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POST ARAB REVOLUTION OF 2011 NORTH AFRICA

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Abstract— This study is conducted to assess the post Arab Revolution of 2011 North Africa, and the causes and consequences of the post- revolution Libyan crisis. The world saw a great revolution sparked in Tunisia, anchored in deep rooted political, economic and social factors as well as the emergence of social media networks, ultimately igniting the Arab Revolution of 2011. At the end of the year, three long tenured democratic rulers, Ben Ali, Hosni Mubarak, and Muammar Gaddafi were removed from power in Tunisia Egypt, and Libya respectively. These states have been through different phases of change leading to transition. Five years later, however, these peoples have not ensured changes they were looking for. In Libya, a full scale civil war, the intervention of the international community, and the death of a dictator describe the ‘February 17 Revolution’. Unlike states in the region that have been in a similar pattern, the inability to handle the overall conditions of transition in Libya changed in to long lasting instability which is still unsolved. It was this issue which inspired the work of this research thesis and has an intention to provide an in-depth analysis of the major and immediate causes, course and consequences of the revolution in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. And the study gives special emphasis on post-revolution Libyan crisis dealing with the causes and consequences of it at national and regional level. Both primary and secondary data were collected within a qualitative approach. The root causes of post-Gaddafi crisis in Libya are attributed to pre and post-revolution problems like weak institutions inherited from Gaddafi, the failure of Disarmament, Demobilization, and Rehabilitation programs, adoption of the Political Isolation Law, ideological and geographical differences, ethnic cleavage, the lack of external help during transition and neighboring states military intervention which also exacerbated the current instability in Libya. Because of fractured state security and deteriorating economy civilians are leaving their home or living under miserable conditions. The state is failing due to the death of national identity. The crisis has also influenced regional security as Libya becomes feasible place to terrorists and traffickers. The return of neighboring countries workers in Libya to their homes has also resulted in the decline of trade and unemployment and loss of remittance on the neighbor states. The UN has been following the case of Libya since the outbreak of the revolution closely and its attempt to mediate for peace among different factions in the post-revolution crisis were commendable in the midst of the problem of inclusiveness. Lack of inclusiveness in the establishment of the Government of National Accord in 2015/16 is boosting the current threat of Libya called ISIS/L. Those who were disappointed with the establishment of the government and

power division are joining the terrorist groups. So, the new government should reconsider its composition. In conclusion, the study draws lessons from the Arab Revolution in North Africa. Lastly, the study has also forward the way out for Libya.

Keywords: Civil war, Civilians, Jihadists, Revolution.

I. INTRODUCTION

The paper entitled ‘Post Arab Revolution of 2011 North Africa: with special reference to Libya’ the first chapter comprises the general framework of the research including background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, research questions, methodology, scope and limitation, importance and organization of the Study .

1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The large Arab regions comprising North Africa and the Middle East had been with little indications that the political condition of the countries would shakeup so dramatically by the flood of political turbulences for the past many years. Until the end of the first decade of twenty first century, despite several home works left to be done on sphere of democracy and economy, the region seemed politically stable, with its decades-long authoritarian regimes firmly holding onto their power, and politically silenced populations striving to live with widespread economic and political malaises (IISS, 2011). However, in the same way as other somewhat isolated incidents have become world events, one historic and surprise event in Tunisia towards the closure of 2010 radically reshaped the region’s political and security environment.

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this study is assessing the Arab Revolution of 2011 and post revolution developments in North Africa, and investigating the major factors contributed for the post-revolution relapse of Libya into instability and its consequences.



III. SIGNIFICANCES OF THE STUDY

The finding of this study is expected to have relevance in producing information to contribute to the knowledge gap exists on the cause, course or chronology and consequences of the Arab Revolution of 2011 as well as the post revolution situation in North Africa; and causes, internal and regional impacts of the post-revolution Libyan crisis.

The researcher also believes the way out forwarded by the researcher after in-depth analysis and identification of the internal and external factors caused Libyan instability may help bodies need to end the exiting disorder. Furthermore, since the event is recent and unfinished it would attract many more researchers and for them it will help them as a springboard to conduct further study in the area.

1.7. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of the thesis is limited to the analysis of Arab Revolution of 2011 and developments in Libya, which is full of instability, after the end of the revolution until 30th of March 2016. Hence, it only focuses on the 'Jasmine Revolution' of Tunisia, the 'January 25th Revolution' of Egypt and the 'February 17th Revolution' of Libya the post-revolution developments in these state, giving special emphasize to Libyan crisis.

Tunisia, Egypt and Libya are selected because of the removal of the heads of the state at the end of the revolutions in 2011, their existence in same continent, their being the birth place of the revolution, their membership in AU and their proximity to one another.

With regard to its content, this study mainly focused on the Arab Revolution of 2011 and post revolution conditions in North Africa and the post- Gaddafi Libyan crisis so as to consider lessons from the revolution and to forward the way out for the crisis.

However, there are problems which might affect the quality and success of the study. First, unavailability of adequate study material or sources. Since the issue is a recent and enduring phenomenon, it is difficult to get enough published books relating to the subject of the research in the public libraries and University library. Though an effort is done to use the literature from the internet most of the times it is also being challenged by the connection problem. The researcher cannot travel to Tunisia, Egypt and Libya to gather necessary data, and the study has mainly depend on secondary data. Although the researcher attempted to fill the gap with useful and reliable secondary sources, there is a suspicion that limited nature of primary sources might affect the validity of the study. In addition, existing scholarly works on the Arab revolution and current Libyan crisis are written largely in Arabic. Due to language barrier probably the researcher missed out the insights from the Arab region as needed on the revolution. So, not including the part takers or Arabs view might affect the reliability of the research.

IV. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Since the outbreak of the Arab revolution of 2011 in North Africa there is literature which has been written by several authors on its general aspects. These available literature, above all, give emphasis to the cause of the revolution, the role of social media networks and the military intervention of NATO in Libya during the revolution. There are also some authors who have written regarding the condition in Libya after the death of Gaddafi on the post-revolution crisis in the country.

Campante and Chor in their articles entitled as "Why was the Arab World Poised for Revolution? Schooling, Economic Opportunities, and the Arab Spring", describes possible determinants of instability that caused the revolutions in the region like: years in power of the incumbent government; size of the youth population and job opportunity; democracy, corruption and press freedom; and GDP per capita (as a summary measure of economic performance). Focusing on schooling and economic opportunities they argued that lack of adequate economic opportunities for an increasingly educated populace, like the case of Mohammed Bouazizi, who was rumored to be a university graduate, was the cause of Arab spring. Hence, the schooling increases matched with weak labor market and caused unemployment, which was one of the basic factors for the outbreak of the revolution (2011).

In spreading a single match in Tunisian province of Sidi Bouzid to other Tunisian cities and countries of MENA tools of Information and Communication Technology and social media networks played a pivotal role. Howard et al. in, "Opening Closed Regimes; What Was the Role of Social Media During the Arab Spring?", argued that social media provided a suitable environment for people to organize protests, criticize their governments, and spread ideas about democracy. They conclude their project work on social media's role as follow. First, social media played a central role in shaping political debates in the Arab spring. Second, a spike in online revolutionary conversations often preceded major events on the ground. Third, social media helped spread democratic ideas across international borders (2011).

As was seen even among the members of AU, the main motive behind NATO's military intervention in Libya also raised much controversy among different writers (Chigozie et al, 2013). While some consider that this intervention, as NATO itself contend, was to apply the norm of responsibility to protect and is mainly to protect civilians under Gaddafi's threat of attack, others regarded the real intension of the intervention was to oust Gaddafi and his government from power forcefully.

Like many analysts and writers, François in his work entitled as, "NATO and the Arab Spring", stressed that the purpose of the NATO-led Operation Unified Protector has been to protect civilians and civilian populated areas (2012). Supporting this side, Khalifa described the three pillars for the intervention. First, an internationally recognized humanitarian disaster was



unfolding in which former Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi was launching a brutal assault against Libyan protestors. Second, the Arab League, which by then had already suspended Libya's membership, issued an unprecedented call asking the international community to intervene to protect the Libyan people. Third, UN Security Council Resolution 1973 authorized 'Member States', acting nationally or through regional organizations, "to take all necessary measures to protect civilians under threat (2011). Hence, the resolution provided not for any other agenda, but for the protection of civilians.

In contrast with this point of view, NATO's intervention in Libya has also received heavy criticism, including charges that the Alliance intentionally expanded its UN mandate, siding with the Libyan protestors with the aim of achieving regime change rather than merely protecting civilians. Chigozie et al on the net journal entitled, "NATO's 2011 intervention in Libya: Beyond humanitarian intervention", argued that NATO's 2011 intervention in Libya was designed to embarrass and overthrow Gaddafi. They are based on both the indications during the revolution of 2011 and long trajectory of uneasy interaction between Libya under Gaddafi and the West. Fundamental reasons for their conclusion were:- western nations repeatedly directing Gaddafi to resign, NATO's assistance to rebels and the manner NATO bombarded its targets in the course of the revolution; numerous efforts by America and other Western powers to topple Gaddafi since he came to power; lack of willingness on the part of the US and its allies to strike a peace deal during the bombing of Libya by NATO forces; and more importantly, the action of the NTC, a body leading the rebels, on 20 October 2011, when being backed by NATO did not only overthrow out of power but captured him and subsequently killed him horrifically (2013).

The revolution in Libya that has progressed into the civil war and intervened by NATO led to a dramatic regime change. The downfall of Gaddafi regime freed Libyans from their dictatorial rule. Smits et al in their report entitled, "Revolution and its discontents: state, factions and violence in the new Libya", dictates that immediately as the revolution ended there were promising signs of a transition away from authoritarian rule towards democracy and broad political participation that epitomized by the post- revolution election. However, after sometime the sun started to shine in Libya with the movement to bring about radical transformation of political system with significant social and economic changes in state and society has been darkened by continuing violence and instability. Consequently Libyans faced the massive challenge of building a new country for themselves (2013).

Though small in number, there are sources which reveal the condition in Libya after Gaddafi regime. Combaz in the report entitled, "Political economy of Libya after the Gaddafi" mentioned that the political economy of Libya after the Gaddafi regime characterized by poor Security (lack of

effective army or police); absence of stable, unified and inclusive state, fragmentation based on different interests, identities and loyalties; state working for patronage; an economy relying on oil; and poor economic governance (2014).

Chivvis and Martini on their work 'Libya After Qaddafi: Lessons and Implications for the Future' illuminates that Libya has teetered on the brink of a relapse into civil war on more than one occasion in the past year. In the absence of a functioning state, jihadist groups and others who took part in illicit trade of arms, drugs, human and oil have made inroads. Terrorists, who are using it as a safe haven has made it the center to train, recruit and plan attack. This condition is destabilizing the region. Different minorities in the state are acting autonomously (2014).

Another author, Engel, in his work entitled, "Libya as a Failed State: causes, consequences, Options" concluded that the present or post 2011 revolution's instability in Libya has numerous economic, social and security impact not only on the state itself, but the region at large (2014).

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