



# Model Arab League

## Annotated Bibliography for Libya

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This annotated bibliography was created to serve as a research resource for students taking part in the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations' Model Arab League Program. With the understanding that research can be intimidating and time consuming, an effort was made to find a set of scholarly articles that give a detailed background and thorough account of the current situation for this League of Arab States member. Included are annotations designed to give a description of the source with the intention of students completing the research on their own. There has been an attempt to focus on more contemporary scholarship, specifically post-9/11 and post-2011 (so-called "Arab Spring") where possible, as these are two phenomena that fundamentally changed politics in the Arab world. These sources should provide students with a solid basis for understanding the country they are representing in both regionally and globally significant issues as well as the interests of other countries within the League of Arab States.

1. Derek Lutterbeck, "Arab Uprisings, Armed Forces, and Civil-Military Relations," *Armed Forces & Society*, Volume 39, Number 1, January 2013, pp. 28-52. •• There is no question that in each country that experienced uprisings associated with the so-called "Arab Spring", the military played a crucial role in their success or failure. At the same time, each country has unique civil-military relations that led the army to support either the regime or the opposition forces. In the case of Libya, there were in fact multiple Armies (of sorts), mostly under the command of Qadhafi's<sup>1</sup> sons or hard line regime loyalists. It was also believed that Qadhafi employed a large number of foreign mercenaries, likely to protect from possible defections. The Libyan military makeup could then be described as "highly patrimonial and fragmented," alienating average Libyans from the military. Lutterbeck argues that the military organization employed by the Qadhafi regime contributed to the harshness of the Libyan conflict from both ends.
2. Alex J. Bellamy and Paul D. Williams, "The New Politics of Protection? Côte d'Ivoire, Libya and the Responsibility to Protect," *International Affairs*, Volume 87, Issue 4, July 2011, pp. 825-850. •• The UN sanctioned intervention in Libya that undoubtedly contributed to the Libyan revolution's success was an unprecedented allowance by the international community. Previous applications of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) had been at the behest of a functioning state government, not against one's will. The Libyan intervention was, in a sense, given the perfect storm of support by many international actors, in which a unique set of statements and correct timing permitted UN Resolution 1973 to pass. This article covers the lead up to the passage of UN Resolution 1973 and the various key players involved in the decision, including the League of Arab States (LAS), the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and the African Union. It is interesting to

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout the rest of this annotated bibliography, this is how the former Libyan leader's name will be transliterated. Other transliterations that have been used in various sources academic and news sources include: Qaddafi, Gaddafi, Gadhafi, and Kadafi.

note the role of the LAS as a “gatekeeper” and how it set a radically new precedent for Arab interventions.

3. Kurt A. Didier, “Commentary: Diplomacy and Libya: Balancing Foreign Policy with Private Party Litigation,” *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, Volume 22, Issue 2, June 2011, pp. 338-349. •• While recent events in Libya following the so-called “Arab Spring” are of extreme interest and importance, it is still necessary to understand the contemporary history of the country. From a U.S. perspective, this history essentially begins with a *coup d'état* against the Libyan monarchy in 1969 led by Colonel Muammar Qadhafi. Relations between the U.S. and Libya sharply declined, as Qadhafi enacted an oil embargo on the U.S. and was later deemed a state sponsor of terrorism. These actions would lead to embargos on Libya by the U.S. and other countries, greatly debilitating the Libyan economy. Eventually, Libya began a turnaround, making payments to victims of terrorism, letting WMD inspectors in, and condemning the Taliban in Afghanistan after 9/11.
4. Wiam A. Alashek, Christopher W. McIntyre, and Maarten W. Taal, “Hepatitis B and C Infection in Hemodialysis Patients in Libya: Prevalence, Incidence and Risk Factors,” *BMC Infectious Diseases*, Volume 12, Issue 1, December 2012, pp. 1-8. •• Among developed countries, infection rates of hepatitis from dialysis machines are quite low. Infection rates from this procedure are relatively high, even in hemodialysis (HD) centers that are exclusively sero-negative for hepatitis antibodies. Possible reasons for this include poor record keeping of vaccination, inadequate screening procedures, badly enforced standards of infection control, and sharing of equipment between positive and negative dialysis patients. This study recommends that urgent action be taken to “improve infection control measures in HD centers and to reduce dependence on blood transfusions for the treatment of anemia.” This study is specifically about HD in relation to hepatitis infections, but can most likely be broadly applied to healthcare in Libya, especially post-revolution.
5. Saskia van Genugten, “Libya after Gadhafi,” *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy*, Volume 53, Issue 3, May 2011, pp. 61-74. •• Libya, like many other Arab countries, was arbitrarily carved into existence by Western powers. The joining of the eastern and western regions of Libya forced nation-statehood on people that did not have strong connections to each other culturally and economically. When Qadhafi came to power, he embarked on an ambitious and utopian nation building scheme that forced people to uproot their lives and alienated him along with his political elites from lay Libyans. This alienation from their leader may have been the only unifying factor for the Libyan opposition during the recent revolution. Following the downfall of the Qadhafi regime, the opposition appears to have fractured as the unifying factor of Qadhafi no longer

