Syria's opposition is showing signs it may be edging closer to forging a more united front in its eight-month uprising against the government of President Bashar Assad. Date Validated: 12/4/2011	* Moderately specific to general *Accurate	http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=248087
The Assad regime still has support from China, Russia, and Iran; however, the coalition opposing his rule will become stronger and more unified compared to the regime's current coalition. Although Bashar Al Assad has lost international support and is becoming more isolated, he still maintains a strong domestic coalition with external support from Iran.	"Cold War" with Iran heats up across Mideast -- Reuters Iran, China, and Russia continue to support Syria. Date Validated: 12/5/2011	*Moderately specific *Accurate	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/05/us-iran-coldwar-idUSTRE7B41GC20111205
Bashar Al Assad will continue to fight and remain in power unless removed by external intervention such as a NATO military action similar to Libya's removal of Gaddafi.	Syria Defies Arab League as Deadly Crackdown Continues -- National Post Date: 12/6/2011	*Moderately specific * Undetermined event/ Assad still continues to fight	http://news.nationalpost.com/2011/11/25/syria-defies-arab-league-deadline-as-bloody-crackdown-continues/
Although the Arab League will initially push for democratic elections in Syria, they will inevitably prefer a status quo system of governance. This indicates that that the Arab League opposes Bashar Al Assad and will prefer to replace Assad with another ruler under a similar autocratic structure.	Evolution of events have not occurred yet. Assad remain.	*Moderately specific *Undetermined event	
Maher will seek a position closer to a harsh autocracy while Bashar will want to provide concessions or limited reforms, believing that such reforms will strengthen his waning coalition.	Unabel to verify	*Detailed *Unable to verify	

X. The Case of Bahrain

Bahrain is a small island situated in the Persian Gulf between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Islamic Republic of Iran. Throughout history it has served as a strategically significant island providing port access and a transit point for travel and trade. Although the country is a relatively wealthy country due to the discovery of oil in 20th century, the Kingdom of Bahrain remains strategically important for the same historical reasons: an island that provides access to Persian Gulf shipping lanes. For example, the United States 5th Fleet uses Bahrain as its major port and staging area for Naval operations in the Persian Gulf. The 2011 uprising against the Al Khalifa Family presented a major dilemma for the United States and its Arab allies on how to respond to the crisis. Realizing the rising Iranian influence of a Shiite led majority in Bahrain, the United States and its Arab allies under the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) effectively provided support to the Sunni minority Al Khalifa Royal Family to quell the uprising. However, this is not an unusual occurrence in the history of Bahrain. The Al Khalifa Family has ruled the Kingdom of Bahrain for over 200 years because of its willingness to concede to whichever power that could guarantee its security and stability. They have switched alliances repeatedly ranging from declaration of loyalty to Nasseredin Shah of Iran from British rule in 1860 all the way to the recent 2011 supplication to Saudi Arabia.

My forecast in November of 2011 concluded that Bahrain's rule under the Al Khalifa Family is stable. Having turned to rely on Saudi Arabia and the United States as their security guarantors, the Al Khalifa Family will continue their hold on power in Bahrain. Shiite led elements such as Al Haq and Al Wifaq will continue to be marginalized in spite of their initial support from Iran. Gulf Cooperation Council members (GCC) such as Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, and Saudi Arabia will maintain strong support for Bahrain's ruling family in order to counter Iranian led Shiite influence. The opposition element most likely to continue adamantly working against the Al Khalifa Family will be Shiite led Al Haq. In the final

evolution of this uprising I expected the Waad Opposition Party, Al Wifaq, and even Iran to reduce their anti-ruling family activities and inevitably accept Al Khalifa family as the legitimate authority in Bahrain. This suggests that the Al Khalifa will continue to make a series of deals or concessions that will strengthen its selectorate and reduce tensions from the opposition. In fact, previous to the forecast there were already signs of such concessions. In August of 2011 Bahrain's government provided the largest salary increase in the country's history for state employees and retirees.²⁰ In addition, the Khalifa also created a monthly allowance budget that had not existed before.²¹

The concessions provided by the Al Khalifa family match the behavior predicted by the private-payoffs and public goods argument described by the standard Selectorate Model. Figure 24 shows that in the final evolution of the Bahrain uprising, Waad Opposition and Al Wifaq Shia acquiesce in short to medium time horizon. Furthermore, the distance between the median stakeholder and Al Khalifa Family's support for the status quo rule are very closely aligned and do not indicate any volatility. In short, Al Khalifa rule in Bahrain is stable and not likely to change anytime soon.

The standard Selectorate Model does not account for religion. Part of the Al Khalifa's vale of legitimacy is through the role of religion. The King appoints a Shura Council of forty religious scholars to advise him on governance. In spite of such attempts for religious legitimacy, the majority of citizens in Bahrain are Shia although the Al Khalifa are Sunni. The Al Khalifa Family remains under the Saudi influence and protection because of their Sunni roots, functioning as a defense against Iranian influence over the Shia population. Bahrain is not as authoritarian as Saudi Arabia but its mix of Sunni Wahabbism within its polity and limited representation by Shias place it in the upper bound of the curve as well. If Bahrain were to become more democratic, it is predicted to become less secular. The permitting of parliamentary elections in 2006 displayed the rise of Shia and Sunni Islamists within the elected polity.

²⁰ "Bahrain Approves Public Sector Salary Increase." by Mohammad al-Jayousi. AlShorfa.com. http://al-shorfa.com/cocoon/meii/xhtml/en_GB/features/meii/features/main/2011/08/04/feature-02.

²¹ Ibid.

The standard selectorate model would suggest that if Bahrain were a democracy, the primary calculus for political survival would be a greater proportion of public services given a Democracy's large selectorate. However, an Islamist dominated polity would include religious preferences into their calculus just as much as any economic benefits.

Figure 23: Forecasted Support Al Khalifa Rule on November 11th 2011

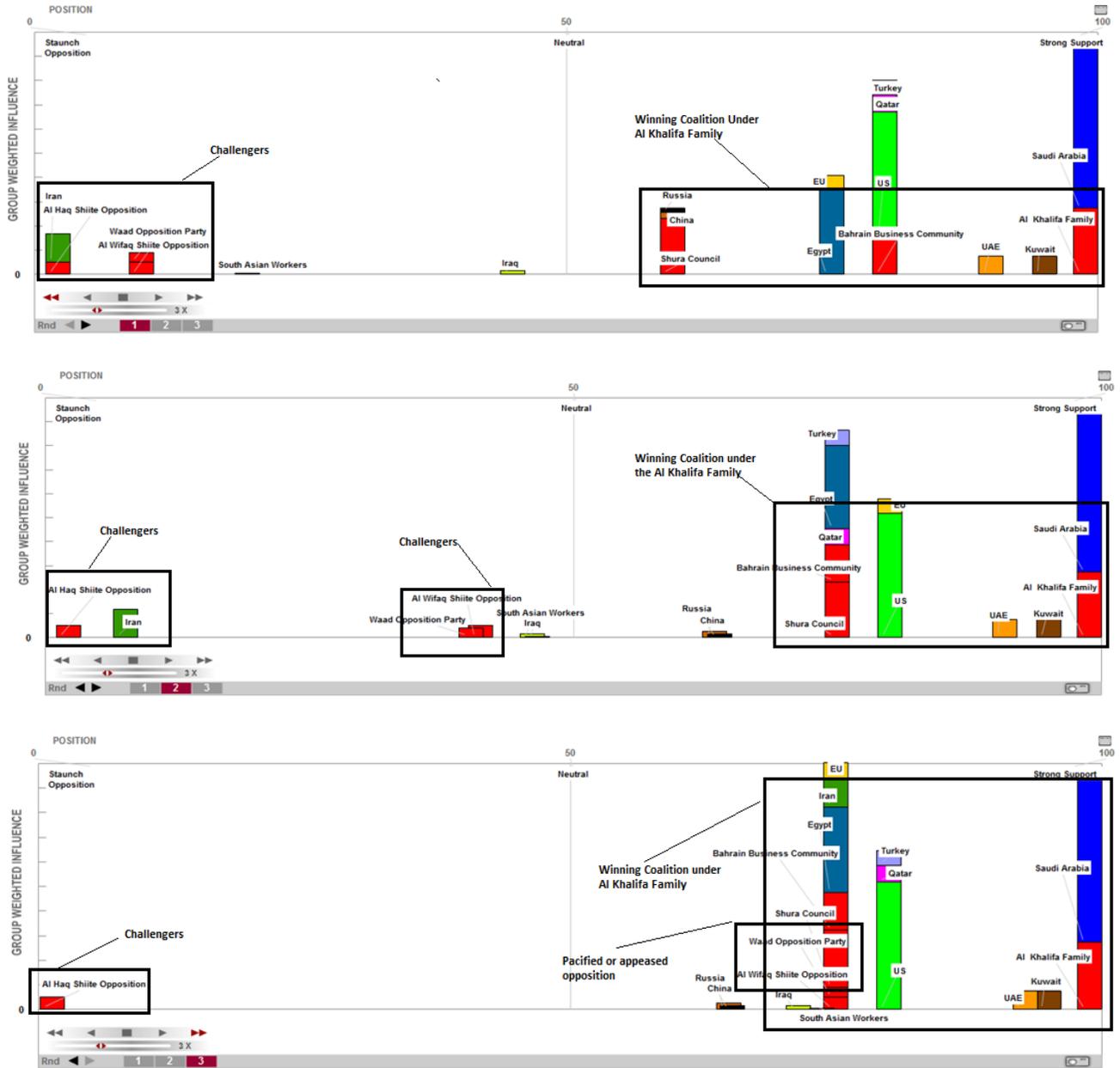
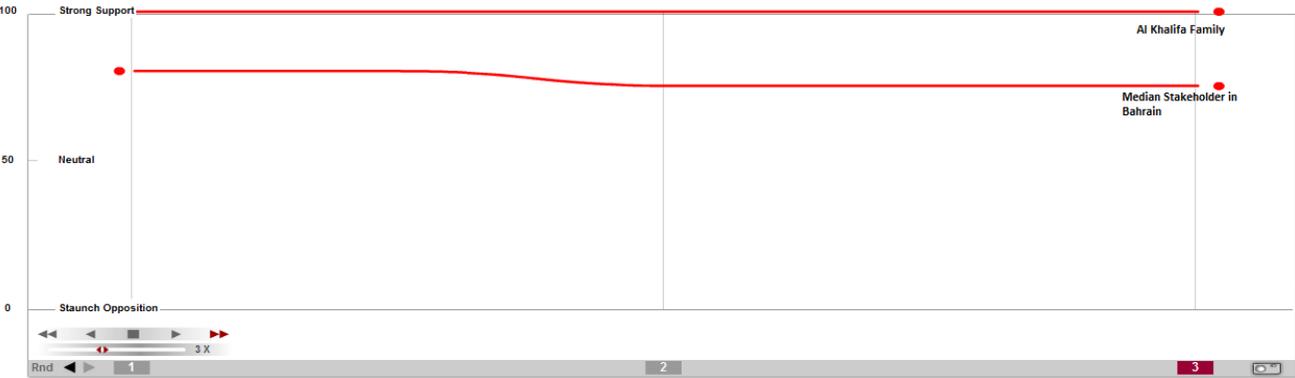


Figure 24: Projected Median Stakeholder Position for Extent of Support for Al Khalifa Rule in Bahrain



There were a total of five baseline predictions on Bahrain. Three out of the five predictions were accurate. Of these three, one of the predictions was general and two were moderately detailed. The remaining two predictions are unverified. In such regard, the pacification of the opposition seems to have worked with the increase in allowances to the general Shia population; however, the outcome is still unclear and inconclusive for the purpose of verification. The second unverified prediction is due my lack of access to granular information. In this case, I predicted that Iranian opposition activities will decrease but for the reasons described above I could verify. Nonetheless the overall prediction on Bahrain is accurate. The Al Khalifa rule is highly stable with no expected change in governance. The role of religion remains an indispensable part of the Al Khalifa family’s survival through the appointment of the Shura Council and limited representation of Shiite and Sunni sects in the Parliament. The prospect for Democracy in Bahrain is highly unlikely. A more detailed forecast can be found in the appendix.

Senturion Prediction (Data Collected 11/7/2011 and Analysis Updated 11/9/2011)	Validation	Quality of Prediction	Validation Source
Bahrain's rule under the Al Khalifa Family is stable. Having turned to rely on Saudi Arabia and the United States as their security guarantors, the Al Khalifa Family will continue their hold on power in Bahrain.	Bahrain pledges to act on criticism of crackdown -- Reuters The Al-Khalifa family remains in power under Saudi and U.S. protection. Violence has decreased tremendously. Date Validated: 11/27/2011	*Moderately specific *Accurate	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/27/us-bahrain-report-king-idUSTRE7AQ04F20111127
Shiite led elements such as Al Haq and Al Wifaq will continue to be marginalized in spite of their initial support from Iran. The opposition element most likely to continue adamantly working against the Al Khalifa Family will be Al Haq. In the final evolution of this uprising the Waad Opposition Party, Al Wifaq, and even Iran will reduce their anti-ruling family activities and eventually accept Al Khalifa family as the legitimate authority in Bahrain.	Evolution of events have not evolved yet.	*Moderately specific to detailed * Undetermined event	
Opposition elements will be further pacified either by force or limited concessions.	Bahrain pledges to act on criticism of crackdown -- Reuters Wefaq, a Shi'ite Islamist party and the largest opposition political bloc in Bahrain, said two of its members had been asked to join the 22-member commission, but that they had not agreed to participate because the party itself was shut out. Date Validated: 11/27/2011	*General *Accurate	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/27/us-bahrain-report-king-idUSTRE7AQ04F20111127
Having already conceded as supplicants of Saudi Arabia, the Al Khalifa Family will make a series of deals or concessions that will align the opposition parties and external influences from Egypt and Iran with the domestic business community.	U.S. commends Bahrain on reconciliation, sending rights envoy -- Reuters The United States commended Bahrain on Friday for moving quickly to implement steps toward political reconciliation and said it was sending its chief human rights official to the island nation for further talks.	*Detailed *Accurate	http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/12/09/us-bahrain-usa-idUSTRE7B820F20111209
Iran will decrease their opposition activities against the Al Khalifa family after realizing that a successful uprising is untenable. This suggests that they will accept some sort of deal or concession in return for ceasing anti-ruling authority operations.	Evolution of events have not evolved yet. Unable to verify	*Moderately specific to detailed *Undetermined event	

XI. Conclusion and Policy Implications

Beyond the Private Public Goods Argument: The Role of Religion in Shaping Regimes

The role of religion is not addressed in conjunction with Selectorate Theory's private and public goods maximization principle. If we are to better understand the transitions taking place in the Middle East and North Africa we should address this dimension. In observing the transitions in Egypt and Libya, I accurately predicted they are becoming less authoritarian while also becoming less secular. In the case of Egypt, Islamic parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood (now called the Freedom and Justice Party) and the ultraconservative Al Nour Party gained over 75 percent of the of Parliament through fair elections.²² The election of these parties gaining the majority of the seats in the newly formed Egyptian Parliament illustrates the religious dimension that motivates the direction of regime transitions and is not accounted for in the standard Selectorate Model.

In *The Logic of Political Survival (Buono de Mesquita, Smith, et al., 2003)* the authors argue that survival of any leader holding office is determined by the mix of private payoffs to his winning coalition and public goods to the masses. In the case of the Arab Spring, political survival is also driven by the direct acquiescence of the religious officials manifested by Islamic parties, an appointed Shura, or Sharia Law principles. To place in context, the threat of Islamic extremism has been often exaggerated by autocrats in the region as an argument for maintaining their rule, thereby preventing democratization. A few examples of this notion are Hussein era Iraq, Gaddafi era Libya and Bashar Al Assad's Syria. On the opposite hand, Islamist states imposing Sharia law have underestimated the real threat of Islamic radicalization within their ranks. The fact that fifteen of the nineteen 9/11 hijackers were citizens of the ultra-religious Saudi Arabia is not a coincidence in this regard. This begs the question: is religion and

²² "Egypt's Islamists get majority of parliament seats in final tally." By Jeffrey Fleischman and Amro Hassan. Los Angeles Times. January 21, 2012.

Democracy reconcilable in MENA? The role of religion in democratic processes runs a wide spectrum. In the case of countries with majority Muslim population, it can be divided into several forms in the context of governance. The first form is defined as democratic countries that recognize Islam as a state religion (Nasr 2001). Such examples are Malaysia, Maldives, Lebanon, and Turkey. These governments allow for the inclusion of other religions in the political process. Although not a Muslim state, Israel is also an example of a democratic state in MENA that has an official state religion (Judaism) as well as religious parties. Malaysia has a government based on the Westminster Parliamentary system, Maldives holds true to a Presidential Republic, Turkey as a Parliamentary Republic, and Lebanon as a Confessionalist Parliamentary Republic. In spite of the democratic practices, these countries serve as examples of political systems where the religious preferences determine the political survival of national leaders.

The second form of political Islam is even less easily incorporated into the selectorate single dimension of public-private goods. This is defined as an Islamist democracy, a state that holds elections but is restricted under comprehensive inclusion of Islamic laws into the affairs of the government (Ghadbian, 2003). Iran is the quintessential example of this evolution where elections while not perfect do represent a large portion of the selectorate but the primary motivation for change is religious control rather than the provision of public goods. The historical case of Iran's Islamic Revolution of 1979 displays the emergence of an Islamist movement resulting into a theocratic government that became less democratic than the previous secular government it overturned. In the months following the Shah's departure, the people of Iran voted through national referendum by an overwhelming majority to become an Islamic Republic. By equally overwhelming popular support, Ayotollah Khomeini garnered dictatorial power as the religious and political leader of the country (Nasr 2006). By Selectorate Theory definitions we cannot distinguish between Iran's theocratic government and a true democracy. The size of the selectorate thereby grew rapidly when newly enacted voting rights were extended to the majority

of Iranian citizens. The country also developed a relatively large winning coalition represented by an elected president and parliamentarians. Yet Iran became a despotic state and remains so today because the multi-party system is ultimately subservient to a Supreme Leader that has dictatorial power under a perceived divine rule from God. Finally, there is the usual Islamic form of governance that has dominated the region in the past and still remains today. These are purely Islamist authoritarian states that hold no minimal semblance for democratic elections (Lewis, 1995). Such an example is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. This case meets the selectorate definition of a dictatorial state that maintains a small selectorate and even a smaller winning coalition. The financial resources of this country are distributed disproportionately as private payoffs to the king's inner-circle with much less of the resources going to the public welfare per capita (Beblawi, 1990). But once again, the religious dimension is unaccounted for because the Saudi King Abdullah must address preferences his Islamic constituency with issues that have more to do with social or religious needs than economic concerns.

Public-Private Goods and Religion: A New Selectorate Perspective

By tracking the evolution of instability in MENA, I depict the interaction between religion, private and public goods and Democracy. The proposed Bagherpour – Singer Curve in Figure 25 and Figure 26 shows that Selectorate Theory holds true to the lower half of the curve because there is either no role of religion within the governance structure of the state apparatus or is represented by Islamic political parties that play by the same laws and rules governing secular parties. The horizontal axis of this curve depicts the spectrum of governance beginning with the left side as dictatorial government all the way to the right as a liberal democracy with multiple political parties. The vertical axis depicts the religious spectrum starting at the bottom with no role of religion in governance all the way to the top with Islamic law or Islamist governance structure. The extent of religiosity or secularism in the government is expressed by the preference of the stakeholder located at the domestic median based on qualitative knowledge on the individual or group's religious views and positions.

The six studies address the Arab Spring across the 2011 time frame. I forecasted the direction of the domestic median indicating what type of government will be present in the future or if there is no change. The extent of religiosity or secularism in the government is expressed by the preference of the stakeholder located at the domestic median coupled with qualitative knowledge on the individual or group's religious views and positions.

Egypt

Situated at the lower bound of the Bagherpour-Singer curve, Egypt's transition under the Freedom and Justice Party majority continues to be driven by secular policies summarily defined as a drive for more public goods along with economic growth. There is no imposition of Sharia Law although there are religious parties gaining over 70% of the seats in the Parliament. Although religion plays a role, it is a secondary concern over governance. In the case of Egypt, the domestic median is located at a "multiparty democracy." The stakeholder closest to the median is the Muslim Brotherhood. Based on qualitative assessment coupled with ABM median position, it is clear that Egypt is engaging in a democratic transition but is becoming less secular based on Islamic preferences, as expressed publicly by the Muslim Brotherhood.

Libya

My revised explanation for Selectorate Theory as depicted by the Bagherpour-Singer Curve in Figure 25 and Figure 26 posits that if the priority in Libya becomes religious identification then it will be in the upper bound of the curve. One of the first actions the Libyan Transitional Council undertook was the imposition of Sharia Law, placing Libya in the upperbound of the curve. In such case the standard Selectorate Model explanation will not be sufficient in determining the behavior of the leadership based on the private-public goods argument because the laws governing all parties are under Islamic Law. In the case of Libya, the median position is at limited multiparty democracy. The stakeholder closest to the

median is Omar Hariri, the head of the Libyan Council and an Islamist. This is a clear indication that Libya is becoming more Democratic but less secular. The imposition of Sharia Law indicates that Libya has crossed the threshold for an inclusive Democracy, although they have multiple parties running. The justice system is tilted in preference of Islamist and creates a restricted hierarchy based on the imposition of Sharia Law.

Saudi Arabia

The revised Selectorate Model as illustrated by the Bagherpour-Singer Curve in Figure 25 and 26 shows that Saudi Arabia is both highly authoritarian and religious. Although the Saudi Government provides massive amount of private payoffs and public services through petroleum revenues, it's legitimacy is based on approval from the Shura council and the Sharia laws that govern the state. For this reason it is in the upper bound of the curve. In the case of Saudia Arabia, the median position is in support of the House of Saud Monarchy. The House of Saud governs with strict Sharia Law. Therefore it is highly religious. Because the median position is located at the House of Saud, the government remains stable and is not expected to change.

Syria

Syria is situated at the lower bound of the Bagherpour-Singer curve as a country that is highly authoritarian and does not include the the religious leader in major organs of government. The public-private payoffs argument holds true under the Assad regime as the primary motive for his survival, a typical example of an autocrat who has provides few benefits to the disenfranchised while providing major concessions to his winning coalition. In the case of of Syria, the median is located at harsh authoritarianism. The person closest to the median is Bashar Al Assad. He is a secular despot, indicating that Syria is stable and will remain secular so long as Assad remain in power. Although becoming less

relevant, Assad is expected to survive in the short to medium term. However, his loss of influence implies that future leadership should account for religious preferences if seeking to remain stable.

Bahrain

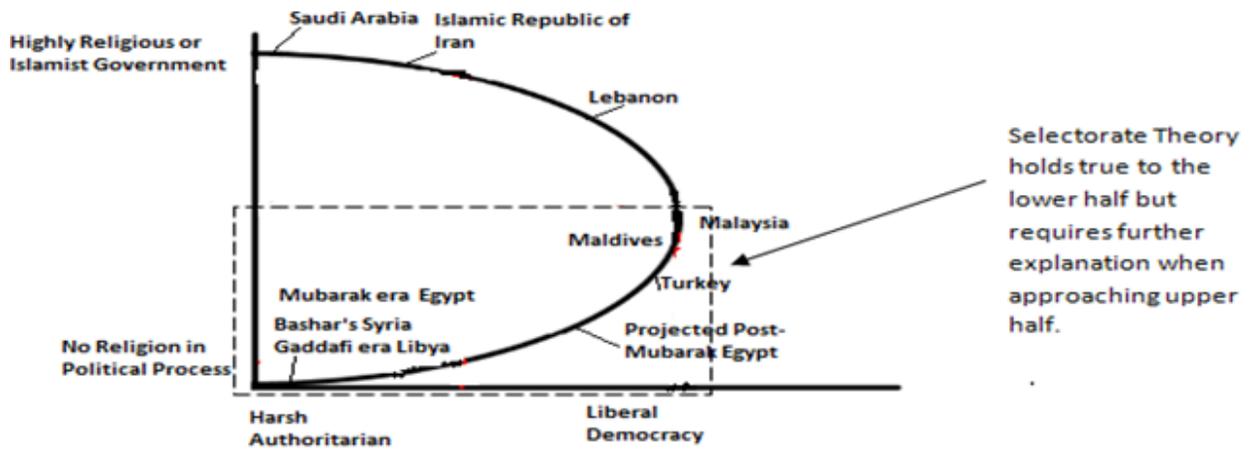
Bahrain is situated in the upper-bound of the Bagherpour-Singer curve illustrated in Figure 25. Bahrain is not as authoritarian as Saudi Arabia but its mix of Sunni Wahabbism within its polity and limited representation by Shias place it in the upper bound of the curve as well. In the case of Bahrain, the median position is in support of the Khalifa family and stable. This means Bahrain will continue to be stable. Bahrain will also continue to be religious government based on the Khalifa's family partnership with Bahrain's Shura Council. Therefore, Bahrain remains on the upper bound of the Bagherpour-Singer Curve as a non-democratic religious government.

Iran

Iran serves as prime example of a country where the size of the selectorate increased but the country became more authoritarian because of the imposing of a draconian religious order. It is situated in the upper bound of the Bagherpour Singer Curve (Figure 25) because of the Constitutional law that gives ultimate authority to the Supreme Leader as the religious and governing authority over all aspects of the state. In the case of Iran, the domestic median is located at the status quo government, the Supreme Leader structure. The stakeholder located at the domestic median is Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. This is a clear indication of that the government in Iran is stable under theocratic rule because of the Supreme leader's religious preferences.

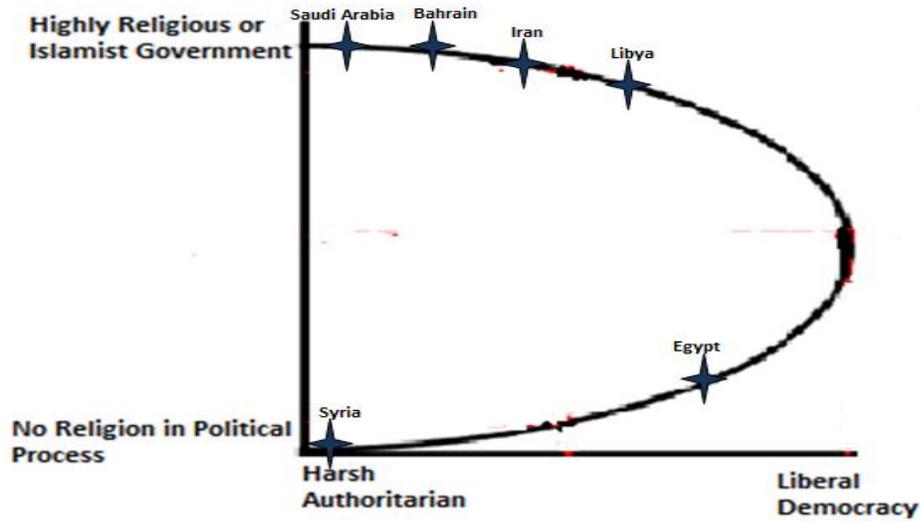
Figure 25: Bagherpour – Singer Curve

Interaction between Religion and Democracy in Muslim Majority Countries



	Leadership's Priority for Survival	Leadership's Secondary Priority for Survival	Form of Govt.	Does Public-Private Goods Argument Hold?	Position on Bagherpour - Singer Curve
Iran	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Authoritarian	No	Upper-Bound
Lebanon	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Democratic	No	Upper-Bound
Turkey	Public-Private Payoffs	Religion	Democratic	Yes	Lower-Bound
Malaysia	Public-Private Payoffs	Religion	Democratic	Yes	Lower-Bound
Maldives	Public-Private Payoffs	Religion	Democratic	Yes	Lower-Bound
Egypt under Mubarak	Public-Private Payoffs	Secularism	Authoritarian	Yes	Lower-Bound
Egypt in Transition	Public-Private Payoffs	Religion	Democratic	Yes	Lower-Bound
Libya under Gaddafi	Public-Private Payoffs	Secularism	Authoritarian	Yes	Lower-Bound
Libya in Transition	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Democratic	No	Upper-Bound
Syria	Public-Private Payoffs	Secularism	Authoritarian	Yes	Lower-Bound
Saudi Arabia	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Authoritarian	No	Upper-Bound

Figure 26: Interaction between Religion and Democracy in 2011 MENA Case Studies



	Leadership's Priority for Survival	Leadership's Secondary Priority for Survival	Form of Govt.	Does Public-Private Goods Argument Hold?	Position on Bagherpour - Singer Curve
Iran	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Authoritarian	No	Upper-Bound
Egypt in Transition	Public-Private Payoffs	Religion	Democratic	Yes	Lower-Bound
Libya in Transition	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Democratic	No	Upper-Bound
Syria	Public-Private Payoffs	Secularism	Authoritarian	Yes	Lower-Bound
Saudi Arabia	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Authoritarian	No	Upper-Bound
Bahrain	Religion	Public-Private Payoffs	Authoritarian	No	Upper-Bound

I determined that the threshold for where Selectorate Theory is a sufficient explanation for governance is based on prioritization of preferences (Zagare, 1990). Those governments on the lower bound hold secular rules of governance as the first priority and consideration for Islamic principles as a secondary issue. In contrast those countries on the upper bound reciprocally govern with religious rules or principles as the first priority with secular issues as a secondary concern. Selectorate Theory holds

true to the lower half of the curve because there is either no role of religion within the governance structure of the state apparatus or if there are Islamic political parties representing the polity, such groups play by the same non-religious laws governing secular parties. In short, lower bound countries are restrained from imposing religious order on the entire society at large. The priority for the leadership in these cases on the lower-bound of the curve remains a mix of private benefits and public goods. In the case of Libya, Muamar Gaddafi ruled as a highly secular despot that used private-payoffs with little regard for public services to his people. Gaddafi era Libya was situated at the lower left of the curve as a highly authoritarian state that relentlessly marginalized the role of religion. The lower bound also applies to Mubarak-era Egypt and Bashar Al-Assad's Syria. The irony of religious suppression in the name of secularism was that by keeping these religious groups marginalized, these governments catapulted the radicalization of disenfranchised Muslims in their respective societies by forcing them to act outside the law. Such religious groups revolted not only to gain access to public goods but to gain access to religious traditions that paradoxically constrain the secular freedoms of the new selectorate.

Islam explicitly defined itself as a political movement dictating on how societies ought to govern. Perhaps because there has not been a wide scale secular reform movement with Islam, today there is no democratically elected state with a majority Muslim population without the presence of Islamic parties within their polity. The Bagherpour-Singer revised Selectorate Theory holds true in these cases as well. Turkey, Malaysia, Lebanon and Maldives serve as historical examples. In the case of the Arab Spring, our analysis indicates that Egypt is projected to become a democracy as evident by the Parliamentary elections. Although there are radical Islamist elements within the polity, the moderate Freedom and Justice Party has emerged with majority control over the Parliament, a political party formerly known as the Muslim Brotherhood. Situated at the lower bound of the Bagherpour-Singer curve, Egypt's transition under the Freedom and Justice Party majority continues to be driven by secular policies summarily defined as a drive for more public goods along with economic growth.

My case studies covering the Arab Spring and Iran reinforce a simple idea: Political survival is determined by a leader's ability to maintain his coalition. To recap, the standard Selectorate Theory would have us believe that power is maintained or gained merely through the mix of private payoffs to a leader's coalition with a portion of public goods given to the rest of the masses depending on the size of the selectorate. However, the emergence of Islamists within all of the selectorates described in my case studies proves differently. The once secular regional autocrats are all gone with the exception of Bashar Al Assad who is on the brink of irrelevance at best and collapse at worst. My ABM forecasts reveal the once secular states such as Egypt and Libya are becoming less autocratic while at the same becoming more religious with the rise of Islamist parties by democratic means. Democratic elections in Egypt have given rise to the Muslim Brotherhood and more extreme Islamists parties gaining a combined 75% of the seat in the Parliament. In similar fashion, Libya has given rise to numerous Islamist parties that never existed during Gaddafi's reign. The Libyan Transitional Council's first actions upon defeating Gaddafi were the imposing of Sharia Law, a further indication of Islamization within a once secular government. The countries that have had uprisings are all being led by Islamist oppositions ranging from the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, the Islah Party in Yemen, and the Al Wifaq Party in Bahrain. Those who have avoided uprisings (Iran and Saudi Arabia) or successfully quelled them (Bahrain) have done so by the implicit cooperation with their Islamic stakeholders being appeased.

In every single case the point is clear: religious preferences must take into account the calculus for political survival in MENA. The Bagherpour-Singer Curve (Figure 25) illustrates that as a Muslim majority society becomes more democratic, the society becomes more religious. Iran serves as prime example of a country where the size of the selectorate increased but the country became more authoritarian because of the imposing of a draconian religious order. In the other cases observed in the Arab Spring, it is too early to determine the medium to long-term time horizon in which we can observe

a stabilized selectorate. However, my ABM forecasts show a clear increase in the size of the selectorates with Egypt and Libya making attempts at democratization.

My simulations validate my two hypotheses clearly. In the first hypothesis, the outcome of the conflict is determined by the position closest to the median stakeholder. But more interesting than this dynamic is the emergence of Islamists as indispensable elements of the winning coalitions. My forecasts also indicate that states which have an increasing distance between the status quo leadership and the median stakeholder become highly unstable and susceptible to eventual collapse. In this situation as well, we can observe that the median stakeholder is determined by the weighted influence of Islamist actors.

In conclusion power is gained and maintained not just from economic benefits but also by appeasement of the rising religious preferences within the MENA selectorates. The countries that are least prone to collapse are predicted to be those who have religious elements within their winning coalitions. Those leaders which have largely ignored the rising religious tides in their countries have suffered at their own peril. The irony is that addressing the religious preferences of these newly emerging political powers allows for democratization or at least a less autocratic process to take place in the transition period. However, having gained access within the selectorate, these Islamist actors mitigate the democratic processes which brought them to power in the first place.

The threshold for whether a country is in the upper bound of the Bagherpour-Singer curve is the prioritization between religion and public-private payoffs. The states where the priority for political survival is religious considerations are on the upper bound of the curve. In these instances, the public-private goods argument does not hold because the leadership is driven by ideological preferences that have less to do with financial gain and more to do with the acquiescence of Islamic principles.

In the case of Iran, the Supreme leader's authority is mandated by the Islamic clergy. So long as the Ayatollah Khamenei has support from the clergy, he can continue to garner control. Indeed, the the

role of private payoffs plays a part in the Khamenei’s grip on power, but it. It is estimated that the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), a critical part of the Supreme leader’s winning coalition, controls more than one-third of the official economy.

Figure 27: Summary Chart

	Egypt	Libya	Syria	Iran	Saudi Arabia	Bahrain
Uprising	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Survival of Leader	Mubarak Removed	Gaddafi Removed	Assad Remains	Khamenei Remains	Saudi Family Remains	Al Khalifa Family Remains
Stability	Unstable	Unstable	Stable	Stable	Stable	Stable
Stakeholder closest to Domestic Median	Muslim Brotherhood (Islamic Preference)	Omar El Hariri of Transitional Council (Islamic Preference)	Bashar Al Assad (Secular)	Khamenei (Islamic Preference)	King Abdullah (Islamic Preference)	Al Khalifa Family (Islamic Preference)
Government Type	Transitional Multiparty Democracy	Transitioning Multiparty Tribal system	Autocratic	Theocratic	Religious Monarchy	Religious Monarchy
Private-Payoffs vs. public goods (measured by CPI prior to Arab Spring)	2.9 -- Highly Corrupt	2 -- Highly Corrupt	2.6 -- Highly Corrupt	2.7 -- Highly Corrupt	4.4 -- Corrupt	5.1 -- Corrupt
Religiosity	Islamic Parties included (less secular)	Sharia Law imposed with Islamic Parties (less secular)	Secular	Islamist Government	Islamist Government	Islamist Government
Selectorate Size	Expanding Selectorate with Competitive Elections	Expanding Selectorate with Competitive Elections	No Change -- Small W/S	No Change -- Small W/S with non-competitive elections	No change -- small W/S	No change -- small W/S

In examining the Arab Spring, political survival goes beyond just the public-private goods mix. In the summary chart depicted by Figure 27, I concluded that stability is a function of public-private goods, participation, and religion. Given the sparse data on public expenditures versus private payoffs, I provide evidence of a disproportionate level of private payoffs by citing the Corruption Perception Index (CPI). The figure above indicates that the six the case countries in this dissertation are either corrupt or highly corrupt, an indication of disproportionate private payoffs. In the case of participation, there is no numeric data comparing participation in terms of voting across all countries. Instead, I made a qualitative assessment and classified selectorate size as a) expanding with competitive elections, b) no change (small W/S) c) no with small W/S with non-competitive election.

Although the extent of religiosity varies, all the case studies with the exception of Syria have some element of religion within their institutions. Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain are considered Islamist governments and are stable compared to the secular governments overthrown during the Arab Spring. The transitional government in Egypt is less secular than the previous one but the rise of Islamic Parties

and a push for some Islamization is evident. Libya is on an even greater path toward Islamization based on the Libyan Council's decision to impose Sharia Law. All of the stakeholders closest to the median with the exception of Bashar Al Assad have Islamic preferences for governance, an indication that the governments will either remain Islamic or transition in the direction if not already. The figure above is summary of my findings: that political survival (i.e. stability) best achieved in MENA through the right proportion of private-public goods and an element of religiosity that is expressed either by religious parties or official partnership with the government at large.

Policy Implications

Achieving stability in MENA is just one element within the broad array of American national interests for the region. The policy implications for the United States are clear: Regardless of democratization, to achieve stability, the United States and the international community should accommodate the religious actors into the political process, so long as they do not collide with their interests. From a policy standpoint, this dissertation is a study on assessing the feasibility of stabilizing the Middle East and an evaluation on whether achieving democratic outcomes are achievable. If the United States seeks to create a world in its own image, it must do so by realizing the costs and reality of achieving the end-state. The secular despots of the Middle East are now gone and are being replaced by governments that are more religious than the rulers they overthrew. The one exception is Bashar Al Assad's Syria; however, he too is becoming less relevant as Syria descends into civil war.

The standard Selectorate Model suggests that enough bribes and private payoffs coupled with limited services to the masses can offset dissatisfaction in even the most authoritarian states. However, my revised Selectorate Model indicates that such a system can pacify but never satisfy authoritarian societies unless the ideological or religious preferences of the various political groups are addressed. The case of Iran in the 1979 was a cautionary tale more than thirty years prior to the Arab Spring. Under the Shah's reforms and spiking oil prices of the 1970s, Iran experienced a massive increase in wealth and

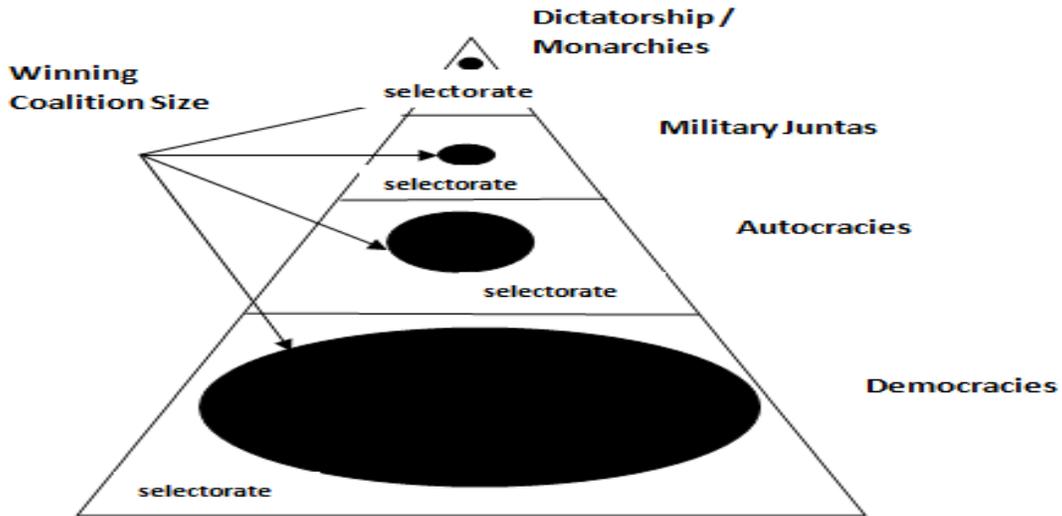
quality of life. Yet the Shah's regime was overthrown because many of the ideological and religious preferences of groups outside of the political system were not addressed. This resulted into an Islamist movement that delivered much less in wealth than the previous government it overturned with a Islamic society that addressed the people's ideological preferences.

The United States and the international community should encourage the countries in MENA to include religious actors into the political process regardless of whether the state is democratic or not. For stability it can turn to Saudi Arabia to see a model that works. The Saudi monarchy includes all the elements of a stable regime based on the revised Selectorate Model: a large amount of private-payoffs and public services due to their massive oil wealth, coupled with an integration of the ultra conservative religious Ulama into the polity. The result of this is a society that is not only stable but reliable so far international oil interests are concerned. A similar formula should be applied utilizing the three elements of the revised Selectorate Model. Egypt, Libya, Syria, Bahrain and Iran all have different ideological preferences and are in different stages of development. The question should not only address if democratization is possible but rather if the ideological preference of the society is being addressed by the extent of religiosity. Only these states become stable for the medium to long term horizons.

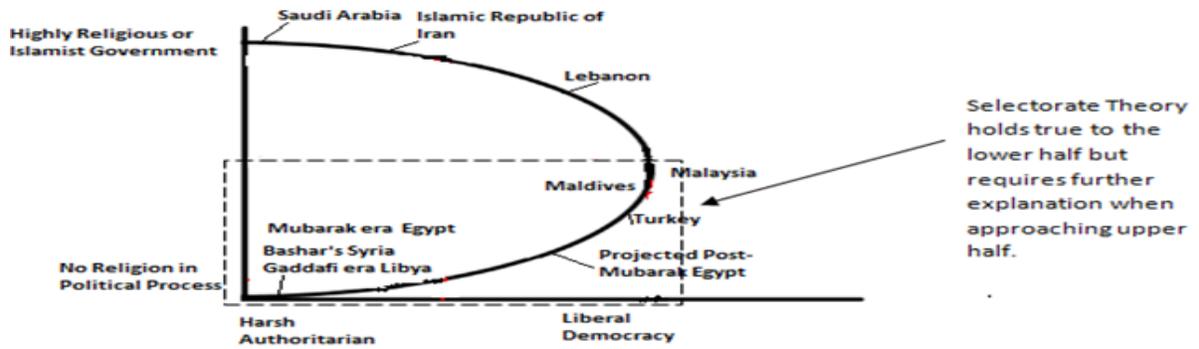
Appendix

Charts Depicting Selectorate and Revised Selectorate Models

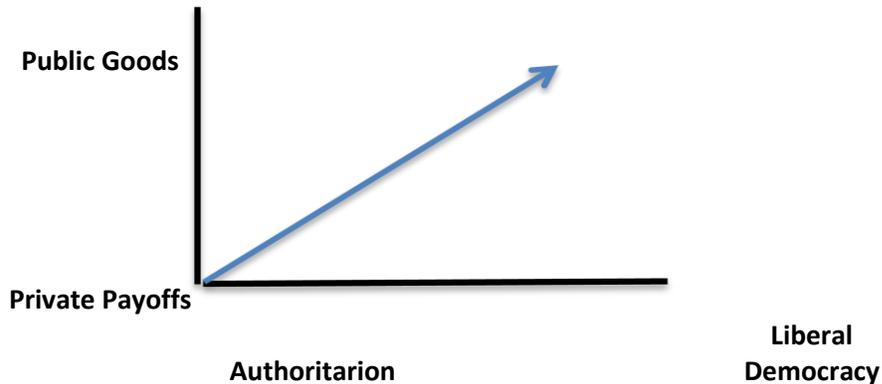
Interaction Between Selectorate Size and Government Types



Interaction between Religion and Democracy in Muslim Majority Countries



Interaction Between Public Goods and Government Type (but the role of religion is not included)



1. Complete Predictions on Egypt

a. The Egyptian Uprising: The Departure of Hosni Mubarak

Data Collected: February 3rd 2011 **Analysis Completed:** February 7th 2011

Background: The massive protests in Tunisia followed by the abdication of its ruler Ben Ali in motivated the people of Egypt to follow in a similar path. In doing so, Tunisia and Egypt share a similar story. Both countries were making significant headway in initiating reforms that had helped spark economic growth. But the crash of the global economy resulted in massive unemployment for both countries while high expectations for an improved standard of living still remained. This served as a major factor in elevating the level of dissatisfaction amongst the people beyond a level of toleration for corruption, human-rights abuses, and absence of political rights with the country. Hence we are now observing a massive uprising amongst the Egyptian people who are making a major demand for change within their country.

Will Mubarak stay? Newly empowered political parties, such as WAFD, Al Ghud and to a lesser degree the Muslim Brotherhood, will pressure Mubarak to begin a forced, yet measured transition. Regime change will likely be negotiated due to continued support from the Egyptian Army and intelligence services for an orderly transition.

What if something happens to Mubarak? If for some unanticipated reason Mubarak departs quickly, a highly fractionalized polity will rapidly evolve where previous military support for a stable transition succumbs to popular support represented by El Baradei for faster results. However, the Intelligence services will remain adamantly opposed to any change and increased political violence is expected.

What type of democratic or autocratic regime change is coming? When & how long? If Mubarak remains in Egypt during a measured transition, the prospects for a stable democracy remain limited. There will be an initial jockeying for position leaning toward a liberalized Democracy as most political interest are capitalizing on the current anti-Mubarak situation, but almost all Egyptian political parties,

with the exception of Al Ghud, will quickly revert to more autocratic means even more repressive than the current regime in order to maintain stability.

Is Mubarak helping or hindering democracy? If for some unanticipated reason Mubarak departs Egypt quickly, current calls for democracy from all the political parties and international groups are likely be much more successful. Mubarak's early departure creates a power vacuum under current conditions that El Baradei and other supporters of reform could effectively capitalize on. Under this scenario, lasting dramatic democratic reforms are possible and supported by the military and the international community. Even the intelligence community will slowly support higher levels of democratic reform under these conditions in order to maintain political stability. In short, a democratic future of Egypt's government depends on Hosni Mubarak's immediate departure. The longer he stays, the lower the likelihood for lasting democratic reforms.

What will be attitudes towards US interests? Short of major unforeseen violence or political terrorism attacks, fears of accelerating anti American sentiment are likely to be unfounded. Egyptian bureaucracy, political institutions as well as the military will not significantly shift current support toward the US, although some US credibility has already eroded since the uprising.

Overview: I explore the current political events, negotiations and coalition building between various internal forces in Egypt as well as the external players such as the United States and other countries. Using expert information collected on February 3rd, 2011 and Senturion analysis performed on February 7th, I offer the following report. In addition to the predicted outcomes of the current positions, I also suggest other courses of actions indicating alternative futures of what may happen if the internal players within Egypt and various coalition partners change their positions. I evaluate three issues affecting the outcome of the Egyptian upheaval.

1. The extent of support for Hosni Mubarak
2. Commitment to Democratic Reform

3. Disposition towards the United States

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I conducted SME interviews along with my internal verification of the various players seeking to advocate their own positions within the Egyptian uprising. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors and with importance they placed on their positions within the issue continuum.

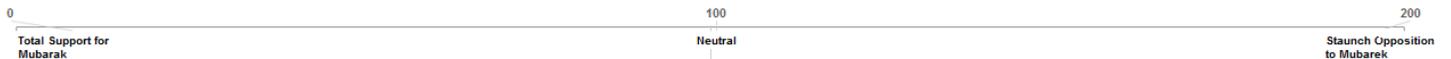
Current Situation: As the second week of protests continue in Egypt Hosni Mubarak has stated that he will not run for President in the following election which is more than seven months away. Major forces within Egypt, including the newly emerged Mohamed El-Baradei are siding with popular support for Mubarak's immediate departure. The United States has also indicated its loss of confidence for Mubarak, calling for him to step down sooner than later. In reaction to the Egyptian protesters, Mubarak has appointed Omar Suleiman (intelligence chief) as Egypt's first Vice President and Ahmed Shafiq (Air Force General) as the Prime Minister. In addition to the changes taking place within the government apparatus, political parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood, the WAFD party and Al Ghud party are certainly mobilizing to jockey for position as events continue to unfold.

I. Mubarak's Departure

Issue: Support and disposition toward Hosni Mubarak

Problem: Although disintegration of support for Mubarak within the Arab street in Egypt is evident, support within the government apparatus and other political forces are less clear.

Issue Continuum: The scale of preferences range from zero as "Total Support for Mubarak" all the way 200 as "Staunch Opposition to Mubarak". As displayed by the continuum below, 100 is Neutral. For example, 0 position of would mean a continued preference for Mubarak remaining in power while 200 would represent Mubarak's immediate departure with no pre-conditions or caveats of any type.



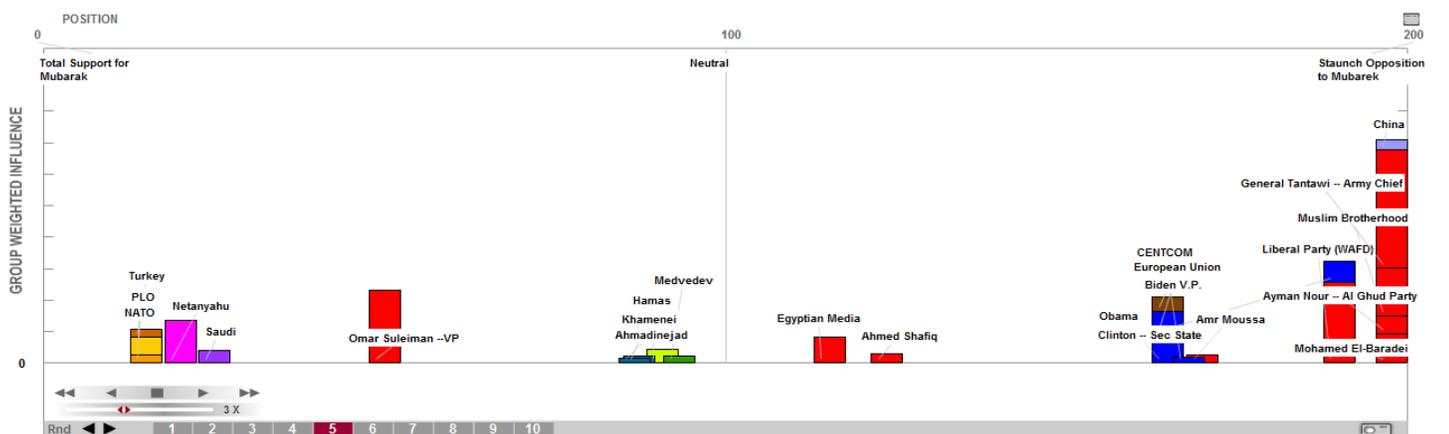
Scenario: Mubarak's Prolonged Departure

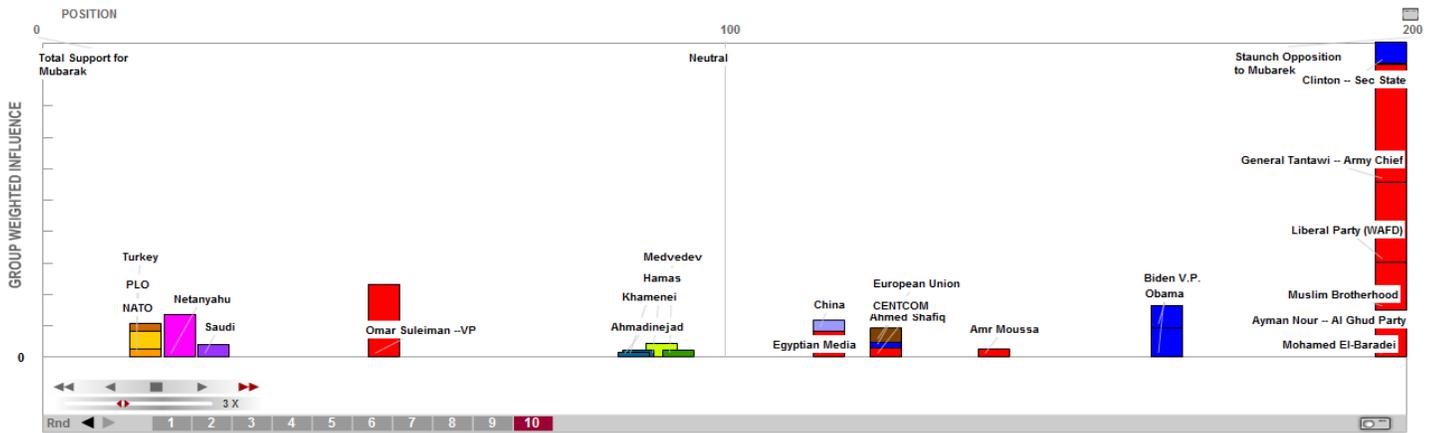


Outcome: The simulation suggests that if Mubarak prolongs his stay, he will not be deposed from within the government apparatus. His coalition will not splinter and he will leave Egypt from a combination of external pressure coupled with pressure from political parties that are not part of the government apparatus. Therefore, he has the ability to prolong his stay in Egypt if he desires in the foreseeable months. The simulation indicates the positions supporting and deposing Mubarak will not change

significantly. The Army, represented by General Tantawi, is the most powerful force thus far because of its organizational strength and ability to mobilize. The Army is closely allied with Mubarak and will continue to support him in the coming days, but this will wane over time. The Army's primary goal will be assuring a peaceful transition of power while preserving its own interests. Mubarak has strong support from the PLO, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel and Saudi Arabia. This support will not change. The newly appointed Vice President who is also Intelligence Chief Omar Suleiman is still an ally support of peacefully transitioning Mubarak. However, the simulation interestingly displays that Iran will initially depose Mubarak, but will eventually turn to a position slightly to left of Neutral with limited support. The Liberal Party, Ayman Nour of the Al Ghud Party, the Muslim Brotherhood, and Mohamed El Baradei will form a coalition to depose Mubarak indicating that their position will not change. The United States will remain opposed to Mubarak following the initial upheaval.

Scenario: Mubarak's Early Departure





Outcome: The forecast indicates that if Mubarak departs early, the state apparatus will become splintered between the Army and the intelligence service. Omar Suleiman, the acting VP and head of the intelligence service will hold a position that is more pro-Mubarak; however, the Army leadership will defect toward a staunch anti-Mubarak position. Although power will weigh toward an anti-Mubarak stance, the outcome will be much more conflicting within the government if Mubarak departs early.

Strength: My simulations indicate that the U.S. can leverage Omar Suleiman toward an anti-Mubarak opposition block. This may reduce conflict within the Egyptian government.

Weakness: The state’s security forces will remain splintered if Mubarak leaves and the U.S. does not intervene.

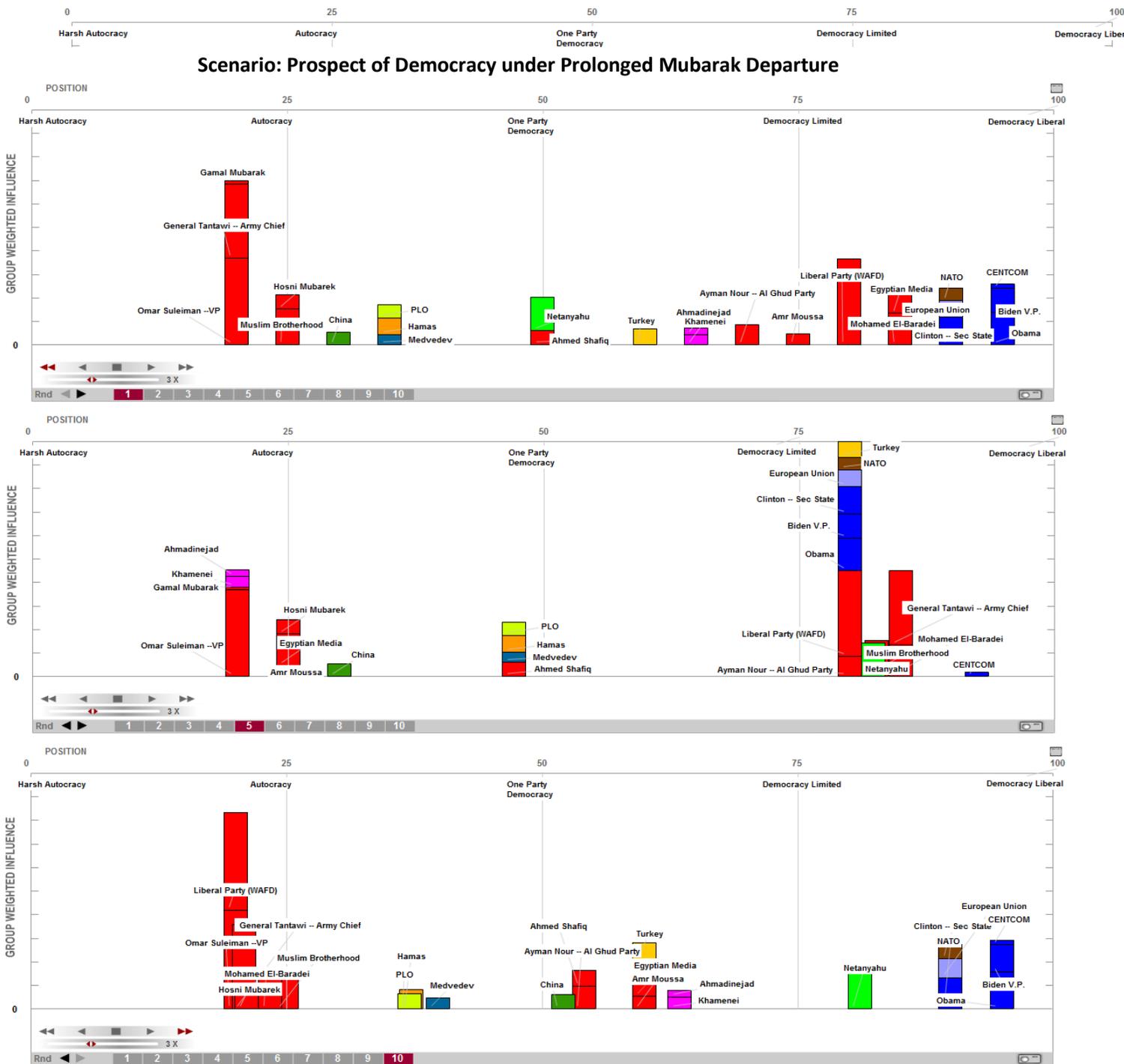
Opportunities: The U.S. can leverage Suleiman once Mubarak departs.

Prospects for Democracy

Issue: Disposition toward Democratic Government.

Issue Continuum: The scale begins at 0 defined as “Harsh Autocracy.” This would be defined as a step back from the current Mobarek regime with a greater concentration of power and repression. The scale at 25 is the status quo position represented by the Mubarak regime. The mid-point of the scale is defined as a “One Party Democracy,” a system similar to the political structure in Russia. The next point is “Democracy Limited,” defined as continuous free elections with the possibility of a two party system

and limited procedural reforms. And finally at a 100 I labeled “Democracy Liberal,” a Democracy resembling any multitude of developed western European systems.



Outcome: Although there will be an initial jockeying leaning toward a liberalized Democracy, my calculations indicate that the final outcome will still be some form of autocracy that does not reach the

minimum threshold necessary for a democracy or a one party system. In short there will be some easing of restrictions and reforms resulting into an autocracy leaning toward free elections; however, in the end the government will still exert repression in order to satisfy coalition needs and tradeoffs between chaos and order.

Strength: There will initially emerge a democratic movement, but it will be temporary.

Weakness: These forces want to create space through an initial democratic movement to pursue their own inevitable autocratic or Islamist aspirations. I observe this with various moves toward liberalized Democracy by the WAFD party, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Al Ghud Party, and Amr Moussa. This will be followed afterwards by General Tantawi's move to a Democratic preference. However, in the end most political parties along with the Army will lean toward an autocratic form of government that will provide improved but limited reforms compared to the Mubarak regime. One exception in remaining committed to a Democratic system is the Al Ghud Party.

Opportunities: The United States and allies can use the transitional time for democratic reform to advocate their positions toward liberalized reforms. Although the reforms that will most likely take place in Egypt will not reach the threshold for a democratic system, there will be improved reforms closer to democratic dispositions compared to the status quo ante.

Threats: The initial democratic movement will eventually stabilize under some form of autocracy. This presents the risk of rising non-secular movements.

Scenario: Prospect of Democracy with Mubarak's Early Departure



Outcome: The earlier Mubarak departs, the higher the prospects for a democratic transition that hold.

The simulation indicates that if Mubarak departs soon, there will be a coalition leaning toward a Liberal Democracy with the various political parties aligned on position and the state apparatus aligned closer to a one party system but still surprising the threshold for a democratic state.

Strength: If Mubarak leaves soon, a democratic system that holds will emerge.

Weakness: State security apparatus will remain divided with the political parties on the type of democracy. This will present secondary and tertiary levels of uncertainty not captured by this forecast.

Opportunity: The U.S. and various political parties can leverage the Army and intelligence services to move closer to a liberal democracy.

III. Support for the U.S.

Issue: Disposition toward Pro or Anti-American Stance if Mubarak draws out departure from Egypt.

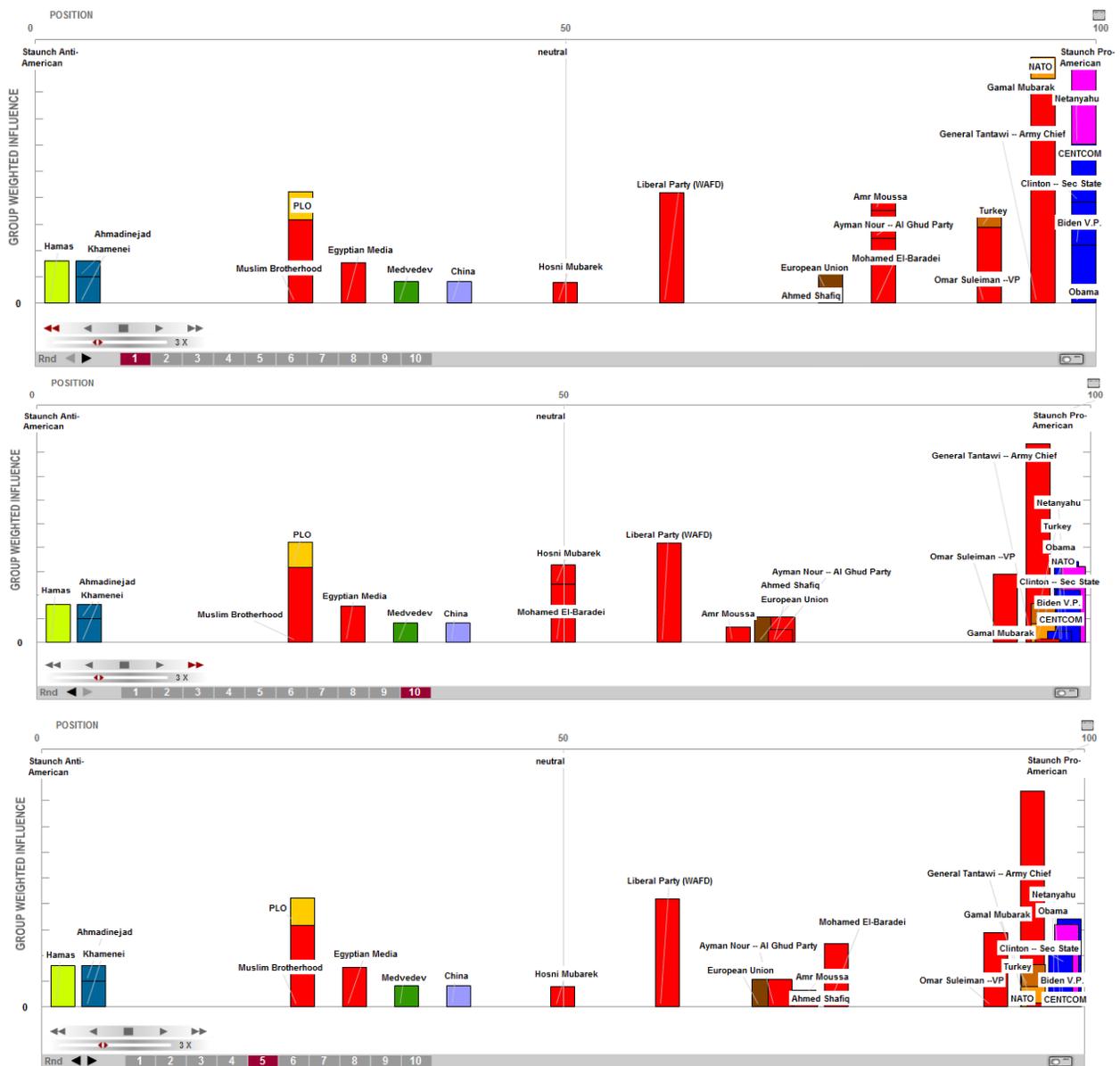
Problem: Egypt is a major power center in the Middle East because of its large population and geo-strategic location. It has served as the primary ally of the United States within the Arab world for over 30 years. A loss of support will damage American credibility and potentially push other Arab countries in a similar direction.

Current Situation: The military and intelligence apparatus within Egypt have strong relationships with the United States and receive \$1.3 billion in defense aid annually. Therefore, they have a strong interest in remaining friendly to the United States. However, the Arab sentiment in the street and organized political parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood hold opposite opinions. They will portray the United States as an enabler for the Mubarak regime resulting from over 30 years of support. This historic relationship between Mubarak and the U.S. will hinder a pro-American disposition from holding sway within the various political parties in Egypt.

Issue Continuum: The scale range from zero labeled as “Staunch Anti-American” to 100 as “Staunch Pro-American.” A staunch anti-American position would mean that the bedrock of political strength and ideology is rooted in anti-western and anti-American opinions. A staunch pro-American position is defined as a willing ally of the United States committed to fully aligned interests on a majority of foreign policy issues and many domestic issues.

Outcome: The disposition toward a pro-American agenda will not change after the various political parties take form. The changes that have taken place in regard to a pro-U.S. policy have already occurred. The simulation indicates that the current positions will remain the same. The Army will stay committed toward a Pro-American disposition and this will not change through the various evolutions of the crisis. However, the Muslim Brotherhood and Egyptian Media will elevate anti-U.S. sentiment, but it will not be enough to create policy changes that alter American interests in regard to Egypt.

Scenario: Support for U.S. with Prolonged Mubarak Departure



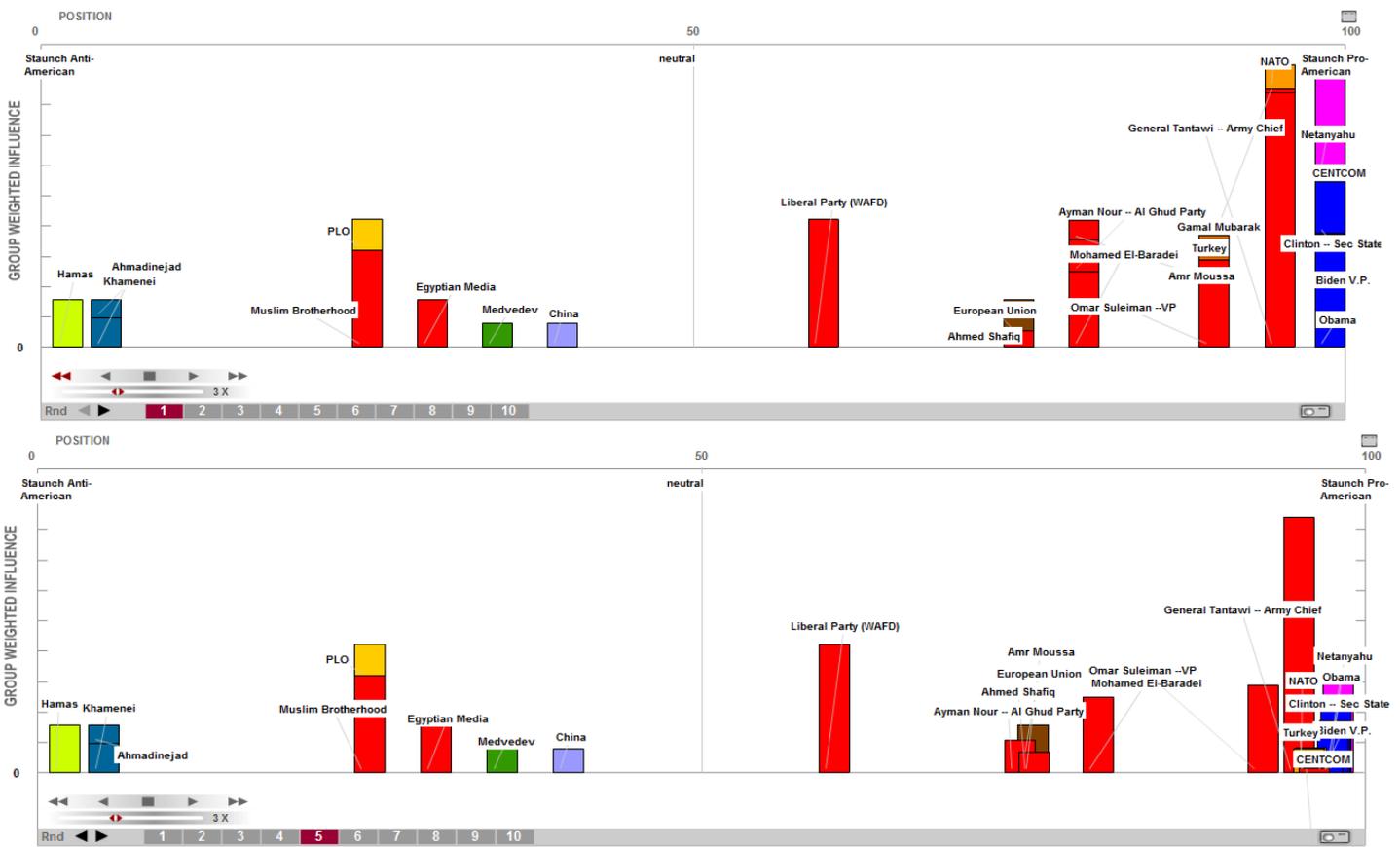
Strength: The Army and majority of power will remain staunch supporters of the United States

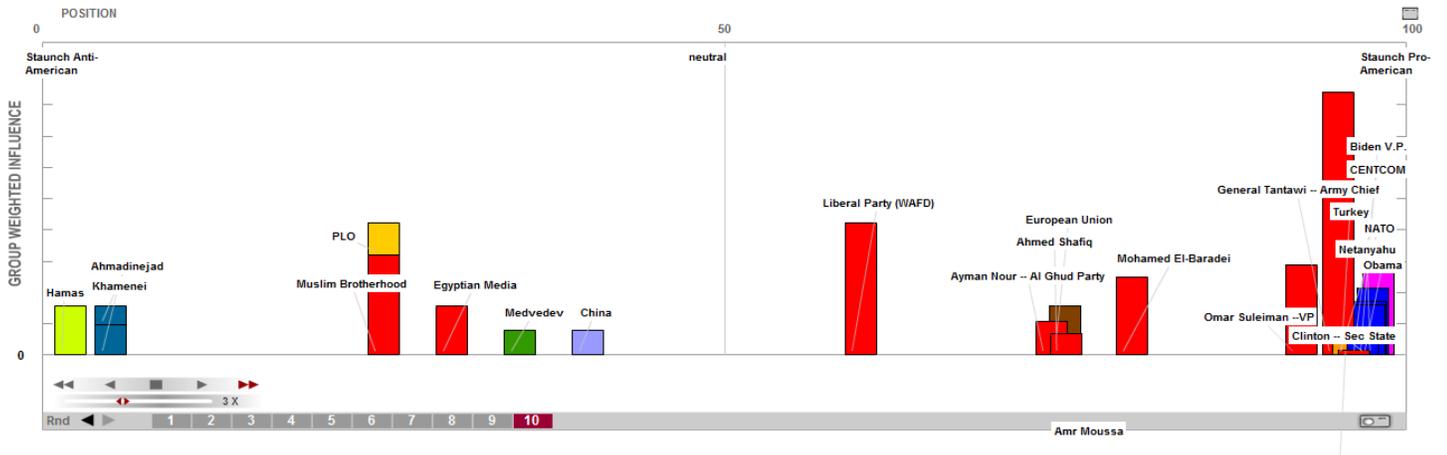
Weakness: There will be an elevated level of Anti-Americanism represented by the Muslim Brotherhood. This may have secondary and tertiary effects not predicted in this model.

Opportunities: The U.S. can leverage the Army to seek support from the Al-Ghud Party and Mohamed El-Baradei in return for reform and some form of power sharing.

Threats: The rise in the level of Anti-Americanism expressed by the Egyptian media and the Muslim Brotherhood can push other political players such as the WAFD party and Al Ghud Party in the same direction.

Scenario: Support for U.S. if Mubarak Departs Early





Outcome: Support for the United States or against it will not change significantly based on Mubarak’s departure.

Strength: Egyptian policy with the U.S. will remain stable so far as the government is concerned.

Weakness: There will still be anti-American sentiment presented by the media. The positions do not change; but the extent of anti-Americanism among the media and Muslim brotherhood is underdetermined and not completely captured by this simulation.

Opportunities: My simulation indicates that the Army and intelligence services can leverage the Muslim Brotherhood toward a more pro-American stance.

b. Egypt Forecast Update

Date Update: November 7th 2011 Analysis Completed: November 15th 2011

What will be the future form of government in Egypt? Egypt will develop two parallel governments: a legitimate legislature comprised of elected officials and paradoxically a shadow government consisting of military and intelligence apparatus. The shadow government will be less autocratic than the previous Mubarak regime, meaning there will be more stakeholders sharing power within the authoritarian structure. However, it will not meet the threshold for even a one party semi-democratic system similar to Russia.

How will Prime Minister Netanyahu react to the rising anti-Israeli sentiment? Fearing the rise of more anti-Israeli sentiment, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel will support the Egyptian military and intelligence apparatus as a partial assurance or hedge against further dissent. Israel will consistently turn to the Egyptian military much more so than any of the future elected leaders such as Presidential candidates Amr Moussa or Mohamed El Baradei.

What will happen if the head of Egypt's military council, General Tantawi, is removed or resigns? Egypt's outcome is not dependent on General Tantawi. If General Tantawi is removed or resigns as Chairman of the Egypt's military council, the intelligence apparatus and military will still remain entrenched in Egypt's governance. The military apparatus will still remain as the dominant force governing Egypt. The shadow military regime will still persevere, resulting into only limited or marginal gains for the democratic movement. Furthermore, Egypt does not become any more or less pro-American if Tantawi is removed or resigns.

What will be the extent of support of the United States? The military will continue to be pro-American because its reliance on U.S. foreign aid and military assistance. The Muslim Brotherhood along with the Freedom and Justice Party will continue their position in the opposite direction by promoting anti-American sentiment as their political narrative.

What will be the future of Egypt's economy in regard to economic openness? Egypt's economy is driven primarily by tourism; however, it also has a substantial portion of its GDP comprised of agriculture and transport sectors. Egypt will have a semi-open economy that is regulated and controlled by the government. The economy will consist of a series of public-private partnerships ensuring the government its share of profits.

Overview: We explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Egypt and the international community. Data was collected on November 7th 2011 and analysis was completed on November 15th 2011.

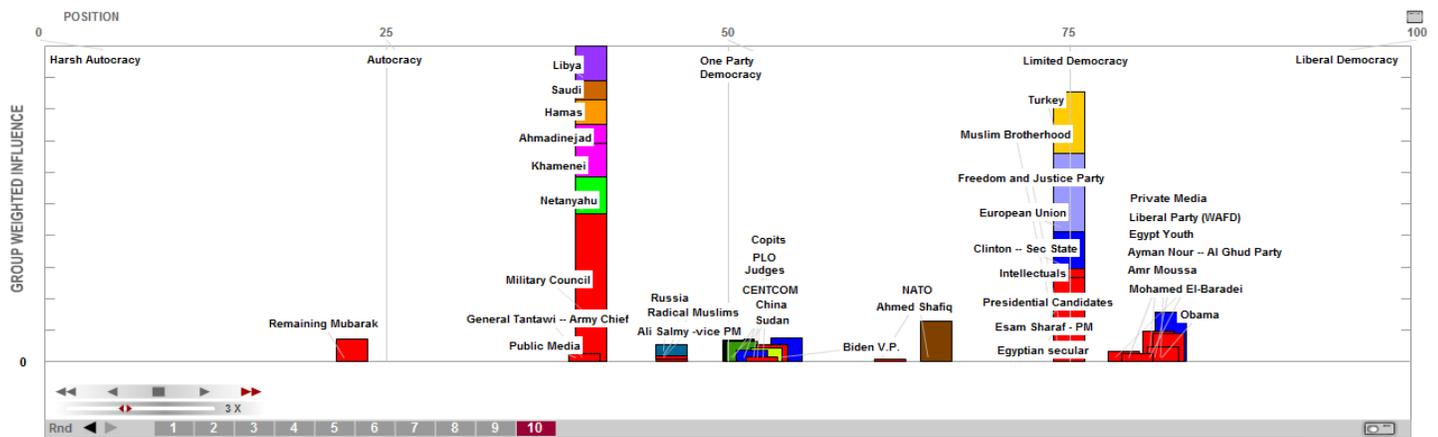
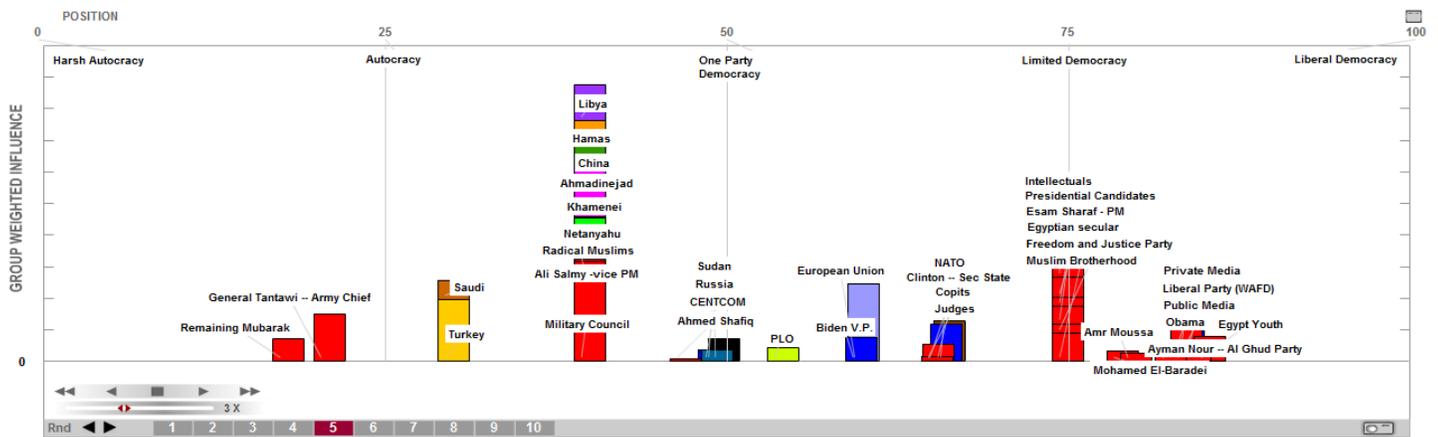
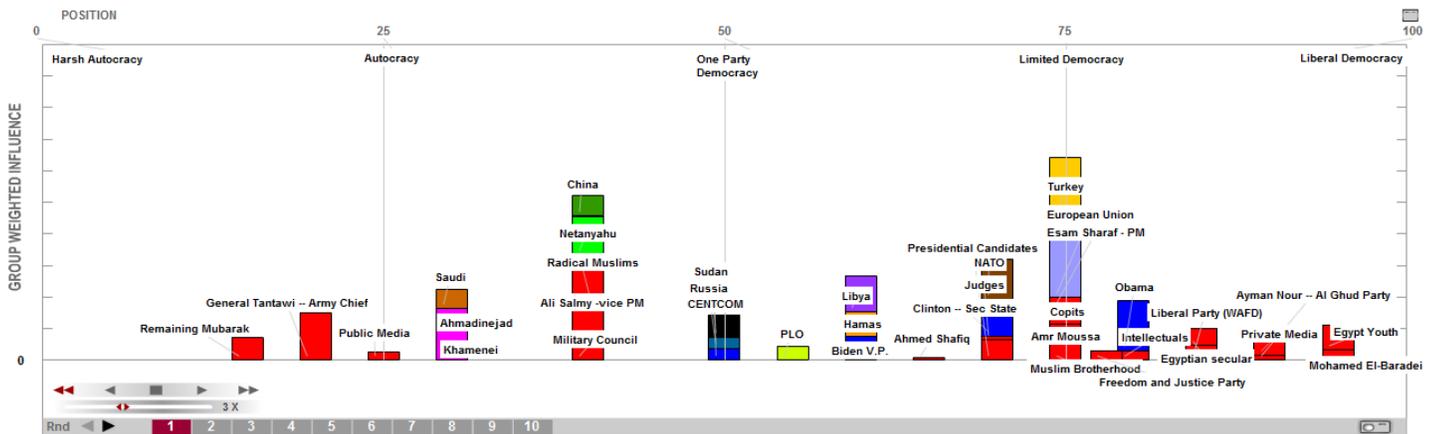
Current Stakeholder Dispositions: We have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews we measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

Issue Continuum on Power Structure and Governance: This continuum ranges from “0” as a harsh autocracy to “100” defined as a Liberal Democracy. At “25” we defined the government as autocratic. Under this structure there are more stakeholders sharing power compared to a harsh autocracy or dictatorship; however, selection of leaders are not democratic through any public election process. At “50” we defined the government as a “one-party system,” similar to Russia’s elected one-party system. At “75” the government is defined as at least a two party system, yet does not meet the threshold for a liberal democracy.

Issue Continuum on the Extent of Support for the United States: The continuum ranges from “0” as staunch anti-American policies and rhetoric similar to Iran’s policies. At “50” the extent of support for the U.S. is neutral and at “100” the extent of support is strongly pro-American.

Issue Continuum on the Degree of Economic Openness: This issue continuum ranges from “0” as a controlled closed economy to “100” as a completely open economy. At “25” the economy is defined as closed to business opportunities, meaning it is still highly controlled with only limited opportunities for those within the government. At “50” the economy is defined as regulated but somewhat open under strict official and unofficial structures. At “75” the we defined an open economy that is regulated by the government.

Basecase: Future Form of Government



Outcome: Egypt will develop two parallel governments: a legitimate legislature comprised of elected officials and paradoxically a shadow government consisting of military and intelligence apparatus. The shadow government will be less autocratic than the previous Mubarak regime, meaning there will be more stakeholders sharing power within the authoritarian structure. However, it will not meet the

threshold for even a one party semi-democratic system similar to Russia. There is currently the formation of two divided coalition, one centered on a push for democratic elections under a multi-party system and the other around military apparatus that maintains authoritarian power. Fearing the rise of more anti-Israeli sentiment, Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel will support the Egyptian military and intelligence apparatus as a partial assurance or hedge against further dissent. Israel will consistently turn to the Egyptian military much more so than any of the future elected leaders such as Presidential candidates Amr Moussa or Mohamed El Baradei. Iran will also more supportive an authoritarian structure under the Egyptian military. Khamenei will prefer the military and intelligence apparatus overseeing Egypt for fear of rising Sunni extremist leaders that may arise from popular elections, posing a threat to an already waning minority Shiite influence. In the final evolution of Egypt's transitional Democratic phase, the military will allow for semi-free elections but will still act as custodians of the country and true center of power for Egypt in the short to medium term.

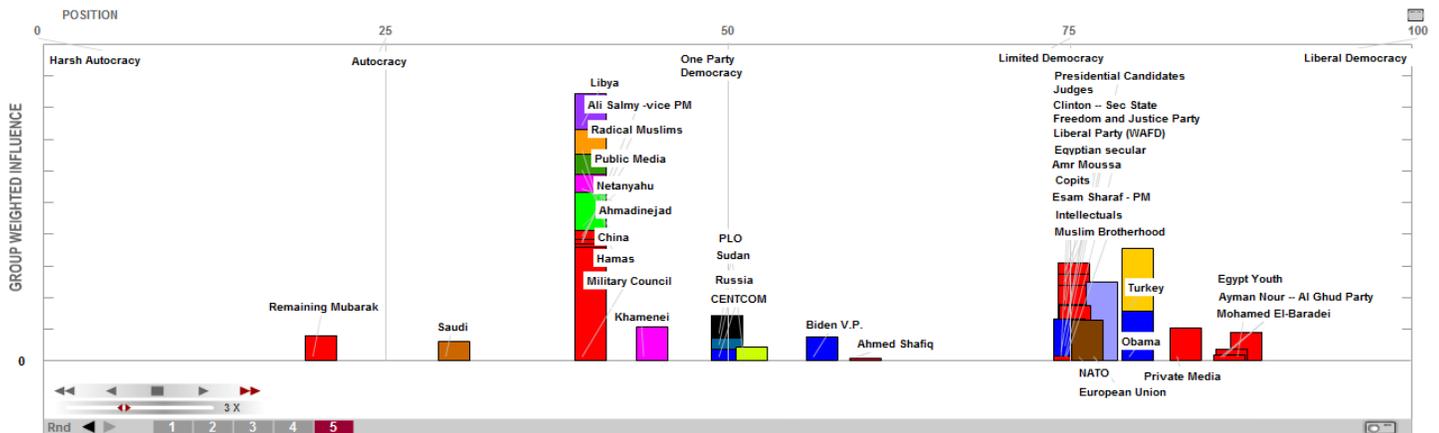
Strengths: Egypt will have Democratic reforms, allowing for election of national leaders. The military will act as a safety net against rising anti-Israeli and anti-American sentiment. The military and intelligence apparatus will act against extremism that may emerge in the democratic process.

Weakness: The shadow military government will undermine true attempts for democratic reform in the short to medium time frame.

Opportunities: The United States can gain support from future Egyptian elected leaders if it acts as a buffer between the Egyptian military and the democratic political candidates.

Threats: There may emerge even more violence and conflict between the future elected government of Egypt and the military apparatus.

Scenario: Future Form of Government if General Tantawi Resigns or is Removed



Outcome: At 76 years old, General Tantawi is an aging figure in Egypt’s military. Tantawi’s departure or resignation is a realistic possibility because of this fact. If General Tantawi is removed or resigns as Chairman of the Egypt’s military council, the intelligence apparatus and military will still remain entrenched in Egypt’s governance. In order to signal strength and cohesion, the military council will remain united. The legitimate political parties and democratic candidates pushing for a multi-party system will continue to push for democratic reform. Perceiving Tantawi’s departure as a loss of strength by the military, the Al Ghud Party and Presidential Candidate El Baradei will push for even stronger democratic reform toward a more liberal democracy. In the final evolution, the military apparatus will still remain as the dominant force governing Egypt. The shadow military regime will still persevere, resulting into only limited or marginal gains for the democratic movement.

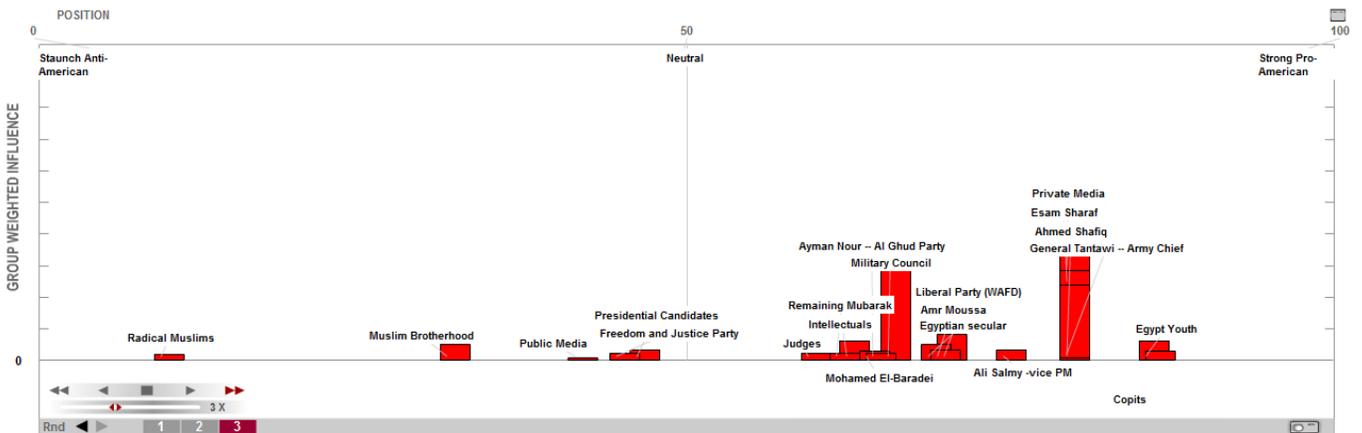
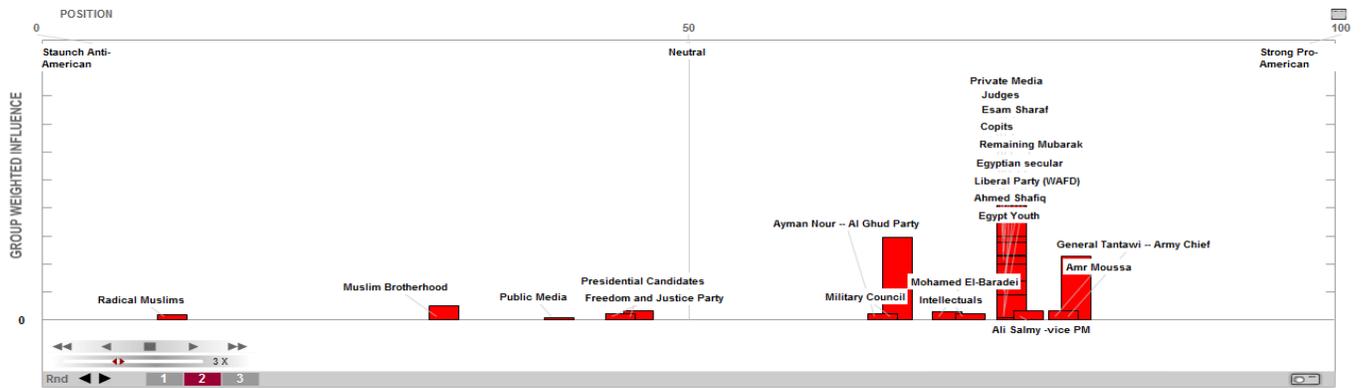
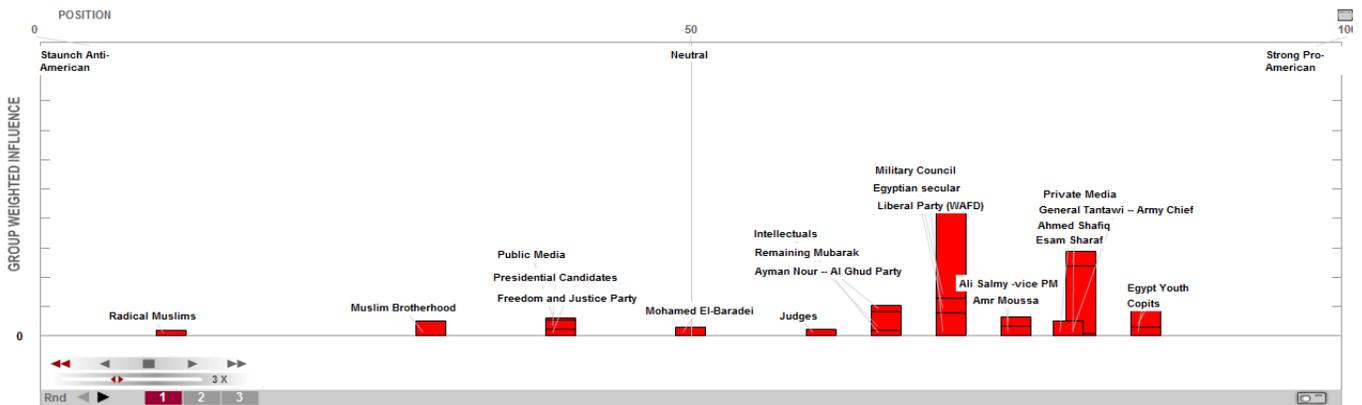
Strength: The Al Ghud Party and Presidential Candidate El Baradei will push for even stronger democratic reform toward a more liberal democracy.

Weakness: The shadow military regime will still remain with very marginal gains for the democratic movement.

Opportunity: There can be some concessions made for more democratic reform, but this will be marginal.

Threat: The bifurcation between those who prefer a military regime and those advocating democratic reform will remain. This will continue to hinder Egypt's quest for a true democratic society. The perseverance of a shadow government may present serious security challenges similar to what the United States is experiencing in Pakistan between the elected government and Pakistani ISI intelligence agency.

Basecase: Extent of Support for the United States



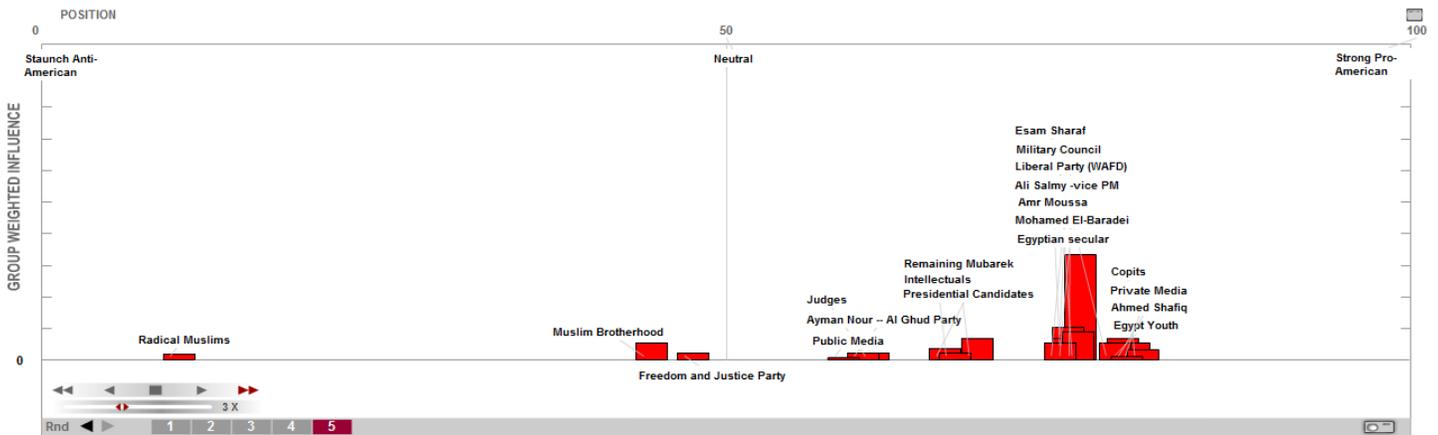
Outcome: The military will continue to be pro-American because its reliance on U.S. foreign aid and military assistance. The Muslim Brotherhood along with the Freedom and Justice Party will continue their position in the opposite direction by promoting anti-American sentiment as their political narrative.

Strength: The political figures within the government will by in large remain pro-American because of their reliance on the United States for foreign aid.

Weakness: The public media will remain anti-American in their commentary.

Opportunities: The United States can continue to gain pro-American partnerships within the future democratically elected government in Egypt.

Scenario: Extent of Support for United States if General Tantawi Resigns or is Removed



Outcome: If Tantawi is removed or resigns, it will have little or no effect on the extent of support for the United States. This indicates that his presence in the Egyptian political landscape is not very significant.

In short, there are substitutes for his role.

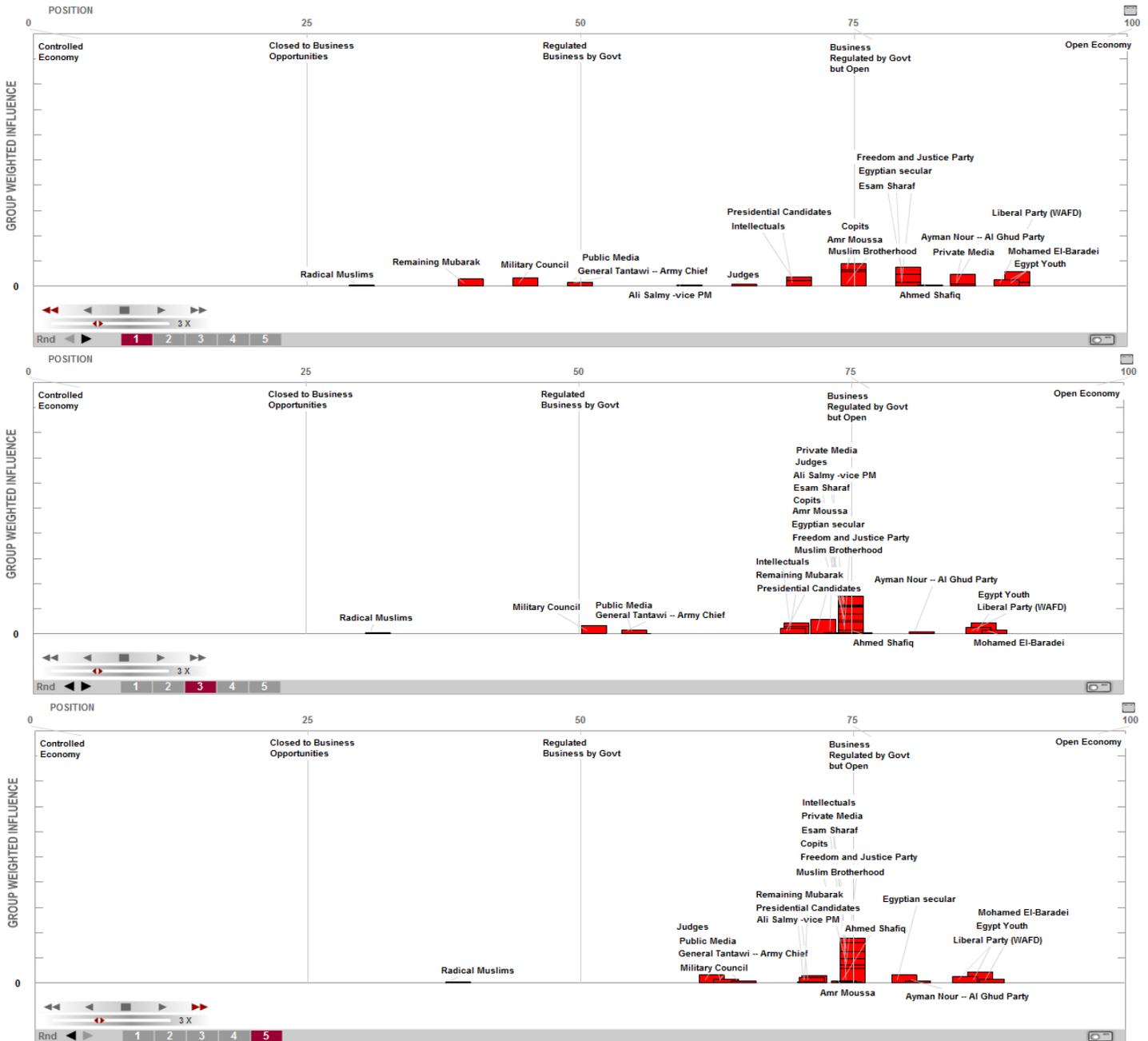
Strength: Egypt's outcome is not dependent on General Tantawi.

Weakness: Egypt does not become any more or less pro-American if he is removed.

Opportunities: N/A

Threat: N/A

Extent of Economic Openness



Outcome: Egypt's economy is driven primarily by tourism; however, it also has a substantial portion of its GDP comprised of agriculture and transport sectors. Egypt will have a semi-open economy that is regulated and controlled by the government. The economy will consist of a series of public-private partnerships ensuring the government its share of profits.

Strength: Egypt will have a semi-open economy.

Weakness: Because Egypt's economy is driven by tourism, it will continue to face massive deficits in spite of attempts to open to open the economy. The positive impact on the degree of economic openness will be mitigated because of lack of perceived safety in the country.

Opportunity: The United States can leverage its foreign aid in compelling Egypt to make economic reforms for an open economy.

Threat: Lack of safety and uncertainty over Egypt's governance will hinder growth in the economy in the future.

2. Complete Predictions on Iran

a. The Future of Iran: Governance and Power Structure

Initial Data Collected: March 3rd 2011 Analysis Completed: March 11th 2011

Background: There is more conflict taking place within the Iranian regime than anytime following the death the Ayatollah Khomeini in 1988. This does not necessarily mean the Islamic Republic of Iran is going to collapse or that the country's leaders will follow the fate of Mubarak and Ben Ali in the short-term. The tension observed in Iran can be distinguished in two forms: conflict between the government and the citizenry and conflict within the government. In the first case, the various opposition groups such as the student movement or minority factions whether violent or peaceful are perceived by the Iranian government primarily as nuisances rather than existential threats. The latter, tension within the government, is primarily a conflict over resources or power and not a debate over fundamental changes necessary for improving the lives of the citizenry. Much of the fight over power and distribution of wealth within the state apparatus is driven by the question of succession following the death of Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei. It is reported that the Supreme Leader is very ill with his death is in the near horizon. This certainly plays a part in the calculations of all the senior stakeholders in Iran's government. Thus there is competition taking place between the various power brokers in order to secure their future in Iran upon the death of Khamenei.

What is the potential of the student movement in causing change? The student movement has very little power under the status quo system in Iran. I predict the students call for reform will not have the intended effect for substantive change in the short-term. I also forecast that if the students continue to target support for Mousavi and Karroubi, the consolidation of power within the fundamentalist camp will be circumvented. In short, the student movement will not lead to reform but it will hurt the IRGC and the fundamentalists by keeping them divided.

What are the changing power dynamics under Khamenei? There is a major push for a transfer of power into the hands of the IRGC and security apparatus. I forecast the longer Khamenei remains, the greater the reconciliation of power centered on the supreme leader. There is currently a divergence between those who support a military regime versus some such as the Larijanis who wish to retain power under the status quo. Khamenei appears to be the buffer between these two camps. I predict that Rafsanjani, still a powerful figure who controls a vast financial empire, will continue to be isolated and will eventually diverge even closer toward the position of reformists and bazaar merchants.

What is the Extent of Support for the Supreme Leader? As long as Khamenei lives he will continue to garner support from the major power brokers in Iran. There continues to be a power sharing arrangement between the fundamentalist clerics and the IRGC; however, it is still weighted in favor of the status quo structure mandated by “Velayat-e-Faqih” (i.e. the Guardianship by divine authority). The university students and reformist such as Khatami, Karroubi, and Mousavi remain opposed to the hardliners, but their calls for change are severely dampened as long as Khamenei lives while retaining support from the IRGC.

What is going to Happen when Khamenei Dies? Once Khamenei passes away there will be a power struggle between those who support the status quo under the supreme leader’s “velayat-e-faqih” versus a 3 to 5 leader structure with greater oversight from Qom and the Guardian Council. There will be either a newly created compromise between “velayat-e-faqih” and the 3 leader structure or a significant

splintering between clerics and select members of the IRGC. I predict that in the end, a similar structure under the status quo will prevail because of Russia, China, and the majority of domestic hardliners overweighing dissenters such as Grand Ayatollah Khorasani and the Larijanis.

What Can the United States Do While Khamenei Remains? While Khamenei stays in power the United States can take two alternative actions in the framework of this forecast. The first action is continued support for the student movement which is guided in the direction of support for Mousavi and Karroubi. This will not have the intended effect of bringing Democracy, domestic reform, or rapprochement; however, it will dampen the Iranian regime from consolidating positions between the IRGC and the fundamentalists. The second alternative would require the United States to make a grand bargain.

What Will Happen if United States Makes a Grand Proposal? This second alternative for the United States is a substantive proposal directed at Khamenei and Jafari in the form of a grand bargain such as a security guarantee and lifting of sanctions. Under this scenario, I forecast that the Iranian regime would further diffuse power through a multi institutional autocracy. This will result into a massive splintering within the IRGC and within the fundamentalist camps. I show through the simulation that such a splintering will further result into a serious power sharing crisis, a necessary but insufficient condition for internal conflict.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Iran and internationally. Data collection was completed on March 3rd 2011 and analysis was finished on March 11th 2011. In addition to the predicted outcomes of the current positions, I also suggest other courses of actions indicating alternative futures of what may happen if the internal players within Iran or the U.S. change their positions. I evaluate two scenarios affecting power structure in Iran. One of the most pressing issues in Iran is the issue of succession. There are reports that Ayatollah Khamenei is ill with cancer; however, the extent of his illness is unknown. I provided a network analysis in determining

the credible pressure causing various actors to move their positions while Khamenei lives. I also conducted Monte Carlo analysis to determine those who are susceptible to changing their positions. The two scenarios are as follows:

1. Power structure in Iran if Khamenei remains.

2. Power structure in Iran when Khamenei dies.

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States, input from journalists and most importantly the perspective from those who are supporters of the regime, some who have recently returned from Iran. And although they too will naturally have biases, the fusion of these views provides an analysis that is much closer to reality than any single perspective. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

Issues: 1. Governance While Khamenei Lives

2. Governance when Khamenei Dies

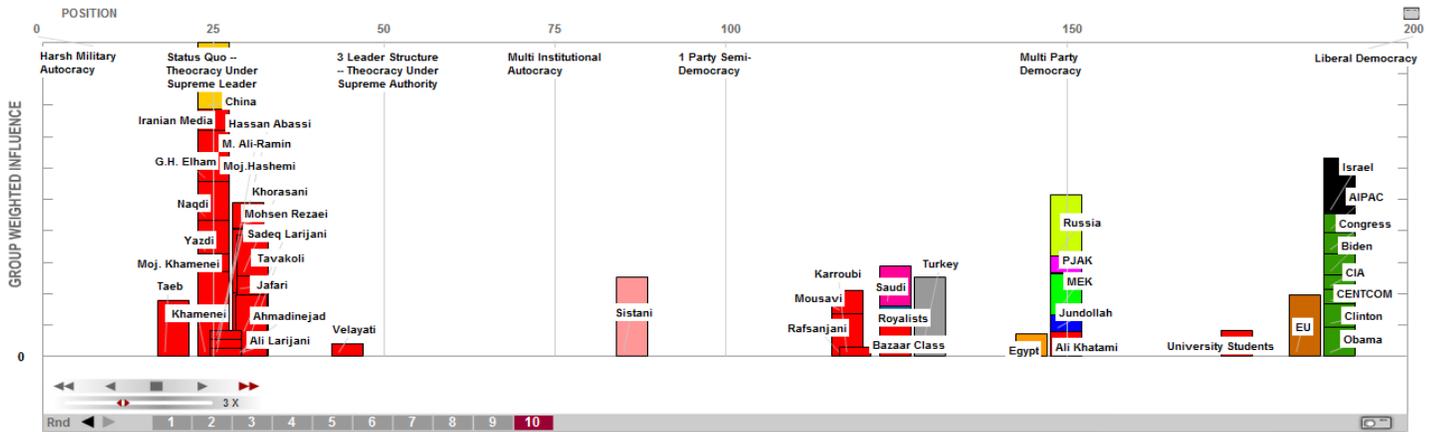
Problem: There is rising conflict within the state over resources and increasing calls for reform by the citizenry. Although the citizenry is becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the state of affairs in Iran ranging from high unemployment and inflation to worsening pollution in the cities, change within Iran will most likely occur if there is a splintering within the government. Mir Hossein Moussavi and Mehdi Karroubi have created some rifts, but this remains marginal at best. The majority of power brokers in Iran remain committed to the status quo, leaving little initiative in the government for the type of reform necessary in bringing substantive change to the country.

Issue Continuum: The scale of preferences ranges from zero as a “Harsh Military Autocracy,” all the way to 200 as a “Liberal Democracy.” The continuum displays the entire spectrum, but the credible

debate centers around the interpretation of Velayat-e-Faqih, meaning “guardianship” or supreme authority over the all elements of society. This is a question of who should rule Iran, particularly when Khamenei passes.

Basecase Scenario: Power Structure under Khamenei



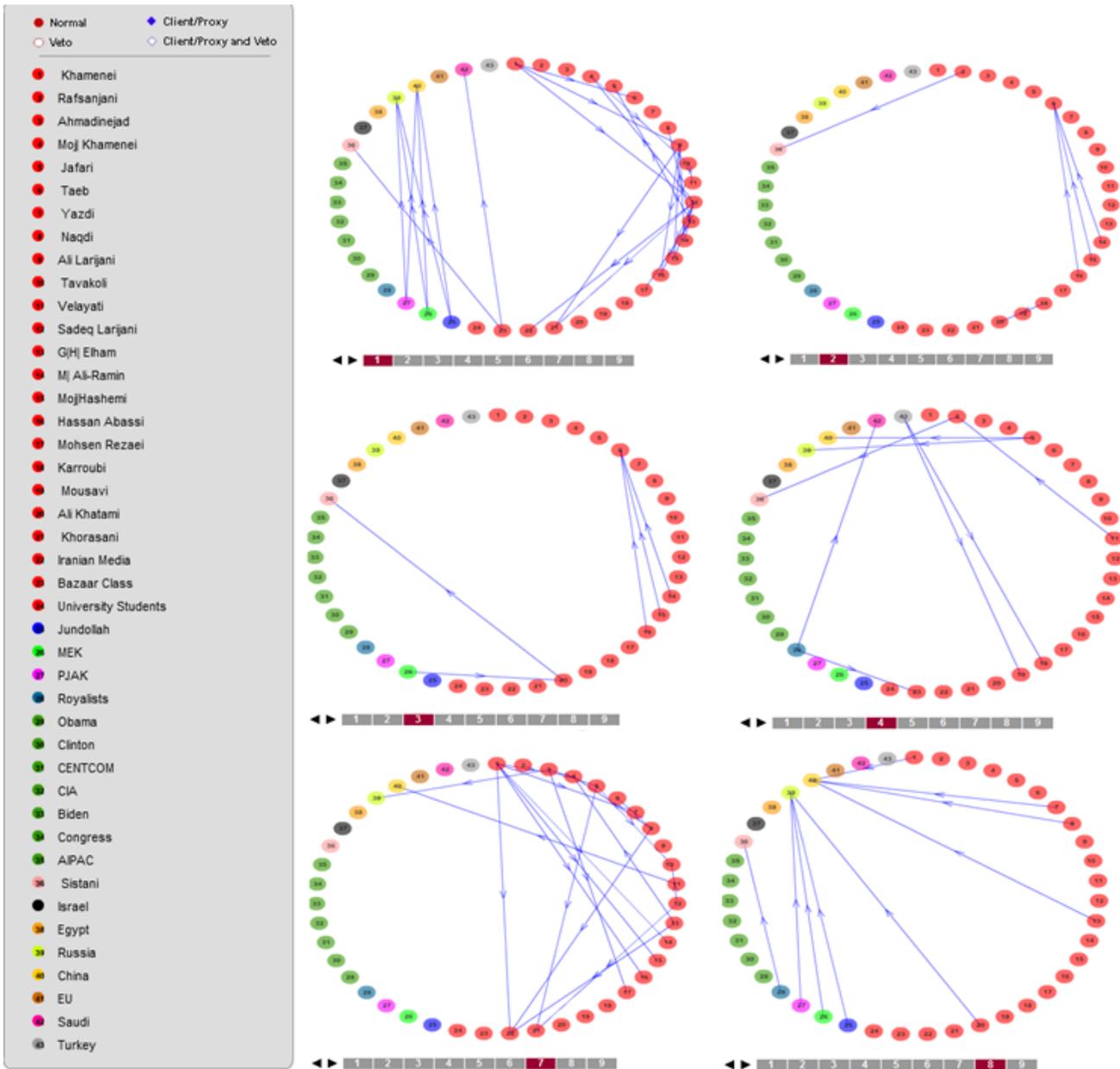


Outcome: There is a power struggle taking place between the IRGC and the hardliners. We predict Rafsanjani's powerbase will continue to wane. It will transfer into the direction of the IRGC and fundamentalist clerics. Yet while Khamenei remains alive, there will be little change in the distribution of power amongst the key players within Iran. However, China and Russia will begin shifting support for a military regime under the IRGC but as long as Khamenei remains, they will return in support of him. Power will continue to be distributed between the Supreme Leader and the IRGC. Mousavi and Karroubi will remain marginalized. The university students and Bazaar will not be given significant consideration either. Grand Ayatollah Sistani, the highest ranking cleric in Shia Islam, will lean towards a multi-institutional autocracy. Rafsanjani will shift away from an autocratic position and will move closer to alignment with the bazaar class, perhaps in support of his business interests because of his waning authority under an autocratic structure.

Strengths: The United States and its allies will remain unified in their positions. The university students and the bazaar will also remain fixed on democratic preferences.

Weakness: Power will remain in the hands of hardliners and the IRGC. It will continue to merge into a consolidated position in which power is shared and centered on the supreme leader. China and Russia will continue to back the status quo under Ayatollah Khamenei.

Network Analysis: Moves in reaction to Pressure



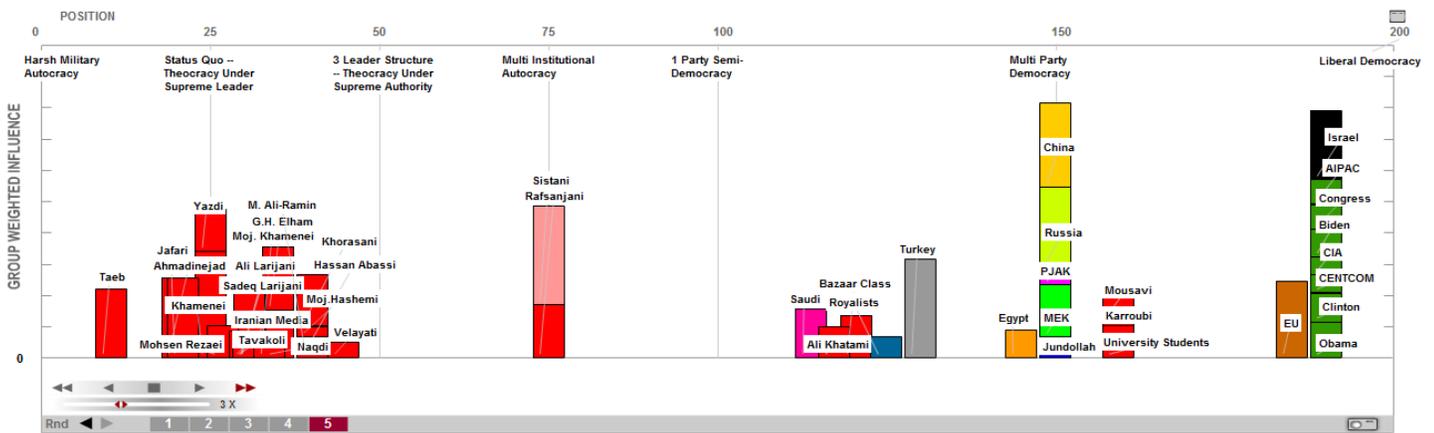
Description: My network analysis indicates no pressure being exerted by the United States on changing governance in Iran while Khamenei remains alive. Most of the pressure is exerted within the fundamentalist or IRGC camps, indicating that change will most likely occur from internal pressures among the hardliners. Although the foreign actors are making moves, almost all the moves are being waged on other foreign actors. In this case, we can observe that Khamenei is exerting some type of pressure in which Ali Larijani, Sadeq Larijani, and Hossein Taeb are accordingly reacting by moving

towards the supreme leader’s position. Jundollah, the MEK, and PJAK seem to be exerting some type of credible pressure throughout the various rounds on Russia and China. In the middle rounds, Taeb is reacting to pressure exerted by him from Hassan Abbassi, Mojtaba Hashemi, and Ali Ramin.

Opportunities: Turkey is waging pressure on Karroubi and Mousavi, but this is limited. There is some pressure being waged on regime hardliners by the reformists such as Khatami.

Threats: There is limited credible pressure being waged on the regime in regards to governance from foreign actors. This means that the effectiveness in policy change by foreign actors may be untenable.

Alternative COA: Iranian Students Continue to Drive Mousavi and Karroubi



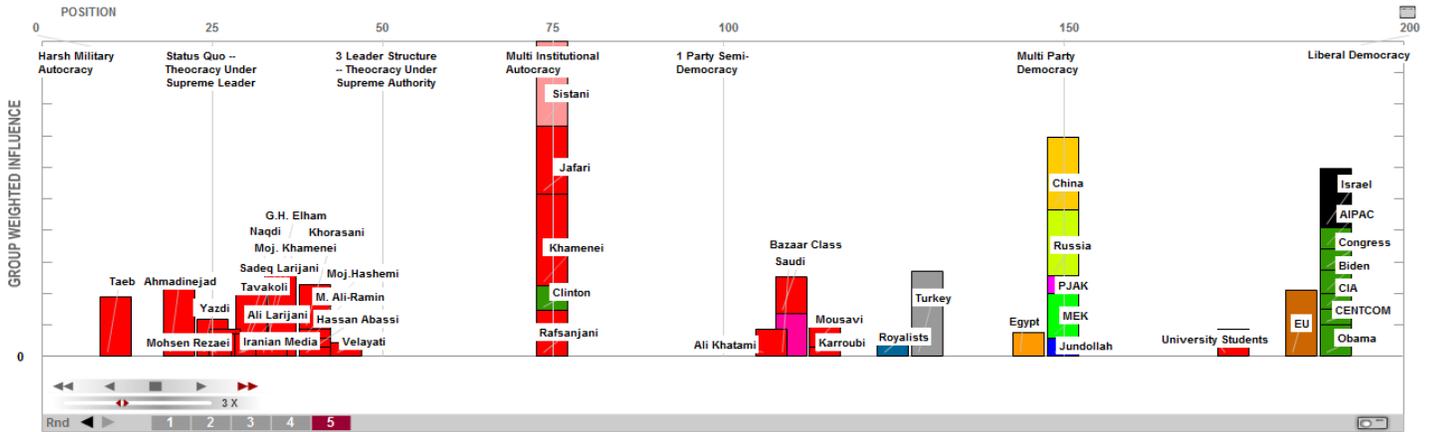
Outcome: I predict that if the Iranian students, i.e. the youth, continue to drive Mousavi and Karroubi, the fundamentalist clerics and the IRGC will remain splintered within the hardliner camp. This does mean the student movement will result in Democracy or even reform; however, the simulation indicates that the students continued support for Mousavi and Karroubi will prevent the hardliners from consolidated their positions. This is apparent if I compared this COA with the basecase showing a much more unified position within the hardliners.

Strengths: A continued splintering within the hardliner camp prevents Iran from attaining it’s fully realized strength.

Weakness: The student movement does not appear to lead to Democracy or substantive reform

Opportunities: A splintering within Iran’s power apparatus would certainly provide more alternatives for the United States than a fully unified hardliner regime.

Alternative COA: United States Makes a Proposal to Khamenei and Jafari



Outcome: Under this proposal authority will shift from the status quo to a power sharing structure, termed “multi institutional autocracy.” Under this scenario power will be diffused between clerics of the Expediency Council, the Guardian Council, Office of the President, the military and the Parliament. Iran would still remain autocratic, but there would be a fundamental realignment within the government. There would be significant resistance from hardliners such as Ahmadinejad, Mesbah Yazdi, G.H. Elham, and key players linked to the IRGC. This alternative COA suggests that under such a proposal there would be a splintering within the IRGC as Jafari moves to accommodate a power sharing structure while other hardliner elements within the security apparatus remain fixed at the status quo. This simulation also suggests a realignment taking place internationally as China and Russia move away from supporting the regime’s new structure and takes a democratic stance.

Strengths: Iran re-aligns toward a more significant power sharing structure, becoming less autocratic.

Opportunities: A splintering takes place within the IRGC and hardliner camp.

Weakness: Iran still remains autocratic and a good portion of the power brokers remain committed to either the status quo or a military regime structure.

Scenario: Khamenei Dies



Outcome: Once Khamenei passes, I predict there will be a power struggle between the status quo under the supreme leader’s “velayat-e-faqih” versus a 3 to 5 leader structure with greater oversight from Qom and the Guardian Council. There will be either a new compromised system between “velayat-e-faqih” and the 3 leader structure or a serious splintering between clerics and select members of the IRGC. The

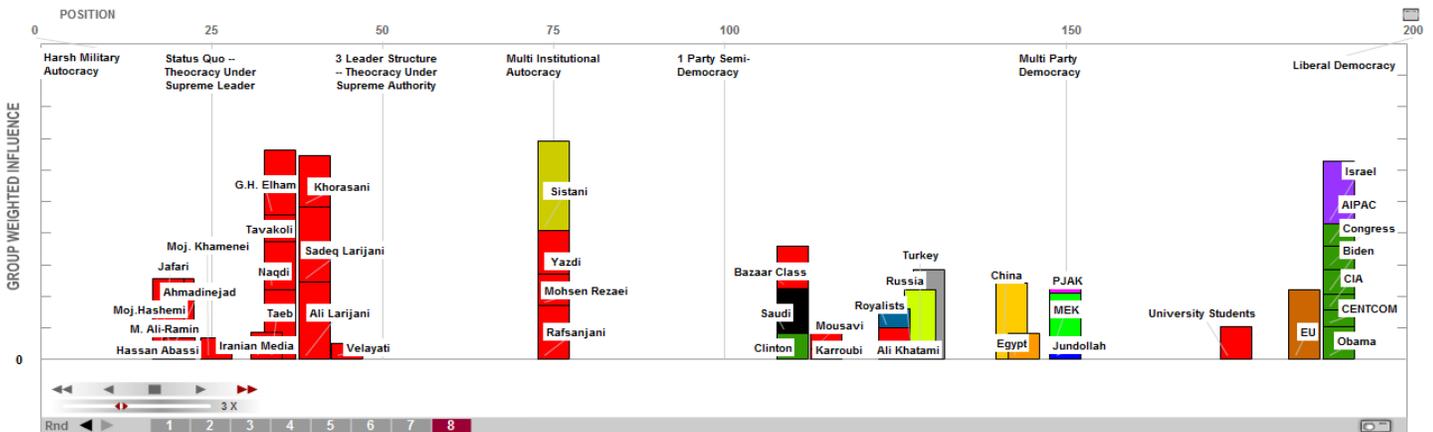
simulation suggests that in the end, a similar structure under the status quo will prevail as Russia, China, and the majority of actors over-weigh Grand Ayatollah Khorasani and the Larijanis.

Strengths: The bazaar class, university students and key reformists remain committed to a democratic alternative.

Weakness: Under this power struggle, the strongest actors will not consider a democratic alternative. It will remain a struggle for authoritarian control.

Opportunities: A potential splintering between the hardliner camps can potentially weaken the regime's power.

Alternative COA if Khamenei Dies: United States Makes a Deal with Mesbah Yazdi and Mohsen Rezaei



Outcome: I predict if the United States makes a substantive deal with the Iranian Regime, specifically Mesbah Yazdi and Mohsen Rezaei, it will lead to a dramatic splintering within the hardliner camp. Such a deal would have to be in the form of something credible and valuable such as a security guarantee. This will result into a division within the IRGC and also divisions within the clerical ranks. It will ultimately lead to power crisis between the hardliners. Yazdi and Rezaei will advocate for a multi institutional autocracy where power is shared by the bureaucracy. The Larijanis and Khorasani will push for a 3 to 5 leader council. Elham, Naqdi and Taeb will lean toward the status quo supreme leader structure. Ahmadinejad's clique along with Jafari will push closer to a military regime.

Strength: Iran experiences a serious crisis which will significantly weaken their powerbase.

Weakness: Iran will remain autocratic with no signs.

Monte Carlo Analysis

Base Case Monte Carlo Analysis: Khamenei Lives			Khamenei Dies Monte Carlo Analysis		
Runs	Maximum Outcome	Changes from Base Data	Runs	Maximum Outcome	Changes from Base Data
1	35	Khatami -35, Mousavi -29, Larijani 29	1	30	Rafsanjani -30, Elham 30, Mousavi -27, Larijani 28, Jafari 25, Yazdi 24, Mousavi -27
2	40	Velayati -39, Rezaei -40, Tavakoli 39, Elham -34, Karroubi -40, Sistani -27, Rafsanjani 21	4	30	Rafsanjani -30, Elham 30, Mousavi -27, Larijani 28, Jafari 25, Yazdi 24, Mousavi -27
3	39	Khamenei 25, Rafsanjani -35, Ahmadinejad 20, Larijani -39, Tavakoli -35, Sadeq -22	5	40	Jafari -25, Yazdi 40
4	38	Rafsanjani 38, Khamenei -25, Velayati 33	8	35	Rafsanjani 35, Jafari 25, Naqdi 33, Sadeq Larijani 27, Mousavi --27, Bazaar -35
5	35	Ali Larijani -31, Tavakoli -35, Sadeq Larijani -33	10	35	Naqdi -35, Taeb -29, Naqdi -35, Rezaei -28
6	39	Bazaar -39, Sadeq Larijani 39, Khamenei 25, Rafsanjani 34, Yazdi -25, Tavakoli 27, Elham -26	12	36	Naqdi -36, Jafari 25, Rezaei -30, Bazaar -25
7	37	Ali Larijani 27, Tavakoli -37, Sadeq Larijani 37	19	32	Khorasani 32, Rezaei 30, Taeb -29, Mousavi 27
8	39	Karroubi 39, Tavakoli -37, Khatami -34, Khorasani -35, Khamenei -25	20	34	Rafsanjani 34, Elham -34, Rezaei -30, Taeb 27, Naqdi -26, Tavakoli -25, Khorasani -26, Students -30
9	35	Ali Khatami 35, Tavakoli -32, Velayati 28, Khamenei -25	21	40	Khorasani -40, Taeb 30, Yazdi 28, Mousavi -27, Rezaei -30, Jafari 25
10	39	Rafsanjani 39, Khamenei 25, Yazdi 25, Tavakoli -37, Elham -28	24	35	Jafari 25, Naqdi -35, Rezaei 30
11	28	Ali Khatami -28, Tavakoli -26, University Student 25	26	33	Naqdi 33, Ali Larijani -28, Sadeq Larijani -30
12	36	Yazdi -25, Ali Larijani 36, Tavakoli -36, Ali Khatami 31, Khorasani 25	28	35	Bazaar -35, Rafsanjani -35, Jafari 25, Yazdi 33, Naqdi -26, Sadeq Larijani -30, Students -30
13	35	Mousavi -35, Karroubi 32, Khorasani 31, Khatami -26, Elham 27	30	39	Naqdi 37, Yazdi -39, Rezaei -30, Taeb 29, Elham -27, Khorasani 29
14	33	Rafsanjani 33, Velayati 33, Mousavi 25, Khatami 26			
15	27	Rafsanjani 27, Ali Khatami -26, Elham 27, Velayati 24, Larijani -24			
16	34	Ali Larijani -34, Yazdi 25, Sadeq Larijani -31, Velayati 26			
17	37	Tavakoli -37, Velayati 32, Sadeq Larijani -27, Khorasani -26, Bazaar -34			
18	37	Tavakoli -37, Velayati 32, Sadeq Larijani -27, Khorasani -26, Bazaar -34			
19	38	Tavakoli -38, Rafsanjani 28, Sadeq Larijani 22, Yazdi 25, Bazaar 29			
20	35	Ali Larijani -31, Elham -35, Khamenei -25, Yazdi 25			
21	37	Bazaar -37, Rafsanjani -30, Sadeq Larijani 32, Khorasani 30, Yazdi 25			
22	31	Bazaar 31, Velayati 31, Yazdi 24, Khamenei 25, Univer. Students -25			
23	36	Sadeq Larijani -36, Velayati 31, Khorasani -29, Yazdi -25			
24	32	Sadeq Larijani -32, Elham 32, Velayati -31, Tavakoli 26, Rafsanjani -27			
25	36	Khorasani 36, Sadeq Larijani 37, Khorasani 36, Bazaar -34, Velayati 30			
26	36	Ali Larijani 36, Ali Khatami 33, Elham -35, Tavakoli 26,			
27	32	Ali Larijani -32, Tavakoli 32, Velayati 28, Khorasani 30			
28	31	Tavakoli 31, Yazdi -25			
29	37	Bazaar -37, Tavakoli -34, Velayati 26, Yazdi 25			
30	38	Bazaar 38, Velayati -37, Rafsanjani 34, Yazdi 25, Elham 35			

Description: We conducted Monte Carlo Analysis to simulate derivations and uncertainty taking place with the various powerbrokers in Iran. The purpose is to determine those who are susceptible to shocks and the degree to which player are shifting positions. We set the maximum variations at +- 40 points running 30 rounds, using a random distribution to conduct the simulations. For example, if Ali Khatami prefers a 1 party semi-democracy (100), the maximum he can fluctuate is either to 140 or down to 60 based on the shocks simulated by Monte Carlo analysis. My analysis indicates there are many fluctuations taking place while Khamenei lives.

Khamenei Lives: Through my analysis I predict that while Khamenei lives there are significant shifts taking place by multiple actors within Iran. These are anticipatory shifts occurring with respect to the question of governance and succession. In all 30 simulated rounds, there are significant shifts upward and downward of at least 25 points and up to 40 points. This means that the question of governance and succession is being debated dramatically while Khamenei lives.

Who Are most Susceptible While Khamenei Lives? Through Monte Carlo Analysis I have identified a pattern that Ali Larijani, Sadeq Larijani, Ali Akbar Velayati, and Ahmad Tavakoli are most susceptible to changing their positions in either direction. The simulation indicates that they are consistently prone to shifting positions, making them more vulnerable to accepting change. All four of these players are shifting preferences between a harsh military autocracy to a 3 – 5 Ruler structure. I conclude that they are hedging their risk in anticipating the shifts in power taking place as Khamenei's death draws near.

Khamenei Passes Away: There will be significantly less shifting of positions once Khamenei dies. If I compare this with the highly volatile scenario while he lives, I can conclude that the moves and debate over succession are being resolved while Khamenei lives instead of when he Khamenei dies.

Who are Most Susceptible When Khamenei Dies? Muhammad Ali Jafari is the most susceptible to shifting his position once Khamenei passes. As head of IRGC, he will most likely be tenable to shifting in order to prevent the military from splintering while Iran selects new leadership after Khamenei's passing. The second most susceptible is Ayatollah Mesbah Yazdi. Current reports support this analysis given his status as a front runner for the position of supreme leader or one of the leading clerics in the alternative 3 to 5 leader structure.

b. Update: Power Structure Change While Khamenei Remains

Data Updated and Analyzed: 27 June 2011

Updated Scenario: Ahmadinejad Loses up to 40% of Power while Larijani Ascends



Outcome: As predicted by my initial forecast, reconsolidation of power around Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei continues. However, as Ahmadinejad has lost up to 40% of his power, Ali Larijani and Sadeq Larijani have ascended in their influence. In reaction to his loss of power and on the brink of political

oblivion, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad will continue to attempt regaining favor by Supreme Leader Khamenei. In spite of the reconsolidation of power around the Supreme Leader, the ascending coalition will be short-lived. Rafsanjani will return from political obscurity now that his opponent Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has lost significant influence. He will provide support for the Larijanis, bringing them closer to parity with Khamenei's camp under the Supreme Leader structure. In conclusion the competition for governance will continue in a fractionalized debate among hardliners with the reconsolidation of power under the Supreme Leader continuing to ebb and flow.

3. Complete Predictions on Libya

a. The Libyan Uprising: Stalemate Phase

Initial Data Collected: March 22nd 2011 **Initial Analysis Completed:** March 28th 2011

Background: Libya is a country where civil society and political organizations have remained absent for more than thirty years. This was done intentionally by Muamar Gaddafi to prevent dissent by limiting the capabilities of those within the regime as well as well broader societal forces.

Will there be a cessation of fighting in the near term? I predict that the conflict will continue with no reconciliation or cessation between Muamar Gaddafi and opposition forces in the near term unless he leaves the country by force.

When will the tide turn in favor of the opposition? The Gaddafi coalition will become highly unstable when his power is degraded by 50%. He will still continue to fight but it will become increasingly ineffective past this point.

What type of government will emerge with the new opposition? I predict a slightly authoritarian 1 party system emerging. The further Gaddafi's forces are weakened, the greater the prospect for a democratic movement. However, there will be a significant splintering in the debate for governance into three camps: those who favor a liberal democracy, those who favor a multi-party non liberal system and

those who prefer 1 party system (similar to China or Russia). There will be significant deadlock, but a 1 party system will still emerge as the winning coalition.

What will happen to Gaddafi as his power is degraded? Muamar Gaddafi is much more resilient than he appears. He will remain committed to fighting even with 50% loss in strength.

What will be the effect of the No Fly Zone? The conflict will be prolonged and although an American-European led No Fly Zone will favor the rebels in a more even fight, hostilities will continue with no near term solution for a unified Libya.

How will the international community act as the conflict continues? The United States along with France and Britain will remain committed to supporting anti-Gaddafi forces on a limited scale. The further degradation of Gaddafi's power will motivate the effort to continue supporting the rebels with the prospect of near endgame. The BRIC countries will remain in support of Gaddafi, but as his power wanes, they will enter the debate on issue of governance in support of a 1 party system.

What will happen if Gaddafi Leaves: If Muamar Gaddafi departs Libya, the newly formed government will be highly factionalized. This will lead to prolonged deadlock on determining the form of government, but the winning coalition will eventually resemble a slightly authoritarian 1 party system similar to Russia or China. Russia and China will then be in support of this winning coalition as they seize an effortless opportunity.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Libya and internationally. Data collection was completed on March 22nd 2011 and analysis was finished on March 28th 2011. I evaluated two issues where I gauged their power and extent of support for or against Muamar Gaddafi along with the prospect for Democracy. I provided a network analysis in determining the credible pressure causing various actors to move their positions while Gaddafi remains in power. I also conducted Monte Carlo analysis to determine those who are susceptible to changing their positions.

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum. I predicted the outcome of the Libyan Crisis by evaluating two issues:

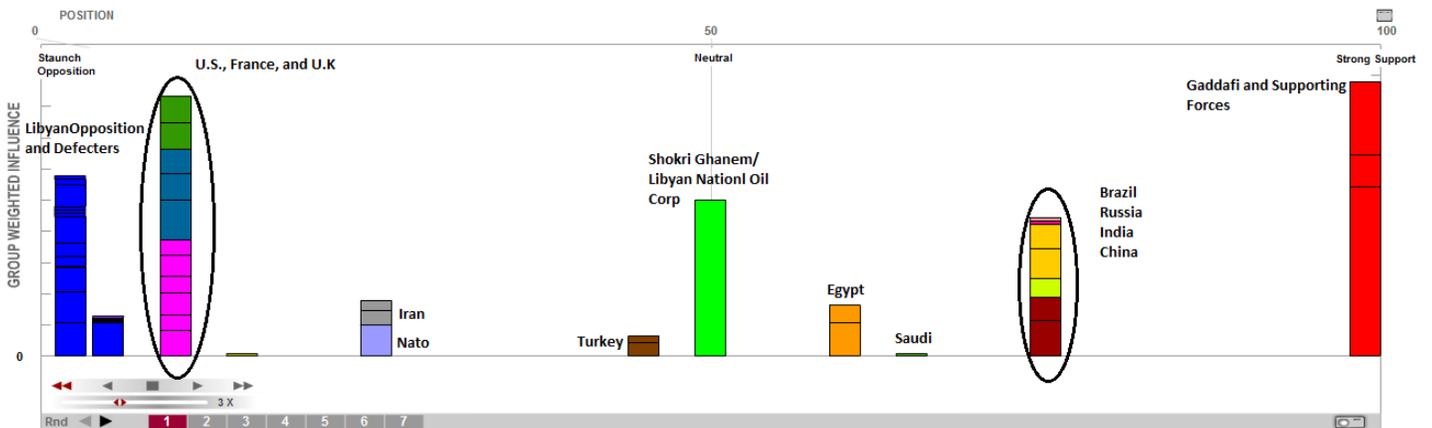
1. Extent of Support for Gaddafi

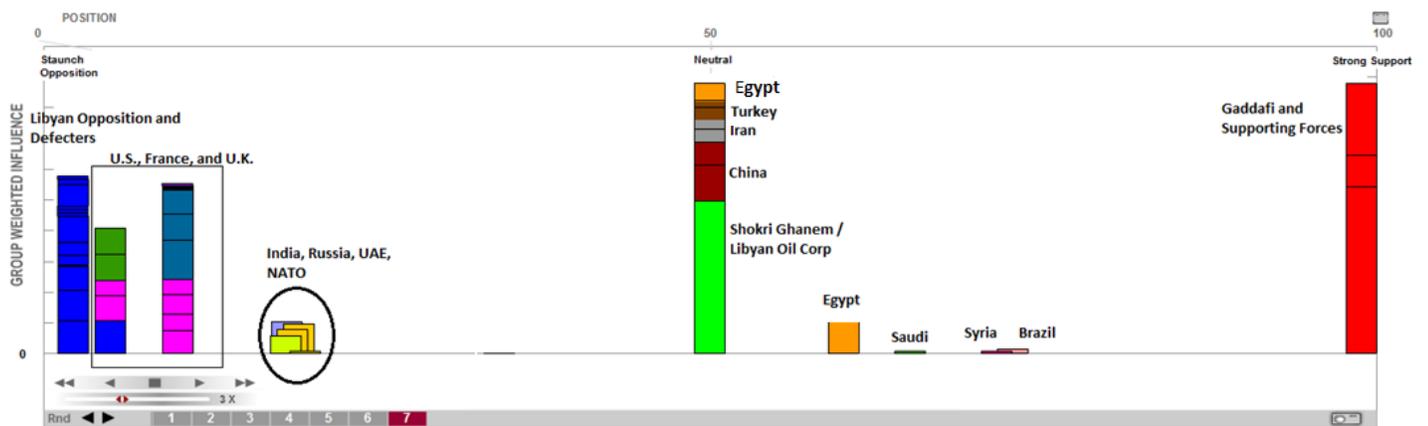
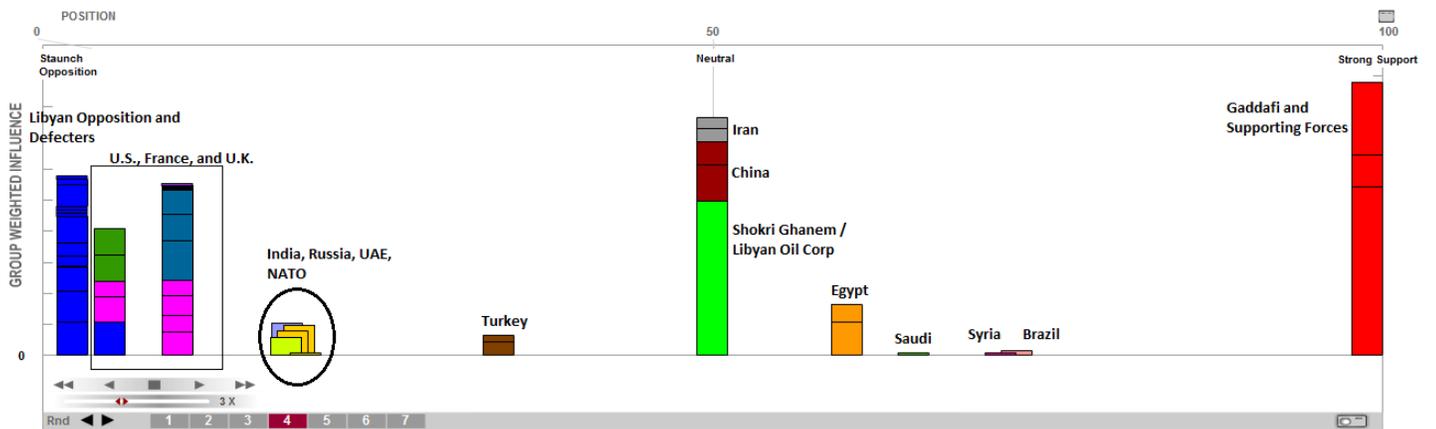
Issue Continuum 1: The scale of preferences ranges from zero as “Staunch Opposition to Gaddafi,” all the way to 200 as a “Strong Support for Gaddafi.” The midpoint constitutes a neutral position.

2. Prospect for Democracy in Libya

Issue Continuum 2: The scale of preferences begins at zero as “Liberal Democracy.” This is similar to a European Proportional Representation or American Presidential system. I defined 50 as a “multi-party system” which is similar to European style but not as liberal. 100 is defined as “1 party system” similar to Russia. And finally, 200 is defined as a “harsh autocratic” system under the status quo one ruler authority.

Basecase: Extent of Support for Gaddafi





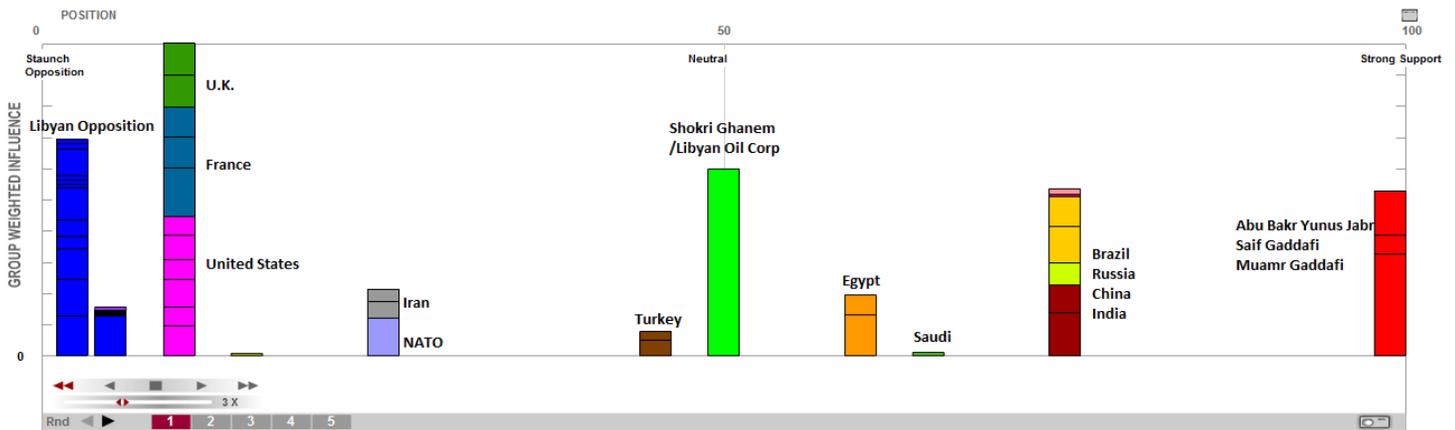
Outcome: The U.S., France and Britain are united initially and pose a significant force with NATO in close support. However the internal debate within the U.S. over commitment to the conflict will eventually wane as President Obama and his advisors become divided on the extent of U.S. commitment. Therefore, as this coalition along with NATO engages in a limited war effort, the American debate may decrease their influence in shaping the outcome of the conflict. As the war prolongs Turkey, China, Egypt and Iran will shift toward a more neutral position in order to hedge against the unknown outcome. The simulation indicates that Shokri Ghanem (Chairman of Libyan Oil Corp) remains neutral to avoid any risk to his own position while attempting to mitigate decrease in oil production. As Libya's largest neighbor, Egypt has been affected by the influx of refugees. I predict that Egyptian leadership will be divided on issues concerning Gaddafi's reign as General Tantawi leans toward support for Gaddafi while Prime Minister Sharaf shifts toward a neutral position.

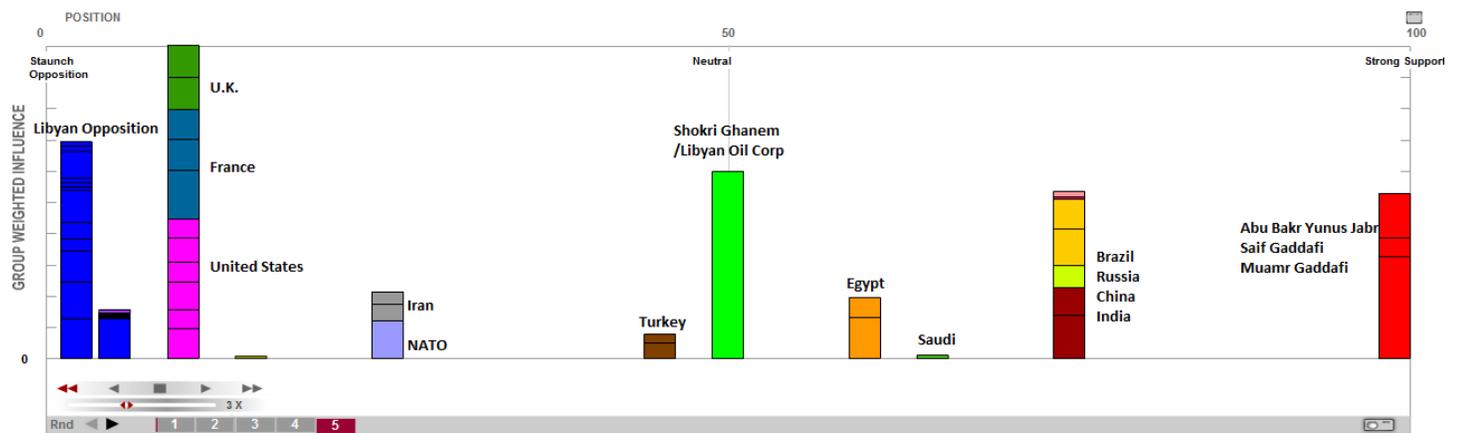
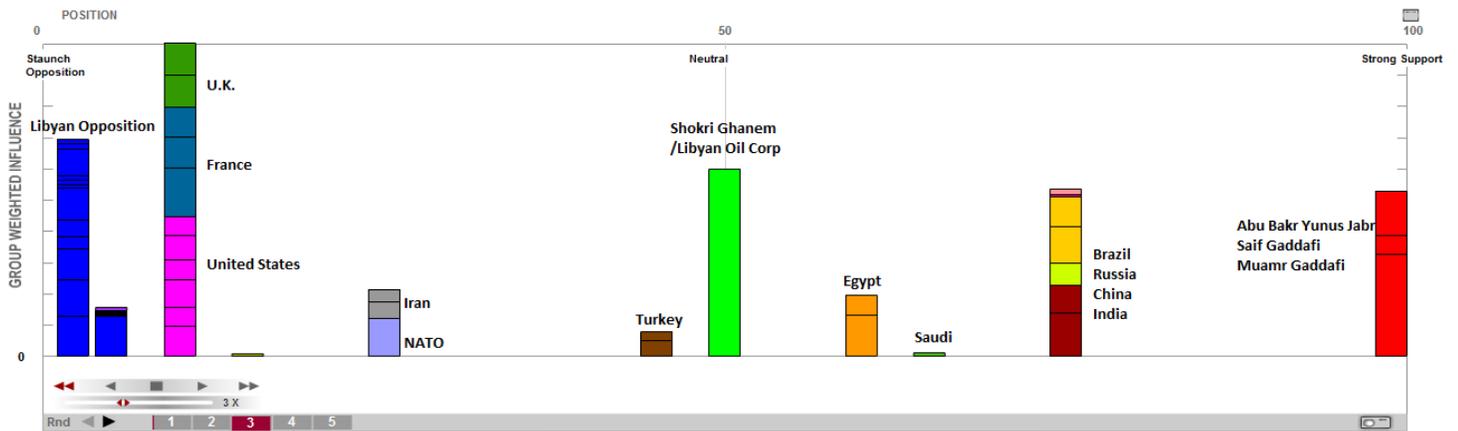
Strengths: The opposition will continue to fight against Gaddafi in attempt to further secure the east. The British, Americans, and French will not diverge significantly from their initial positions, indicating their near term commitment to enforcing the No Fly Zone Resolution strongly in favor of anti-Gaddafi forces. The Libyan Oil Corporation will continue to remain neutral, suggesting a halt in funding Gaddafi’s interests through oil revenue as long as the conflict persists.

Weakness: Both sides will remain strongly opposed, suggesting prolonged fighting. As long as Gaddafi remains in power, very few actors will shift their positions away from their initial stances. Furthermore, China, Iran and Turkey will shift toward a neutral position, contributing little in the direction of the opposition.

Opportunities: The American and European coalition can continue to support the opposition groups in hope of more pro-Gaddafi forces defecting; however, the top figures such as Saif Gaddafi and Abu Bakr Jabr will remain committed to Colonel Gaddafi.

Extent of Support for Gaddafi with 50% Loss in Capabilities





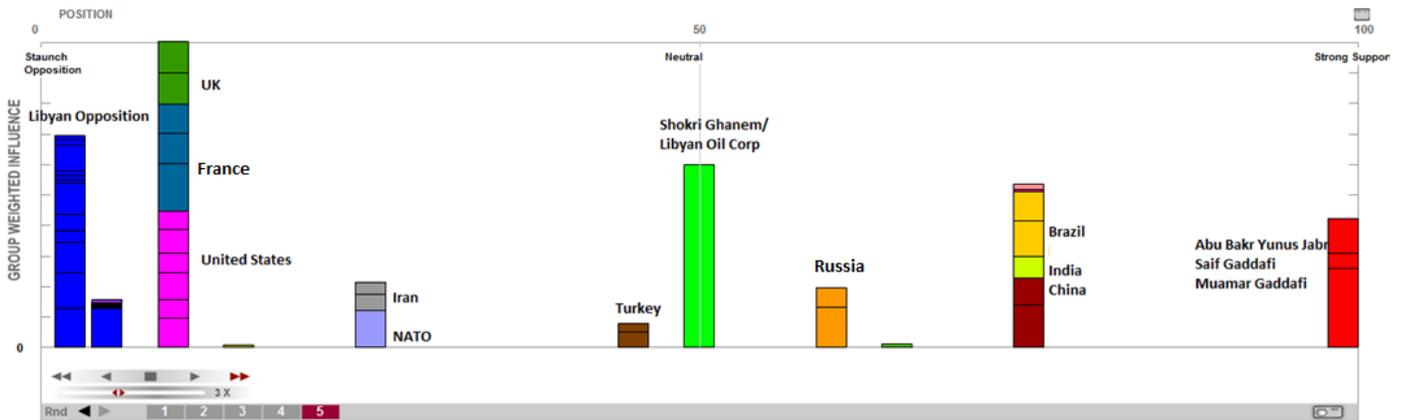
Outcome: If Gaddafi forces get degraded down to 50% of strength as a result of the air campaign, the U.S., France and U.K. will remain unified in hope of reaching an endgame to the conflict. The Libyan Oil Corporation will still remain neutral. However, as the American and Europeans continue to weaken Gaddafi, the BRIC countries will remain unified in support of Gaddafi. The top Gaddafi leadership will stay committed, indicating their fate is tied to Gaddafi's survival as the conflict continues to escalate.

Strength: As the American and European led effort continues to gain traction, success in degrading Gaddafi's power will keep them committed in hopes of a quicker endgame.

Weakness: As long as Gaddafi remains committed to fighting, the BRIC countries will still be in favor of his regime. The Libyan Oil Corporation will remain neutral as long Gaddafi has some power in spite of his 50% loss in capabilities.

Opportunities: The U.S. can make a deal with Turkey to receive more support than currently expected.

Extent of Support for Gaddafi with 60% Loss in Capabilities



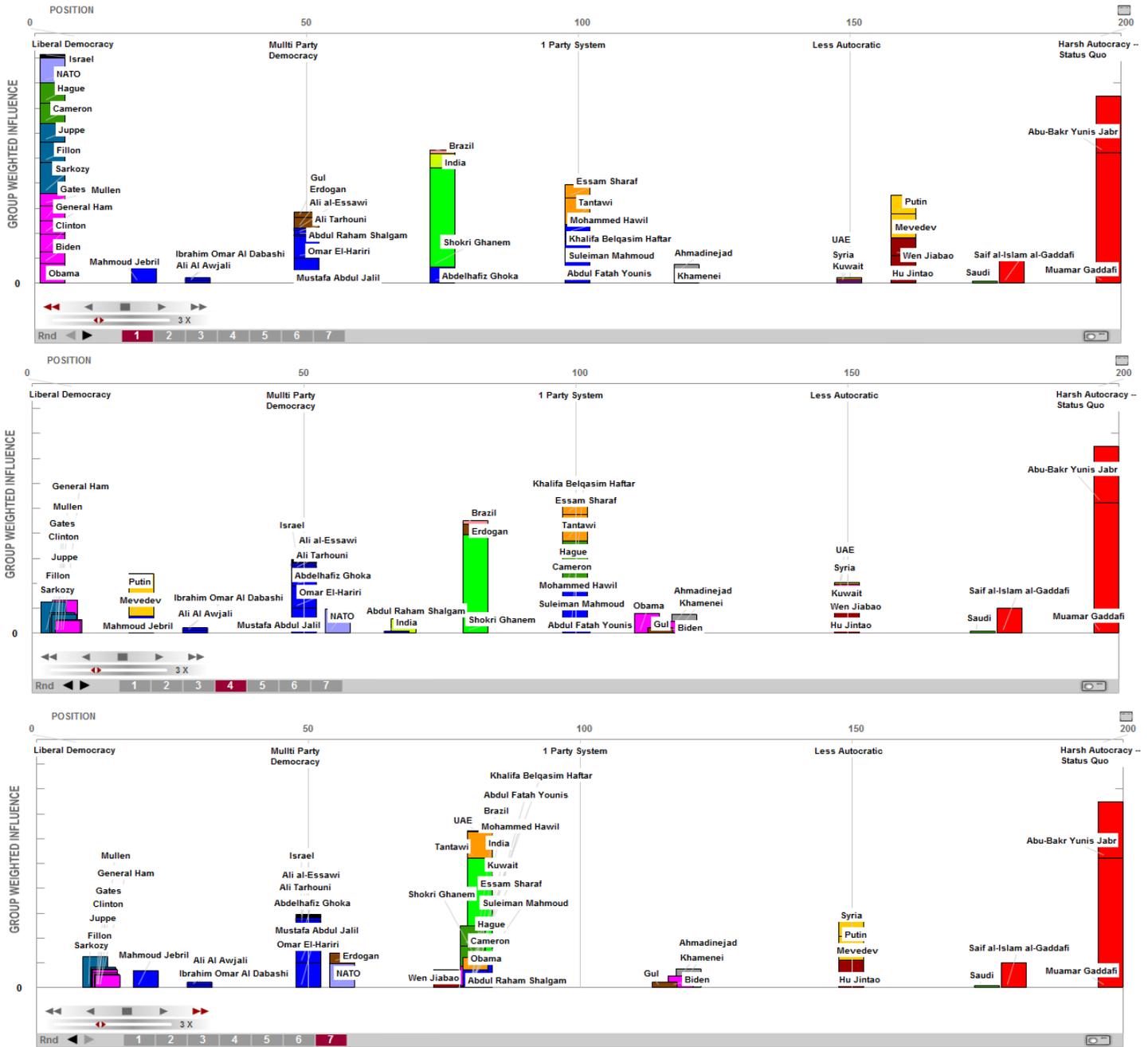
Outcome: Even with 60% of his forces degraded, the political landscape in favor or against Gaddafi will not change. This means that the American and European led effort will not coalesce any of the other actors to change positions once the bombing campaign has started. Gaddafi is more resilient than commonly expected.

Strength: The intensified coalition effort will not change the position of its allies in a negative direction as the bombing escalates.

Weakness: Those opposed to Gaddafi will not coalesce.

Opportunities: As Gaddafi's capabilities decrease, the coalition against him will continue to remain unified.

Basecase: Prospect of Democracy While Gaddafi Remains



Outcome: The Libyan opposition will be significantly divided on the type of government they desire while Gaddafi remains in power. The transitional council representing the new Libyan government will be divided into three camps: Mahmoud Jibril, Ibrahim Dabashi and Ali Awjali will prefer a more liberalized western style Democracy, Mustafa Jalil and Omar Hariri will prefer a multi-party system that is not liberal, and Abdul Raham Shalgam will lean toward a 1 party system. The various European and

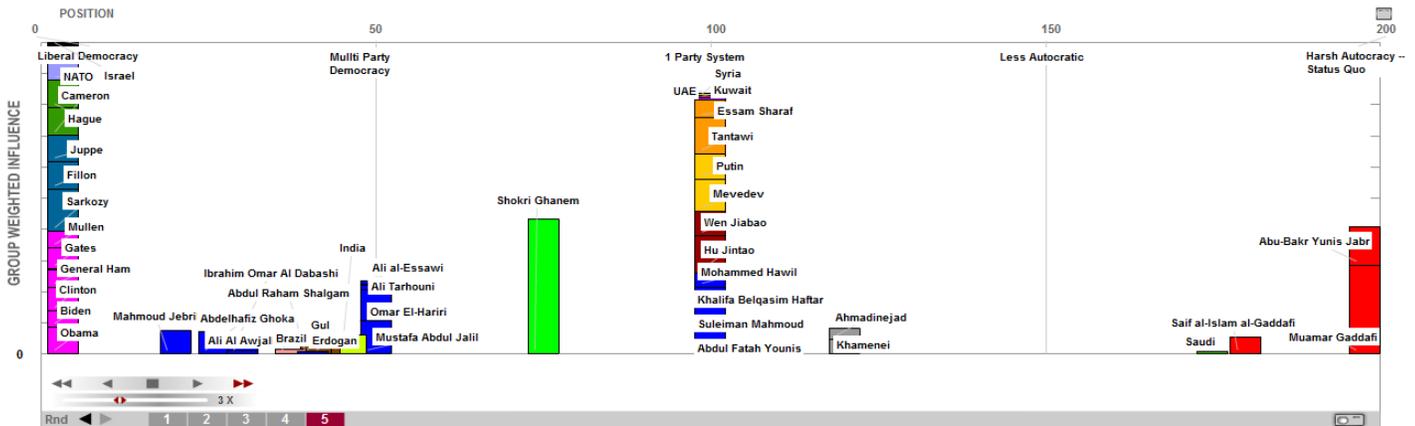
American leaders will also be divided within their respective camps on the type of Democratic system Libya should strive for.

Strength: The Libyan Oil Corporation will lean in support for a Democratic 1 party system, suggesting favor for the opposition in terms of similar preferences on governance but not on individual personalities.

Weakness: Russia, China, and pro-Gaddafi forces will remain fundamentally opposed to any reform. The Libyan opposition will be significantly splintered.

Opportunities: India may break away from BRIC in terms of preferences on Democratic governance.

Prospect for Democracy when Gaddafi Loses 50% of his Capabilities



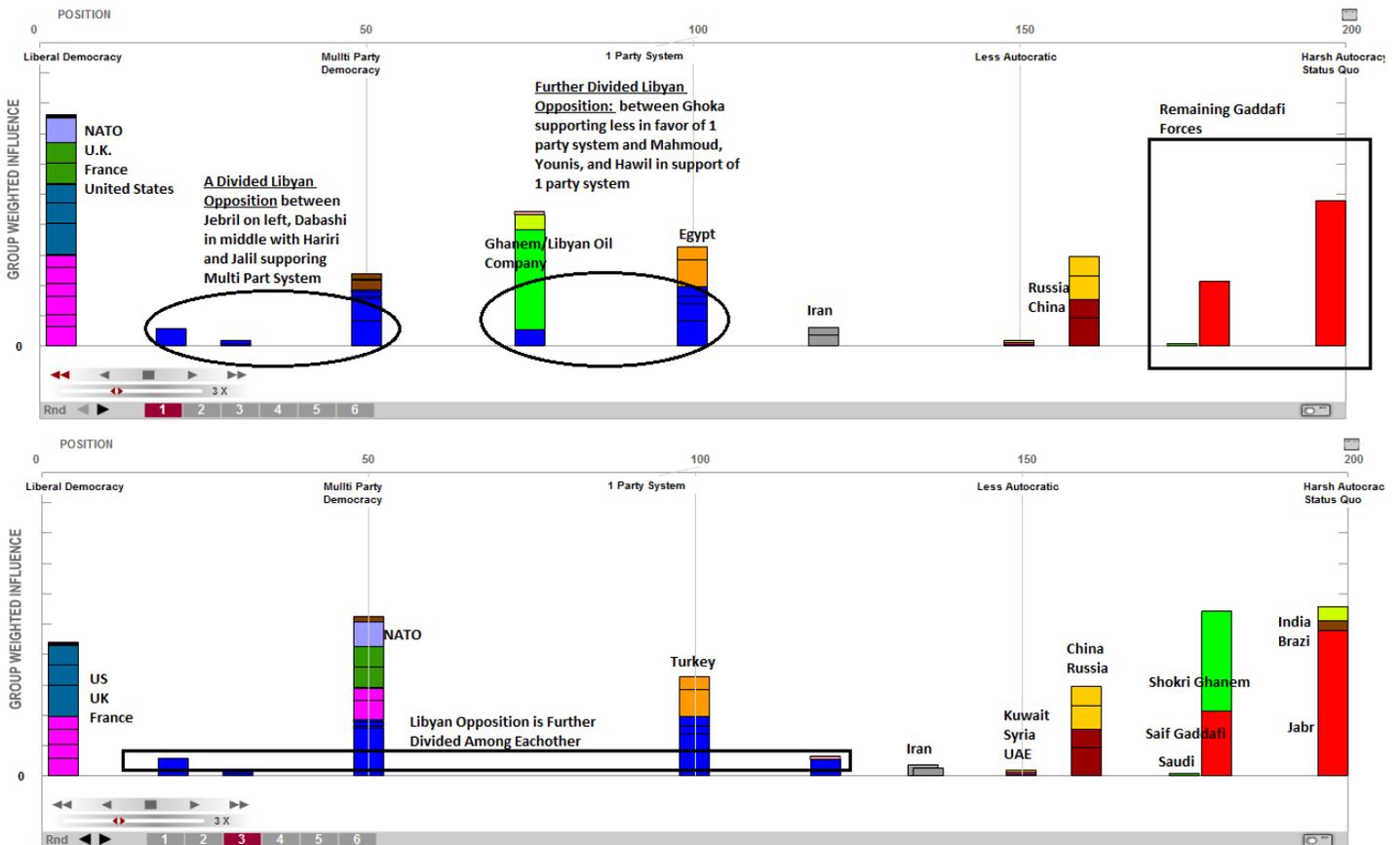
Outcome: There will be a significant splintering within the Libyan opposition in terms of governance. As Gaddafi’s capabilities are degraded by 50%, the foreign actors will be divided between a 1 party Democratic system (similar to Russia) and a liberal Democracy. More important, the opposition leaders represented by the Libyan Transitional Council will be increasingly divided between a liberal democracy, multi-party system and a one party system. I predict that as Gaddafi is weakened, China, Russia, India and Brazil will enter in support of a 1 party system, ultimately taking a stake in the future of Libya’s governance.

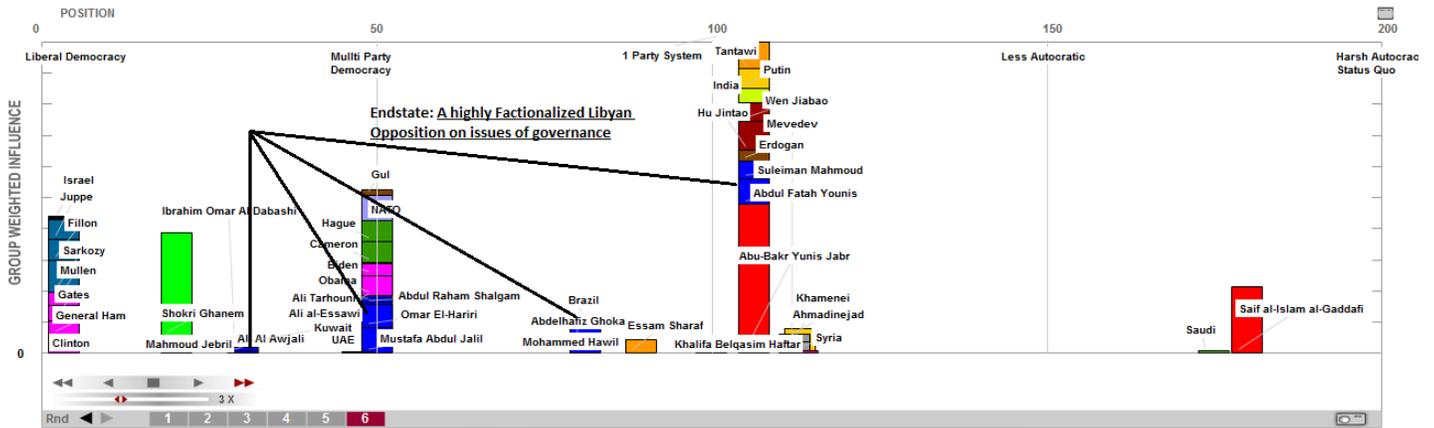
Strength: Libya will have a Democracy, but this will have a cost and the debate will not be resolved as long Gaddafi remains.

Weakness: Gaddafi is more resilient than expected. The newly formed Libyan opposition government will be tied in a deadlock on the issue of governance.

Opportunities: The Libyan Oil Corporation will remain neutral when it comes to choosing between the opposition debates on governance, but will prefer a democratic form of government instead of an authoritarian system. This indicates that if Gaddafi's forces are degraded, the Libyan Oil Corporation will lean in favor of the winning coalition to continue business.

Prospect of Democracy if Gaddafi Leaves or Dies





Outcome: If Gaddafi departs Libya, the newly formed opposition will become extremely factionalized resulting in potential deadlock. The Libyan Oil Corporation will move in favor of a liberal Democracy, but the winning coalition will be a slightly authoritarian structure nearing a 1 party Democracy similar to Russia's system. China and Russia will be part of this winning coalition along with India and Turkey.

Strength: Libya will be less authoritarian and nearing a Democratic system

Weakness: China and Russia will benefit and seize the opportunity without having participated in the removal of Gaddafi.

Opportunity: The U.S. can make a deal with the Libyan Oil Corporation in support of a more liberal Democracy.

Monte Carlo Analysis

Power Deviation in Pro and Anti Gaddafi Positions		
Runs	Max Dev.Outcome	Changes from Base Data
2	25	Mahmoud -25, Jebril 22, Biden 22, Mullen 24
3	30	Jabr -30, Biden 22, Clinton 22, Gate -26, Mullen 20
4	25	Jabr 25, Saif Gaddaf -19, Biden 20, Mullen 21, Fillon 26
5	28	Gates 26, Jebril 28, Haftar -22, Ghoka 20, Saif Gaddafi -20
6	28	Gul 28, Jabr -22, Hawil 24, Jebril -21, Gates 20, Mevedev 20
7	28	Hawil -28, Haftar -27, Mahmoud -24, Fillon 24, Putin 20
9	29	Ghoka 20, Clinton 18, Mullen 29, Fillon 24, Gul 24
10	29	Hawil -29, Clinton -25, Ham 22, Said Gaddafi 20, Wen Jiabao 28
11	29	Juppe 29, Saif Gaddafi 20, Jabr -23, Haftar 20, Biden 28, Clinton -20, Gates -25, Gul 25
12	29	Jebril -29, Clinton 25, Mahmoud 20, Gates -27
14	26	Saif Gaddafi 22, Suleiman 22, Hawil 22, Juppe 26, Jebril -22
16	29	Said Gaddafi -20, Jabr 29, Jebril -21, Mullen -22, Wen Jiabao -23
17	30	Biden 30, Jabr 28, Hawil -24, Biden 30, Clinton -21, Ham 26
18	25	Saif Gaddafi -20, Jabr -23, Mahmoud 25, Biden 24, Clinton -19
19	24	Saif Gaddafi -20, Mahmoud 24, Ghoka -20, Biden 24, Ham -20, Juppe -21
25	26	Saif Gaddafi -20, Jabr -26, Ghoka -20, Biden 20, Clinton -25, Mullen 25
27	28	Jabr 28, Biden -20, Juppe 22
23	25	Clinton 25, Mahmoud -25, Fillon -20

Description: We conducted Monte Carlo analysis to simulate derivations and uncertainty taking place with the various powerbrokers in the Libyan conflict. The analysis allows us to find out how random shocks can affect my predictions generated by the Monte Carlo algorithm. The purpose is to determine those who are susceptible to shocks and the degree to which actors are shifting in power. We set the maximum variations at +- 30 points running 30 rounds, using a random distribution to conduct the simulations. For example, if Saif Gaddafi's influence is at 60, then it can fluctuate up to 90 and down to 30.

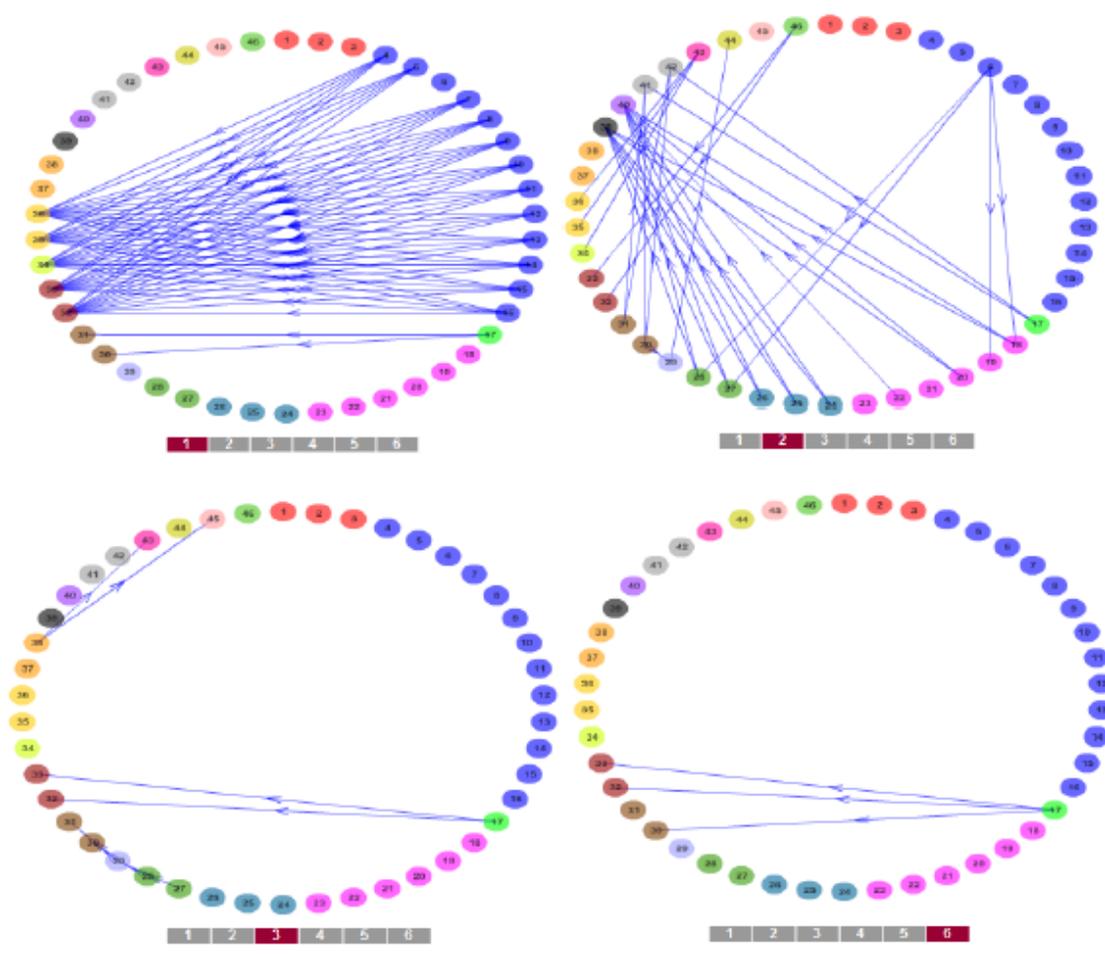
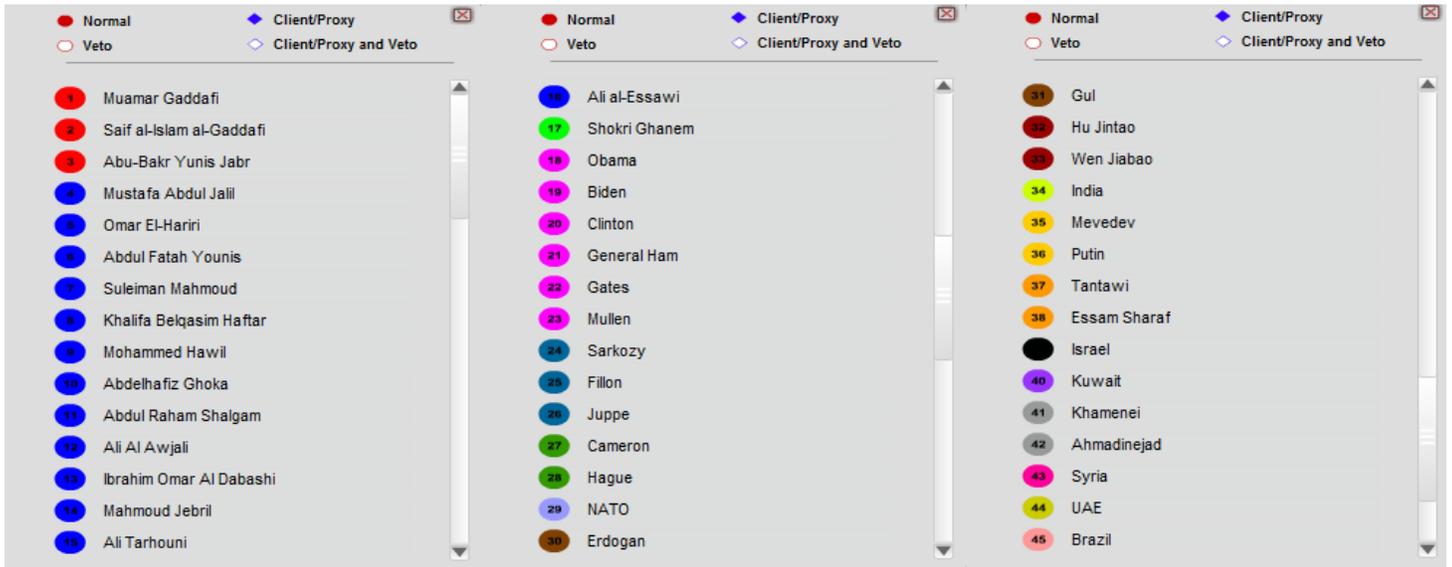
Outcome: My analysis indicates that the U.S. actors consisting of SECDEF Gates, Secretary of State Clinton, and Admiral Mullen fluctuate the most in influence. This suggests that any prolonged U.S. ability to influence the other stakeholders with its current anti-Gaddafi position is unstable and vulnerable to decreasing. Saif Gaddafi also fluctuates significantly, indicating that his power is unstable under the banner of his father's support. In addition, Abu Bakr Jabr, the Defense Minister and long time Gaddafi loyalist is equally susceptible to shocks. These two particular actors are the highest ranking Gaddafi loyalists; therefore, the Monte Carlo analysis indicates a power structure that is much more susceptible to shocks compared to anti-Gaddafi Libyan opposition.

Strengths: Muamar Gaddafi's power structure is more susceptible to collapse or defection. The Monte Carlo analysis is supported by the recent continued wave of defection in support of the opposition against Gaddafi.

Weakness: The U.S. ability to influence its interests is also unstable.

Opportunities: The coalition can exploit the instability within the Gaddafi camp to further splinter and isolate Muamar Gaddafi.

Network Analysis: Moves in Reaction to Pressure



Description Round 1: My analysis uncovers that in the initial round of conflict, the opposition represented by the newly formed Libyan Transitional National Council are applying credible pressure to Russia, China, India and Turkey in attempt to move theme from their positions. The head of the new rebel council and spokesman, Mustafa Abdel Jalil, stated that any country who attempts to circumvent support for the opposition would be denied Libyan oil along with business opportunities in the future. This was a statement aimed at BRIC's absent support on the No Fly Zone Resolution. Whatever the comment, the network analysis indicates that pressure exerted on BRIC is beyond cheap talk. In the first round of this conflict, it has caused them to react to such tactics.

Description Round 2: In the second round of the conflict, I can see that the United States, France and Britain are imposing credible pressure on the Middle Eastern countries, perhaps in support of their military action. The analysis indicates that these countries reacted to the pressure and ultimately were driven in support of the coalition action. This is validated by the Arab League's support for No Fly Zone Resolution authorizing military action.

Description Round 3: Although in the 3rd round there are less actors moving in reaction to pressure, the moves are telling. In this round I indicate pressure being exerted on China from Shokri Ghanem who is the head of the Libyan Oil Company. This means that China is going to be affected by the Libyan crisis most likely because of their energy concerns that are magnified by their rising economy and massive population.

Description Final Round: In the final round of the conflict, Shokri Ghanem continues to pressure China and also Turkey. This is consistent with report of Chinese interest in Libyan oil and Turkey's desire to purchase Libyan petroleum as well.

b. Libyan Uprising Update: Shokri Ghanem Defects to Tunisia and Gaddafi Loses 40% of Capabilities Transition from Stalemate to Endgame

Data Updated and Analyzed: 18 May 2011

What will happen now that Ghanem has defected? After the defection of Shokri Ghanem along with degradation of Gaddafi's power by at least 40%, I predict that the initial stalemate is transitioning into a phase where the opposition now has the upper hand. At this point, the Gaddafi government is beyond the point of sustaining a stalemate and is susceptible to collapse.

How can the United States end this conflict decisively? If we can align Shokri Ghanem and the Libyan Oil Corporation with Libyan Transitional Council, the coalition becomes much more united resulting into an even higher likelihood of collapse by the Gaddafi regime, bringing the conflict closer to an end.

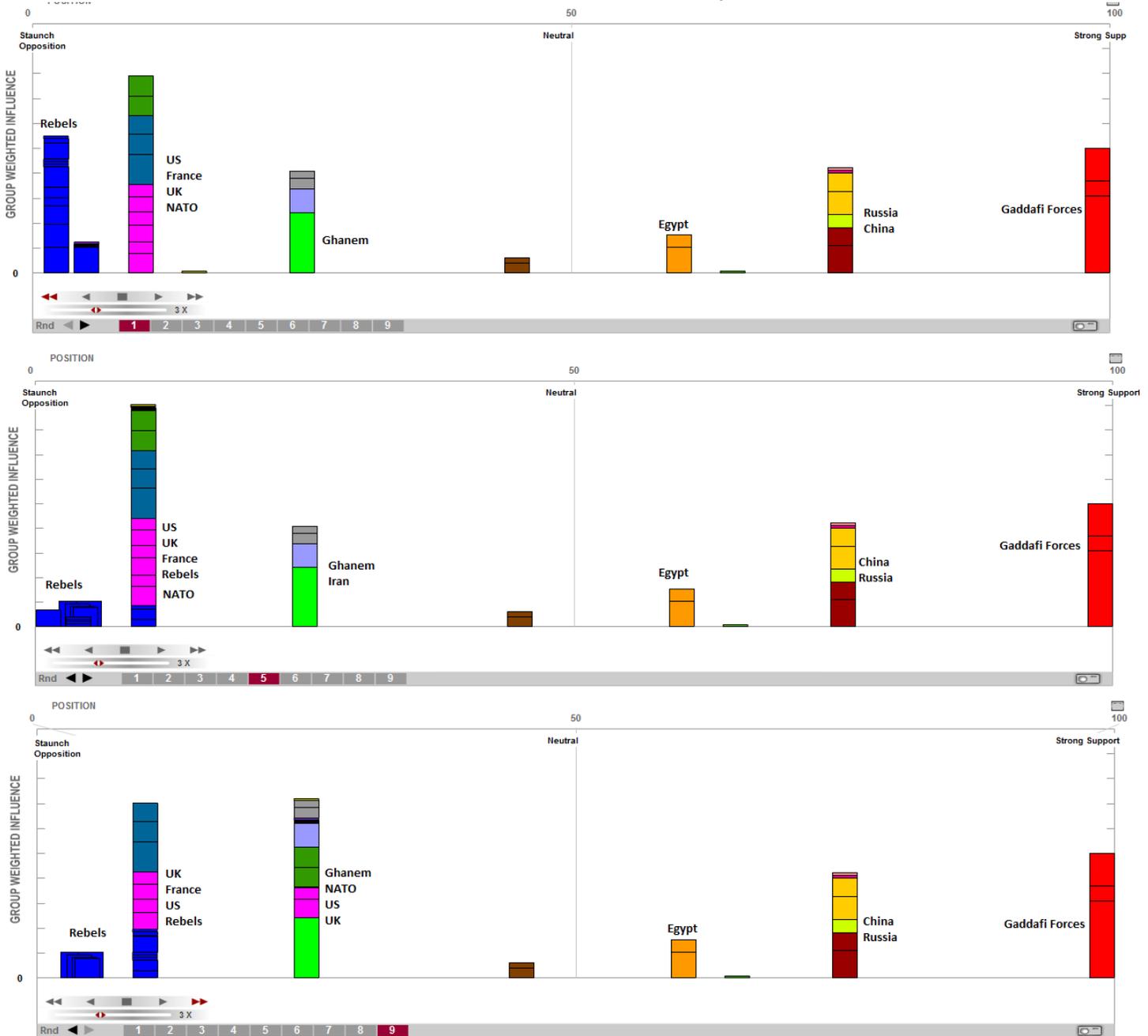
Situation Update: The head of Libyan Oil Corporation Shokri Ghanem has defected to Tunisia in clear sign of opposition to Muamar Gaddafi. An official at the Libyan Transitional Council has asked him to join the opposition. In addition, the continued bombing campaign led by the United States, France, United Kingdom and NATO has degraded Gaddafi's power by at least 40%.

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum. I predicted the outcome of the Libyan Crisis by evaluating two issues:

1. Extent of Support for Gaddafi

Issue Continuum 2: The scale of preferences ranges from zero as "Staunch Opposition to Gaddafi," all the way to 200 as a "Strong Support for Gaddafi." The midpoint constitutes a neutral position.

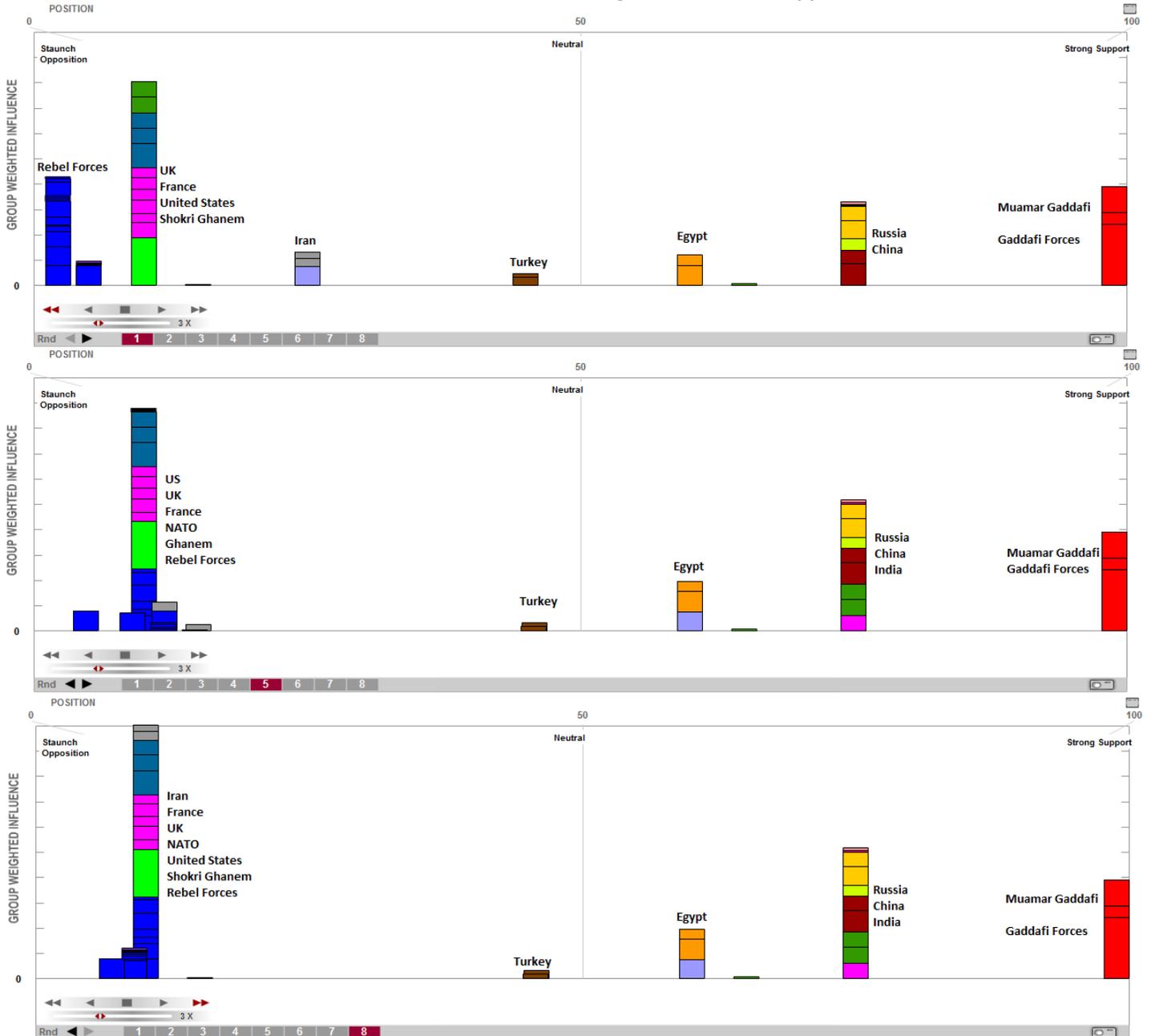
Shokri Ghanem Defects to Tunisia and Gaddafi Loses up to 40% of Power



Updated Outcome: After the defection of Shokri Ghanem along with degradation of Gaddafi's power by at least 40%, I predict that the initial stalemate is transitioning into a phase where the opposition now has the upper hand. This is resulting from the support of NATO, France, the United States and the U.K. In this phase I observe an effort that is more disjointed than the initial stalemate phase. However, supports from allied forces along with the defection of Ghanem now provide the upper hand to the rebels. At this

point, the Gaddafi government is beyond the point of sustaining a stalemate and is susceptible to collapse.

Course of Action for the United States: Allies Align Ghanem with Opposition Forces



Outcome: If the United States and the Europeans can unite Shokri Ghanem and Libyan Oil Corporation with the Libyan Transitional Council, the coalition in support of rebel forces will be aligned resulting into overwhelming force over the Gaddafi regime. Although Russia and China will still support Gaddafi

forces, the decreased power of Muamar Gaddafi relative to the opposition's strengthened coalition will make his authority highly unstable. Gaddafi's ability to remain in Libya will be even more untenable and closer to collapse.

C. Libyan Uprising Update: Post Gaddafi Libya

Data Updated: 27 August 2011 **Analysis Updated:** 5 September 2011

What type of government will take Shape in Libya? Post-Gaddafi Libya will transition to a limited multiparty tribal system. The national government will have a selection process based on pre-determined representation by tribal affiliation. This new government may have Democratic elements, but it will not meet the threshold for a true Democracy requiring fair and free elections.

What elements within Libya will resist the new government's effort for a limited multiparty tribal system? The eastern tribes situated in Misrata will pose the greatest reluctance to more democratic representation followed by the central tribes and the western tribes. In absence of a strong central authority Libya runs the risk of increased tribal conflict. The apprehension by the Eastern tribes centered on Misrata will pose the greatest threat to any form of consensus building necessary for a limited multiparty tribal representative system. There will also be remnants of the Gaddafia tribe continuing to pose the greatest resistance to new forms of governance in Libya.

Will there be conservative or extremist elements threatening the future of Libya? The newly formed Libyan government will not be affected by extreme or conservative Islamic ideology. Quite the contrary Libya will be fairly liberal compared to its neighbors in the Middle East and North Africa. Although Islam is part of Libya's identity, the future government will be driven more by tribal politics rather than religious ideologies.

What will happen to Libya's economy? Libya will transform into an open economy with few structural barriers to commerce once it becomes stabilized and secure. However, an open economy will present limited changes in structure given that Libya's only significant export will continue to be oil.

There will be a much greater desire for foreign direct investment because of the support for an open economy. Resistance to this economic openness with the exception of the Gaddafi tribe will be marginal at best. Libya's potential for open trade, particularly as a significant petroleum exporter with access to several ports, will be supported by the international community. This liberalization of the economy will allow for a wider distribution of oil resources into the hands of more stakeholders compared to the centralization of the Gaddafi regime.

What will be the role of the international community in shaping post-Gaddafi Libya? The NATO coalition consisting of the United States and European allies will push for a multi-party Democracy, but post-Gaddafi Libya will not reach the threshold for becoming a true democracy. The coalition along with Arab neighbors such as Saudi Arabia, UAE, Egypt and Tunisia will give strength to the transitional council. This will be an important step in countering the various tribal desires for more authoritarian alternatives to the transitional council's multi party tribal representation proposal.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Libya and internationally. Data collection was completed on August 27th 2011 and analysis was completed on September 5th 2011. Libya is a country where civil society and political organizations have remained absent for more than forty years. This was done intentionally by Muamar Gaddafi to prevent dissent. As a result, the various positions held by the transitional council and various defectors until recently have remained unknown. Using subject matter expertise and media statements from various actors within Libya and internationally, I have evaluated the future form of government in Libya, the ideological bent of the new government, and extent of economic openness.

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

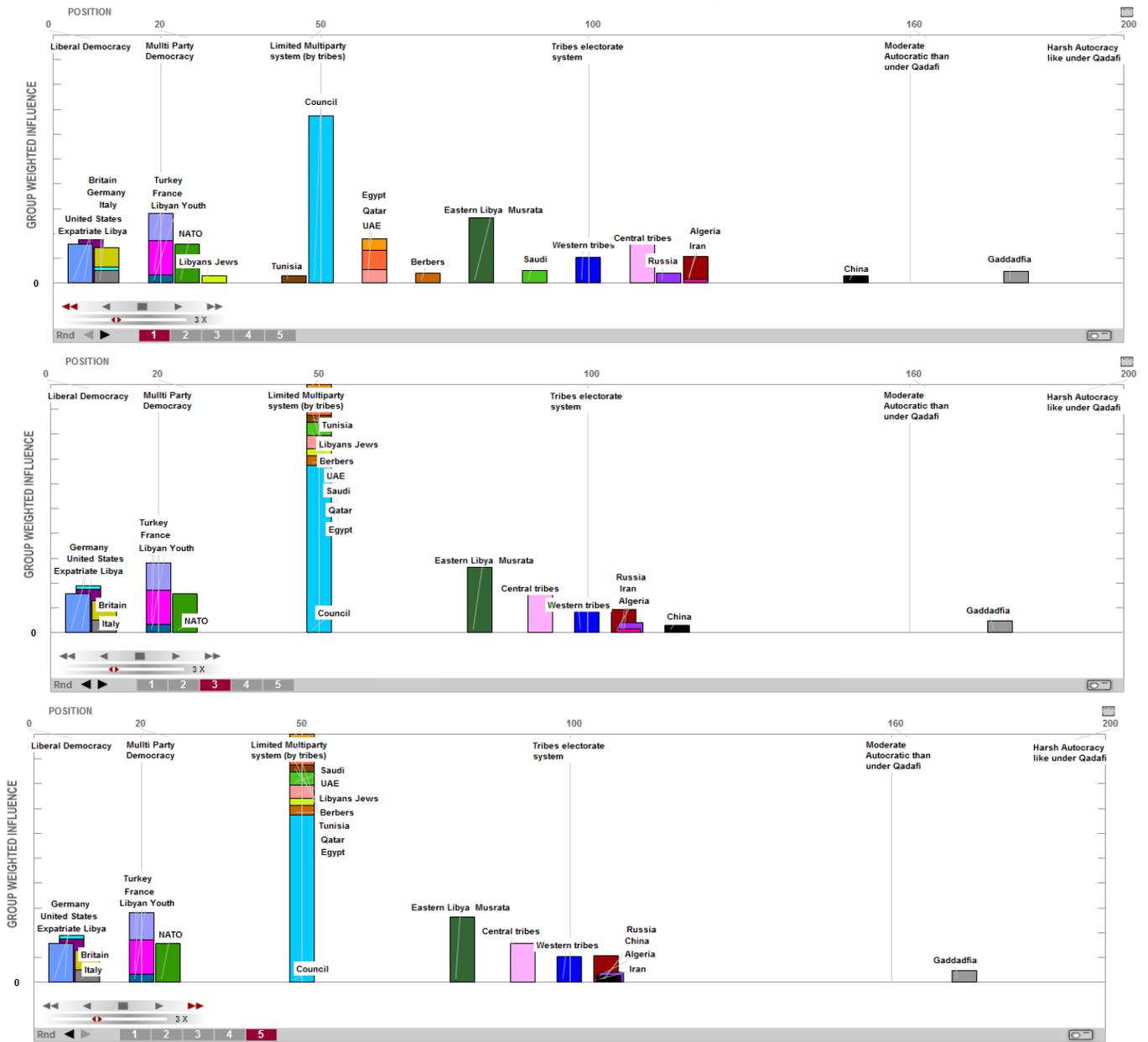
Issue Continuum: I developed three issue continuums in predicting the future of post-Gaddafi Libya:

(1) The future form of government in Libya (2) The ideological spectrum of the Libyan government and

(3) The Extent of Economic Openness.

- 1. The Future form of Government:** The continuum for defining the future form of government in Libya ranges from “0” as a liberal democracy to “200” as a harsh autocracy similar to the Gaddafi government. At “20” I defined a multi party democracy similar to Europe or American Presidential system, but lacking some liberal freedoms associated with systems. I set “50” as a limited multiparty system (by tribes). This system would have some democratic elements but is still authoritarian because representatives will be pre-determined by tribal rank and order. At “100” I defined the point on the spectrum as a tribal electorate system, a strictly authoritarian form of government which is selected by tribal representation with no democratic processes. At “160” I defined this point as a moderate autocratic government which is hierarchical but less authoritarian than the Gaddafi government.
- 2. Ideological Spectrum of the Libyan Government:** This continuum ranges from “0” as conservative to “100” as liberal, with “50” defined as neutral. This spectrum is defined in the context of Islam in the Middle East. Therefore, what may be defined as liberal in the West is not the same by definition in the Middle East and North Africa.
- 3. The Extent of Economic Openness:** This continuum ranges from “0” as a closed economy all the way to “100” as an open competitive economy. An open competitive economy is defined as a system allowing the free flow of goods within Libya and abroad with very limited tariffs or barriers to commerce.

Future Form of Government in Libya



Outcome: Post-Gaddafi Libya will transition to a limited multiparty tribal system. The national government will have a selection process based on pre-determined representation by tribal affiliation. This new government may have Democratic elements, but it will not meet the threshold for a true Democracy requiring fair and free elections. The future of Libya will have a less centralized power-base compared to the Gaddafi regime. There will be more actors in the ruling coalition, but it will remain

authoritarian. The distribution of power within Libya's national political landscape will be determined by tribal size and influence.

Furthermore, the Libyan transitional council's overwhelming influence compared to the individual tribes will create a pull toward a position calling for the limited multiparty tribal representation system. The eastern tribes situated in Misrata will pose the greatest reluctance to more democratic representation followed by the central tribes and the western tribes.

In spite of such reluctance by the various tribes in meeting the limited multiparty system, Libya's neighbors and regional allies will support the governance structure imposed by the transitional council. The regional players that will eventually support a proposal by the transitional council will consist of UAE, Saudi, Egypt, and Qatar. The Iranians followed by Russia, China and Algeria will push for a more authoritarian system in the form of a tribal selectorate but will have limited effectiveness in achieving this.

The NATO coalition consisting of the United States and European allies will push for a multi-party Democracy. The Libyan youth which played a significant role in the war against Gaddafi will also push for a democratic system. However, the tribes will resist this approach and weigh-in for a more authoritarian system based on local tribal authority. The Libyan Transitional Council will attempt to reconcile these differences by providing a tribal representation system with limited Democratic elements.

Strength: Libya will be less autocratic compared to the Gaddafi regime

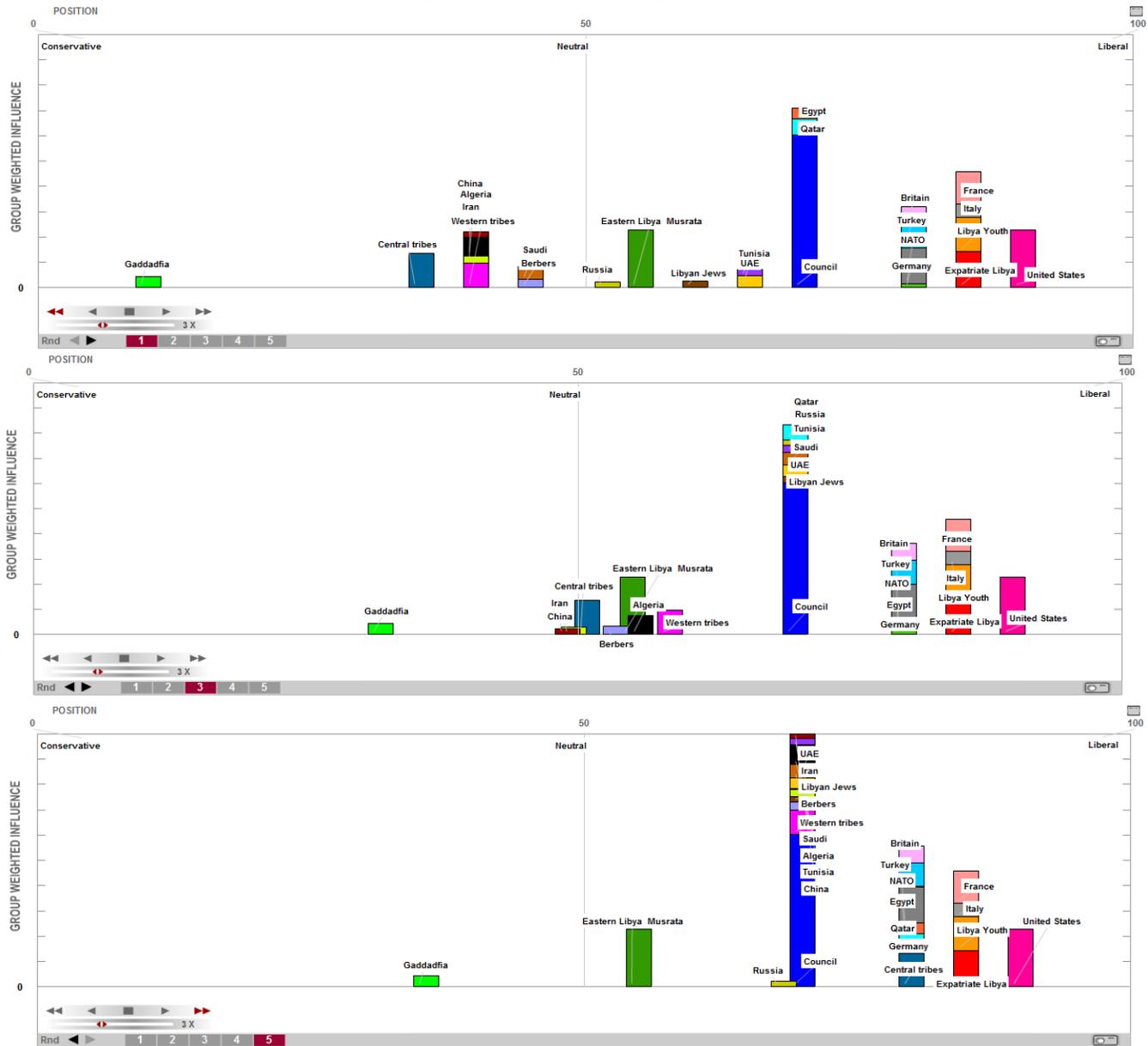
Weakness: Although Libya will be less autocratic, it will not be a Democracy by most standard definitions.

Opportunities: The United States and Western allies can influence the Libyan Transitional Council by limited semi-democratic reform.

Threat: In absence of a strong central authority Libya runs the risk of increased tribal conflict. The apprehension by the Eastern tribes centered on Misrata will pose the greatest threat to any form of

consensus building required for a limited multiparty tribal representative system. There will also be remnants of the Gaddafi tribe continuing to pose the greatest resistance to new forms of governance in Libya.

Ideological Spectrum of Libyan Government



Outcome: The newly formed Libyan government will not be affected by extreme or conservative Islamic ideology. Quite the contrary, Libya will be fairly liberal compared to its neighbors in the Middle East and North Africa. The central and western tribes will initially prefer a more conservative ideology, but will

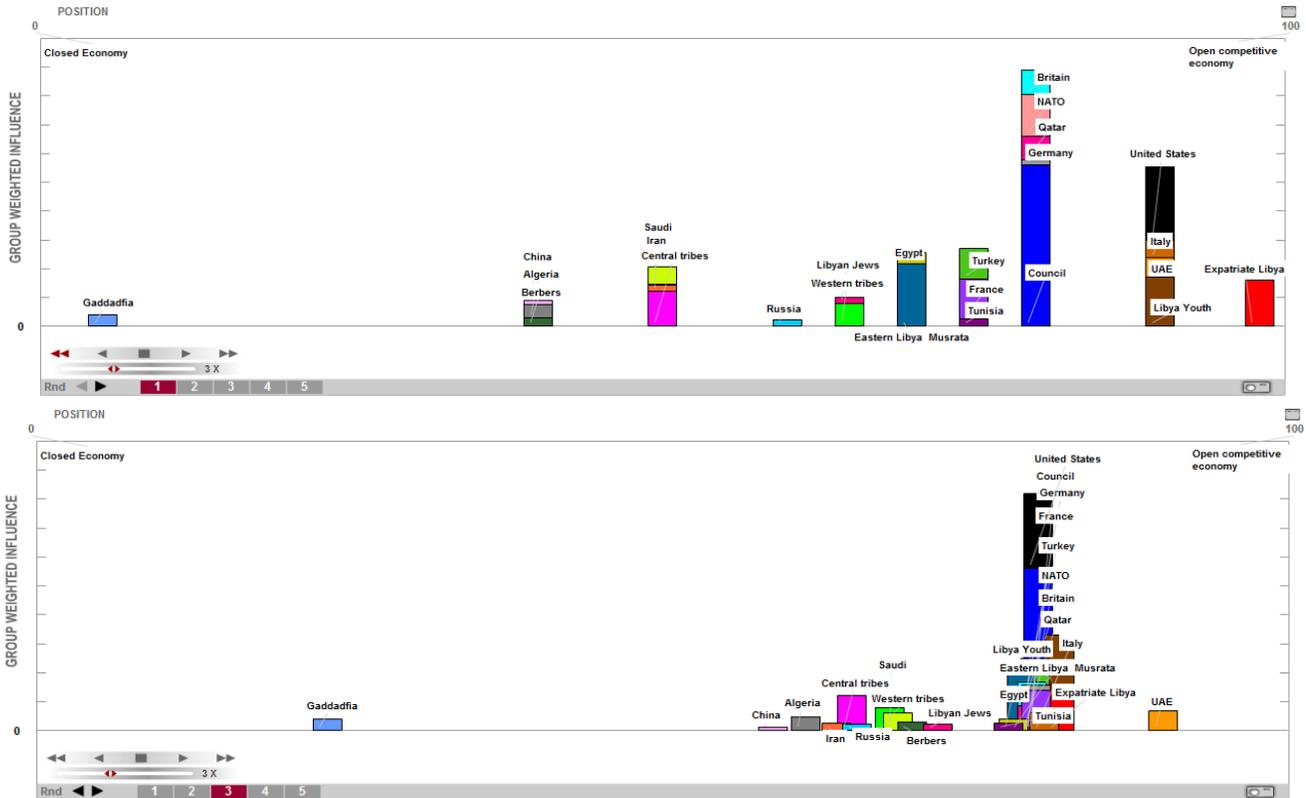
eventually shift toward a liberal influence. Iran, Saudi Arabia, UAE and Algeria will support a liberal ideology by Middle Eastern standards.

Strength: Although Islam is part of Libya’s identity, the future government will be driven more by tribal political than religious ideologies.

Weakness: The expatriates along with the Libyan youth will desire a more ideologically liberal government but will not achieve their optimal preference based on overwhelming influence by Transitional Council.

Threat: The Eastern tribes centered on Misrata will challenge the transitional council’s more liberal ideology. The remnants of the Gaddafi regime will resist in attempt to counter any new dominant ideology.

Economic Openness





Outcome: Libya will transform into an open economy with few structural barriers to commerce once it becomes stabilized and secure. However, an open economy will present limited changes in structure given that Libya’s only significant export will continue to be oil. There will be a much greater desire for foreign direct investment because of the support for an open economy. There will be almost no resistance to this economic openness. Libya’s potential for open trade, particularly as a significant petroleum exporter with access to several ports, will be supported by the international community. This liberalization of the economy will allow for a wider distribution of oil resources into the hands of more stakeholders compared to the centralization of the Gaddafi regime.

Strength: An open economy presents many opportunities for a successful post-Gaddafi Libya

Weakness: Security will remain an issue until open trade can be achieved.

Threat: Remnants of the Gaddafi regime will resist

4. Complete Predictions on Syria

a. The Syrian Uprising

Data Collected: May 13th 2011 Analysis Completed: May 15th 2011

Background: Throughout the course of Bashar Al-Assad’s rule and even preceding him with Hafez Al-Assad, both father and son have created a system in which their role has been an integrative element of stability necessary for the survival of his loyal domestic coalition. This is typical of most other stable autocracies; however, Syria is particularly unique in the Middle East because of Bashar Al-Assad’s skillful positioning such that he has support from Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel, all of whom are deeply

opposed to each other yet support the Syria's current ruler. This arrangement has made Bashar Al-Assad's resilient in the face of great rebuke from the United States and its European allies. My analysis predicts that Assad will continue to prosper as he continues to perfect this unique relationship among the various players in the region. This is typical of most other stable autocracies; however, Syria is particularly unique in the Middle East because of Bashar Al-Assad's skillful positioning such that he has support from Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Israel, all of whom are deeply opposed to each other yet support the Syria's current ruler. This arrangement has made Bashar Al-Assad's resilient in the face of great rebuke from the United States and its European allies. My analysis predicts that Assad will continue to prosper as he continues to perfect this unique relationship among the various players in the region.

To What Extent is Bashar Al-Assad affected by the Current Protests in Syria? The impact of the protests will be marginal at best on the ruling authority of Bashar Al-Assad. He will still remain in power with continued support from his coalition. However, his power will slightly wane within the coalition, resulting into increased concessions to his supporters. In seeking to mitigate the potential for any loss of authority, Assad will provide additional powers to his loyal coalition, thereby making his rule more stable.

How will the limited concessions and diffusion of authority given to his coalition supporters affect Bashar Al-Assad's rule? The concession will strengthen consensus within his domestic coalition, making his leadership more stable in the short-term. In effect Assad will augment any potential loss of power by rewarding his loyal followers more than he would have prior to the protests.

Is there any prospect for democratic change or reform in Syria? There is no credible prospect for democratic change in Syria. The status quo authoritarian structure in Syria will remain nearly intact as Assad's support from the Ba'ath Party, the Syrian media, and the military remain loyal to the status quo structure.

Will there be any attempt to make reforms under Assad's rule? In spite of the prevailing status quo structure in Syria, I predict that Vice Presidents Najah al-Attar and Farouk Al-Shara along with the Prime Minister Adel Safar will continue to push for limited economic or political reform by slightly less autocratic means. This attempt to make reforms will not prevail because the majority of power centers within Assad's camp will continue to advocate no change from the status quo autocratic structure.

To What Extent Does Syria's Current Government Structure Depend on Bashar Al-Assad? Even if Assad were to depart Syria, the current regime structure would still remain. There would be a push from Prime Minister Safar, Vice President Attar and Vice President Shara to make some reforms toward a slightly less autocratic structure such as more economic freedom. However, the coalition supporting the status quo structure presently would continue to prevail as both the Iranians and the Saudis continue backing the Ba'ath Party loyalists and the military leadership that existed under Assad.

To What Extent Could Bashar Al-Assad survive in Syria if he loses a significant amount of power? If Bashar Al-Assad loses even 50% of his power, he will still have a strong enough coalition to effectively rule Syria. In fact, my analysis indicates that the ruling coalition will be even stronger given that he concedes a limited amount of power.

How effective are the opposition forces in Syria protesting against Assad's rule? As Assad continues to make limited concessions to his loyal supporters, the Muslim Brotherhood along with the Kurdish opposition will be weakened in their resolve to oppose him. Any foreign support will be ineffective.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Syria and internationally. Data collection was completed on May 13 2011 and analysis was finished on May 16th 2011. In addition I provided alternative scenario of what would occur if Bashar Al-Assad were to depart Syria along with alternative courses of action for the United States. I also conducted Monte Carlo analysis to determine the players most susceptible to changing their stances or positions. Finally, I

conducted a network analysis of the various actors to determine the extent of leverage and pressure imposed on one-another. I predicted the future of Syria by evaluating two issues:

1. Extent of Support for Bashar Al-Assad

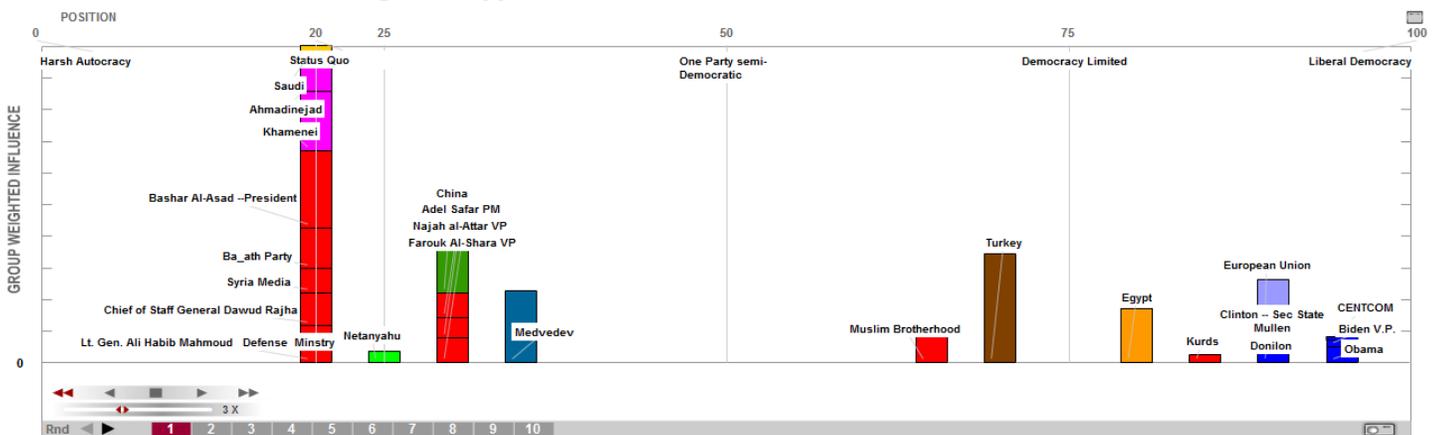
Issue Continuum 1: The scale of preferences ranges from zero as “Strong Support Support for Assad,” all the way to 100 as a “Staunch Opposition to Assad.” The midpoint constitutes a neutral position.

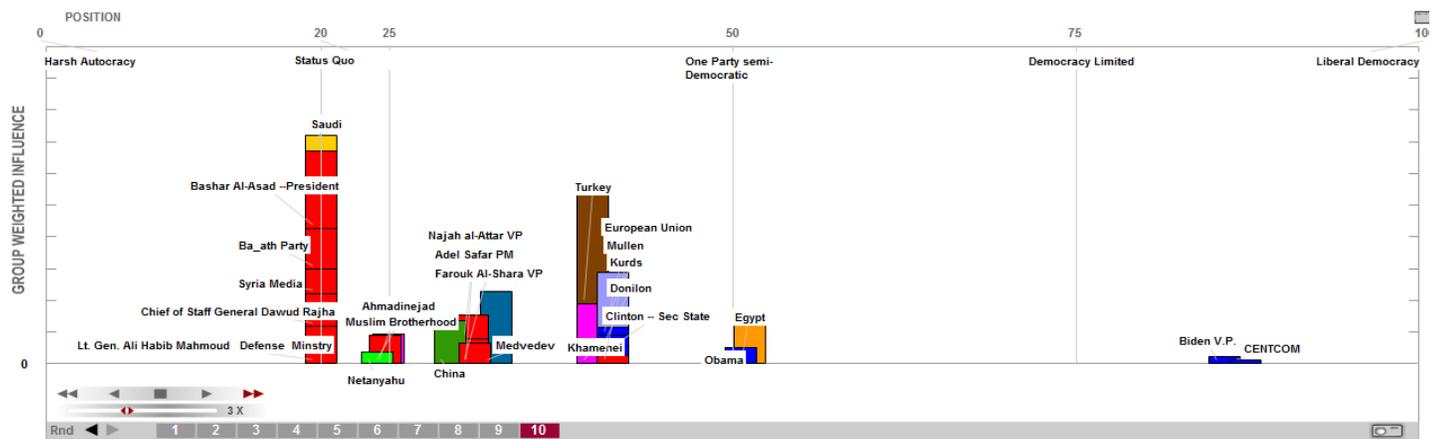
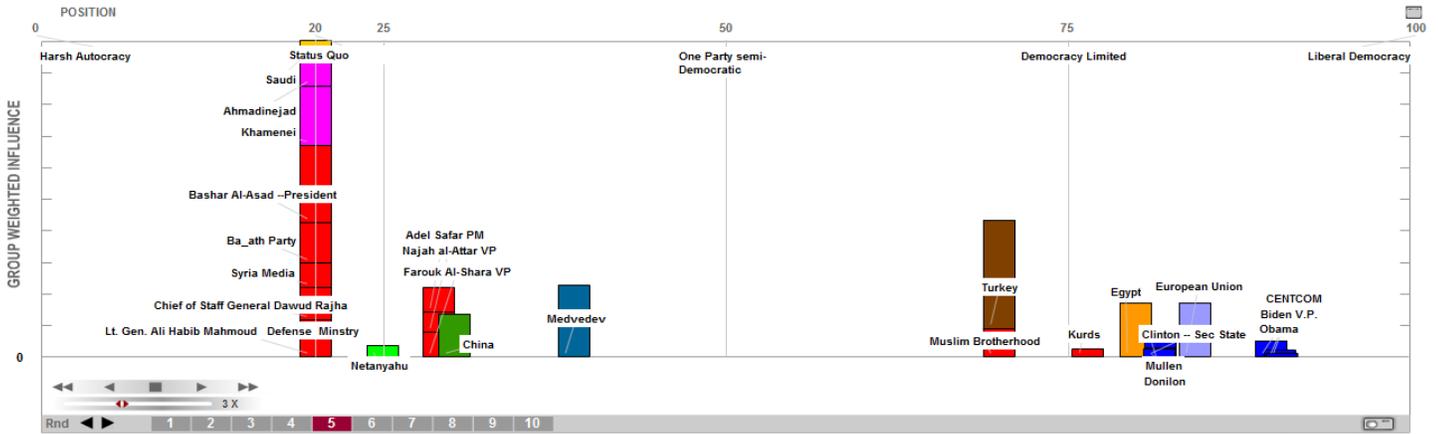
2. Regime Type Preference in Syria

Issue Continuum 2: The scale of preferences begins at zero as “Harsh Autocracy.” I then define the “status quo” at 20 which is the Assad government. 50 is defined as a “1 party system” similar to Russia. At 150 I defined “Democracy Limited” as a two party government with limited individual liberties. And finally 100 is defined as “Liberal Democracy,” a system similar to a European proportional representation or American presidential system.

Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

Regime Type Outcome under Bashar Al-Assad





Outcome: There is no credible prospect for democratic change in Syria. The status quo authoritarian structure in Syria in will remain nearly intact as support from the Ba’ath Party, the Syrian media, and the military remain intact. In spite of the prevailing status quo structure in Syria, I predict that Vice Presidents Najah al-Attar and Farouk Al-Shara along with the Prime Minister Adel Safar will continue to push for limited economic or political reform by slightly less autocratic means.

This attempt to make reforms will not prevail because the majority of power centers within Assad’s camp will continue to advocate unwavering change from the status quo autocratic structure.

Furthermore the Muslim Brotherhood will realize that democratic reform is an untenable proposition and will ultimately advocate change, no matter how ineffective, within the confines of an authoritarian

spectrum. In the final round, none of the international advocates for democratic reform will keep true to their positions with the exception of Egypt and the United States.

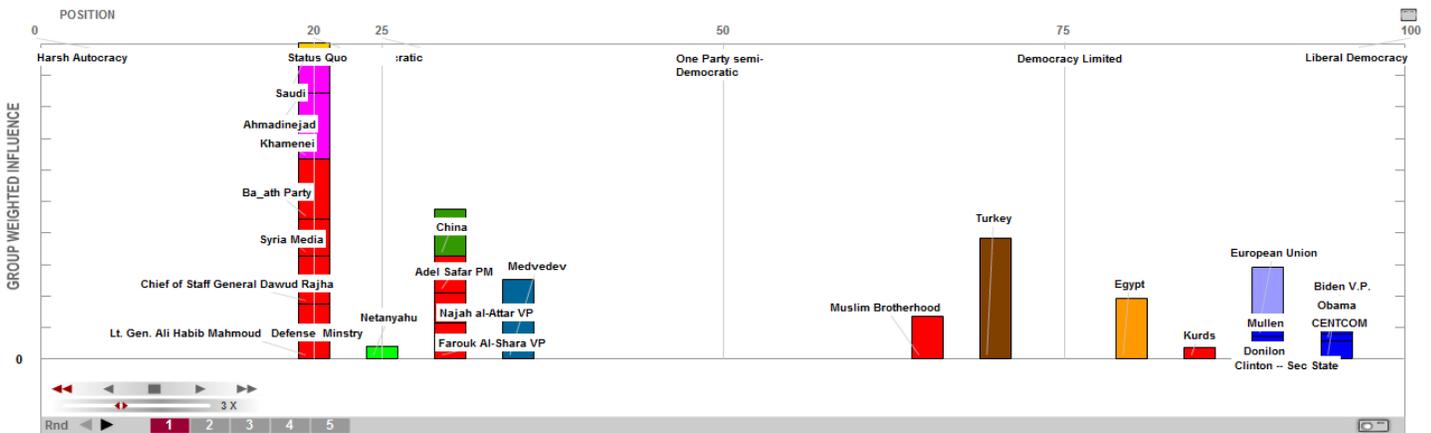
Turkey and the European will shift their initial position advocating multi-party democracy one supporting a slightly less autocratic government than the current system in Syria. The United States will also shift in their democratic direction as they move from supporting a multi-party system to anything reflecting a one-party system similar to Russia or China. In spite of this current description of the changing positions of the international actors, such players are almost irrelevant in the outcome for regime type preference in Syria.

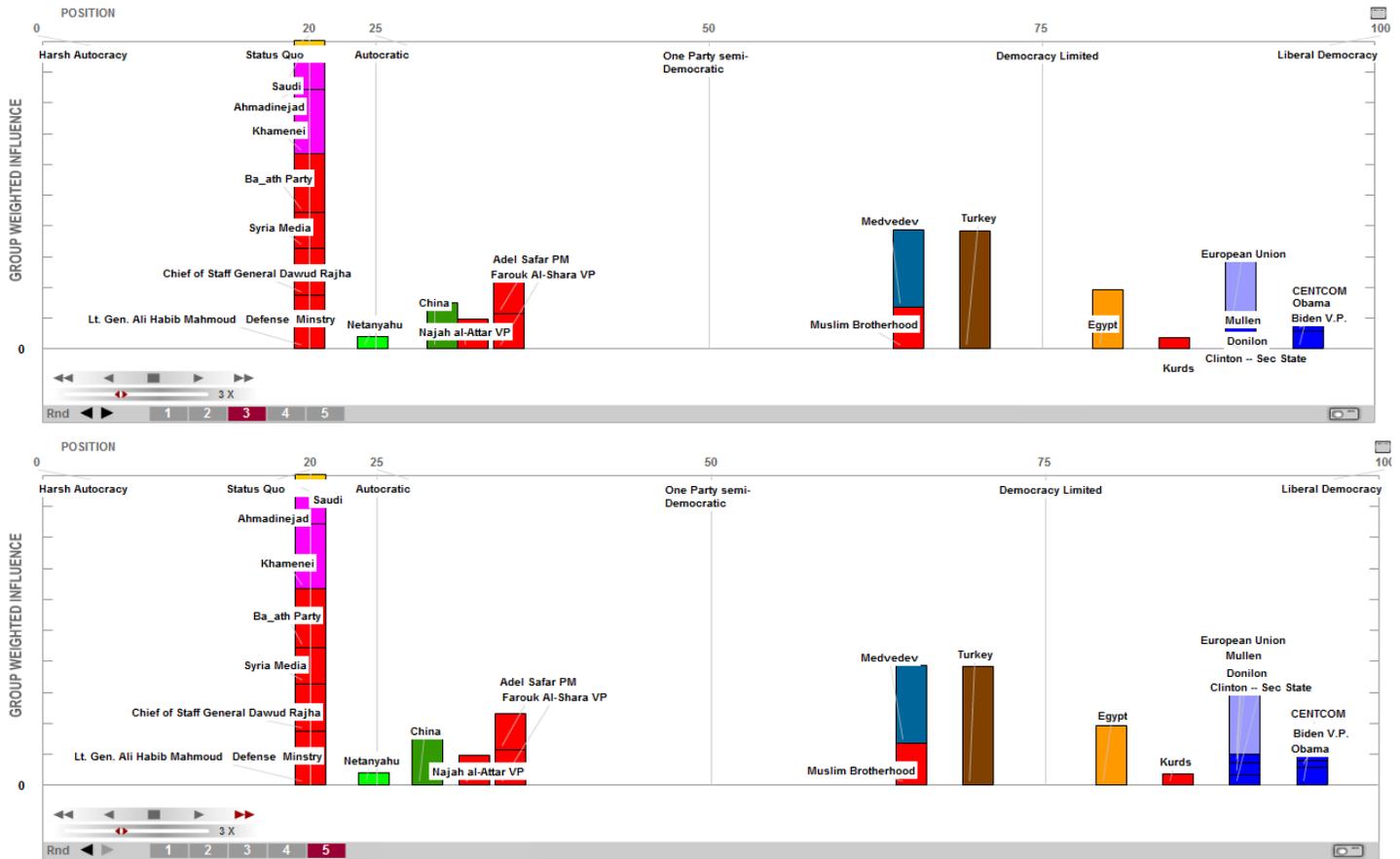
Strength: Syria will not become more autocratic than the status quo. Assad’s close advisors and stakeholders such as the Vice Presidents and the Prime Minister will advocate some reform.

Weakness: Syria will remain autocratic

Threats: Turkey’s shifting support from democratic reform to slightly autocratic one may strengthen Bashar Al-Assad’s coalition within Syria.

Scenario: Regime Type if Bashar Al-Assad Departs Syria





Outcome: If Bashar Al-Assad were to depart Syria, the current regime structure would still remain. There would be a push from Prime Minister Safar, Vice President Attar and Vice President Shara to make some reforms toward a slightly less autocratic structure such as more economic freedom. However, the coalition supporting the status quo structure present would prevail as both Iranians and the Saudis continue backing the Ba’ath Party loyalists and the military leadership that existed under Assad.

Strength: The status quo-structure under Bashar Al-Assad is stable even if he were to depart. The level of authoritarian rule will not be worse than the current situation.

Weakness: The prospect for substantive reform or any notion of democratic change is unlikely

Opportunities: The United States can provide some type of support or offer toward the Prime Minister and the Vice Presidents if it seeks a limited reform platform advocated by these leaders.

Extent of Support for Assad



Outcome: After this current wave of protests in Syria, Bashar Al-Assad will still remain in power with continued support from his coalition. However, his power will slightly wane within the coalition, resulting into increased concessions to his supporters. In this process Bashar Al-Assad will negotiate the extent of additional authority given to the Ba'ath Party along with his two Vice Presidents, the Prime Minister and the military. This diffusion of authority within his camp will prevent his coalition from

splintering or defecting. In fact this limited diffusion of power will strengthen consensus within the domestic coalition, making his leadership more stable in the short-term. Saudi Arabia and Iran will continue to support Bashar Al'Assad throughout this diffusion of power within his loyalist camps while Israel and Russia will remain neutral toward his rule. In addition I also predict that the Muslim Brotherhood along with the Kurdish resistance to Assad will be weakened in their resolve to oppose him.

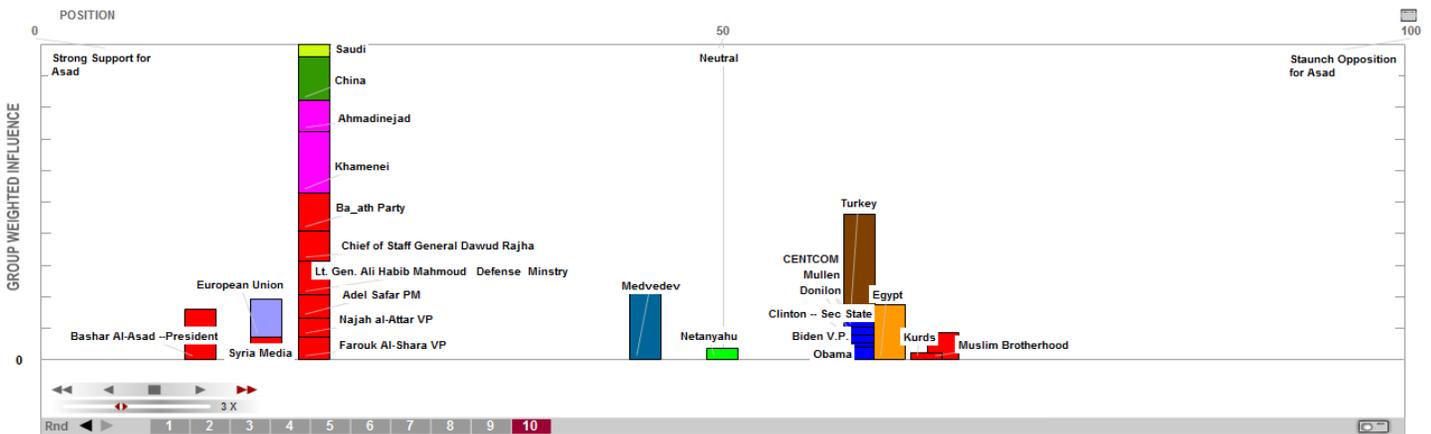
Strength: Assad will be slightly weakened, forcing him to share more power. The rise of further extremism will remain low as long as Assad keeps his coalition intact.

Weakness: The political resolve of Assad's coalition will be strengthened.

Opportunities: The United States can begin dealing with more key leaders within Syria than before.

Threats: Iran will continue to support Assad, requiring some quid pro quo concession from Syria.

Scenario: Bashar Al-Assad Loses 30% of Power



Outcome: If Bashar Al'Assad loses up to 30% of his power, he will still garner enough support to remain the leader of Syria. However, he will be less willing to provide concessions or diffuse authority to his supporters if he loses power compared to the current situation in which his power is relatively intact. The Saudis and the Iranians will continue to support his domestic coalition. Interestingly enough, the

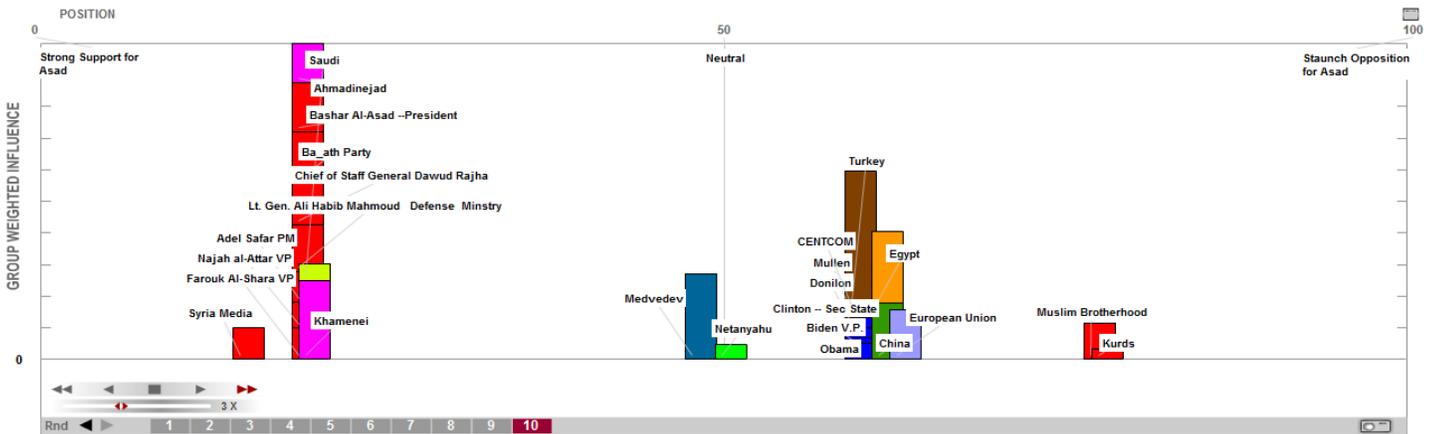
European Union will move in support of Assad perhaps fearing that a weak ruler in Syria is less desirable than a strong one.

Strength: Assad’s leadership is stable suggesting mitigating the risk of a worse alternative or an unknown outcome.

Weakness: Syria will continue to operate under Assad’s authoritarian rule, minimizing the chances for any substantive reform.

Opportunity: None

Support for Bashar Al-Assad Loses 50% of Power



Outcome: If Bashar Al-Assad loses even 50% of his power, he will still have a strong enough coalition to effectively rule Syria. In fact, my analysis indicates that the ruling coalition will be even stronger given that he concedes a limited amount of power. Therefore, he has established a structure in which his role is necessary amongst his domestic and international allies.

Strength: Assad’s leadership is stable suggesting mitigating the risk of a worse alternative or an unknown outcome.

Weakness: Syria will continue to operate under Assad’s authoritarian rule, minimizing the chances for any substantive reform.

Opportunity: None

Monte Carlo Analysis

Deviation in Pro and Anti Asad Positions		
Runs	Max Dev.Outcome	Changes from Base Data
1	27	Netanyahu 27
2	25	Egypt 25, Netanyahu -20, Ahmadinejad -20, EU 29, Egypt -25
3	29	Netanyahu 29, Biden 22, Ahmadinejad -22, Medvedev -26, Turkey 22, Egypt -25
4	30	CENTCOM 30, Clinton 27, Mullen 27, Netanyahu 20, Medvedev 28
5	29	Netanyahu -29, CENTCOM -20, Khamenei -20, Turkey 21, Egypt 23
6	29	Netanyahu 29
7	30	China -30, Donilon -22, Obama 21, Khamenei -20, Saudi -20
8	25	CENTCOM -25, Biden -24, Donilon 20, Khamenei -20, Ahmadinejad 20, EU 30, Egypt 25
12	25	Netanyahu -25, Khamenei -20
14	25	Egypt -25, Ahmadinejad -20, Turkey -30
20	30	Turkey -30, Ahmadinejad -20
24	26	Turkey 26, Biden -26, Donilon -25, CENTCOM 21, Ahmadinejad -14, Medvedev -22
25	29	EU 29, Biden -25, Clinton -25, Egypt -24

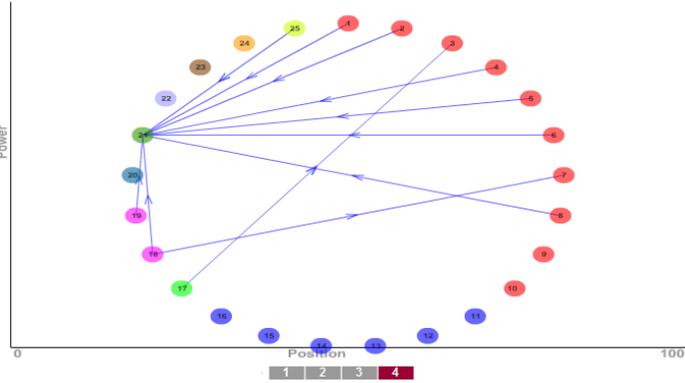
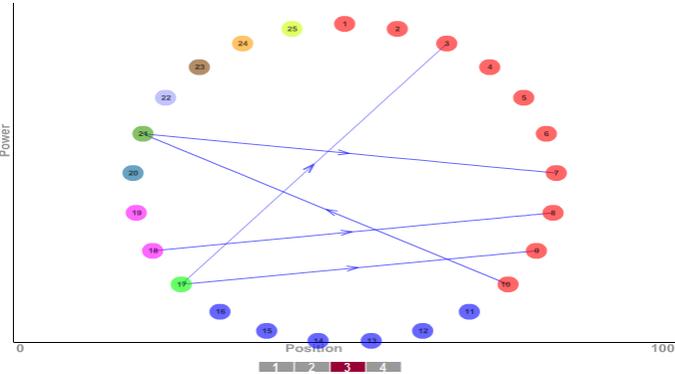
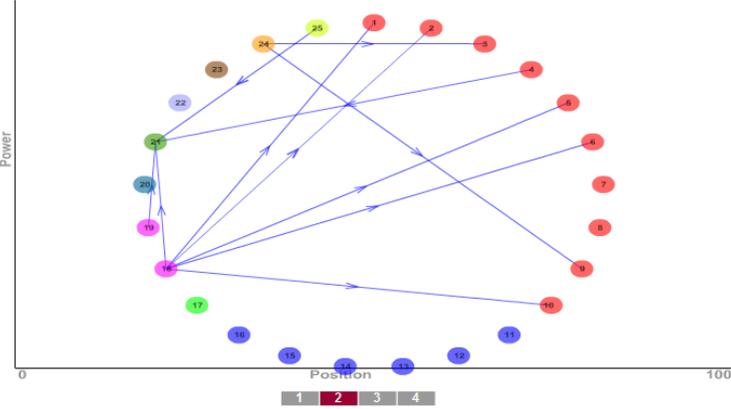
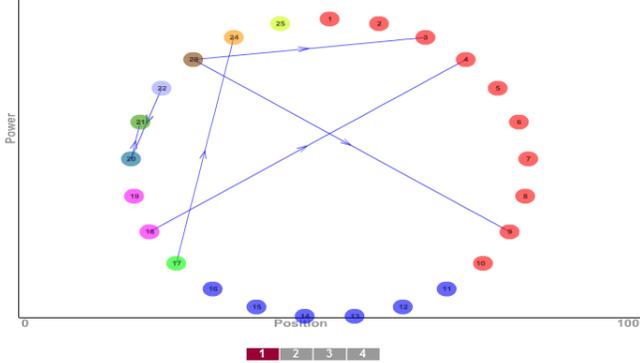
Description: We conducted Monte Carlo analysis to simulate derivations and uncertainty taking place with the various powerbrokers in support or against Syrian leader Bashar Al-Assad. The analysis allows us to find out how random shocks can affect my predictions generated by the Monte Carlo algorithm. The purpose is to determine those who are susceptible to shocks and the degree to which actors are shifting in position. We set the maximum variations at +- 30 points running 30 rounds, using a random distribution to conduct the simulations. For example, if Ahmadinejad’s position is 30, then it can fluctuate up to 60 and down to 0.

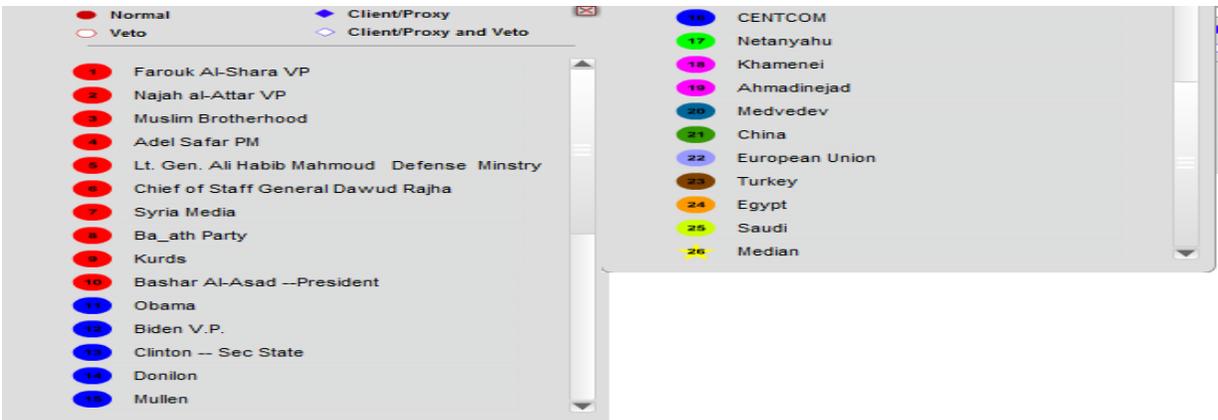
Outcome: My analysis indicates that none of the actors within Syria are susceptible to shocks that would cause them to change their positions in supporting or deposing Assad. This further supports my initial findings that the extent of support for Bashar Al-Assad is stable within Syria. I indicate that Israel, Iran and United States are most susceptible in shifting their positions toward Assad.

Strengths: The level of uncertainty in Syrian political order is stable and predictable

Weakness: The ability to induce a decrease in support for Assad is most likely untenable

Network Analysis: Moves in Reaction to Pressure in the Extent of Support for Bashar Al-Assad





Round 1: In the initial I observe that Turkey is pressuring the Muslim Brotherhood. This is in accordance with the fact that Turkey supports the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. In addition, Turkey also pressures the Kurds in Syria but most likely in a negative manner because their historical conflict with these people. Therefore, this analysis indicates that Turkey has a role in shaping the direction of the opposition in Syria. I also observe that Iran’s Supreme Leader Khamenei effectively applies pressure to Syrian Prime Minister Adel Safar. This is also expected given Iran’s influence in cooperating with Syria based on their common interests in Lebanon and the Palestinian issue.

Round 2: The same network dynamics are in play in this round except that I observe Supreme Leader Khamenei of Iran exerting pressure on not just Syria Prime Minister but also Vice Presidents Attar and Shara.

Round 3: Once again I observe Supreme Leader Khamenei applying pressure to Syria’s military chief of staff General Dawud Raja. More interestingly I see Egypt exerting pressure on Syrian media as well Bashar Al-Assad. This is also somewhat apparent due to the current revolution in Egypt which played a role in catalyzing the protests in Syria.

Round 4: In the final round I observe the entire Syrian leadership exerting significant pressure back onto Egypt. This may be the result of Bashar Al-Assad’s effective policy in shattering the

opposition in Syria, a counter-revolution in support of the status quo and opposite to Egypt's success in removing their leader Hosni Mubarak.

b. Syrian Uprising Update

Data and Analysis Updated: 7/21/2011

Extent of Support for Assad al-Bashar



Outcome: Core support for Bashar Al-Assad remains strong with no indication that he is planning to leave Syria. The uprising is gaining support from the general population and a wave of military defections is reported. These power shifts are not sufficient to threaten the current regime.

Consistent with the initial forecast and simulations of April 2011” The impact of the protests will be marginal at best on the ruling authority of Bashar Al-Assad. He will still remain in power with continued support from his coalition. However, his power will slightly wane within the coalition, resulting into increased concessions to his supporters.”

The update shows that as anticipated Assad is delegating some of his power to subordinates in return for a unified effort against the opposition. The international community remains split. The Iranians, Saudis and the Chinese will continue to support Assad. Russia will join Israel by adopting a neutral stance. The United States did impose weak sanctions to counter Assad’s violent grip on the country. Turkey’s critical remarks lead to coordination with Europe, the US and Egypt. These developments will *not* materially affect Assad’s position. Current international pressure is insufficient to weaken Assad to any substantial degree. Specifically the regional alliances Assad has established will serve his need to further stabilizing the internal situation. The Syrian crisis is largely an internal affair. Domestic opposition is weak. The military defectors along with the Kurds and the Muslim Brotherhood are the only organized opposition and there is some indication of increased coordination among these factions (Figure 1, round 5). Yet, compared to the Assad government these opposition groups are weak and will have only a marginal effect in the short-term. This crisis can escalate only if major unexpected events prompt large shifts in the military support for Bashar Al-Assad or substantial not organized

populations rise unexpectedly. Therefore, violence is likely to continue because of the entrenched antigovernment stand by the weak opposition, but over time revolutionary activity will likely be ineffective and subside.

c. Syrian Uprising Update: Assad Loses 30% Power, Turkey Shifts Further Away, Iraq Enters and Increases Concern

Data and Analysis Updated: August 13th 2011

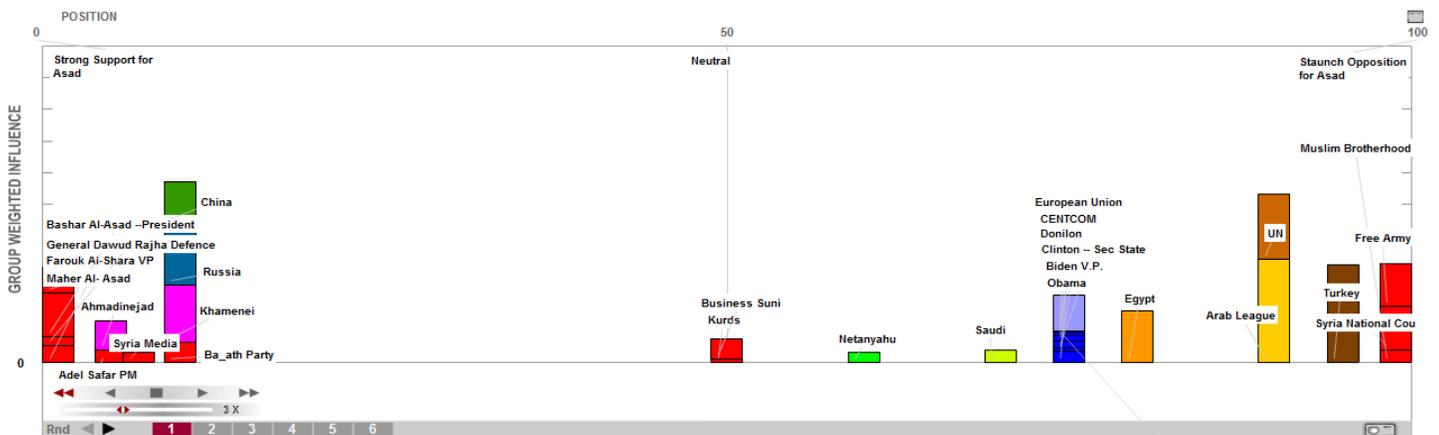


Updated Outcome: Similar results and conclusions from my initial forecast in May 2011 and update in July 2011 stand. Although there have been a wave of military defections along with isolation from the international community, Bashar Al-Assad will continue to remain in power with strong support from Saudi Arabia and Iran. Iraq has increased its salience on the issue and weighed in support of the Assad regime. Although I initially observe a staunch opposition from the Kurds, Muslim Brotherhood, and the military, the final evolution of events indicates that the opposition moves closer to a neutral position while the Muslim Brotherhood remains opposed but with less intensity. In short, the international community's isolation of Assad will have little effect on him departing Syria unless enacted by external force. Bashar Al-Assad will continue to remain in power with what appears to be an effective pacification enacted by the government's brutal onslaught of dissenters. As a result of the government crackdown, the level of opposition will decrease by most dissenting groups.

d. Syria Forecast Update: Escalation into Civil War and Stalemate Phase

Data Updated: November 9th 2011 **Analysis Completed:** November 20th 2011

Basecase: Extent of Support for Bashar Al Assad





Outcome: Syria is now engaged in a civil war. There are members of the Army who have begun to defect into what is now called the Syrian Free Army. As a result Bashar al Assad has been weakened, particularly with Arab League and Turkish support for the Syrian opposition (Syria National Council). Although the Syrian opposition is not as capable as the Assad regime, its lack of strength has been augmented by a supporting coalition consisting of the Arab League, the United States, Turkey, and the European Union. The Assad regime still has support from China, Russia, and Iran; however, the coalition opposing his rule will become stronger and more unified compared to the regime's current coalition. Although Bashar Al Assad has lost international support and is becoming more isolated, he still maintains a strong domestic coalition with external support from Iran. Bashar Al Assad will continue to fight and remain in power unless removed by external intervention such as a NATO military action

similar to Libya’s removal of Gaddafi. Otherwise Bashar Al-Assad will continue to fight and remain in power although the international coalition opposing is rule will become stronger.

Strength: Assad is weakened, resulting into a more even between the opposition and status quo regime.

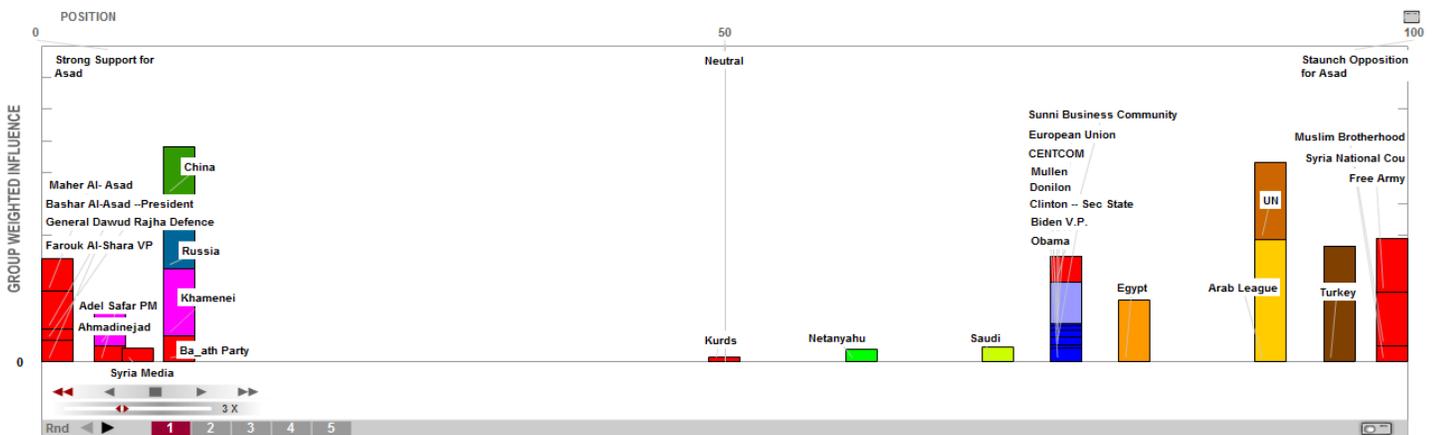
The international community continues to turn against Bashar Al Assad

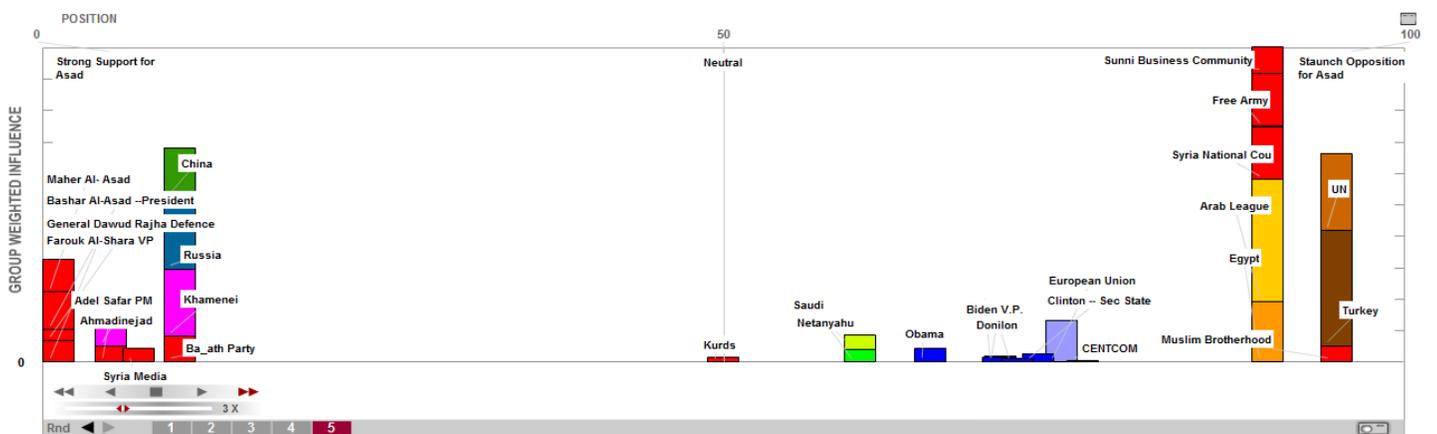
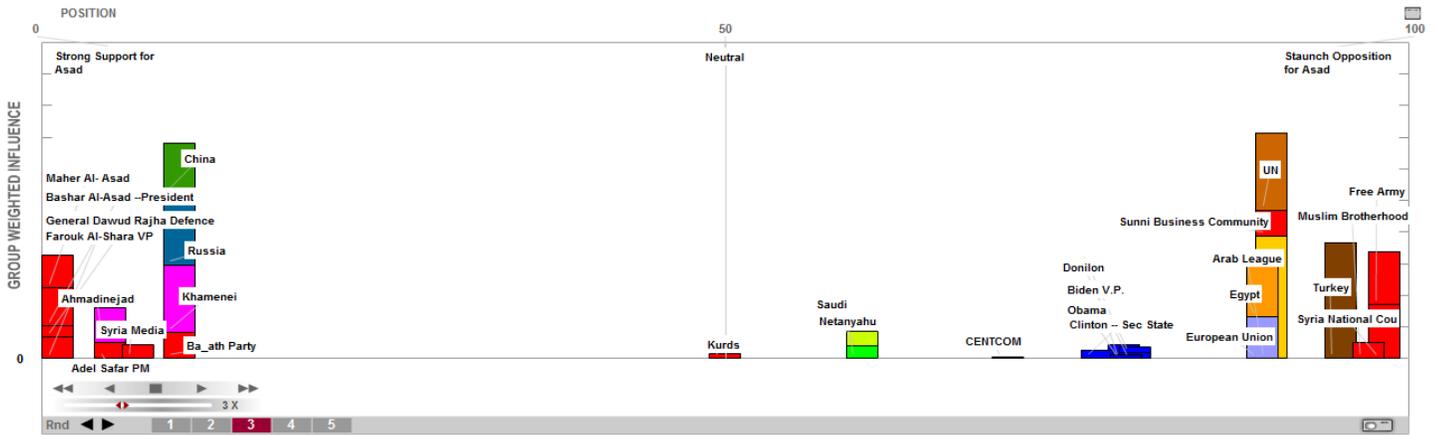
Weakness: Bashar Al Assad will continue to fight and remain in power unless removed by external intervention such as a NATO military action similar to Libya’s removal of Gaddafi.

Opportunity: The international community brings the civil war to a closer end if there is a foreign military intervention

Threat: There will be a stalemate in the civil war. Bashar Al Assad may end up providing a negotiated settlement where he remains in power if not removed by external force.

Scenario: Sunni Business Community Moves in Support of the Opposition and Assad Loses 30% of Strength





Outcome: If the majority of the business community in Syria takes sides with the Syrian opposition, the Assad regime will continue to fight and maintain its domestic coalition. The civil war in Syria will intensify. Bashar Al Assad will not relinquish power in this scenario. Under this scenario, the civil war will transition from an escalation to a stalemate phase. The only way the conflict will end is if there is foreign intervention led by Turkey, the United States, or NATO.

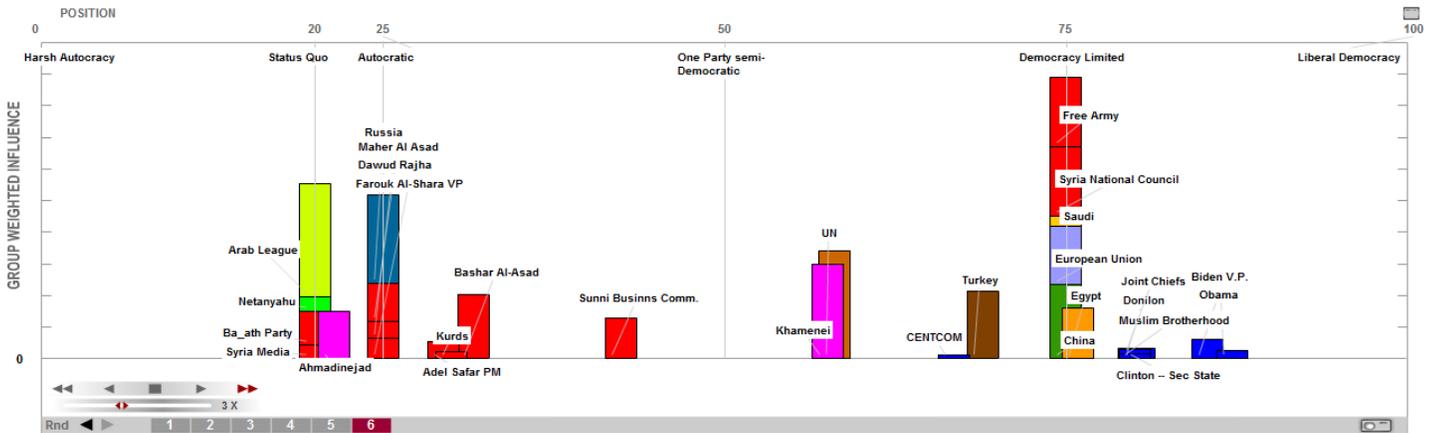
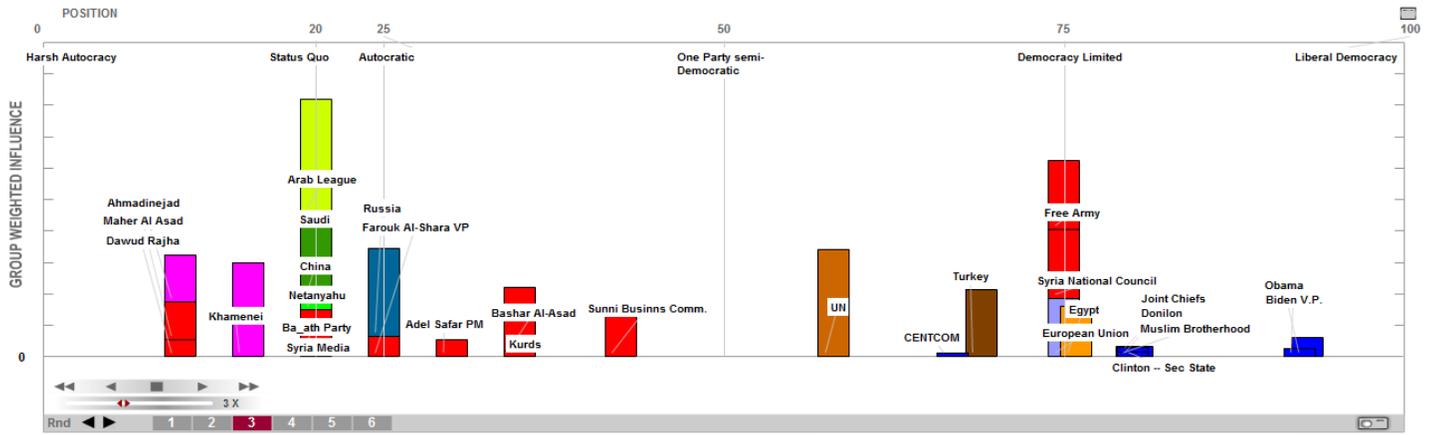
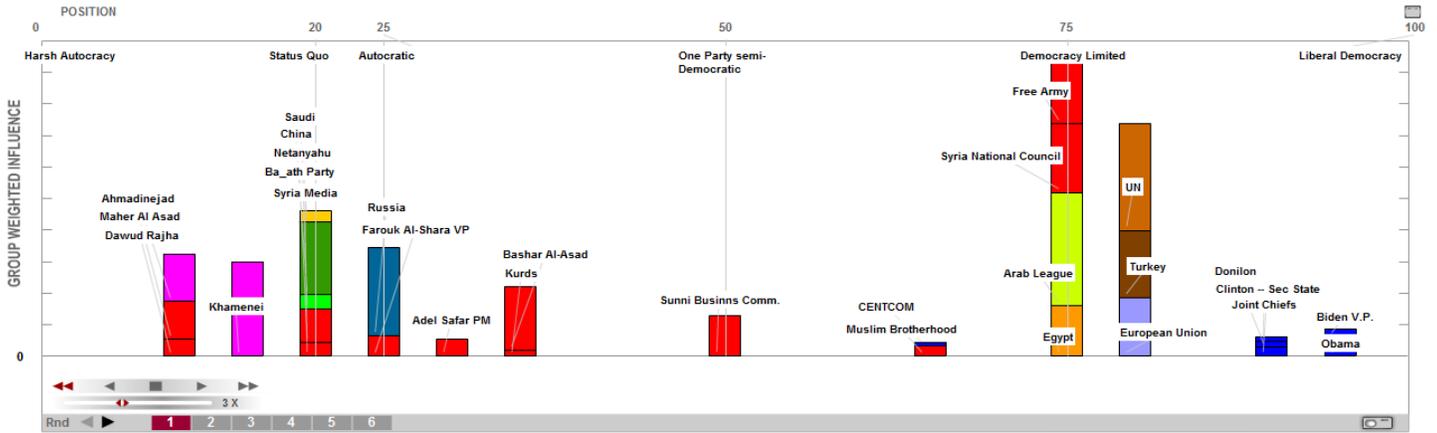
Strength: There will be a more even fight, providing more strength to the Syrian opposition.

Weakness: The civil war in Syria will intensify and transition into a stalemate phase.

Opportunity: The United States, Turkey, and the Arab League can strengthen their support from the Syrian opposition and business community by guaranteeing business opportunities and concessions for anyone opposing Bashar Al Assad.

Threat: If there is no foreign military intervention, the stalemate will continue.

Future Form of Government in Syria



Outcome: Although the Arab League will initially push for democratic elections in Syria, they will inevitably prefer a status quo system of governance. This indicates that that the Arab League opposes Bashar Al Assad and will prefer to replace Assad with another ruler under a similar autocratic structure.

The bifurcation between democratic and autocratic preferences is a further indication that Syria will remain engaged in a civil war.

There will continue be a disagreement on governance between Bashar Al Assad and his brother Maher Al Assad. Maher will seek a position closer to a harsh autocracy while Bashar will want to provide concessions or limited reforms, believing that such reforms will strengthen his waning coalition. The disagreement will be over type and extent of authority. There will be no debate within the Assad camp over democratic reform.

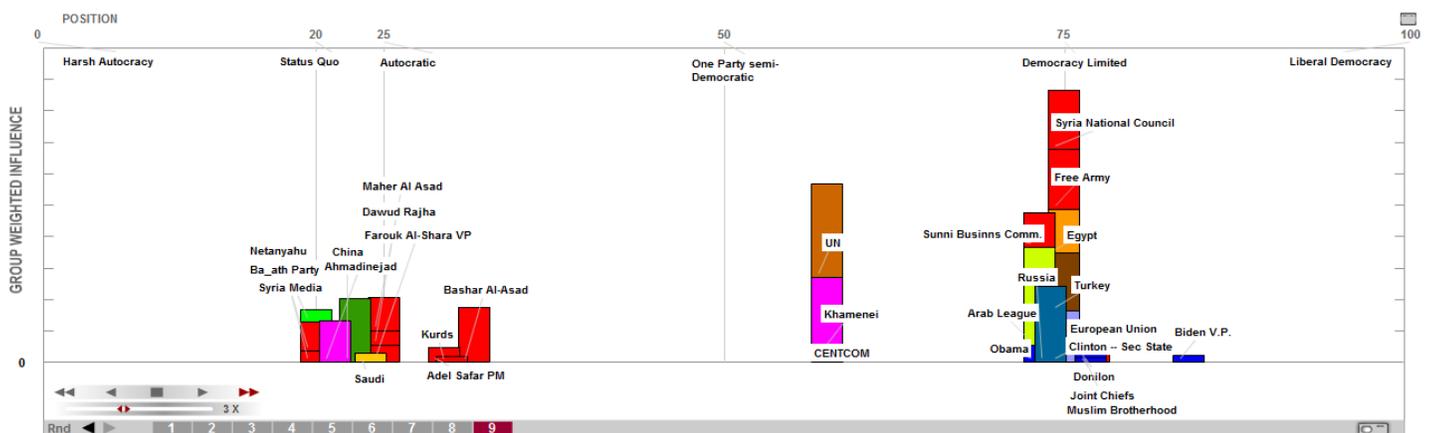
Strength: There is a legitimate Democratic movement within the Syrian National Council.

Weakness: The bifurcation between democratic and autocratic preferences is a further indication that Syria will remain engaged in a civil war.

Opportunities: Syria can have democratic elections if Assad is removed by external force.

Threat: Any potential change in personality will not necessarily result in a dramatic change in governance unless the United States drives the Arab League and provides credible promises and concession to the Syrian business community.

Best COA: U.S. Provides Credible Concession to Syrian Business Community, Arab League and Russia



Outcome and Recommended Course of Action: Bashar Al-Assad’s regime is highly susceptible to collapse if the United States can build a coalition with support from the Sunni business community,

Russia and the Arab League. This is a two-step strategy. First, the United States should allow for the situation in Syria to escalate further, thereby allowing for consolidation and unity among the Syrian opposition, the Turks and the Arab League. Second, as the civil war reaches the stalemate phase (4th round or evolution of the crisis) the United States can then provide credible concessions and guarantees to the Sunni business community in Syria. If the United States can follow its credible commitment to the Syrian business community with political or economic concessions to the Arab League and Russia, such a coalition calling for democratic elections will be strong enough to successfully defeat the Bashar Al Assad's regime.

Strength: The defeat of Bashar Al Assad with support from the Arab League, the business community and Russia will provide opportunity for democratic reform nearing a two party competitive election. Iran's influence will be substantially weakened in the Middle East, thereby losing its foothold in the Arab world.

Weakness: The Assad regime will continue to resist and this cannot happen unless he is removed by force.

Opportunity: Syria will have the opportunity of having elections and Iran will be weakened as well.

Threat: Democratic elections may present unforeseeable threat of having an equally anti-Israeli sentiment.

5. Complete Predictions on Yemen

a. The Yemeni Uprising: The Future of President Ali Abdullah Saleh

Data Collected: April 22nd 2011 **Analysis Completed:** April 29th 2011

Can President Saleh remain in Yemen in the midst of defections? I predict Ali Abdullah Saleh can remain in Yemen for the next 30 to 60 days. But his stay in the medium term is untenable because of the possible wave of military defections. Although weakened, he still has the ability to negotiate his departure because of the limited support from Saudi Arabia.

Who will be in power when Saleh departs? The most likely person is General Ali Mohsen al Ahmar. This forecast is based on his support from the opposition and high level of influence from the military. A second as yet unidentified candidate from the military may emerge. The next likely candidate is Sheik Sadeq Abdullah from the Islah Party based on his level of power and influence largely among non-military sources.

How will President Saleh act as he continues to lose power? I predict that as Saleh loses control (up to one-third of his current power), the opponents will become less staunchly opposed to him. This suggests that he is in a position to create a series of credible deals with key opposition leaders where his stay becomes less intolerable than the current situation. Based on such estimates I forecast that Saleh will be allowed for a soft departure rather than a sudden exit.

Will the level of violence escalate in Yemen? The level of violence will not escalate significantly further than the current levels I am observing. As Saleh continues to work out deals with the power-brokers within Yemen, the intensity of opposition against him will decrease.

What can the United States do to mitigate violence? The United States can strike a cooperative deal with the military defectors, reducing the risk for further violence. Working with the military defectors dampens the strengthened extremist groups such as the Islah Party, Al Qaeda, and various other extreme elements.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Yemen and internationally. Data collection was completed on April 22nd 2011 and analysis was finished on April 29th 2011. Yemen is a deeply divided country consisting of multiple tribal networks and independent provincial leaders who have rarely operate with support or oversight by the central government. This decentralization is in part due to the fact that prior to 1990 Yemen was divided into South and North states. After unification, the country has continued to struggle to establish an effective

government. Yemen is a poor country with limited resources and stressed by water scarcity that is estimated to fall below anticipated requirements within the next 10 to 15 years.

Following September 11th, Yemen has been recognized as a hotbed for Sunni extremism and allegedly a breeding ground for terrorist groups such as Al- Qaeda.

The potential departure of pro West Ali Abdullah Saleh poses policy questions for the United States that are still unanswered.

Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

To assess the crisis in Yemen I posed the following concern:

Issue: Specify the extent of support or opposition for President Ali Abdullah Saleh

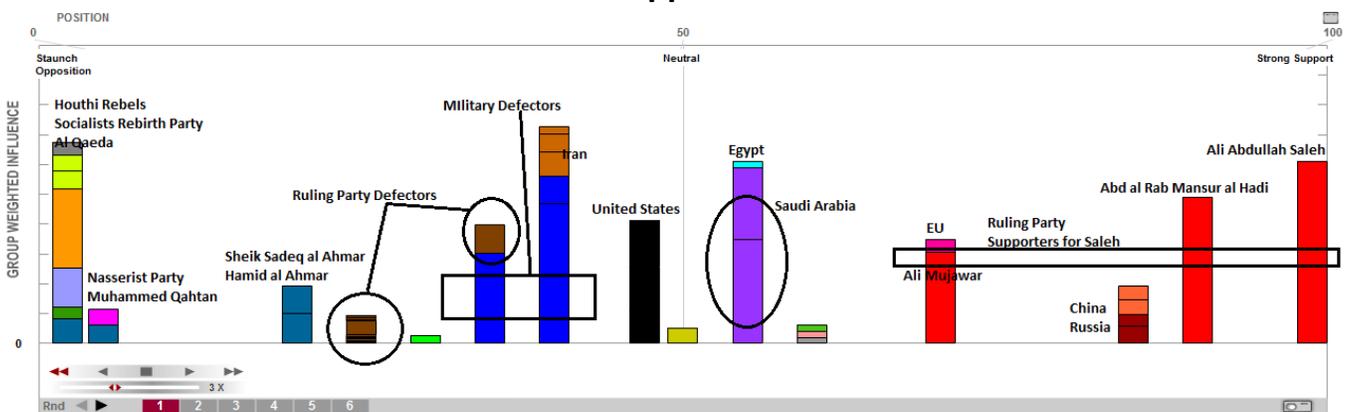
Issue Continuum: The scale ranges from

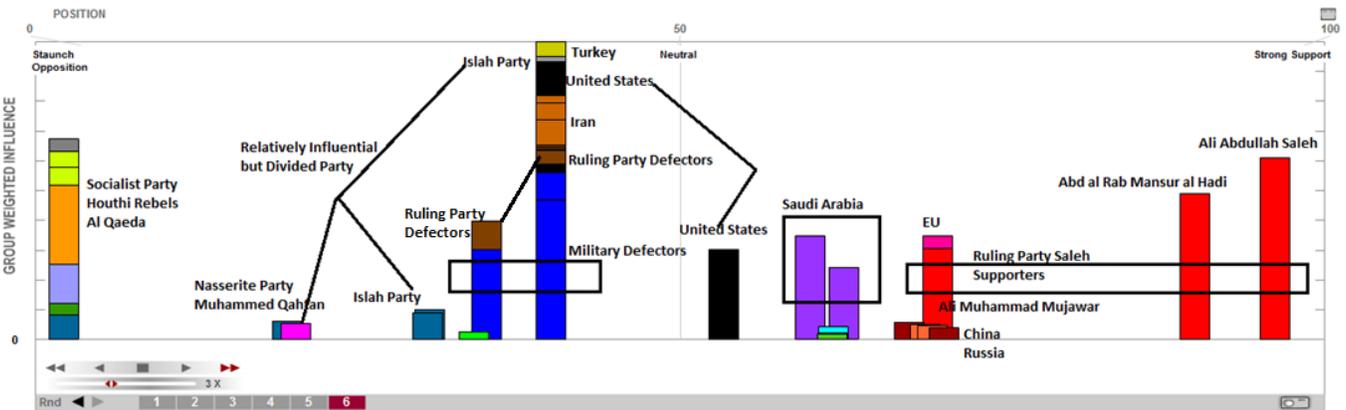
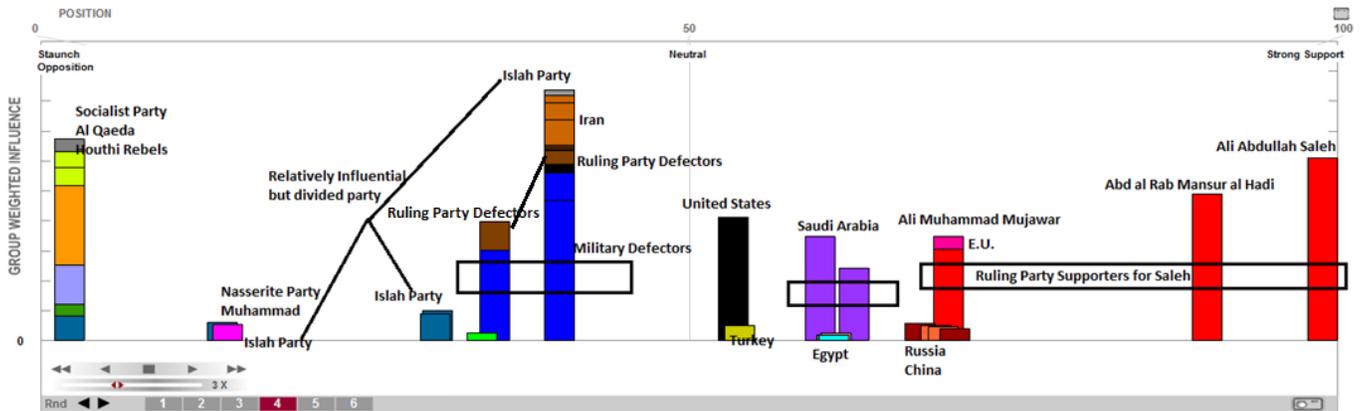
0: “Staunch Opposition to Saleh,”

50: Neutral

100 “Strong Support for Saleh.”

Basecase: Extent of Support for Ali Abdullah Saleh





Outcome: Despite the most recent wave of ruling party and military defections, President Saleh is still capable of remaining in power in the short term. The tide will turn in favor of the opposition as the ruling party defectors along with the military defectors consolidate their positions with the Islah Party. President Saleh will not depart easily unless a negotiated exit is carved out. Although he will face more pressure, Saleh will still have enough support to remain in Yemen in the short term. In addition, I predict that although the ruling party defectors along with members of the military have defected, their opposition to Saleh is not adamant enough to initiate a full scale war to depose him.

At the outset the United States takes a slightly anti-Saleh stance but the American position shifts slightly in favor of Saleh. This suggests that as Saleh's power begins to wane relative to that of the opposition's consolidation, the United States takes a softer approach attempting to ease him out instead of a sudden forced exit.

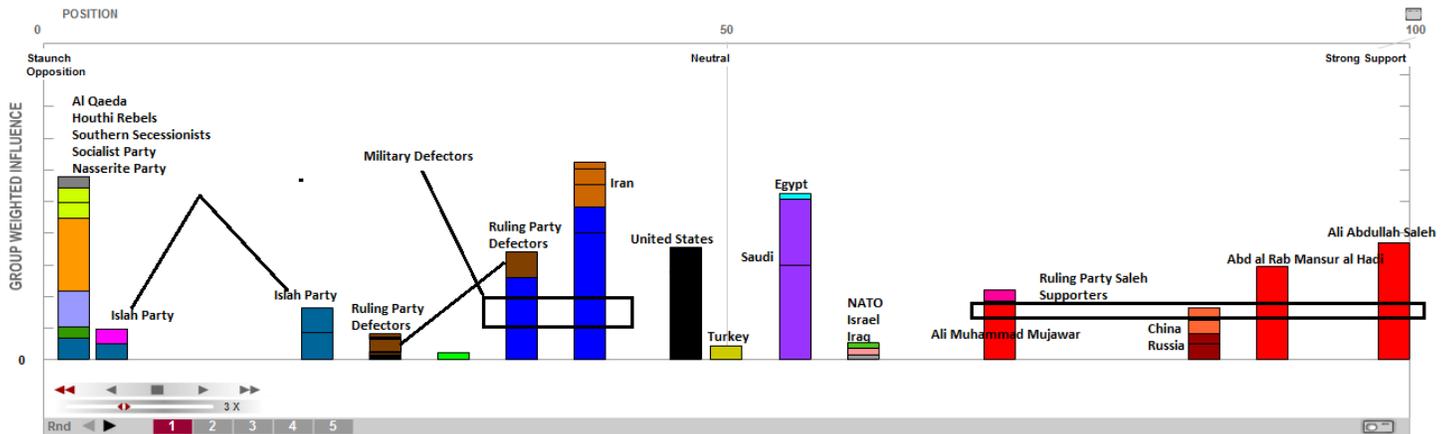
Although the various tribes and political parties play a significant role, the most critical element influencing Saleh's exit will be the military defectors led by General Mohsen al Ahmar and Brigadier General Mohammed Mohsen. The situation is very fluid and a large number of opportunities emerge to categorize this transition depending on who among many is the first mover.

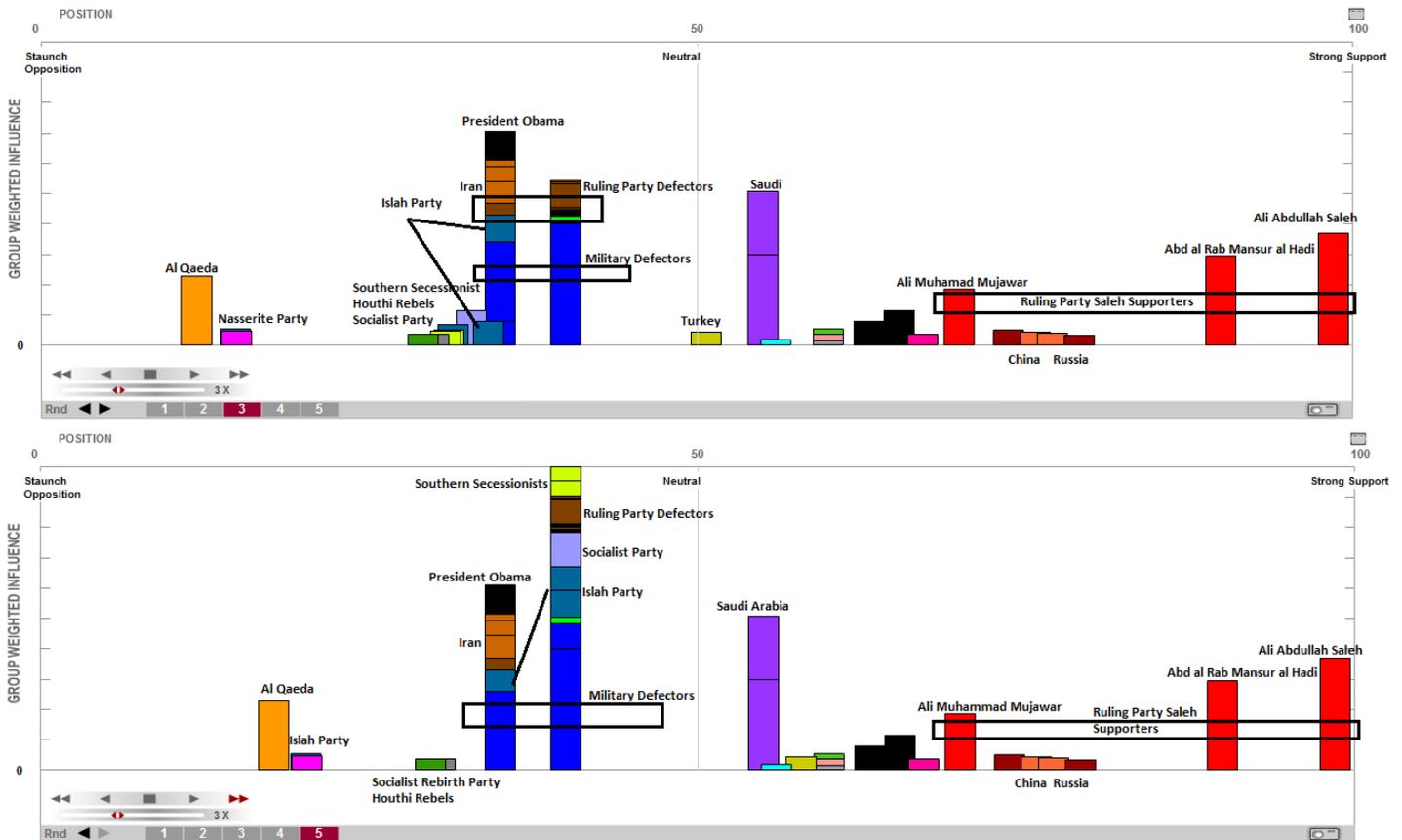
Strengths: The military defectors hold the most power in opposition to Saleh. A transition of governmental power to this group suggests an alternative that is not as prone to the extremism that would be propagated if tribal leaders or rebel groups came to power.

Opportunities: The United States can strike a cooperative deal with the military defectors, reducing the risk accompanied by strengthened extremist elements within the tribal factions, the Islah Party, Al Qaeda, and various other rebel groups.

Weakness: The Islah Party, though not as powerful as the military, still holds influence within Yemen's political landscape. It has many extremist elements such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Salafists.

Scenario: President Saleh Loses 30% of Power





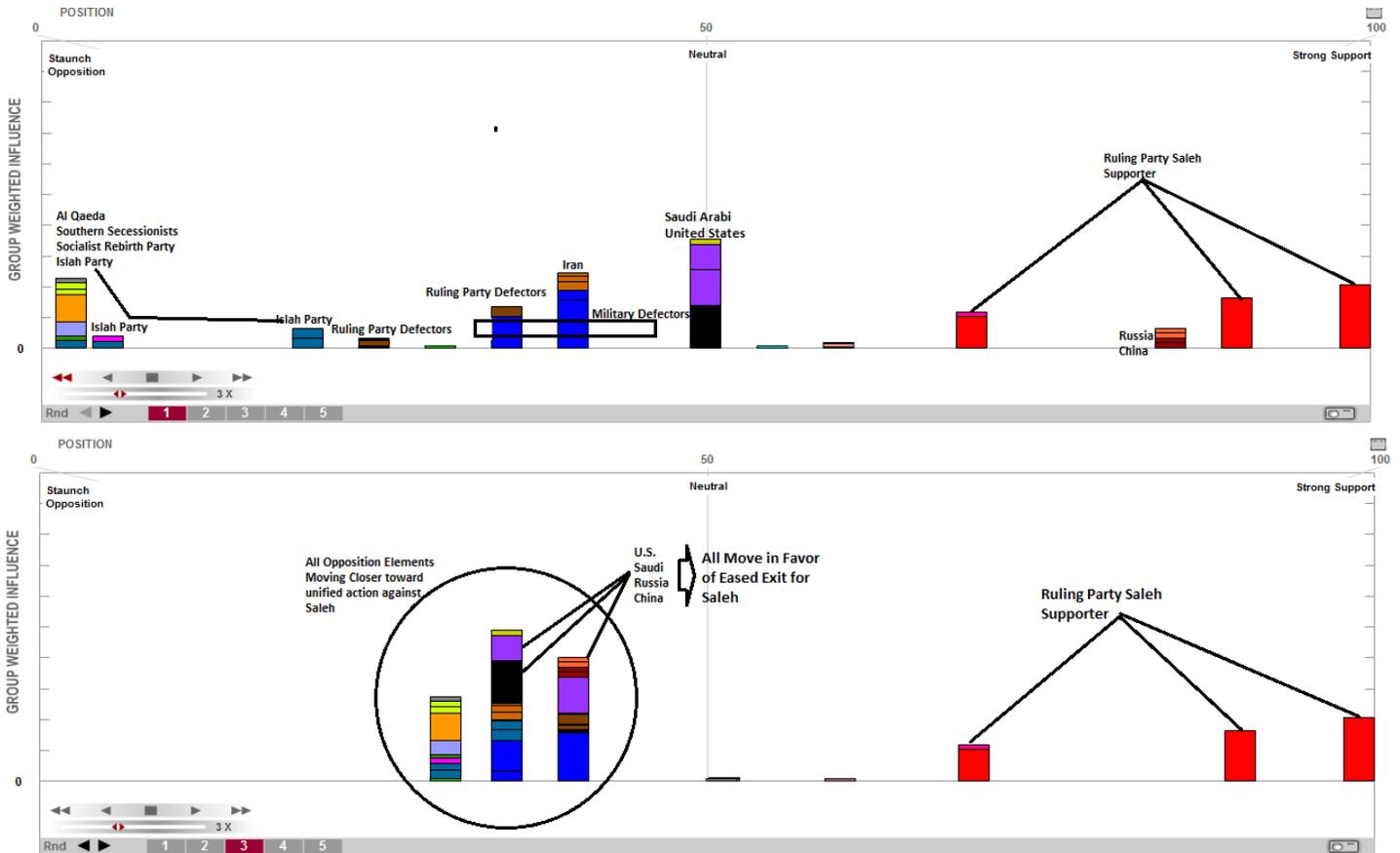
Outcome: As President Saleh continues to lose more power, the intensity of those opposing him decreases, approaching closer to a neutral position instead of a staunch opposition. This means that President Saleh will either be eased out based on a negotiated departure with the unlikely possibility of remaining by cutting some type of a deal. Many of the opposing groups who have staunchly opposed President Saleh will move toward a slightly opposing him, suggesting that he may be providing a credible deal where he is handled in a less unfavorable manner than expected. At a 30% loss in strength President Saleh’s position becomes highly unstable, but with Saudi Arabia still supporting him he has the capability to remain in Yemen in the short-term (i.e. only 30 to 60 days).

Strength: The military and ruling party defectors will still hold sway and influence the outcome. This is a relatively favorable alternative if Saleh departs because the military is the least extreme of the opposing factions within Yemen.

Weakness: Extremist elements of the Islah Party will increase their influence by aligning with the military defectors.

Opportunities: The United States is hedging in the middle in its policy toward Saleh. Although the United States appears to be divided on the extent of support for Saleh, it can still strike a cooperative deal with the military defectors, reducing the risk accompanied with strengthening extremist elements within the Yemen.

Scenario: United States Takes and Saudi Arabia Take Neutral Position





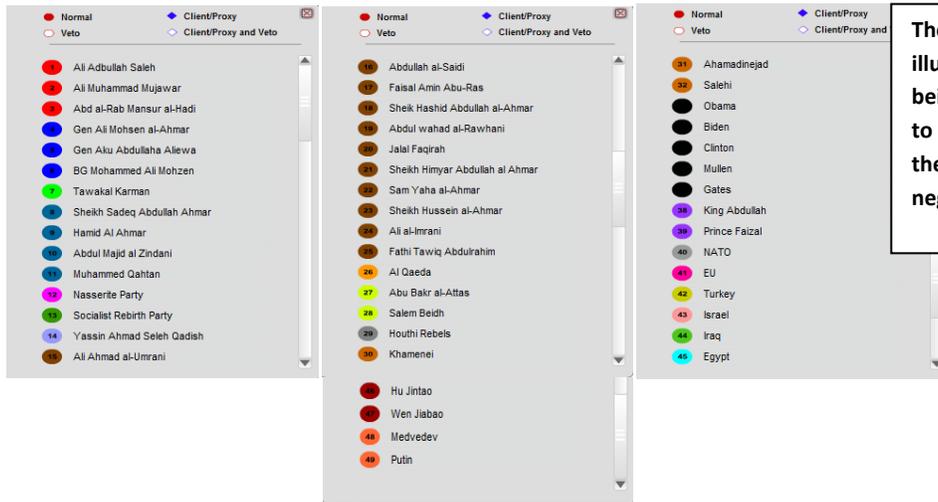
Outcome: If the United States and Saudi Arabia initially take a neutral position, the situation will inevitably lead to a more responsible eased exit for President Saleh. In spite of an initially neutral position, the leading opposition elements along with the U.S., Saudi, European, Chinese and Russian actors will also shift in support of an eased exit. This will assure the departure of Saleh in a more responsible and less violent manner.

Strength: Saleh's exit is less staunch and more responsible

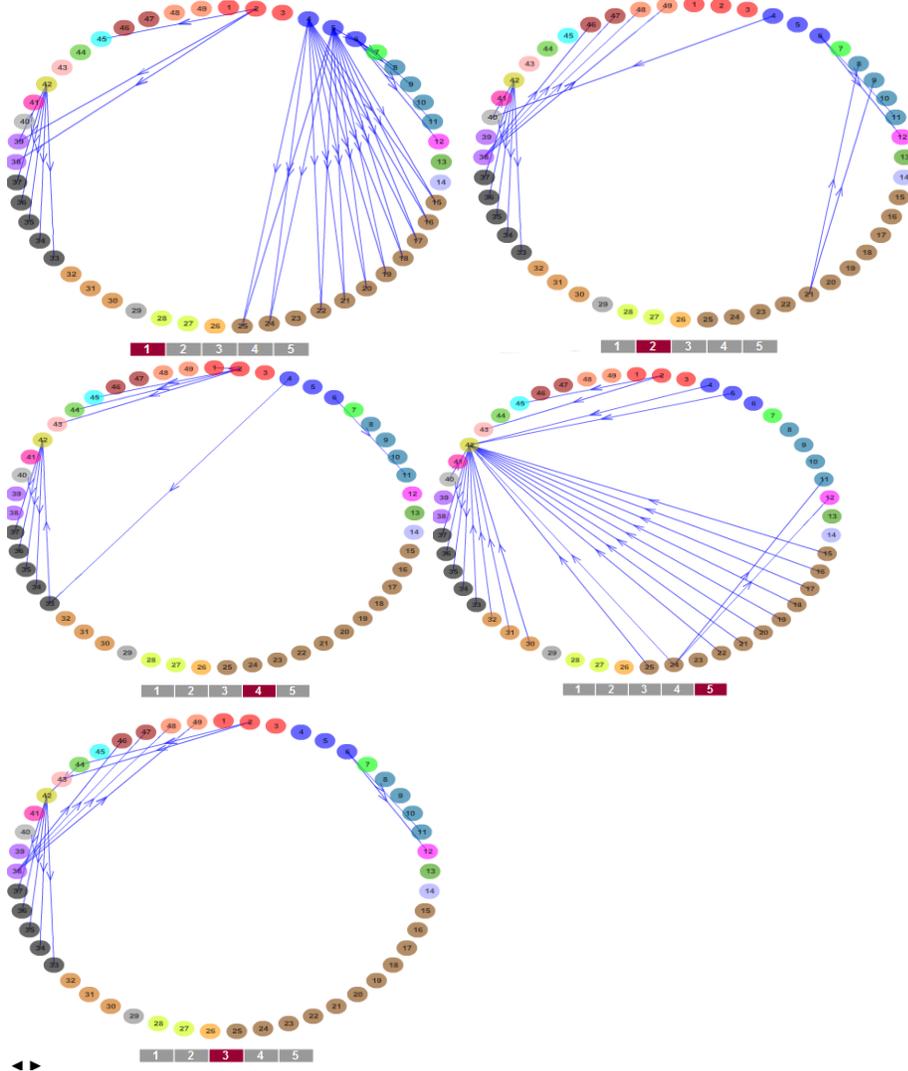
Weakness: Aligning slightly to the left of neutral may provide some opportunity for Saleh to remain longer if he is adamant about staying.

Opportunities: The U.S. can establish cooperative relationship with the military defectors and certain non-extremist elements within the opposing factions.

Network Analysis: Moves in Reaction Pressure



The network analysis illustrates all the actors being moved in reaction to pressure according to the various rounds of negotiations.



Description: I initially observe that the military defectors led by General al Ahmar, General Alliewa and General Mohsen are pressuring the ruling party defectors to move in their direction in opposition to President Saleh. This indicates that they are shaping the direction of the opposition action against Saleh. While the military is pressuring the ruling party, Ali Mohammad Mujawar (2nd in command to Saleh) is pressuring King Abdullah and Prince Faisal of Saudi Arabia to support their position. This is perhaps an attempt to gain a soft exit that is less harmful than a sudden departure. In every round of the negotiations, General Ali Mohsen al Ahmar is the key driver with the ability to pressure numerous key players such as the ruling party, the Europeans, the Americans, and especially the Saudis.

6. Complete Predictions on Saudi Arabia

a. Saudi Arabia Governance and Power Structure

Data Collected: October 26th 2011 Analysis Completed: October 27th 2011

Background:

How stable is Saudi Arabia's government in the midst of the Arab uprising? Saudi Arabia's government structure is stable and not prone to change in the short to medium time horizon. The status quo governance structure in Saudi Arabia will remain unchanged with little or no reform. Even if the single ruler structure under the House of Saud is weakened by 50%, there will be little or no change to the power structure. A challenge to Saudi rule will marginally strengthen the coalition in support of the royal family.

What will be the United States role in the future of Saudi Arabia? The United States along with the other great powers support the single ruler structure under the Saudi Royal Family and are not expected to change their position. They will not take any measures that could shake the foundational structure of Saudi Arabia. However, the analysis also indicates that the United States and the great powers will only support the Saudi Royal Family so long as it remains stable.

Are there any prospects for substantial reforms toward Democracy in Saudi Arabia? There is no prospect for democratic reform. There are few foreseeable alternatives other than the Saudi regime. This limits options for the United States as much as it tries to hedge with any other tribe or faction. There is no prospect for democratic reform.

What is the degree of economic openness in Saudi Arabia? Saudi Arabia has a relatively open economy, indicating that the structural problems associated with its petroleum based economy are not rooted in open or closed trade. The analysis indicates that the nearly all the governments having substantial influence on the Saudi economy will continue to seek an on-going open economy that can transport petroleum freely.

Is the Saudi economic system stable in regards to internal factors? Internally the Saudi economy is stable in the short to medium term. The positions on the degree of economic openness with Saudi Arabia will be consolidated, making it more stable under the status quo. This mitigates the risk for continued petroleum exports to the rest of the world, a vital interest to the United States and the other great power.

Overview: I explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Saudi Arabia and the international community. Data was collected on October 26th 2011 and analysis was completed on October 27th 2011.

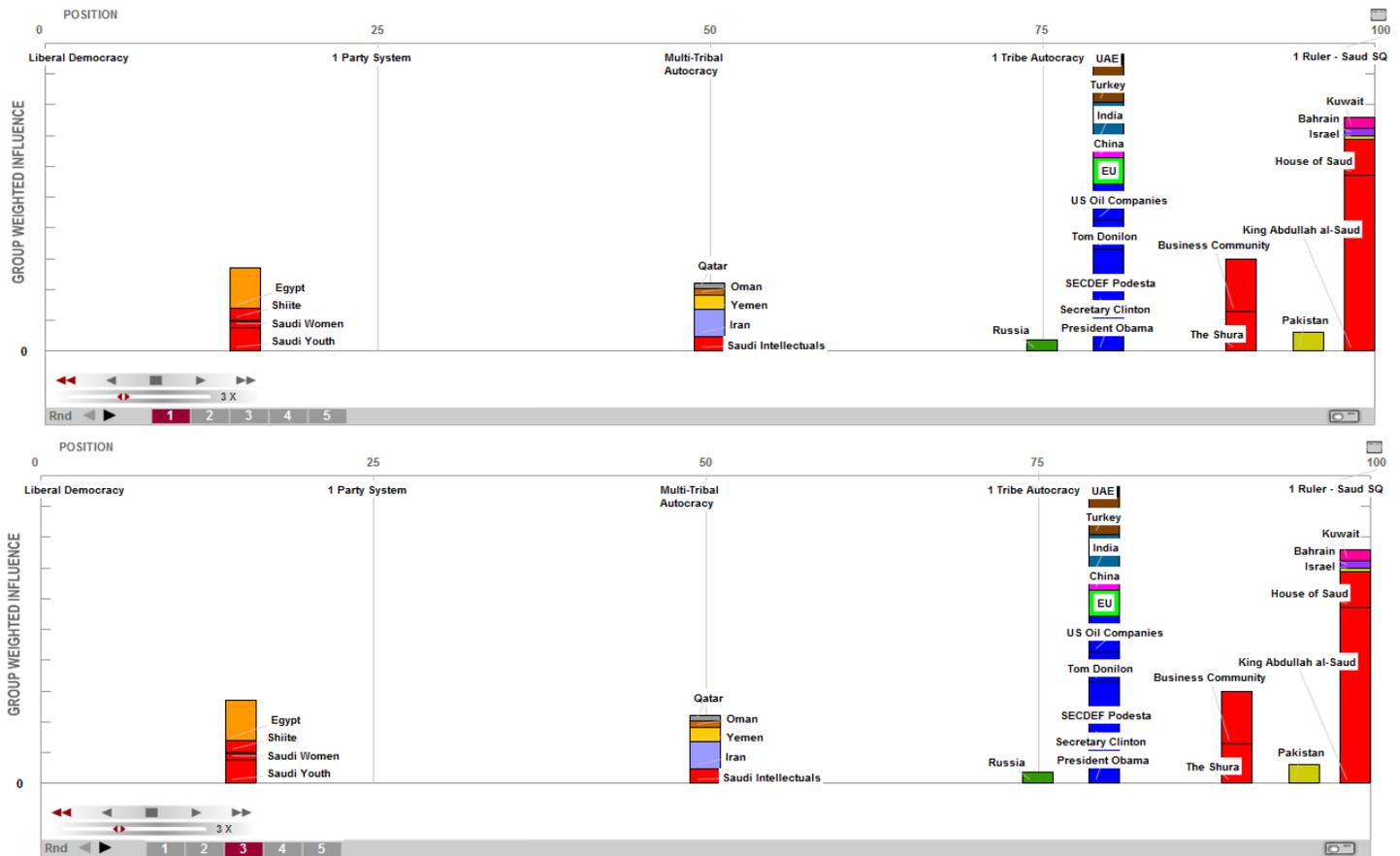
Current Stakeholder Dispositions: I have incorporated SME incite from academics within the United States and input from journalists reporting on the current crisis. In conducting these interviews I measured the relative power of the various groups, the power of the actors, their positions on the issue and the importance they placed on such issues within the continuum.

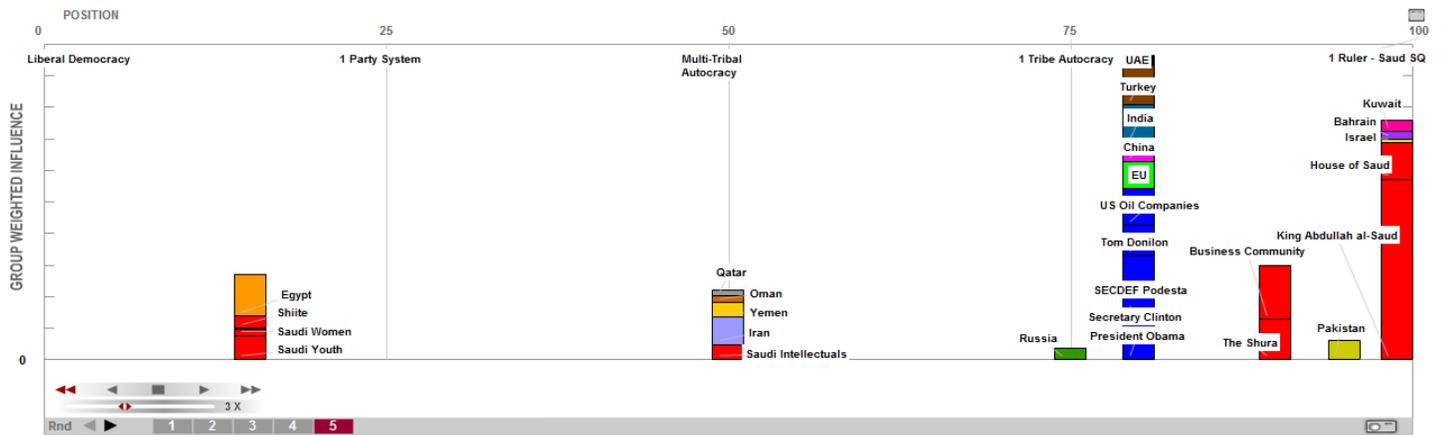
Issue Continuum on Power Structure and Governance: This continuum ranges from “0” defined as a liberal democracy all the way to “100” defined as the 1 ruler status quo structure under Saudi King Abdullah. At “75” I identified the next option which is a single tribe autocracy other than the Saudi Royal

Family. At “50” I defined a multi-tribal autocracy, an authoritarian system where two or more tribes share power. At “25” I defined the governance form as a single party system, similar to China or Russia’s government.

Issue Continuum on the Degree of Economic Openness: This was a simple but effective continuum. At “0” I defined the economy as completely closed and at “100” I defined the economy as completely open.

Basecase: Power Structure and Governance





Outcome: Saudi Arabia's government structure is stable and not prone to change in the short to medium time horizon. The United States along with the other great powers support the single ruler structure under the Saudi Royal Family and are not expected to change their position. They will not take any measures that could shake the foundational structure of Saudi Arabia. However, the analysis also indicates that the United States and the great powers will only support the Saudi Royal Family so long as it remains stable. This can be discerned by the evolution of the various rounds depicted above indicating that the United States and the great powers have positioned themselves slightly between a single tribe autocratic structure and status quo under Saud, suggesting that they are prepared to hedge their support toward any other tribe that could possibly shake the status quo power structure. This means that the United States, China, Russia, India, and the European Union will support the House of Saud so long as they maintain order. The onset of any internal struggle will result in the great powers taking sides with whoever will win. Although Iran, Oman, Qatar, and Yemen prefer a multi-tribal autocratic structure, the support for such governance structure is insignificant. The support for any democratic system is also marginal at best. In short, the status quo governance structure in Saudi Arabia will remain with little reform or change.

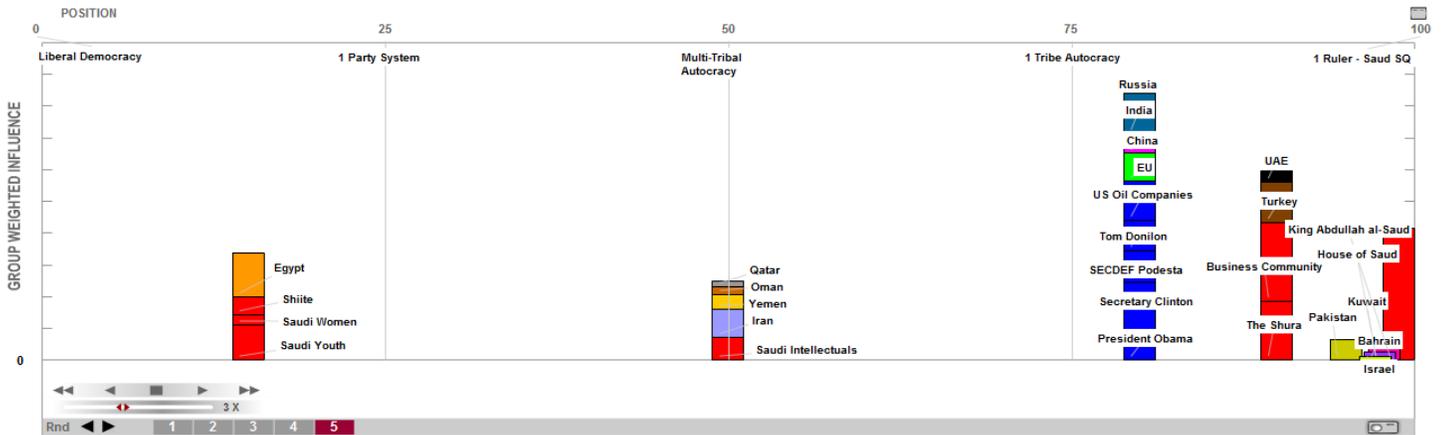
Strength: The Saudi government is stable in the short and medium term.

Weakness: There are few foreseeable alternatives other than the Saudi regime. This limits options for the United States as much as it tries to hedge with any other tribe or faction. There is no prospect for democratic reform.

Opportunities: There are little or no opportunities. The United States has trades it's other options for stability under the status quo.

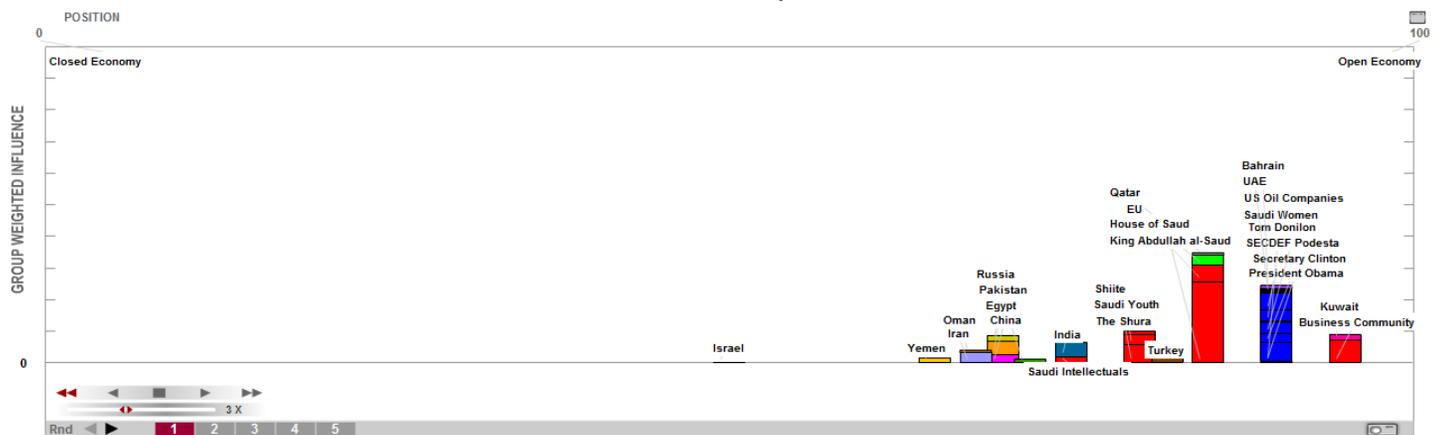
Power Structure Scenario: Challenge to Saudi King and House of Saud (loss of power by up to 50%)

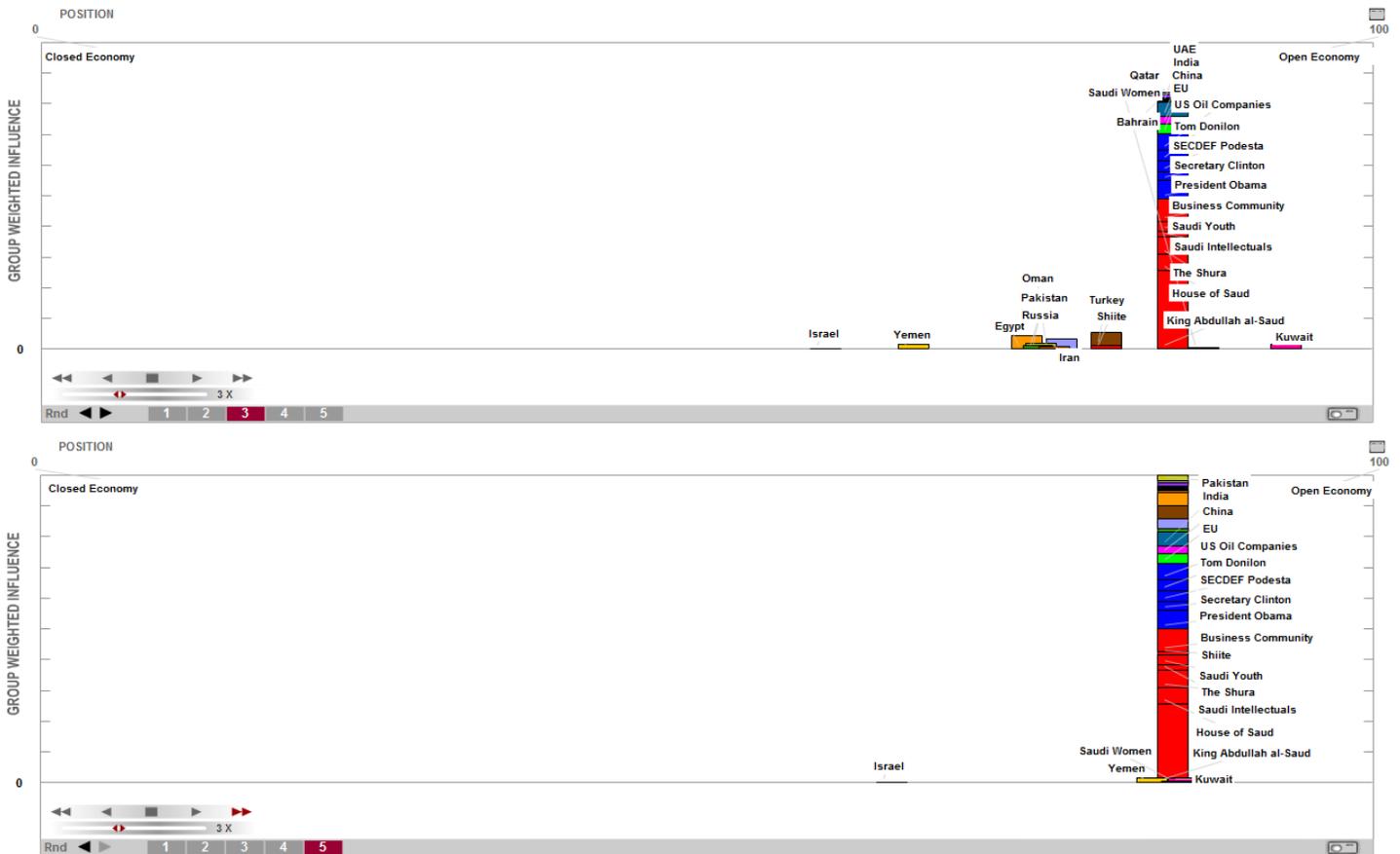




Outcome: A challenge to the leadership in Saudi Arabia will not pose a threat to the governance structure of the country. Any challenge will most likely derive from an internal power struggle within the Saudi royal family. Therefore, a change in personality which can occur from the death of King Abdullah who is very old will not necessitate change in governance. The simulation indicates that even if the single ruler structure under the House of Saud is weakened by 50%, there will be little or no change to the power structure. A challenge to Saudi rule will marginally strengthen the coalition in support of the royal family. This will occur when Turkey moves closer in support of the status quo if they view a weakening of the royal family’s power. The United States along with the great powers will not change their position even with a dramatic waning of influence unless the Saudi Royal family nears inevitable collapse. This simulation further indicates the stability of the Saudi regime.

Extent of Economic Openness





Outcome: Saudi Arabia has a relatively open economy, indicating that the structural problems associated with its petroleum based economy are not rooted in open or closed trade. Other factors such as shortage of skilled labor, lack of education, and cultural issues may capture the challenges faced by Saudi Arabia much more effectively (not captured in this analysis). The analysis indicates that the nearly all the governments having substantial influence on the Saudi economy will continue to seek an on-going open economy that can transport petroleum freely. These governments will collective restrict the prospect of excessive or innovative economic liberalization in order to strengthen adherence to the status quo economic structure.

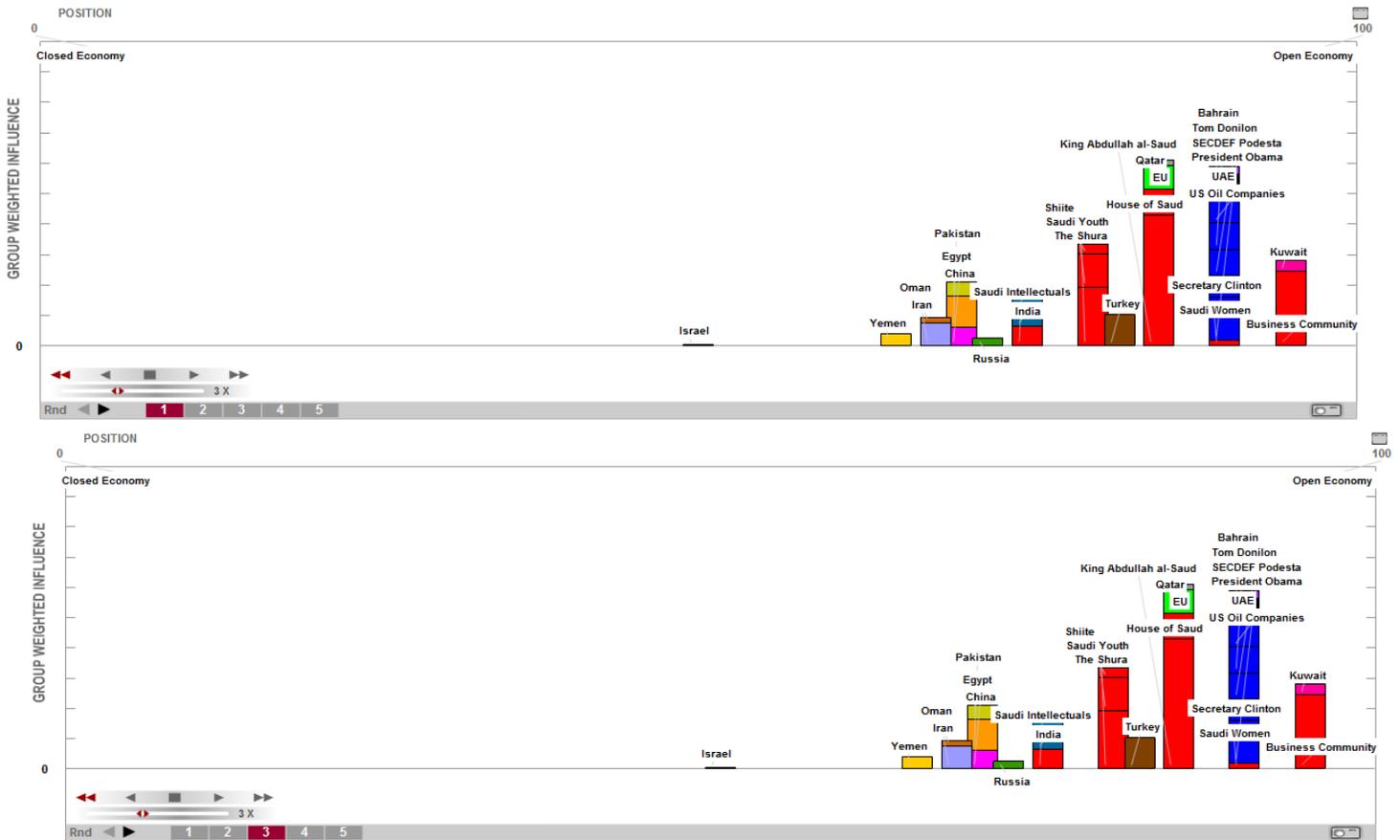
Strength: The positions on the degree of economic openness with Saudi Arabia will be consolidated, making it more stable under the status quo. This mitigates the risk for continued petroleum exports to the rest of the world, a vital interest to the United States and the other great power.

Weakness: Although the current economic system in Saudi Arabia is stable, there is little prospect for opening it up even more.

Opportunities: N/A

Threats: The Shiite in Saudi Arabia and Iran will seek to hinder to the degree of economic openness. This is threat is marginal at best.

Economic Scenario: Challenge to Saudi King and House of Saud (loss of power by up to 50%)





Outcome: If the authority of the Saudi Royal family is challenged, the degree of economic openness will not change. This is a further indication of internal stability of the Saudi regime.

7. Complete Predictions on Bahrain

a. Forecast on Future Stability of Bahrain

Data Collected: November 7th 2011 **Analysis Completed:** November 9th 2011

Is the Kingdom of Bahrain stable following the uprising in 2011? Bahrain’s rule under the Al Khalifa Family is stable. Having turned to rely on Saudi Arabia and the United States as their security guarantors, the Al Khalifa Family will continue their hold on power in Bahrain.

How will the opposition elements react as a result of the violent crackdown? Shiite led elements such as Al Haq and Al Wifaq will continue to be marginalized in spite of their initial support from Iran. The opposition element most likely to continue adamantly working against the Al Khalifa Family will be Al Haq. In the final evolution of this uprising the Waad Opposition Party, Al Wifaq, and even Iran will reduce their anti-ruling family activities and eventually accept Al Khalifa family as the legitimate authority in Bahrain.

What will the Al- Khalifa Family do in response to the uprising? Opposition elements will be further pacified either by force or limited concessions. Having already conceded as supplicants of Saudi Arabi, the Al Khalifa Family will make a series of deals or concessions that will align the opposition parties and external influences from Egypt and Iran with the domestic business community.

What will happen if the Al-Khalifa is substantially weakened? If the Al Khalifa family concedes some of its authority in order to share it with the other people within their already strong coalition, they will gain more stability and support. Therefore, their limited loss of influence will be augmented by a rising coalition in support of Al Khalifa rule. Saudi Arabia will remain adamantly in favor of the Al Khalifa Family.

What will Iran do in reaction to the Shiite led uprising in Bahrain? Iran will decrease their opposition activities against the Al Khalifa family after realizing that a successful uprising is untenable. This suggests that they will accept some sort of deal or concession in return for ceasing anti-ruling authority operations.

Overview: We explore the current process of coalition building and negotiations between actors within Bahrain and internationally. Data collection was completed on November 7th 2011 and analysis was completed on November 9th 2011. Using subject matter expertise and media statements from various actors within Bahrain and internationally, we have evaluated the future stability of Bahrain and the extent of support for the Al Khalifa Royal Family.

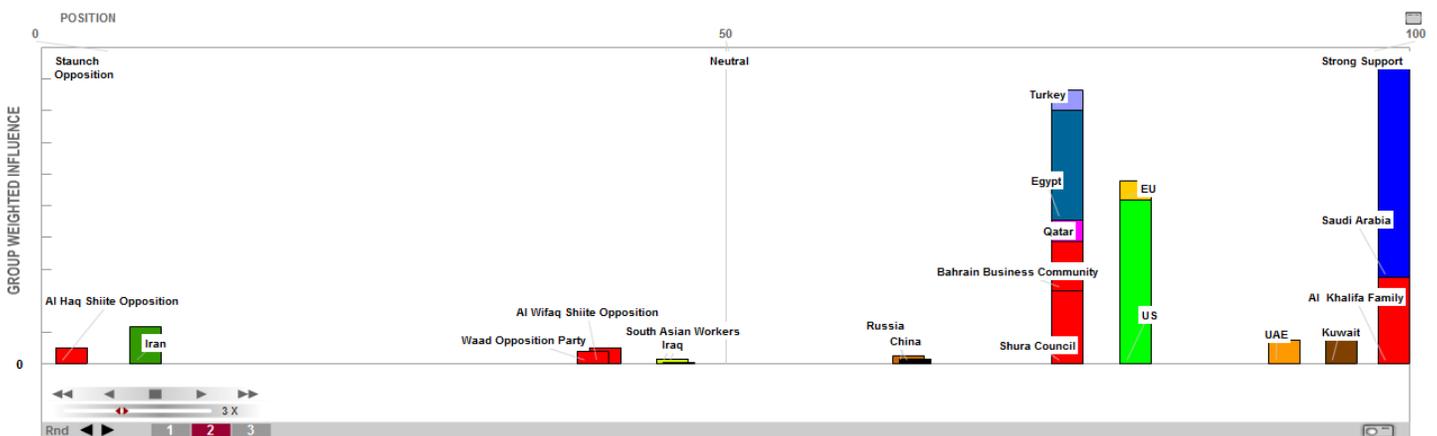
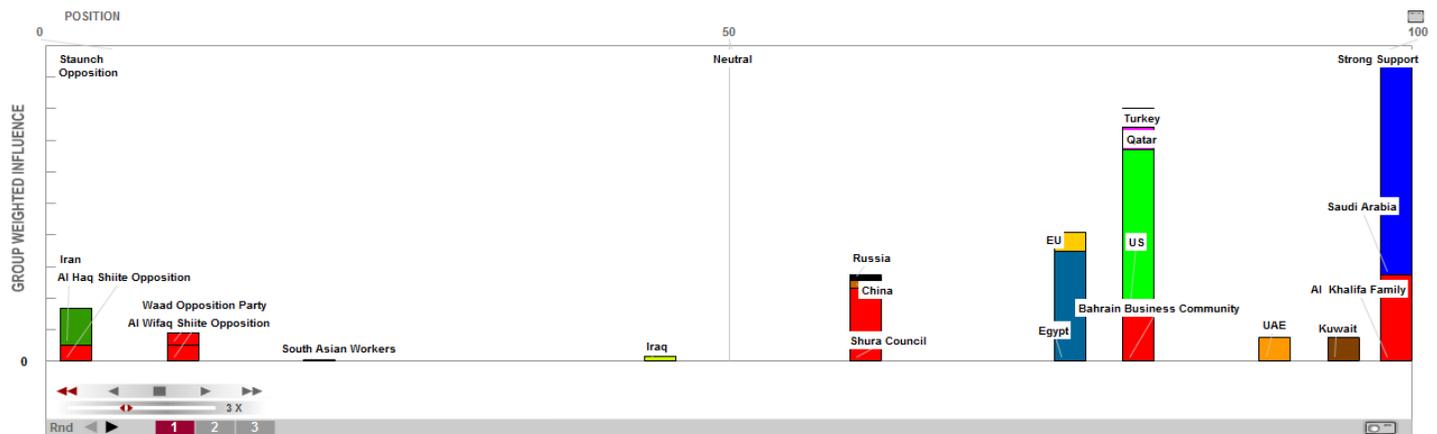
Background: Bahrain is a small island situated in the Persian Gulf between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and Islamic Republic of Iran. Throughout history it has served as a strategically significant island providing port access and a transit point for travel and trade. Although the country is a relatively wealthy country due to the discovery of oil in 20th century, the Kingdom of Bahrain remains strategically important for the same historical reasons: an island that provides access to Persian Gulf shipping lanes. For example, the United States 5th Fleet uses Bahrain as its major port and staging area for Naval operations in the Persian Gulf. The 2011 uprising against the Al Khalifa Family presented a major dilemma for the United States and its Arab allies on how to respond to the crisis. Realizing the rising Iranian influence of a Shiite led majority in Bahrain, the United States and its Arab allies under the Gulf

Cooperation Council (GCC) effectively provided support to the Sunni minority Al Khalifa Royal Family to quell the uprising.

However, this is not an unusual occurrence in the history of Bahrain. The Al Khalifa Family has ruled the Kingdom of Bahrain for over 200 years because of its willingness to concede to whichever power that could guarantee its security and stability. They have switched alliances repeatedly ranging from declaration of loyalty to Nasseredin Shah of Iran from British rule in 1860 all the way to the recent 2011 supplication to Saudi Arabia.

Issue Continuum: We developed an issue continuum in predicting the future stability of Bahrain by analyzing the extent of support for the Al Khalifa rule. At “0” we defined the position as staunch opposition to Al Khalifa rule, “50” as neutral and “100” as strong support for the royal family.

Extent of Support for Al Khalifa Family





Outcome: Bahrain's rule under the Al Khalifa Family is stable. Having turned to rely on Saudi Arabia and the United States as their security guarantors, the Al Khalifa Family will continue their hold on power in Bahrain. Shiite led elements such as Al Haq and Al Wifaq will continue to be marginalized in spite of their initial support from Iran. Gulf Cooperation Council members (GCC) such as Qatar, Kuwait, UAE, and Saudi Arabia will maintain strong support for Bahrain's ruling family in order to counter Iranian led Shiite influence. The opposition element most likely to continue adamantly working against the Al Khalifa Family will be Al Haq. In the final evolution of this uprising the Waad Opposition Party, Al Wifaq, and even Iran will reduce their anti-ruling family activities and eventually accept Al Khalifa family as the legitimate authority in Bahrain. This suggests that the Al Khalifa will make a series of deals or concessions that will align the opposition parties and external influences from Egypt and Iran with the domestic business community.

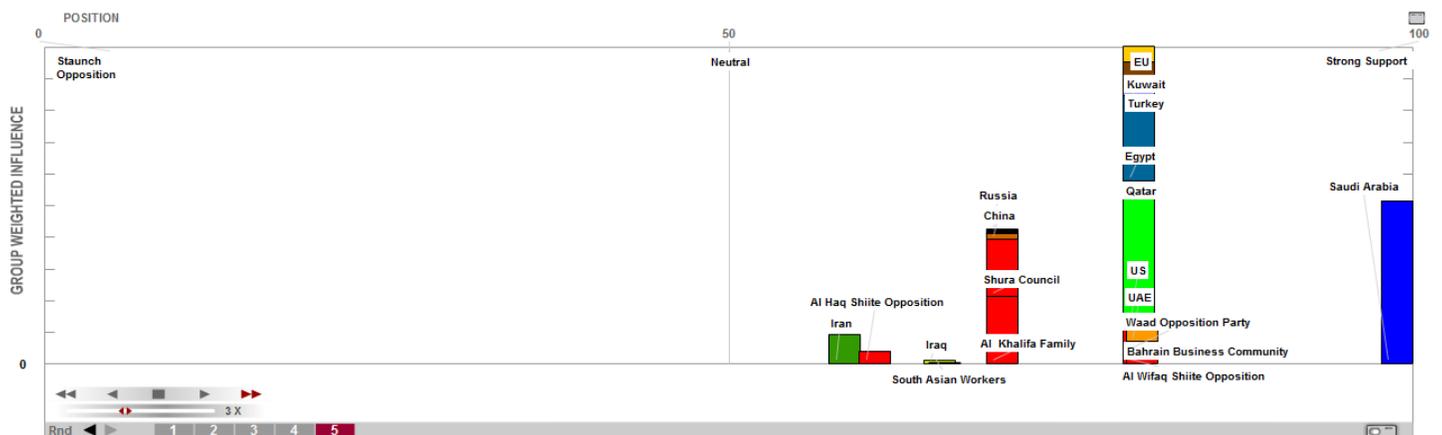
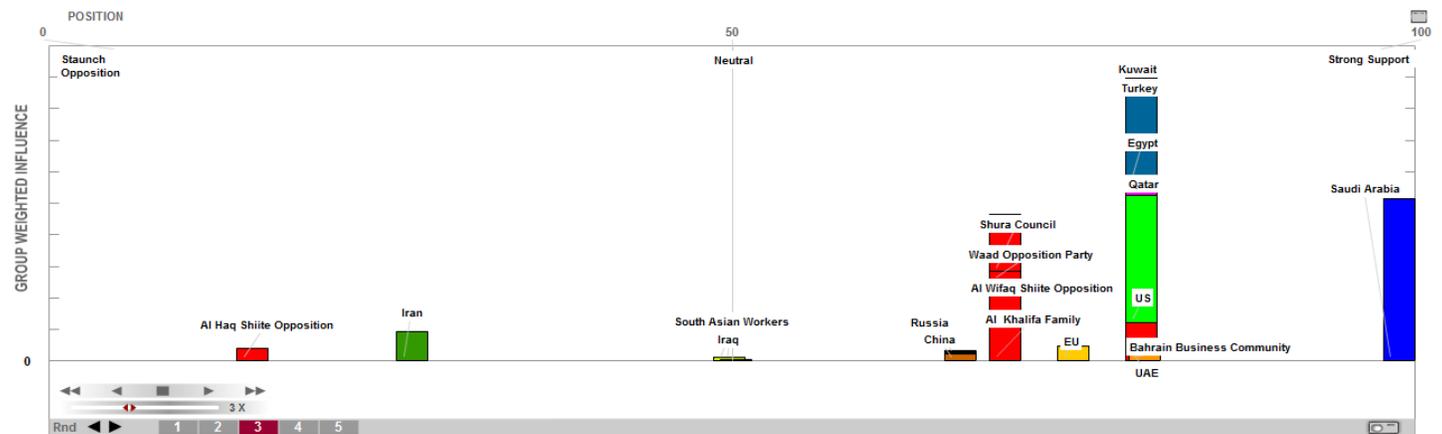
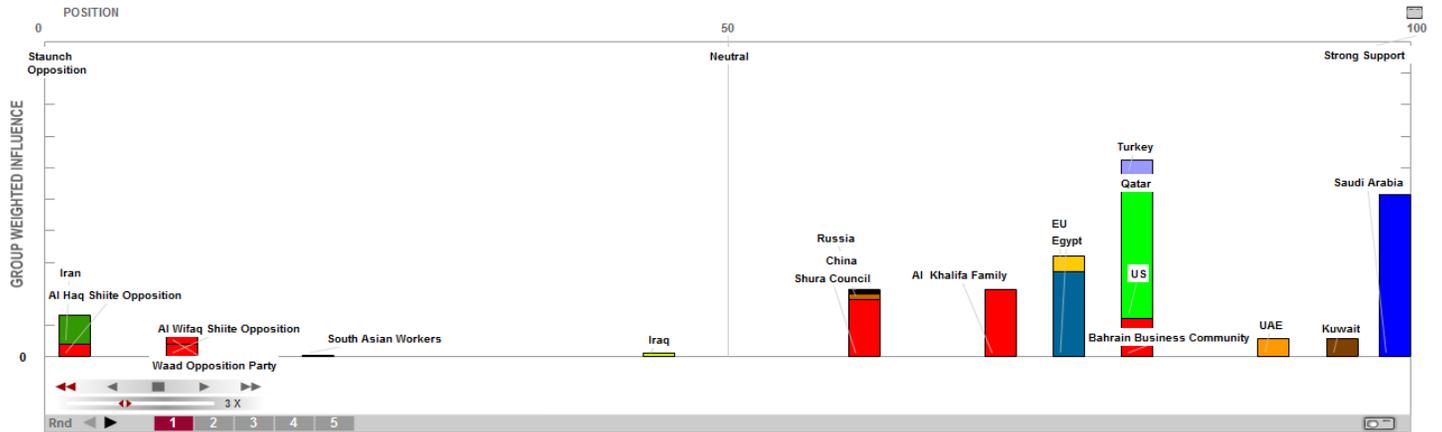
Strength: Bahrain remains stable. Opposition elements will be pacified either by force or limited concessions

Weakness: Shiite opposition elements remain mainly through the Al Haq Party

Opportunity: The Al Khalifa Family can make a strong coalition in favor of any opposing elements

Threat: There will continue to be marginalized Shiite opposition elements within Bahrain.

Scenario: Al Khalifa Family Loses 30% of Power and Provides Limited Concessions to Opposition Parties



Outcome: If the Al Khalifa Family loses up to 30% of its influence, it will further augment this loss by providing concessions first to its supporters in the business community in addition to the opposition parties (most likely in the form of subsidy payments). It will also make reforms in which some authority is given to the opposing parties. In this scenario the Al Khalifa Family will relinquish some of its power in return for greater support and stability. The coalition in support of the Al Khalifa Family will gain

overwhelming support, ultimately trading some of their authority in return for stability. Iran will also decrease their opposition activities against the Al Khalifa family. In short, if the Al Khalifa family concedes some of its authority in order to share it with the other people within their already strong coalition, they will gain more stability and support. Therefore, their limited loss of influence will be augmented by a rising coalition in support of Al Khalifa rule. Saudi Arabia will remain adamantly in favor of the Al Khalifa Family.

Strength: Even the Al Khalifa family loses up to 30% of its power, it will remain stable. It will augment its loss of power by provided concession in order to gain a stronger coalition in support of their rule.

Weakness: The Al Khalifa Family will relinquish some authority in return for stability

Threat: N/A

Collected Data and Stakeholder Inputs for ABM

Inputs on Egypt collected on 2/3/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	Positions	INFLUENCE	GROUP	IMPORTANCE
Omar Suleiman --Chief of Intel	Egypt	20	65	100	95
Mohamed El-Baradei	Egypt	85	35	100	95
Ayman Nour -- Al Ghud Party	Egypt	70	15	100	95
Muslim Brotherhood	Egypt	25	40	100	95
Ahmed Shafiq Prime Minister	Egypt	50	10	100	95
Liberal Party (WAFD)	Egypt	80	68	100	95
Amr Moussa (former head of Arab League)	Egypt	75	10	100	95
General Tantawi -- Army Chief	Egypt	20	100	100	95
Gamal Mubarak	Egypt	20	2	100	95
Egyptian Media	Egypt	85	25	100	95
Hosni Mubarek --President	Egypt	25	10	100	95
Obama	U.S.	95	100	20	85
Biden V.P.	U.S.	95	75	20	85
Clinton -- Sec State	U.S.	90	80	20	85
Netanyahu	Israel	50	100	10	95
Khamenei	Iran	65	100	5	80
Ahmadinejad	Iran	65	60	5	80
Medvedev	Russia	35	100	3	70
China	China	30	100	3	75
European Union	EU	90	100	4	76
NATO	NATO	90	100	3	80

Hamas	Hamas	35	100	5	95
PLO	PLO	35	100	4	95
Turkey	Turkey	60	100	3	95

Inputs on Egypt Collected on 11/7/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP- INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Mohamed El-Baradei	Egypt	95	10	100	98
Ayman Nour -- Al Ghud Party	Egypt	90	5	100	95
Muslim Brotherhood	Egypt	75	28	100	95
Freedom and Justice Party	Egypt	78	10	100	90
Ahmed Shafiq	Egypt	65	3	100	70
Liberal Party (WAFD)	Egypt	85	15	100	92
Egyptian secular	Egypt	85	18	100	90
Amr Moussa	Egypt	75	10	100	80
General Tantawi -- Army Chief	Egypt	20	50	100	90
Military Council	Egypt	40	100	100	95
Remaining Mubarak	Egypt	15	30	100	70
Copits	Egypt	75	20	100	80
Ali Salmy -vice PM	Egypt	40	3	100	70
Esam Sharaf -- PM	Egypt	75	10	100	90
Presidential Candidates	Egypt	70	20	100	95
Judges	Egypt	70	5	100	80
Radical Muslims	Egypt	40	5	100	75
Private Media	Egypt	90	30	100	90
Public Media	Egypt	25	15	100	50
Egypt Youth	Egypt	95	25	100	95
Intellectuals	Egypt	80	10	100	90
Obama	U.S.	80	100	40	75
Biden V.P.	U.S.	60	60	40	60
Clinton -- Sec State	U.S.	70	80	40	70
CENTCOM	U.S.	50	30	40	60
Netanyahu	Israel	40	100	10	85
Khamenei	Iran	30	100	20	60
Ahmadinejad	Iran	30	60	20	55
Russia	Russia	50	100	5	50
China	China	40	100	7	65
European Union	Eu	75	100	25	70
NATO	Nato	70	100	15	60
Hamas	Hamas	60	100	7	80
PLO	Plo	55	100	5	60

Turkey	Turkey	75	100	20	70
Saudi	Saudi	30	100	5	85
Sudan	Sudan	50	100	10	50
Libya	Libya	60	100	10	80

Inputs on Iran Collected on 3/3/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUPS	POSTION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Khamenei	Iran	25	100	100	95
Rafsanjani	Iran	75	50	100	95
Ahmadinejad	Iran	20	75	100	95
Moj. Khamenei	Iran	25	20	100	95
Jafari	Iran	15	75	100	95
Taeb	Iran	5	65	100	95
Yazdi	Iran	25	40	100	95
Naqdi	Iran	10	45	100	95
Ali Larijani	Iran	40	72	100	95
Tavakoli	Iran	40	25	100	95
Velayati	Iran	45	15	100	95
Sadeq Larijani	Iran	40	70	100	95
G.H. Elham	Iran	35	60	100	95
M. Ali-Ramin	Iran	20	10	100	95
Moj.Hashemi	Iran	20	10	100	95
Hassan Abassi	Iran	20	10	100	95
Mohsen Rezaei	Iran	15	30	100	95
Karroubi	Iran	115	10	100	95
Mousavi	Iran	115	27	100	95
Ali Khatami	Iran	95	29	100	95
Khorasani	Iran	50	48	100	95
Iranian Media	Iran	25	25	100	95
Bazaar Class	Iran	110	40	100	95
University Students	Iran	175	30	100	95
Jundollah	Jundollah	150	100	2	95
MEK	MEK	150	100	5	95
PJAK	PJAK	150	100	2	95
Royalists	Royalists	125	100	2	95
Obama	U.S.	190	100	20	80
Clinton	U.S.	190	80	20	80
CENTCOM	U.S.	190	50	20	80
CIA	U.S.	190	50	20	80
Biden	U.S.	190	75	20	80

Congress	U.S.	190	70	20	80
AIPAC	U.S.	190	60	20	90
Sistani	Sistani	75	100	12	75
Israel	Israel	190	100	7	90
Egypt	Egypt	145	100	3	85
Russia	Russia	25	100	10	70
China	China	25	100	11	70
EU	EU	185	100	10	70
Saudi	Saudi	75	100	5	90
Turkey	Turkey	130	100	10	90

Inputs on Iran Collected on 6/27/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Khamenei	Iran	25	100	100	95
Rafsanjani	Iran	75	50	100	95
Ahmadinejad	Iran	20	75	100	95
Moj. Khamenei	Iran	25	20	100	95
Jafari	Iran	15	75	100	95
Taeb	Iran	5	65	100	95
Yazdi	Iran	25	40	100	95
Naqdi	Iran	10	45	100	95
Ali Larijani	Iran	40	72	100	95
Tavakoli	Iran	40	25	100	95
Velayati	Iran	45	15	100	95
Sadeq Larijani	Iran	40	70	100	95
G.H. Elham	Iran	35	60	100	95
M. Ali-Ramin	Iran	20	10	100	95
Moj.Hashemi	Iran	20	10	100	95
Hassan Abassi	Iran	20	10	100	95
Mohsen Rezaei	Iran	15	30	100	95
Karroubi	Iran	115	10	100	95
Mousavi	Iran	115	27	100	95
Ali Khatami	Iran	95	29	100	95
Khorasani	Iran	50	48	100	95
Iranian Media	Iran	25	25	100	95
Bazaar Class	Iran	110	40	100	95
University Students	Iran	175	30	100	95
Jundollah	Jundolla h	150	100	2	95
MEK	Mek	150	100	5	95
PJAK	Pjak	150	100	2	95
Royalists	Royalists	125	100	2	95

Obama	U.S.	190	100	20	80
Clinton	U.S.	190	80	20	80
CENTCOM	U.S.	190	50	20	80
CIA	U.S.	190	50	20	80
Biden	U.S.	190	75	20	80
Congress	U.S.	190	70	20	80
AIPAC	U.S.	190	60	20	90
Sistani	Sistani	75	100	12	75
Israel	Israel	190	100	7	90
Egypt	Egypt	145	100	3	85
Russia	Russia	25	100	10	70
China	China	25	100	11	70
EU	Eu	185	100	10	70
Saudi	Saudi	75	100	5	90
Turkey	Turkey	130	100	10	90

Inputs on Libya Collected on 3/22/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUPS	POSTION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Muamar Gaddafi	Gaddafi Libya	100	100	100	99
Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi	Gaddafi Libya	100	20	100	95
Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabr	Gaddafi Libya	100	45	100	95
Mustafa Abdul Jalil	Opposition	1	100	80	95
Omar El-Hariri	Opposition	1	90	80	95
Abdul Fatah Younis	Opposition	5	100	80	95
Suleiman Mahmoud	Opposition	1	75	80	95
Khalifa Belqasim Haftar	Opposition	1	30	80	95
Mohammed Hawil	Opposition	1	40	80	95
Abdelhafiz Ghoka	Opposition	1	80	80	95
Abdul Raham Shalgam	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Ali Al Awjali	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Ibrahim Omar Al Dabashi	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Mahmoud Jebiril	Opposition	1	65	80	95
Ali Tarhouni	Opposition	1	15	80	95
Ali al-Essawi	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Shokri Ghanem	Libyan Oil Corp.	50	100	65	85
Obama	United States	10	100	50	75
Biden	United States	10	60	50	75
Clinton	United States	10	75	50	90
General Ham	United States	10	55	50	90
Gates	United States	10	70	50	85

Mullen	United States	10	55	50	85
Sarkozy	France	10	100	35	95
Fillon	France	10	70	35	90
Juppe	France	10	65	35	90
Cameron	UK	10	100	25	75
Hague	UK	10	100	25	75
NATO	NATO	25	100	15	75
Erdogan	Turkey	45	100	10	70
Gul	Turkey	45	50	10	75
Hu Jintao	China	75	100	35	60
Wen Jiabao	China	75	65	35	60
India	India	75	100	10	65
Mevedev	Russia	75	100	30	65
Putin	Russia	75	80	30	65
Tantawi	Egypt	60	100	20	90
Essam Sharaf	Egypt	60	50	20	90
Israel	Israel	5	100	2	80
Kuwait	Kuwait	5	100	1	80
Khamenei	Iran	25	100	10	85
Ahmadinejad	Iran	25	75	10	85
Syria	Syria	75	100	1	90
UAE	UAE	15	100	1	75
Brazil	Brazil	75	100	2	75
Saudi	Saudi	65	100	1	90

Inputs on Libya Collected on 5/18/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP- INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Muamar Gaddafi	Gaddafi Libya	200	100	50	99
Saif al-Islam al-Gaddafi	Gaddafi Libya	180	20	50	95
Abu-Bakr Yunis Jabr	Gaddafi Libya	200	45	50	95
Mustafa Abdul Jalil	Opposition	50	100	80	90
Omar El-Hariri	Opposition	50	90	80	90
Abdul Fatah Younis	Opposition	100	100	80	90
Suleiman Mahmoud	Opposition	100	75	80	85
Khalifa Belqasim Haftar	Opposition	100	30	80	85
Mohammed Hawil	Opposition	100	40	80	90
Abdelhafiz Ghoka	Opposition	75	80	80	75
Abdul Raham Shalgam	Opposition	50	10	80	74
Ali Al Awjali	Opposition	30	10	80	95
Ibrahim Omar Al Dabashi	Opposition	30	10	80	95

Mahmoud Jebril	Opposition	20	65	80	95
Ali Tarhouni	Opposition	50	15	80	95
Ali al-Essawi	Opposition	50	10	80	95
Shokri Ghanem	Libyan Oil Corp.	75	100	65	70
Obama	United States	1	100	50	75
Biden	United States	1	60	50	75
Clinton	United States	1	75	50	90
General Ham	United States	1	55	50	90
Gates	United States	1	70	50	85
Mullen	United States	1	55	50	85
Sarkozy	France	1	100	35	95
Fillon	France	1	70	35	90
Juppe	France	1	65	35	90
Cameron	Uk	1	100	25	75
Hague	Uk	1	100	25	75
NATO	Nato	1	100	15	75
Erdogan	Turkey	50	100	10	70
Gul	Turkey	50	50	10	75
Hu Jintao	China	160	100	35	60
Wen Jiabao	China	160	65	35	60
India	India	75	100	10	65
Mevedev	Russia	160	100	30	65
Putin	Russia	160	80	30	65
Tantawi	Egypt	100	100	20	90
Essam Sharaf	Egypt	100	50	20	90
Israel	Israel	1	100	2	80
Kuwait	Kuwait	150	100	1	80
Khamenei	Iran	120	100	10	85
Ahmadinejad	Iran	120	75	10	85
Syria	Syria	150	100	1	90
UAE	Uae	150	100	1	75
Brazil	Brazil	75	100	2	75
Saudi	Saudi	175	100	1	90

Inputs on Libya Collected on 8/27/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Mustafa Abdul Jalil	Opposition	1	100	80	95
Omar El-Hariri	Opposition	1	90	80	95
Abdul Fatah Younis	Opposition	5	100	80	95

Suleiman Mahmoud	Opposition	1	75	80	95
Khalifa Belqasim Haftar	Opposition	1	30	80	95
Mohammed Hawil	Opposition	1	40	80	95
Abdelhafiz Ghoka	Opposition	1	80	80	95
Abdul Raham Shalgam	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Ali Al Awjali	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Ibrahim Omar Al Dabashi	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Mahmoud Jebril	Opposition	1	65	80	95
Ali Tarhouni	Opposition	1	15	80	95
Ali al-Essawi	Opposition	1	10	80	95
Shokri Ghanem	Libyan Oil Corp.	50	100	65	95
Obama	United States	10	100	50	75
Biden	United States	10	60	50	75
Clinton	United States	10	75	50	90
General Ham	United States	10	55	50	90
Gates	United States	10	70	50	85
Mullen	United States	10	55	50	85
Sarkozy	France	10	100	35	95
Fillon	France	10	70	35	90
Juppe	France	10	65	35	90
Cameron	Uk	10	100	25	75
Hague	Uk	10	100	25	75
NATO	Nato	25	100	15	75
Erdogan	Turkey	45	100	10	70
Gul	Turkey	45	50	10	75
Hu Jintao	China	75	100	35	60
Wen Jiabao	China	75	65	35	60
India	India	75	100	10	65
Mevedev	Russia	75	100	30	65
Putin	Russia	75	80	30	65
Tantawi	Egypt	60	100	20	90
Essam Sharaf	Egypt	60	50	20	90
Israel	Israel	5	100	2	80
Kuwait	Kuwait	5	100	1	80
Khamenei	Iran	25	100	10	85
Ahmadinejad	Iran	25	75	10	85
Syria	Syria	75	100	1	90
UAE	Uae	15	100	1	75
Brazil	Brazil	75	100	2	75
Saudi	Saudi	65	100	1	90

Inputs on Syria Collected on 5/13/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITIONS	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Farouk Al-Shara VP	Syria	30	30	100	60
Najah al-Attar VP	Syria	30	25	100	45
Muslim Brotherhood	Syria	25	40	60	95
Adel Safar PM	Syria	30	30	100	75
Lt. Gen. Ali Habib Mahmoud Defense Ministry	Syria	20	45	100	50
Chief of Staff General Dawud Rajha	Syria	20	40	100	50
Syria Media	Syria	20	30	100	40
Bashar Al-Asad --President	Syria	35	85	100	50
Obama	U.S.	95	60	20	85
Biden V.P.	U.S.	95	50	20	85
Clinton -- Sec State	U.S.	90	50	20	85
CENTCOM	US.	95	20	20	85
Netanyahu	Israel	50	10	1	50
Khamenei	Iran	65	60	35	40
Ahmadinejad	Iran	65	60	40	30
Medvedev	Russia	35	50	30	60
China	China	30	50	30	50
European Union	EU	90	60	20	80
NATO	NATO	90	60	20	80
Turkey	Turkey	60	60	40	95
Egypt	Egypt	50	50	40	95
Saudia	Saudia	10	30	5	20

Inputs on Syria Collected on 7/21/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Farouk Al-Shara VP	Syria	25	20	100	95
Najah al-Attar VP Muslim Brotherhood	Syria	25	15	100	95
Adel Safar PM	Syria	70	15	100	95
Lt. Gen. Ali Habib Mahmoud Defense Ministry	Syria	20	25	100	95
Chief of Staff General Dawud Rajha	Syria	15	30	100	95
Syria Media	Syria	10	25	100	95
Ba_ath Party	Syria	20	20	100	95
	Syria	20	50	100	95

Kurds	Syria	70	10	100	90
Bashar Al-Asad – President	Syria	40	100	100	90
Obama	United States	95	100	15	80
Biden V.P.	United States	95	40	15	80
Clinton -- Sec State	United States	90	50	15	80
Donilon	United States	90	25	15	80
Mullen	United States	90	25	15	80
CENTCOM	United States	40	20	15	80
Netanyahu	Israel	20	100	4	85
Khamenei	Iran	15	100	45	75
Ahmadinejad	Iran	10	50	45	75
Russia	Russia	25	100	35	60
China	China	20	100	35	50
European Union	Eu	80	100	20	70
Turkey	Turkey	70	100	20	80
Egypt	Egypt	60	100	20	60
Saudi	Saudi Arab	20	100	5	50
Arab League	League	65	100	30	85
Business Suni	Syria	30	25	100	65
UN	UN	80	100	30	85

Inputs on Syria Collected on 8/13/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE	
Farouk Al-Shara VP	Syria		25	20	100	95
Najah al-Attar VP	Syria		25	15	100	95
Muslim Brotherhood	Syria		70	15	100	95
Adel Safar PM	Syria		20	25	100	95
Lt. Gen. Ali Habib Mahmoud Defense Minstry	Syria		15	30	100	95
Chief of Staff General Dawud Rajha	Syria		10	25	100	95
Syria Media	Syria		20	20	100	95
Ba_ath Party	Syria		20	50	100	95
Kurds	Syria		70	10	100	90

Bashar Al-Asad --President	Syria	40	100	100	90
Obama	United States	95	100	15	80
Biden V.P.	United States	95	40	15	80
Clinton -- Sec State	United States	90	50	15	80
Donilon	United States	90	25	15	80
Mullen	United States	90	25	15	80
CENTCOM	United States	40	20	15	80
Netanyahu	Israel	20	100	4	85
Khamenei	Iran	15	100	45	75
Ahmadinejad	Iran	10	50	45	75
Russia	Russia	25	100	35	60
China	China	20	100	35	50
European Union	Eu	80	100	20	70
Turkey	Turkey	70	100	20	80
Egypt	Egypt	60	100	20	60
Saudi	Saudi	20	100	5	50
Arab League	Arab League	65	100	30	85
Business Suni	Syria	30	25	100	65
UN	UN	80	100	30	85

Inputs on Syria Collected on 11/9/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Farouk Al-Shara VP	Syria	30	30	100	95
Najah al-Attar VP	Syria	30	25	100	95
Muslim Brotherhood	Syria	65	35	100	95
Adel Safar PM	Syria	30	30	100	95
Lt. Gen. Ali Habib Mahmoud Defense Ministry	Syria	20	45	100	95
Chief of Staff General Dawud Rajha	Syria	20	40	100	95
Syria Media	Syria	20	30	100	95
Ba_ath Party	Syria	20	50	100	95
Kurds	Syria	85	10	100	90
Bashar Al-Asad --President	Syria	20	100	100	90
Obama	United States	95	100	20	80
Biden V.P.	United States	95	40	20	80

	States				
	United				
Clinton -- Sec State	States	90	60	20	80
	United				
Donilon	States	90	65	20	80
	United				
Mullen	States	90	50	20	80
	United				
CENTCOM	States	95	20	20	80
Netanyahu	Israel	25	100	4	85
Khamenei	Iran	20	100	35	75
Ahmadinejad	Iran	20	50	35	75
Medvedev	Russia	35	100	35	60
China	China	30	100	25	50
European Union	Eu	90	100	20	80
Turkey	Turkey	70	100	40	80
Egypt	Egypt	80	100	20	80
Saudi	Saudi	20	100	5	90

Inputs on Yemen Collected on 4/22/2011 (Support for Saleh)

STAKEHOLDER of YEMEN	GROUP	POSITIONS	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
President Ali Abdullah Saleh	Yemen	98	90	100	50
Yahia Mohamed Abdallah Saleh	Yemen	80	85	90	50
Ahmed Ali Saleh	Yemen	75	77	85	50
Ali Mohasen Al Ahmar	Yemen	40	30	40	80
Amar Mohamed Abdallah Saleh	Yemen	85	85	80	50
Yahya al-Raie	Yemen	35	60	40	50
Ali Mohammed Mujawar	Yemen	50	30	35	50
Hassan Zaid	Yemen	15	20	30	70
Shiite Houthi	Yemen	20	15	20	70
Southern Protests	Yemen	5	10	10	65
Yemeni Clerics	Yemen	90	80	90	65
Hamed Al Ahmer	Yemen	30	50	40	60
Sadek Abdallah Al Ahmar	Yemen	35	50	55	60
Abdulaziz Jubari	Yemen	30	30	15	90
Yemen Army	Yemen	95	80	95	50
Yemeni Youth	Yemen	10	20	25	90
Yemen Media	Yemen	40	30	50	55
Obama	U.S.	25	50	100	100

Biden V.P.	U.S.	20	45	85	100
Clinton -- Sec State	U.S.	23	40	90	100
CENTCOM	US.	20	35	50	90
Netanyahu	Israel	2	1	100	50
Khamenei	Iran	15	20	100	50
Ahmadinejad	Iran	15	20	95	50
Medvedev	Russia	10	20	100	50
China	China	20	20	100	50
European Union	EU	20	30	100	90
NATO	NATO	20	30	100	80
Turkey	Turkey	20	10	100	90
Saudi Arabia	Saudi	40	65	100	50
Egypt	Egypt	30	40	100	88
Head of Arab League	Arab League	10	20	100	85

Inputs on Bahrain Collected on 11/7/2011 (Support for Al Khalifa Family)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
Al Khalifa Family	Bahrain	100	100	100	95
Al Wifaq Shiite Opposition	Bahrain	10	20	100	90
Al Haq Shiite Opposition	Bahrain	1	20	100	90
Waad Opposition Party	Bahrain	10	15	100	90
Shura Council	Bahrain	60	85	100	95
South Asian Workers	Bahrain	20	3	100	65
Bahrain Business Community	Bahrain	80	60	100	90
Saudi Arabia	Saudi Arabia	100	80	80	95
US	Us	80	70	70	85
Qatar	Qatar	80	10	10	80
Egypt	Egypt	75	50	50	80
Iran	Iran	1	15	15	90
Turkey	Turkey	80	10	10	70
Kuwait	Kuwait	95	10	10	85
UAE	Uae	90	10	10	85
Iraq	Iraq	45	3	3	60
EU	Eu	75	10	10	70
China	China	60	5	5	60
Russia	Russia	60	3	3	60

Inputs on Saudi Collected on 10/26/2011 (Governance)

STAKEHOLDER	GROUP	POSITION	INFLUENCE	GROUP-INFLUENCE	IMPORTANCE
King Abdullah al-Saud	Saudi	100	100	100	95
House of Saud	Saudi	100	20	100	95
The Shura	Saudi	90	25	100	85
Saudi Intellectuals	Saudi	50	10	100	80
Saudi Youth	Saudi	15	15	100	85
Saudi Women	Saudi	15	4	100	90
Shiite	Saudi	15	7	100	92
Business Community	Saudi	90	30	100	95
President Obama	United States	80	100	45	95
Secretary Clinton	United States	80	50	45	95
SECDEF Podesta	United States	80	60	45	95
Tom Donilon	United States	80	60	45	95
US Oil Companies	United States	80	75	45	95
EU	Eu	80	7	7	95
China	China	80	5	5	95
India	India	80	10	10	95
Russia	Russia	75	3	3	95
Iran	Iran	50	8	8	85
Turkey	Turkey	80	12	12	80
Egypt	Egypt	15	15	15	70
Israel	Israel	100	1	1	95
Yemen	Yemen	50	4	4	90
Oman	Oman	50	2	2	90
UAE	Uae	80	3	3	90
Bahrain	Bahrain	100	2	2	95
Qatar	Qatar	50	2	2	70
Kuwait	Kuwait	100	3	3	95

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