exists. This article argues that Libya needs to drastically change its former bureaucracy and create a strong civil society if the people want to transition into democracy.

6. Yehudit Ronen, "Between Africanism and Arabism: Libya's Involvement in Sudan," *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, Volume 2, Issue 1, May 2011, pp. 1-14. •• Throughout the Cold War era, Qadhafi struggled to situate Libya in the polarized political world. Qadhafi experimented with various allegiances, shifting back and forth from the Arab identity to the African identity. Each iteration had different consequences, especially with some of Libya's immediate neighbors, Egypt, Sudan, and Chad. This article gives insight into Libya's political and economic interests from the Cold War up until the separation of Sudan and South Sudan. Specifically in the contemporary terms of the division of Sudan, Qadhafi, and therefore Libya feared that the creation of South Sudan would provide a strategically attractive oil partner to foreign powers and undermine Libyan political interests.
7. Alia Brahimi, "Libya's Revolution," *The Journal of North African Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 4, December 2011, pp. 605-624. •• Colonel Qadhafi's strange political and military organization may have resulted in the Libyan revolution and the difficulties associated with fighting it on both sides. On the one hand, Qadhafi had systematically divided and weakened the official state army to protect against future military coups, and employed a range of loyalist tribal and foreign militias to keep each other in check. These divisions essentially divided the regimes forces and made a unified government force nearly impossible. On the other hand, the various militias were strictly loyal to the regime either ideologically or as highly paid mercenaries, so it was difficult for the opposition to get forces to defect. With the formation of the National Transitional Council (NTC), the task before them is to differentiate themselves from the Qadhafi regime without committing the sort of de-Ba'athification and exclusion of political groups that took place in Iraq.
8. Ann Marlowe, "Libya's Year One: Life After Qaddafi," *World Affairs*, November/December 2012, pp. 39-45. •• Post-Qadhafi Libya is facing many difficulties, especially those associated with the economy and job creation. According to this subjective account of a reporter staying with a family whose son has traveled to fight in Syria, Libyans are a "destroyed people" who are having a very hard time breaking from the previous structures of power and political culture. Everything appears to be disorganized and chaotic, and even simple tasks take an inordinate amount of time. The author seems to think that these things will take hundreds of years to change.
9. Nicolas Cabanel, Alexandre Leclercq, Viviane Chenal-Francisque, Badereddin Annajar, Minoarisoa Rajerison, Souad Bekkhoucha, Eric Bertherat, and Elisabeth Carnielm, "Plague Outbreak in Libya, 2009, Unrelated to Plague in Algeria," *Emerging Infectious*

*Diseases*, Volume 19, Number 2, February 2013, pp. 230-236. •• In 2009, a north eastern town in Libya close to the border with Egypt experienced an isolated outbreak of a plague. The outbreak was very strange, as many places were thought to have eliminated plague bearing bacteria because there had not been a case of infection in many years. For Libya, it had not had a plague infection case in the previous 25 years. The plague outbreak in Libya was believed to have come from infected camels or rodents being carried along with imported cargo. After carrying out a scientific study however, the researchers determined that infected camels would not be viable carriers and strains of plague found in rats elsewhere were different from the plague bacteria found in the 2009 outbreak in Libya. This study concludes that the plague was most likely a dormant strand of bacteria that had become active again due to environmental changes in northern Africa, and therefore the entire region may be at risk for further plague outbreaks.

10. Youssef Mohammad Sawani, "Post-Qadhafi Libya: Interactive Dynamics and the Political Future," *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, Volume 5, Issue 1, January 2012, pp. 1-26. •• Opposition forces in the Libyan revolution were unified by a single purpose: getting rid of Muammar Qadhafi as their country's leader. After succeeding in their goal, the country has descended into a fractured state of numerous political groups who cannot seem to agree on anything. This article details the various issues that post-Qadhafi Libya must deal with which include the role of religion in politics, the role of tribes in politics, division of regional powers, and management of oil exports and revenues. Secondly, the article outlines the political groupings that are competing for power in the country which include the National Transitional Council (NTC), smaller local councils, "February 17<sup>th</sup> commissions", Islamist groups, liberal-secularist groups, and the Amazigh. Finally, the article lists concrete steps that must be taken in order to create a basis for sustainable transition.
11. Fiona J. Charlson, Zachary Steel, Louisa Degenhardt, Tien Chey, Derrick Silove, Claire Marnane, and Harvey A. Whiteford, "Predicting the Impact of the 2011 Conflict in Libya on Population Mental Health: PTSD and Depression Prevalence and Mental Health Service Requirements," *PLoS ONE*, Volume 7, Issue 7, July 2012, pp. 1-11. •• In post-revolutionary Libya, mental health problems like Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are likely to be both prevalent and neglected. Because a majority of the population was exposed to violent battles associated with the revolution and some of the population were subject to torture, this study estimates that nearly 50% of the Libyan population will likely display some level of PTSD and/or severe depression. While most PTSD/depression cases can be handled in primary care, there are some more severe cases that require outpatient services. Unfortunately, the Libyan healthcare system is severely lacking, and this study estimates numbers as low as 0.18 psychiatrists per 100,000 in Libya. Interestingly, the authors make it clear that they are not advocating for building

more mental hospitals, but more purely in the human resources aspect of mental health.

12. E. Wheida and R. Verhoeven, "Review and Assessment of Water Resources in Libya," *Water International*, Volume 31, Issue 3, September 2006, pp. 295-309. •• Like many of its neighbor countries, Libya is largely characterized by desert landscape and climate, and this faces significant issues when it comes to water resources. Rapid urbanization that runs parallel to population growth and modernization has greatly increased the demand for water in agricultural, industrial, and municipal sectors. Because of these trends, Libya has increased its consumption of water to a level beyond its replenishment and has had to resort to higher levels of sea water desalinization. This article presents valuable data on Libya's population demographics and water resources, and makes pertinent recommendations for improving the efficiency and availability of water in the country.
13. Ahmed A. Al-Atrash, "The Changing Interactions Between Libya and the Maghreb: Bilateral Versus Multilateral Engagement," *The Journal of North African Studies*, Volume 16, Issue 2, June 2011, pp. 251-262. •• Due to Libya's frequent fluctuation in terms of geopolitical stances, its relations with neighboring north African countries have changed equally as often. While there have many attempts at creating multilateral agreements and unions, it appears that bilateral agreements have proved much more successful from a Libyan perspective. This article gives an in depth look into the multiple bilateral relationships Libya has had over the years, including the various treaties signed between Libya and Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania. Understanding the history of these relationships reveals the power plays behind each, wherein Libya supported certain regimes and their territorial integrity and undermined them in others when it saw the move as in its best interest.
14. Sadaf R. Ali and Shahira Fahmy, "Gatekeeping and Citizen Journalism: The Use of Social Media During the Recent Uprisings in Iran, Egypt, and Libya," *Media, War & Conflict*, Volume 6, Issue 1, April 2013, pp. 55-69. •• There is no doubt that advances in technology and social media had a profound impact on the revolutions of the so-called "Arab Spring". Specifically, the changes in technology and advent of social media created a great deal more of User Generated Content (UGC) and citizen journalism. Where previously, news agencies acted as the gatekeepers of public information, suddenly their function as gatekeepers was significantly diminished, especially in those instances where the news agencies were state owned or heavily censored. This article compares the use of technology and social media in the attempted Iranian "Green Revolution", and the successful Egyptian and Libyan revolutions. The Libyan case, because it was the latter of these three, was significantly more difficult because the government cut off access to websites like youtube. The authors make the point to note that social media was not the *cause* of these revolutions as some might say, but a tool that

made them logistically easier.

15. William Zartman, "Foreign Relations of North Africa," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 489, International Affairs in Africa, January 1987, pp. 13-27. •• Because of the region's geography, North Africa can be thought of as a geopolitical island. With the Atlantic to its west, the Mediterranean to its north, and the Sahara to its south, it is only connected to the Arab Middle East by Egypt. This island-like nature has created an interesting testing ground for North African foreign policies, with each North African state playing different roles based on their resources, borders, and interests. William Zartman gives a detailed history of the region including the many events that led up to various alliances, treaty signings, and disputes between the North African countries. Later, Zartman covers the relationships the North African states have with European and Western countries, both positive and negative. This article is a valuable read for those representing any of the North African countries (Morocco, Mauritania, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya).