

T.C.
KARABUK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
DEPARTAMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY

**OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION
IN THE ARAB REGION:
A CASE STUDY OF LIBYA**

MASTER'S THESIS

Prepared By
Hosam Mustafa Ibrahim HARZALLHA

Thesis Advisor
Asst. Prof. Ersin MÜEZZİNOĞLU

Karabük
September, 2017

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Karabuk University Institute of Social Sciences,

We as Thesis Board we approved “**Obstacles to Democratic Transformation in The Arab Region: A Case Study of Libya**” named International Political Economy master thesis which submitted by **Hosam Mustafa Ibrahim HARZALLAH** unanimously/majority of votes.


Academic Title, Name and Surname	Signature
Chairman of the Board : Asst. Prof. Dr. Latif Pınar	
Advisor : Asst. Prof. Dr. Ersin Müezzinoğlu	
Member : Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatih Özçelik	

Thesis Exam Date: 26/09/2017

Statement of No Plagiarism

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name : Hosam Harzallah

Signature : 

Date : 17/10/2017

ABSTRACT

The Arab world had faced serious challenges with democratic transformation since the mandate times and the transformation of powers to monarchy and foreign protected political systems. Following the Arab Spring, many challenges became apparent to the monitors of the political situation in the Middle East, which delayed and even stopped the democratic. In this research, an overview of the current democratic transformation status is reviewed with the Arab countries, and the subsequent events which led into facing the several challenges in the process. The research gives several reasons to the difficulty of democratic transformation in the Arab world including; the one-party mentality and lack of political diversity, lack of political changes, the current view of the Arab World to democracy, and the lack of democratic experience in the Arab society. The specific case of the Libyan democratic transformation is reviewed, where the overall challenges to democracy in the Arab world applies, with variations to the Libyan case study, such as; lack of consensus on the way to implement democracy, the tribal alliances, the current security situation in Libya, and the separation plans by some of the Libyan forces.

Keywords: Democracy, Archival record information, Middle East, Libya, Arab Spring

ÖZ

Arap dünyası, manda rejimlerinin monarşiye dönüşümü ve dış müdahaleler nedeniyle ciddi zorluklarla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Arap Baharı'nı takiben Ortadoğu'daki siyasi durum, demokrasileri yavaşlatan ve hatta durduran bir görünüm arz etmiştir. Bu araştırmada, Arap ülkelerindeki mevcut demokratik dönüşüme genel bir bakış ve ciddi zorluklara neden olan olaylar silsilesi ele alınmıştır. Araştırma, Arap dünyasında demokratik dönüşüm zorluğunun çeşitli nedenlerini ortaya koymaktadır. Bunlar, tek parti zihniyeti ve siyasi yelpazenin darlığı, gerçekleşen siyasi değişiklikler, Arap Dünyası'nın demokrasi konusundaki mevcut görüşü ve Arap toplumunda demokratik kültür eksikliği. Arap dünyasında yaşanan tüm zorluklar Libya'nın demokratik dönüşümü konusunda da yaşanmıştır. Libya konusu, demokrasinin uygulanmasına dair uzlaşmaya varılamaması, kabile ittifakları, Libya'nın güvensiz ortamı ve güvenlik güçlerindeki ayrımcı hareket gibi farklı unsurları da içermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Demokrasi, , Ortadoğu, Libya, Arap Baharı

ARCHIVE RECORD INFORMATION

Name of the Thesis	Obstacles To Democratic Transformation In The Arab Region: A Case Study Of Libya
Author of the Thesis	Hosam Mustafa Ibrahim Harzallha
Advisor of the Thesis	Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ersin Müezzinoğlu
Status of the Thesis	Master Thesis
Date of the Thesis	26/09/2017
Field of the Thesis	International Relations
Place of the Thesis	Karabuk University Institute of Social Science KARABÜK
Total Page Number	58
Keywords	Democracy, Archival record information, Middle East, Libya, Arap Spring

ARŞİV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ

Tezin Adı	Arap Dünyasında Demokratik Transformasyon İçin Engeller: Libya Örneği
Tezin Yazarı	Hosam Mustafa Ibrahim Harzallha
Tezin Danışmanı	Yrd. Doç. Dr. Ersin Müezzinoğlu
Tezin Derecesi	Yüksek Lisans
Tezin Tarihi	26/09/2017
Tezin Alanı	Uluslararası İlişkiler
Tezin Yeri	Karabük Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü KARABÜK
Tezin Sayfa Sayısı	58
Anahtar Kelimeler	Demokrasi, Ortadoğu, Libya, Arap Baharı

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my country, Libya, which lives difficult times of its history and my Libyan brothers and sisters. I also would like to dedicate it to my father and mother who planted the seed of patriotism in me. I would thank the esteemed staff members of Karabuk University, especially my advisor Asst. Prof. Ersin MÜEZZİNOĞLU. Last but not least I would like to thank all my friends and brothers who were the best companions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STATEMENT OF NO PLAGIARISM	Hata! Yer işareti tanımlanmamış.
ABSTRACT	2
ÖZ	3
ARCHIVE RECORD INFORMATION.....	4
ARŞİV KAYIT BİLGİLERİ.....	5
DEDICATION.....	6
LIST OF TABLES	9
LIST OF FIGURES	10
ABBREVIATIONS	11
INTRODUCTION.....	12
1. World Wide and Regional Democracy Overview	13
2. Study Problem	16
3. Study Aims and Questions	16
4. Thesis Structure	18

CHAPTER ONE

DEMOCRACY ATTEMPTS AND OBSTACLES IN THE ARAB WORLD

1.1 The History of the Arab World	19
1.2 Events after the Millennium.....	24
1.2.1 Invasion of Iraq.....	24
1.2.2 A Spark in Tunisia.....	28
1.2.3 Egyptian Confusion	29
1.2.4 Syrian Civil War.....	32
1.3 The Democratic Challenges in the Arab World	34
1.3.1. The Long One-party Mentality and the Weakened Political Diversity	34

1.3.2. Lack of Political Changes	35
1.3.3. The Current View of the Democracy and Diversity in the Arab World ...	36
1.3.4. Lack of Arab Society Political Experience	38
1.3.5. The Arab Countries Structures.....	39
1.3.6. The Weakness of the Democratic Forces.....	40

CHAPTER TWO
THE LIBYAN CASE STUDY

2.1 History of Libya	42
2.2 Libya and Ghaddafi	46
2.3 Libyan Revolution.....	47
2.4 Obstacles to Democratic Transformation in Libya	48
CONCLUSION.....	52
REFERENCES.....	56
CV	59

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Freedom Status in the Arab World 2015	16
Table 1.1	Arab World Mandates and Protectorates during the 19th and 20th centuries	23

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.	Assessment of the freedom in the World in 2016 by Freedom House	15
Figure 1.1	Expansion of the Islamic Rule between 622 and 750 AD	21
Figure 1.2	Political Changes in some of the Arab countries during the twentieth century	24
Figure 1.3	Iraqi forces destruction while retreating from Kuwait in 1991	26
Figure 1.4	the American forces removing a statue for Saddam in Baghdad in 5th April 2003	28
Figure 1.5	An illustration of Albouazizi used by the Tunisian revolution	29
Figure 1.6	Protestors in Liberation Square in Cairo demanding the end of Mubarak presidency	31
Figure 1.7	A billboard in Syria symbolizing the alliance between Russia, the Syrian regime and Hizbullah	38
Figure 2.1	Ahmed Alsherif, the leader of the Libyan resistance against the allies	44
Figure 2.2	Edris Alsonousi, the leader of the Libyan resistance and the King of Libya	45
Figure 2.3	Omar Almkhtar, the leader of the Libyan resistance in the East of Libya	45
Figure 2.4	Sulaiman Pasha Albarouni, the leader of Libyan resistance in the West of Libya	46

ABBREVIATIONS

AD: Anno Domini

BC: Before Christ

USA: United States of America

UAE: United Arab Emirates

WMD: Weapon of Mass Destruction

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN: United Nations

INTRODUCTION

Democracy as a concept is an ancient matter that always concerned humans about their political systems since its establishment in Greece around 507 B.C., when Athenians have set many examples of how a political system should be run by the people and for the people of the country. On this case, specialists claim that the best form of democracy existed in Athens between the years 410 and 399 B.C. when a comprehensive set of rules were put in a constitutions and the Areopagus council which consist of 500 elite members of the society, who were put in their places in a studied manner, would meet on a periodical basis in order to monitor the political system, define the foreign policy, review reports by state officials about the different country issues (Raaflaub, Ober, & Wallace, 2007). However, many years later from that model the word “democracy” stayed to be used in several forms, occasions, theories and conflicts where the study of its elements, events and effects became necessary. Nonetheless, the study about democracy should be more concerned with the results of any system implemented in a country achieving more freedom and empowering a better quality of life for the people (Schmitter & Lynn Karl, 1991).

In the recent years, the region where the concept started from seems to witness many challenges that hidens the implementation of a suitable and sustainable democratic system. The start point of the regime and political changes in the Middle East and the Mediterranean region is debatable by many analysts and specialists. When one can argue that the obvious date of the political changes in the region started in 2011 with “the Arab Spring”, some would think that the remarkable events of that era are the 11th of September attacks in Manhattan, New York and the US declaration of wars in the region which spreading democracy was one of its main goals (Safty, 2012). Nevertheless, there are no debates that the original political status, the aforementioned events and the accompanying struggles for political changes have affected the region economically, socially and on an overall scale.

In this study, democratic transformation models from the world and its history will be studied in order to set examples and highlight lessons learned in order to provide recommendations and conclusions which could be beneficial to the people of the region in easing their way through their democratic transformation. Moreover, an overview about the political systems, the history events, and the status of democracy will be provided for the Arab region in order to understand the obstacles hindering the democratic transformation, the challenges that are facing the concerned nations and steps that could be taken in order to facilitate or alleviate the process. Furthermore, the whole democratic transformation in the Arab world will be analyzed and studied followed by a case study about Libya and the challenges facing its democratic transformation.

1. World Wide and Regional Democracy Overview

According to Freedom House 2016 report, out of 195 countries in the world, 44% of the world countries, corresponding to 40% of the world's population, are free countries which means that these countries have political and economic systems that guarantees the freedom of their citizens. Moreover, the same report indicates that 30% of these countries are partly free, corresponding to 24% of the world's population, and 26% of these countries, corresponding to 36% of the world's population, are classified as not free (Puddington & Roylance, 2016). Figure 1. below illustrates the world's map with countries who are classified free, partially free and not free by Freedom House.

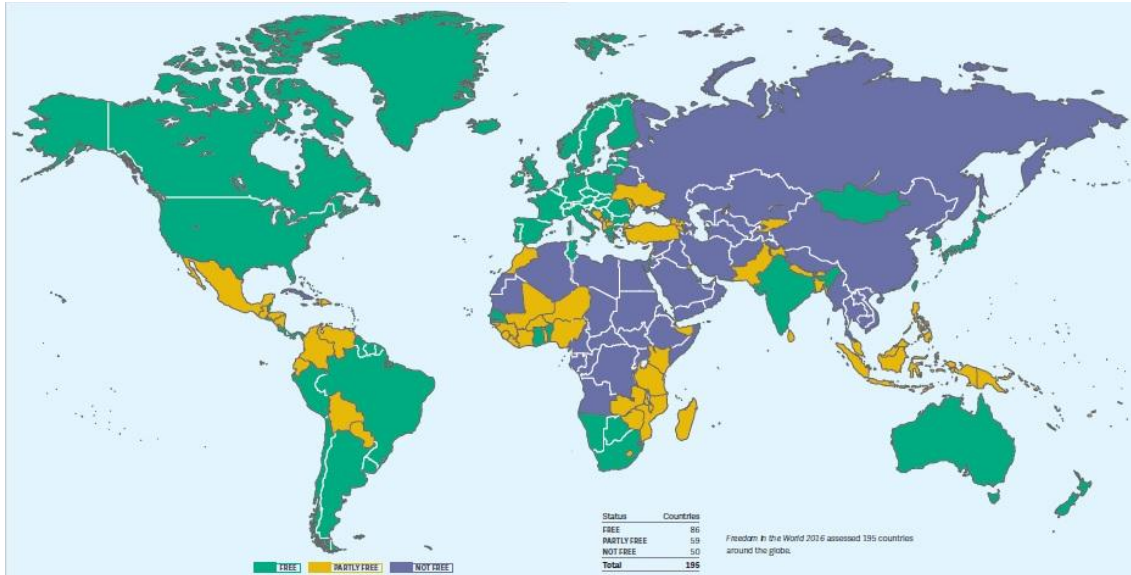


Figure 1: Assessment of the freedom in the World in 2016 by Freedom House (Puddington & Roylance, 2016)

As per the same report, only two countries in the Middle East and North Africa have achieved a “free” status which are Tunisia and Israel. The rest of the countries are having several challenges that hinder the democratic transformation or “the freedom process”. Table 1. below elaborates on the freedom status of the Arab countries in 2015 where political rights (PR) and civil liberties (CL) are assessed on a scale from 1 to 7, 1 being the freest and 7 being the least free, in addition to a freedom aggregate score for each country and the status of the overall and press freedoms.

Table 1: Freedom Status in the Arab World 2015 (Puddington & Roylance, 2016)						
* Countries that had uprisings during the Arab Spring						
** Regimes changed by external military force						
Country	PR	CL	Aggregate Score	Freedom Status	Freedom of the Press (2015)	Net Freedom Status
Algeria	6	5	35	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Bahrain*	7	6	14	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Comoros	3	4	55	Partly Free	Partly Free	Partly Free
Djibouti	6	5	28	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Egypt*	6	5	27	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Iraq**	5	6	27	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Jordan	6	5	36	Not Free	Not Free	Partly Free
Kuwait	5	5	36	Partly Free	Partly Free	Partly Free
Lebanon	5	4	43	Partly Free	Partly Free	Partly Free
Libya*	6	6	20	Not Free	Not Free	Partly Free
Mauritania	6	5	30	Not Free	Partly Free	Not Free
Morocco	5	4	41	Partly Free	Not Free	Partly Free
Oman	6	5	25	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Qatar	6	5	27	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Saudi Arabia	7	7	10	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Somalia	7	7	2	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Sudan	7	7	6	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Syria*	7	7	-1	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Tunisia*	1	3	79	Free	Partly Free	Partly Free
United Arab Emirates	6	6	20	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free
Yemen*	7	6	17	Not Free	Not Free	Not Free

From the above table, it is noticeable that Arab countries that were part of “the American war on terrorism” or the “Arab Spring” are struggling for freedom and having many obstacles in their way in implementing a democratic system. Even Tunisia, which

relatively is the most successful model amongst the Arab countries, is also suffering some issues despite the political instability that is slowing down the implementation of a fully democratic system.

Furthermore, most of the Arab countries are suffering an increase of rights and liberties' sanctions even after the people's uprising against their dictator governments which earns them a very low aggregate score on the freedom scale (Puddington & Roylance, 2016).

2. Study Problem

Even when the logical result of overthrowing a dictator government is to begin stepping on the road to democracy, the majority of the Arab countries which were part of the violent political changes in the past 15 years are currently suffering from damages in their political, social and economic system which does not seem to be alleviating. Moreover, countries that suffered less from those changes are also part of the decrease in democracy.

This study will examine the democratic transformation trials in the Arab world and in Libya as a case study in order to understand the series of events that occurred prior and during the uprising which could be starting points to comprehend the defaults that happened in implementing democracy and the obstacles in terms of processes, implementation issues and external interests.

3. Study Aims and Questions

The aim of the thesis is to study the democratic transformation in the Arab world, specifically the countries that witnessed political instability following the "Arab Spring", in order to understand the defaults and issues in the implementation process. Furthermore, a case study about Libya as one of the countries that is still facing serious challenges in its way till this date. The thesis targets to study the political, economic and social elements

that are influencing the implementation of a democratic system in addition to the influence of the implementation process on the economic and social situation in the case study.

Therefore, the study questions will be as the following:

Q1: What are the theories of democracy and what are basic principles that should be taken into consideration when implementing a democratic system?

Q2: What are the political, economic and social factor that caused the uprising in the Arab World?

Q3: How did the foreign interference influence the democratic transformation in the Arab World?

Q4: What are the main events that occurred prior, during and after the uprisings that influenced the democratic transformation process?

Q5: What are the political, economic and social consequences of the democratic transformation process on the Arab World?

Q6: Why is the Arab World struggling with the democratic transformation process and What are the obstacles that are hindering the implementation of democracy?

Q7: What is the modern political system history of Libya and what are the major events that formed the political awareness in the country?

Q8: What are the obstacles of the democratic transformation in Libya?

Q9: Where is the Arab World's countries located on the democracy map?

Q10: What are the main steps that should be followed generally and specifically for each country in the Arab World in order to facilitate democracy's implementation?

Q11: What is the road map for democracy in the Arab World?

Q12: How can democracy's principles be customized to fit the Arab World's short-term and long-term futures and ambitions?

4. Thesis Structure

In order to have a full understanding of the status, obstacles and future of democratic transformation in the Arab World, a panoramic view about the subject and the targeted region need to be composed. Therefore, the structure of the thesis will be as the following:

Introduction: introducing democracy in history and the start of the democratic transformation in the Arab World and Libya. Moreover, the status of freedom in the Arab countries is presented as per the “Freedom House” study and classification. Furthermore, the study problem is defined along with the study aims and questions in order to create a full structure for the research.

Chapter One: A study of the Arab World uprisings and political changes the past 15 years. The chapter starts by understanding the political, economic and social statuses of the Arab countries prior the instabilities and move to study the specific cases of Iraq, Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen and Syria. Moreover, this part of the research will emphasize on the consequences of the political changes on those countries and the obstacles that they are facing in implementing a democratic system.

Chapter Two: the heart case study of the thesis where the Libyan trial for democratic transformation is studied. This part of the thesis will research the political system changes in Libya in order to understand their consequences and people awareness about the current political situation post the uprising against Al-Qaddafi’s regime. Furthermore, the main obstacles facing the democratic transformation in Libya will be specified and elaborated.

Conclusion: A discussion of the democratic transformation in the Arab Countries including its current status and future steps. Finally, specific and overall conclusions are provided.

CHAPTER ONE

DEMOCRACY ATTEMPTS AND OBSTACLES IN THE ARAB WORLD

The states of the Arab world were built on a complex base due to its long unification under many states and the fact that the new reality of being separated caused several issues politically, economically and socially. This chapter reviews the history of the Arab world in general with an emphasis on the recent history and democratic movements in its several states.

1.1 The History of the Arab World

Since the beginning of transforming the Middle East region into an Arab area through Islamic annexation, the majority of the Arab world region was known as the Islamic Caliphate under different states. In year 610 AD, the Arabian Peninsula witnessed the beginning of the mission of prophet Mohammed (Peace be upon him) who called for worshipping the one God and was sent with several social, economic and political changes to the existing tribal rule centered in Mecca. The new religion grew through hard time but strongly when the prophet and his companions moved their capital to “Yathreb”, which was after called as “Al Madina Al Munawwara” by the prophet himself in 623 AD. Since then the Islamic state strengthened its existence in the Western part of the Arabian Peninsula (Hourani, 2011).

Following the death of the prophet in 632 AD, the Islamic state, which was predominantly controlled by the Arab population, have had a control that led by the religious mission over the whole Arabian Peninsula. This area is considered the origin of the Arabs and currently includes the six countries unified in the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), which are Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), United Arab Emirates (UAE), Sultanate of Oman,

Kingdom of Bahrain, State of Kuwait, State of Qatar, in addition to Yemen and the Southern part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Armstrong, 2002).

The first expansion after the prophet death was led by the Patriarchal Caliphates, which were centered in Al Madina until 661 AD. The Islamic missions succeeded in the annexation of major parts of North Africa, the conquer of the Levant region and Eastern Anatolia from the Byzantine Empire, and capture of Iraq and Persian from the Persian Empire, which is an area that currently include the majority of the Arab world. The rest of the Islamic annexations that included Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Spain and the southeastern region occurred during the Umayyad Caliphate between 661 and 750 AD and many states have succeeded the Umayyads such as Abbasids, Fatimids, and Ottomans (Hourani, 2011). Figure 1.1 shows the expansion of the Islamic rule from the reign of the Prophet until the most expansion of the Umayyad State.

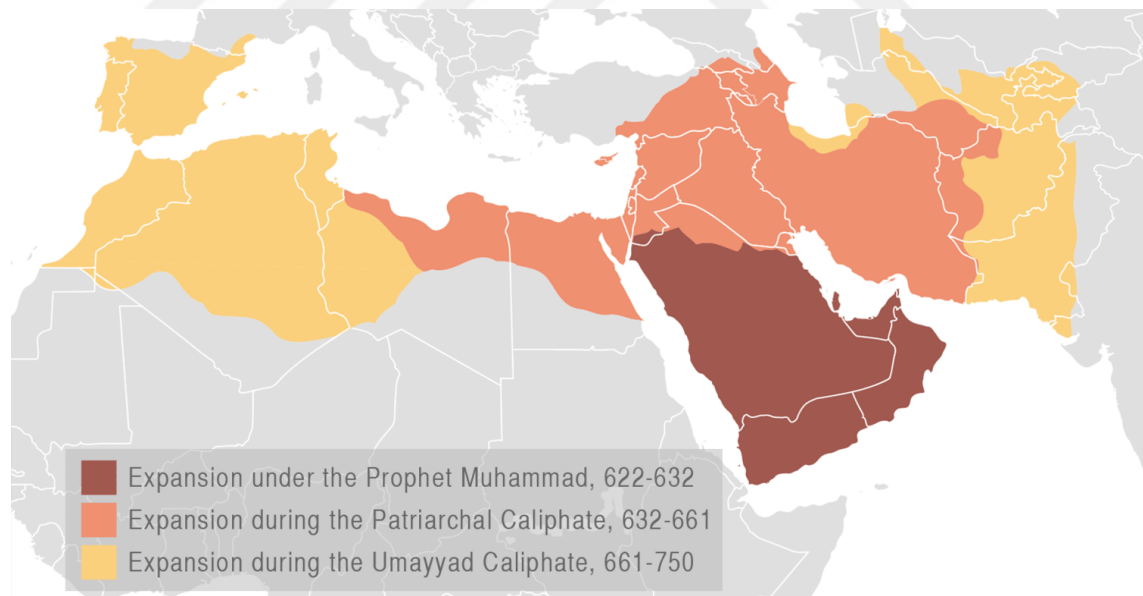


Figure 1.1: Expansion of the Islamic Rule between 622 and 750 AD(Wise, 2016)

The most recent and last Islamic Caliphate was ruled by the Turks through the Ottoman Empire, which was established in Asia Minor as part of the Seljuk state by Osman I in 1301 AD. In the next 150 years the Ottomans annexed the major parts of the Arab world from the minor Islamic states including the Mamelukes in Egypt. The Ottoman Empire

grew even through Europe and gained and lost many territories until its dissolution in 1923 after World War I. During the Islamic caliphates rule the political system of the region was mainly depending on Monarchies that centered the power through a certain family, except for Patriarchal Caliphate which adopted a simple democratic system based on choosing the most fit individual from the elites of the state and counselling through the issues and matters of the people (Rogan, 2011).

During the last years of the Ottoman empire rule, the majority of the Arab world fell under the control of the British, French and Italian armies through several treaties signed by those forces. The Sykes-Picot Agreement, for instance, was signed between Great Britain and France to divide the inherited territories from the Ottoman Empire, which included Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq. This agreement had put Palestine, Jordan and Iraq under the British mandate, while Lebanon and Syria had been put under the French Mandate(Schayegh & Asran, 2015). Table 2.1 shows the Arab States Mandates and protectorates during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Table 1.1: Arab World Mandates and Protectorates during the 19th and 20th centuries(Schayegh & Asran, 2015)

Country	Mandate/protectorate	Start Year	End Year	Remarks
Algeria	French	1827	1962	
Bahrain	British	1923	1971	
Comoros	French	1843	1974	
Djibouti	French	1888	1977	
Egypt	British	1882	1956	
Iraq	British	1920	1932	
Jordan	British	1920	1923	
Kuwait	British	1899	1961	
Lebanon	French	1923	1946	
Libya	Italian	1911	1943	
Mauritania	French	1904	1960	
Morocco	French	1912	1955	
Oman				Treaty with Britain
Palestine	British	1920	1948	Israeli Occupation
Qatar	British	1916	1971	
Saudi Arabia				No Mandate
Somalia	French	1883	1967	Parts controlled by Italy
Sudan	British	1899	1956	
Syria	French	1923	1946	
Tunisia	French	1881	1956	
United Arab Emirates	British	1892	1971	
Yemen	British	1893	1967	Aden Colony

Most of the mandates and protectorates were ended by different events depending on each state. For instance, the French occupation in Algeria was ended by France following a long revolution that resulted into more than million deaths. However, countries like Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain announced their independence following a declaration by Britain that they are leaving the territories on certain given dates. As a result of this era,

the Arab world, who was unified for hundreds of years and familiar with monarchy political and ruling system, found itself divided into several regions and under the rule of different political systems led by local monarchies, immature governments or military rule (Fieldhouse, 2008).

A period that extended from the third decade of the twentieth century until the beginnings of the new millennium witnessed several changes in the political systems of the Arab world. Some of these changes were minor especially certain regions such as the Arabian Peninsula, while the others were very influential by changing the political systems such as in Egypt and Libya, which their political system changed in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century from monarchies to military rule (Schayegh & Asran, 2015). Figure 1.2 shows the political changes in some of the Arab World’s states during the twentieth century.

	1910s	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Egypt	Sultanate	Kingdom			Military rule by coup				
Iraq	British Occupation		Kingdom		Military rule by coup				
Libya	Italian Occupation			Kingdom		Military rule by coup			
Syria	Kingdom*	Constitutional*		Military rule by coup					
United Arab Emirates	British protectorate						Confederation under monarchy		
* King Faisal announced as a king for Syria until 1920, while France occupied Syria until 1936, while the Syrian political parties worked for independence									

Figure 1.2: Political Changes in some of the Arab countries during the twentieth century

As seen from Figure 1.3, the political systems in most of the Arab countries went from occupation by foreign forces to kingdoms, which were newly established, then thrown out by military coups establishing tyrant systems that lasted until the years around the “Arab Spring”.

1.2 Events after the Millennium

In the millennium, series of events followed each other that changed the political systems and countries structures in the Arab World. The first mark towards the new era was the events of September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States. Following that turning event the United States initiated military operations in Afghanistan and then Iraq under the declared purpose of fighting terrorism. Since then, the wheel of political changes started the roll around the Arab world. In this section, the recent events and changes of the political situation are reviewed in the main countries.

1.2.1 Invasion of Iraq

There are many events that occurred in the past two decades prior the American invasion of Iraq, which changed the political, social and economic face of the country. In 1980, the Iraqi regime at the time, led by Saddam Hussain, started a war against Iran in order to stop the Islamic Revolution spreading feared by the regimes in the Arab world. The Iraqi-Iranian war, which extended for 8 years and called as the first Gulf war, formed a huge burden on the people and economy of both countries with million casualties and more than a trillion dollars of losses. Following the Iraqi-Iranian war, many economic and political conflicts started to arise between Iraq and Kuwait over the oil production rate, which led to an Iraqi invasion in August 1990 and Kuwait liberation by an international coalition led by the United States and the United Nations which extended from January to February 1991, known as the second Gulf war. Figure 1.3 shows parts of the Iraqi forces destroyed during the Second Gulf War, while retreating on the highway connecting Kuwait with Iraq, known later as “the highway of death” (Finlan, 2003).



Figure 1.3: Iraqi forces destruction while retreating from Kuwait in 1991 (RHP, 2014)

Following the Iraqi defeat in Kuwait, Iraq had to live with the aftermath of the war including sanctions on import and economic activities, which are justified by the sanctioning countries by the following reasons (UK Government, 2012):

- The Iraqi internal political situation, where its people are oppressed and denied basic human rights.
- The Iraqi regime's contribution to regional instability.
- Fears that the Iraqi regime would develop weapons of mass destruction (WMD).
- Conserving the national security of the United Nations' countries.

The Iraqi people suffered from the sanctions imposed on their country and lasted until the American invasion, affecting the economy including the health and education systems. Moreover, the United States started an illegal war against Iraq aiming to remove the regime of Saddam Hussain. The US government at the time used the following reasons to invade the country (Finkel, 2013):

- The refusal of the Iraqi regime to allow the United Nations investigation committee to work on the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) case, in accordance with the United Nation resolutions.
- The Iraqi regime development and possession of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).
- The relationship between the Iraqi regime and terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda, which adopted the 9/11 attacks in the United States.
- The spread of “Democracy” in the Middle East.

It is important to note that none of the American excuses were supported by evidence before or after the war, which empowers the illegality of the war on Iraq. On the contrary, many political activists insist that the American invasion decision was taken for the following reasons (Fallows, 2015):

- Fears from Iraq selling oil with different currency than the US dollars, which would jeopardize the dollar value.
- As the second largest oil reserve in the world, Iraq oil was the real target of the war.
- The commercial interests of the American companies for new projects in Iraq.
- Winning the time to achieve the above goals while the republican party in the US acquired popularity and supporting following the 9/11 attacks.

Therefore, in 20th March 2003, the United States started its invasion, which its control operations ended in 5th of April 2003 by entering Baghdad, see Figure 1.4. At the time, and due to vacuum created by removing the Iraqi regime, the United States established a civil government to manage life in Iraq, which was led at the beginning by Jay Garner until May 2003. Following that, the civil government was structured to have an American president, Paul Bremer, with an Iraqi prime minister and a ruling council until June 2004. Thereafter, a temporary Iraqi government was structured from previous Iraqi opposition with a president, a prime minister, and forty-two ministers. There were no public elections held to choose this government as its members were mainly chosen through internal recommendations from the previous ruling council (Finkel, 2013).



Figure 1.4: the American forces removing a statue for Saddam in Baghdad in 5th April 2003 (Cockburn, 2016)

In 2005, the Iraqi people started practicing their rights by choosing the temporary parliament that consisted of 275 members, in addition to the municipal elections to select governors for the different Iraqi counties. The main mission for this parliament was to establish the new constitution for the country. In October of the same year, a referendum was put for voting in order to establish the new Iraqi constitution, which was passed with a 78% “yes” vote. In December, the Iraqi people participated into new elections for the permanent parliament, which faced wide opposition due to the vast control of the Shia coalition (Anderson, 2005).

Furthermore, the country suffered from long years of terrorist attacks and invasions by radical groups, especially Al Qaeda and ISIL, which delayed and hindered the democratic transformation while the government was fighting for its control over the different parts of the country (Finkel, 2013).

1.2.2 A Spark in Tunisia

In 17th December 2010, series of protests against the Tunisian president started by the suicide of Mohamed Albouazizi, Figure 1.5. The people were mainly provoked by the high unemployment rate that the country witnessed, in addition to corruption which was led by the president and his close family. The Tunisian economic and social backbones were then controlled by the family of the president, which stopped the growth in the country and had adverse effects on the development, society and political system.



Figure 1.5: An illustration of Albouazizi used by the Tunisian revolution (Stevens, 2016)

Zain Al AbdeinBin Ali, the Tunisian president at the time of the revolution, have had controlled the country for around 24 years. In 14th January 2011, Bin Ali left his post as the president and left the country for Saudi Arabia. The government at the time was dissolved and a temporary government was established and headed by Mohamed Alghanoushi. The temporary government was led after three weeks by Baji Ghaid Alsibsi. Nonetheless, the flee of Bin Ali from Tunisia did not stop the revolution, while people continued to protest demanding a democratic change. The Tunisian Prime Minister Alsibsi accused in July 2011 many political parties by trying to spread chaos in the country and prevent any democratic development. Such actions by the government, as well as the force used against the people, inflamed the situation in Tunisia (Dabashi, 2012).

Although there is a consensus that the Tunisian revolution was the first spark of the Arab Spring, the country failed to find political and economic stability until today, regardless of its classification by freedom house as the most democratic Arab country. Since the revolution, there is a continuous battle between the different parties that arose after it between different liberal, national and Islamic ideologies (Lynch, 2012).

1.2.3 Egyptian Confusion

Following the Tunisian spark, a similar revolution started in Egypt in 25th January 2011, where people protested against the security measures by the police forces, the emergency law, and the economic and social situation that the country had reached. Moreover, the protestors had their main demand set by asking President Muhammed Hosni Mubarak to leave the presidency immediately after 30 years in his post. Political analysts attributed the start of the revolution to the following direct reasons (Dabashi, 2012):

1. The parliament elections in November 2010, where the ruling party in Egypt conquered 90% of the total seats and abolished any opposition.
2. The Tunisian model as the Egyptian people witnessed the flee of Bin Ali, which empowered them to

Furthermore, there are several indirect reasons that accumulated through the long years of the non-democratic practices of the government, which can be summarized as the following (Dabashi, 2012):

- The emergency law: which had been active since 1967 and was used to detain more than 17,000 people for political reasons.
- Police brutality: many deaths have been documented by video in 2010 due to torture by the police forces.
- Weak presidency: according to the Egyptian public opinion the president have weakened the country by taking political actions that supports Israel and diminished the role of opposition parties in the country.

- Corruption: which was witnessed in the political, civil and economic levels leading to complete control of the economy, government and courts by the hands of few people.
- Economic situation: at the time of the revolution, 40% of the population was classified under the poverty line.

Following the protests, the Egyptian president have announced through his deputy that he is resigning from the presidency in 11th February 2011. Figure 1.6 shows the protestors against Mubarak in Liberation Square in Cairo.



Figure 1.6: Protestors in Liberation Square in Cairo demanding the end of Mubarak presidency (Jebril, 2017)

Moreover, there are many advantages of the January revolution in Egypt that would benefit the country's people eventually (Worth, 2017):

- After Mubarak, it became given that the president shall be limited to four years period.
- The end of the emergency status as the people have suffered from political arrests, torture and deaths by the police forces for decades.

- A new constitution, which can be an acceptable start for a new political diversity and a guarantee for people's rights.
- The increase of political participation, which led to brainstorming efforts to achieve the best political system for the country.
- Clarifying the demands of the people so it can be satisfied by the political players.

In 25th June 2012, the Egyptian were able to choose their first freely elected presidents, where president Muhammed Mursi was chosen with a 51.7% vote. This result was devastating for the long ruling regime of Egypt since president Mursi is considered a member of the Muslim Brotherhood party, which was oppressed by the former ruling party and security forces (Dabashi, 2012).

Nonetheless, before completing the first year of Mursi presidency, political forces that were supported by some countries have started a campaign called "tamarrud" (Meaning "contumacy" in Arabic). There many debates about the motivations and purpose of that campaign, which led later to overthrow the elected president. The campaign called for protesting in Liberation square in 30th June 2013, where hundreds of thousands had gathered to refuse the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood. The defense minister at the time, Abdelfattah Alsisi, have given the president forty-eight hours to resign from presidency and give the protestors their demands (Lynch, 2012).

At the time, the elected president refused to resign, claiming that he was elected democratically and there are no reasons for him to leave his post before the end of his term. However, the movement was justified by protecting the democracy in Egypt. After the given period, the army have staged a coup against the government and the president, and made many arrests that included president Mursi. The people who supported the removal of Mursi from presidency consider the 30th of June as a second revolution that protected Egypt from the control of Muslim Brotherhood; however, the protests that gathered in Cairo and other cities in Egypt in support of the elected president prove that Mursi had a base within the Egyptian people who elected him (Worth, 2017).

Furthermore, the Mursi supporting protests continued and was ended by brutality from the police and army forces, which caused hundreds of deaths among the protestors. Since that

time, Egypt lived in turbulence and confusion with temporary governments and the election of Alsisi as a president that said to be pushed to be nominated. After three years of Alsisi's presidency, the country has fallen into a deep economic depression and unknown future in all levels. As of the democracy status in the country, political and human rights monitors confirmed that Egypt is currently witnessing a period, where the army controls all parts of the political and civil life, in addition to concerns about human right that exceed those that were raised in the time of Mubarak (Worth, 2017).

1.2.4 Syrian Civil War

The Syrian crisis is one of the most bloody and lengthy events that came as part of the Arab Spring. It followed the Tunisian and Egyptian models by starting protests against the Ba'ath regime, which is headed by Bashar Alasad. The events started by the arrest of fifteen school children who vandalized walls with writings that calls for freedom and the end of the current regime in Syria. This event occurred in Dara'a on 26th February 2011, as claimed by Syrian opposition, and led to callings for protests around the country (Erlich & Chomsky, 2016).

The protests started and continued as peaceful gatherings for few months despite the arrests and deaths that occurred that were caused by the Syrian regime interventions. However, the increase in the death numbers pushed the protestors to clearly declare that they would not accept the current president and his regime anymore. Moreover, the main demands of the people were as the following (Dabashi, 2012):

- Ending the emergency status in the country after 48 years of its declaration.
- Fighting corruption which led into the stagnancy of the economy and the increase in the unemployment rates.
- Granting the basic freedoms and human rights to the people.
- Changing the political system of the country in a way that all political parties can participate in the government.

Although the president of Syria tried to absorb the people's anger by issuing series of orders that included the end of the emergency status in the country and opening dialog to implement the demands of the people, the people continued their pursuit as the death toll increased and the regime was still in control. Starting from April 2011, the Syrian army have carried out several operations, which caused the death of tens of Syrians. Since then, it became difficult for the people to back down from their demands unless the regime is completely removed due to fears that they would be prosecuted later (Erlich & Chomsky, 2016).

The Syrian crisis increased in complexity as parts of the Syrian army have separated from the regime under the "Free Syrian Army". Moreover, the chaos in the internal situation encouraged terrorist organizations to send their fighters into Syria. These circumstances led to increasing the momentum of the conflict, the death of hundreds of thousands and distant of millions of Syrians to countries around the world (Erlich & Chomsky, 2016).

With the complexity of the Syrian crisis, there are several challenges that are hindering a possible democratic solution in the country including (Lynch, 2012):

- The many political interests that are influencing the solution. For instance, the United States supports the opposition, while Russia support the Syrian regime.
- The support of military groups inside Syria, which lengthen the struggle and makes controlling the security a difficult task to achieve.
- The persistence of the Syrian regime to be part of the political equation, while having military and political support.
- The fight against terrorism as the country suffered for years from radical groups such as ISIL and Al Qaeda.
- Difficulty of preaching the gap between the people and the current regime, and the social and economic issues that resulted from the conflict.

1.3 The Democratic Challenges in the Arab World

There are several challenges and obstacles that hinder the implementation of a democratic transformation in the Arab world. While many authors have mentioned several reasons, there is a consensus on the following:

1.3.1. The Long One-party Mentality and the Weakened Political Diversity

Although there are debates about overthrowing the tyrant regimes and transforming to a democratic system in the Arab world since decades, the Arab world is not convinced that the democratic change is a priority. This comes with other issues on top of the list such as the Palestinian cause and the settlements, which Arabs failed to stop for fifty years with three destroying wars. There are other important issues, as seen by analysts, such as development, economic challenges and weaknesses, poverty, and high unemployment rates. Moreover, the public opinion seems to think that an uncontrolled transformation towards democracy without a proper monitoring for political diversity and legitimacy would open bigger doors for foreign interference and civil conflicts (Diamond, 2014).

Furthermore, an unhealthy democratic transformation may result into dividing the national unity by communalism for a religion, a tribe or a certain religious sect, which is the main reason behind the support of the idea of a studied transformation that preserves the security and the national unity, and prevents the foreign interests from interference. However, such concerns shall not hinder the freedom of speech, human rights or the political activities of the country citizens (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

Subsequently, despite the apparent diversity that is shown through some of the ruling regimes, the Arab World remains away from the complete changes that happened in the Soviet Union, communism, and the tyrant regimes in South America and Asia. Moreover, the liberation of the Arab people from the tyrant regimes does not mean that democracy will emerge, as the people are still struggling with fighting micro-causes that are mentioned earlier, in addition to the fact that the change is recent and the people are still comparing

any new change to the old regimes that believed to know the best for its people, despite their practices (Diamond, 2014).

Therefore, the changes that occurred in the Arab world shall not be mistaken for democratic changes and it requires collective efforts, rather than cruising through it. Furthermore, the tyrant regimes in the Arab world depended on security forces such as police and army to protect their positions. Thus, removing the head of the pyramid does not mean removing the regime. Another evidence that the political diversity is an issue that hinders the democratic change is the examples of the regimes that did not get affected by the Arab spring, such as in Morocco. This is due to the mutual understanding between the ruling family and the opposition parties through benefits sharing, which was achieved since decades, cutting the way in front of any political alliances away from the ruling family (Yafi, 2012).

1.3.2. Lack of Political Changes

This represents the refusal to give the ruling and monitoring powers to the people, in spite of the parliaments that are established in the Arab world to falsify the truth in front of the people. However, the changes that occurred during the Arab Spring are not considered political changes rather than an explosion that led to unwanted and confused changes. For instance, in Egypt the people have overthrown the president but in the first democratic elections they found themselves choosing between the Muslim Brotherhood and a member of the overthrown regime. The dilemma emerges from having to choose between the two sectors that have been fighting and killing each other since the 1970s, which keeps the political agendas open. Even after choosing a president, the foreign interference into the political change that lasted for less than a year brought back the army into power, which ruled the country for more than fifty years (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

The reason behind the of political changes is mainly the lack of mature and democratic diversity that represents the true will of the people in the Arabic people. This is proven through the ideologies that are present in the Arab world, which either has a religious

vision based on the Islamic ideology, or the secular imitations to external ideologies such as communism, capitalism or nationalism (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

1.3.3. The Current View of the Democracy and Diversity in the Arab World

As mentioned earlier, the Arab countries have known politics through the occupations that controlled them for a long time, then the development of Islamic ideologies that have its own views that could be not exactly in accordance with the Islam teachings, and finally the imported political ideologies from the Western and Eastern models. Moreover, the long Israeli-Arab conflict resulted into inflating the armed forces of the Arab counties militarily and politically, which is the reason behind the strength of the regimes that have a background through the army (Yafi, 2012).

The current view of the political discipline forms one of the most important obstacles towards a healthy democracy in the Arab World. Therefore, the Islamic parties mostly have the desire to build the society based on their ideologies but also desires the people to choose them. On the other hand, the secular parties are mostly based on the occupation models, which mostly are identified to be against religious views, and believes in using strength in changing religious and social culture (Diamond, 2014).

Therefore, it is evident that the current available diversity of political parties in the Arab World have failed to represent the people of their countries and mainly focus on their issues such as social security, education, healthcare and employment. Such a phenomenon caused the ruling parties to be protected by external forces against the people of the country, which is evident in the example of the Syrian regime (Diamond, 2014). Figure 1.7 shows a billboard in Damascus installed in Syria with the picture of Bashar Alasad in the middle between Vladimir Putin (the Russian president) and Hasan Nasrullah (the secretary general of Hizbullah), symbolizing the alliance between them. The billboard read “you promised and you delivered” indicating that Alasad allies have fulfilled their commitments towards Syria.



Figure 1.7: A billboard in Syria symbolizing the alliance between Russia, the Syrian regime and Hizbullah

Furthermore, in order to be able to achieve high growth and development rate, as well as ensuring justice in distributing the outcomes of this development among the people, being a strong political system that can take tough decisions is imperative. The current view of the development solely as a political development, which includes the social and economic developments in that sense, is one of the issues that face the Arab Countries by integrating these dimensions into one. The start of building a democratic system that comes from the womb of the current systems starts by a true will from the current political systems to be fair with everyone in the country, and through their awareness that such changes are coming whether they may like it or not. Nonetheless, without this starting point, it is not possible to build a healthy democratic system that achieves the best for the people (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

1.3.4. Lack of Arab Society Political Experience

The societies of the Arab World went from mainly controlled by the Ottoman empire, into occupations, mandates and protectorates into the regimes that used military power to enforce its position, then into revolutions that were not well-planned. Moreover, the societies in the Arab World still carries the old mentality of unity and caring for each other cause, which weakens the focus on the internal issues of each country. These factors resulted into immature political awareness and experience that prevented the democracy from becoming a mature concept (Yafi, 2012).

The 1950s of the twentieth century witnessed some political experience in several Arab countries; however, this experience was not continuous as it was disrupted by coups and military governments. The current Arab societies are majorly consisting of young people below twenty years old. The high percentage of young population does not only apply a high pressure on the economic resources, but also on the cultural and political resources, which are limited. Such a phenomenon results into having a significant percentage of the young generation that lack the identity that was discontinued with the fathers' generation, while not forming an idea about their culture, national identity, and awareness to their social rights and obligations (Yafi, 2012).

Therefore, such a high percentage of nationally unqualified young generation would make them take their decisions based on their enthusiastic power and demands for immediate changes, which would also make easy to be manipulated through media and ruling regimes, as well as the revolutionary ideas that could not necessarily achieve the best for the countries. It is then expected from these young people to not judge political issues according to the needs of the country's society, policy and morality, but through immediate changes that others want them to ask for. Such a case opens the doors for tyrant regimes to connect the ambitions of the young generations with their education, good life and exception for tax, for instance. Moreover, such strategies might also be used by foreign bodies that wants to change the Arab countries according to their interests. For instance, the people who went into protests in 25th January 2011 in Egypt were millions of the young generation asking for change in the political regime. After two years and half, the military

encouraged by countries that does not want the Muslim Brotherhood in power started a counter revolution against the elected government with masses that stormed the streets of the Egyptian cities and demanded overthrowing the elected president. This is a clear example that the young generation did not have the right judgement tool to understand that it was with their will to choose their government, and no one (even the country's military) should influence their decision (Diamond, 2014).

1.3.5. The Arab Countries Structures

The regimes that controlled the Arab world before the Arab spring have acquired their power by the direct inheritance of the countries from the foreign occupations, through certain ideologies that were not updated for the countries benefits, or through military coups. In all the three cases, there was no involvement of the people in choosing the ruling regimes, which built the civil, political and judiciary systems according to their sole interests. These regimes did not even accept the idea of asking their people about the legitimacy of their existence or the demands that are needed for the countries' development. The view that these regimes wanted and still wish to have forever, is that they are facts that shall be accepted without any questioning, guidance, monitor or objection (Diamond, 2014).

Based on the main structure of the regimes in the Arab World, it would be very difficult for them to contribute into building a political system that opens the people's awareness towards political, social and economic developments. The main idea behind these regimes is the continuity of control over the Arab countries, even if that means giving the power from the father to the son. Therefore, it would be difficult for these regimes to grow the national and political awareness of the people, especially the young generation, towards a healthy democratic direction as they fear the loss of power (Yafi, 2012).

In this sense, there is a mutual benefit between the lack of awareness that the Arab societies suffer from and the power monopoly possessed by the regimes that do not want any monitoring or change in their power scheme. Thus, the current systems are not possible to

build themselves into democratic systems, but works on consuming resources and killing any chances of political changes that may arise. In such a case, there is only two possibilities that can be born through the destruction of these political systems in this environment, which evident through the Arab Spring events (Yafi, 2012):

- A total destruction of the country and chaos, which is seen through the Syrian, Libyan and Yemeni case.
- The return of the tyrant regimes through different faces, which is seen through the Egyptian and the current developments in the Libyan case.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the people of the Arab World were not given the chance to protect themselves or raise their political awareness in front of the regimes that ran to control all the backbones of the political, social and civil life, along with the judiciary and military systems. By using the available resources, especially oil and gas, the tyrant regimes succeeded in blackmailing the society with some of the production, while selling them fake nationalities and practicing weak policies that are surrendered to external forces (Diamond, 2014).

1.3.6. The Weakness of the Democratic Forces

The weakness in developing mature democratic policies in the Arab countries is the reason that encouraged the tyrant regimes to race towards power in the first place. The same factor ensured its continuity through decades of using the resources and oppressing any political ideologies other than theirs. Furthermore, in order to protect their interests and power sustainability, it was necessary for these powers to weaken any chances for political and democratic awareness within their societies. Therefore, it would not be possible for these regimes to guide the society to any changes in the political system except for those that can serve their interests (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

Moreover, the democratic powers, if it exists, have many structural and ideological issues that makes their agendas unclear and inconsistent, which results into the lack of support on the country's ground. Therefore, this factor makes the political system of their opposition

forces move towards glorifying their identity as a substitute rather than presenting a clear and calculated plan to change the society and the political system. In light of this fact, there would not be any democratic choice with the weakness of the democratic forces, while the regimes enforce their positions on the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions to serve their interests (Yafi, 2012).

Such a situation imposes that any changes in the democratic system shall come through the existing regimes, which is difficult but possible taking the example of the Soviet Union where the changing power came from within the system. The risk in this equation is mainly the possibility of reestablishment of new regimes that does not carry the democratic ideas that the people have ambitions for (Diamond, 2014).

CHAPTER TWO

THE LIBYAN CASE STUDY

This chapter studies the case study of Libya from a historical and political perspectives. As part of the Arab Spring countries, Libya have had its share of the difficulties and challenges in the democratic transformation after overthrowing the Ghaddafi regime. The historical background of Libya is reviewed in this chapter, as well as the political systems that are established during the Ghaddafi and after the revolution in 2011. Finally, a review over the difficulties facing the democratic transformation is presented in order to stand on the specific factors and challenges facing the democracy in the country.

2.1 History of Libya

The ancient history of Libya is closely connected to the Egyptian civilization through the pharaohs and the civilization of Barqa. Moreover, as an extension to control the Mediterranean, the romans and the Islamic states over the extended years ensured the control over the Libyan coast. The main event affecting the modern political system in Libya is the Italian occupation, which followed the Italian declaration of war on the Ottoman empire in 29th of September 1911, which led to the conquer of Tripoli in the 3rd of October 1911 (Wright, 2012).

Although the Italian occupation faced some resistance from the Ottoman army in Libya, the Ottomans were forced to give up the control over the region as per a treaty signed between them in 18th of October 1912. At that stage, the Libyans realized that they have to establish their own resistance to fight the Italian occupation, which failed to extend its influence further than the coast line due to the heavy resistance. The beginning of the resistance was led by Ahmed Alsherif (Figure 2.1) who then left the leadership to Edris Alsonousi (Figure 2.2) due to the weakening of his forces. However, the resistance leadership on the ground

were led by two main leaders, who are Omar Almkhtar (Figure 2.3) in the East of Libya and Sulaiman Pasha Albarouni (Figure 2.4) in the west of Libya (Wright, 2012).



Figure 2.1: Ahmed Alsherif, the leader of the Libyan resistance against the allies
(Researcher's collection)



Figure 2.2: Edris Alsonousi, the leader of the Libyan resistance and the King of Libya
(Researcher's collection)



Figure 2.3: Omar Al Mukhtar, the leader of the Libyan resistance in the East of Libya
(Researcher's Collection)



Figure 2.4: Sulaiman Pasha Albarouni, the leader of Libyan resistance in the West of Libya
(Researcher's collection)

After World War II, an agreement signed between Britain, Italy and France on the 10th of March 1949 to put a mandate on Libya by the three countries and Libya to be given its independence after ten years. The three countries tried to pass this agreement as a United Nations' project; however, this trial has failed as the Libyan politician have worked with the Nations to gain an immediate and full independence for the country. Therefore, on the 21st of November 1949 the United Nations gave a decision to grant Libya its independence no later than the first of January 1952 (Resolution 289) (Wright, 2012).

In October 1950, a national committee of sixty members representing the three regions of the country have been established and met in the 25th of November of the same year to put the essential system for the new country. Thereafter, a special committee was established from the national committee in order to develop the constitution of the country, which was approved by the national committee in October 1951. In 24th of December 1951, the United Kingdom of Libya have been announced and Edris Alsonousi was chosen as a king for the country including the three main regions, which are Tripoli, Barqa and Fazzanv (Wright, 2012). Furthermore, in order to ensure the failure of the division trials by external forces, the constitution was modified through the parliament in the 26th of April 1963 to change

the name of the country to the Libyan Kingdom and Tripoli being the chosen capital (Diamond, 2014).

2.2 Libya and Ghaddafi

In the first of September 1969, a group of officers headed by lieutenant Mummar Al Ghaddafi, led a revolution against the king and announced the country as the Arab Republic of Libya. After controlling the country constitutional systems, Al Ghaddafi announced Libya as the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Republic in the second of March 1977. The political system was mainly reinvented into a presidency by Al Ghaddafi who leads the ministers, people's congress which is the legislative authority, and people's committees to execute the laws. It was clear to the world that the motivations behind the coup is to control the oil reserves of the Libya in the name of liberation (Vandewalle, 1998).

The following two decades, Mummar Al Ghaddafi formed alliances with liberation and resistance interties in Cuba, Palestine and Africa, which gave the suspension to the world that the Libyan regime is supporting terrorist organizations. Moreover, the Al Ghaddafi started wars in Africa, Egypt and Chad, in trial of preserving the country, as he saw it; however, it was viewed that Libya has expansion plans into those countries, which led to military movements against the country such as the American bombing of Libya in 1981 and 1986 (Wright, 2012).

The international relations under the reign of Al Ghaddafi took aggressive interference into the internal issues of many countries by supporting African governments with troop to face the coups that arouse in Central Africa and Tanzania, as well as supporting the opposition in the apartheid in South Africa. The support of the African countries was mainly directed towards the characters of the leaders and the presidents of those countries as Al Ghaddafi viewed himself as the king of kings of Africa (Wright, 2012).

In 1988, the Ghaddafi regime was accused for bombing a civil aircraft over Lockerbie in Scotland, which led to long sanctions imposed by the United Nations, which included the following(Vandewalle, 1998):

1. Ban of flights in and out of Libya.
2. Reduction of diplomatic representation in the country and from the country.
3. Prohibition on selling military arms to the Libyan regime.
4. Freeze of Libyan assets abroad.
5. Oil export sanctions.

In order to lift these sanctions, Al Ghaddafi had to surrender suspects that are accused with Lockerbie attack, as well as paying compensations that reached to 2.6 billion dollars (Vandewalle, 1998).

After 2003, the Libyan regime took a different diplomacy in dealing with international committee as it pledged to disclose all military information to the United Nations and stop supporting terrorist organizations and attacks. The new strategy of Al Ghaddafi was a way to change the perception of the world towards Libya after years of isolation. There is no doubt that Al Ghaddafi regime was a tyrant regime that harmed the international relations with the world nations, as well as the Libyans themselves. The application of Al Ghaddafi ideologies and ideas diminished the political and educational system in the country, which made the young generations of Libya suffer from the consequences (Wright, 2012).

2.3 Libyan Revolution

In 14th of February 2011, representatives from the Libyan people claimed the right for the Libyans for the freedom of speech using peaceful means, while also demanding the resignation of the Libyan president Muammer Al Ghaddafi. The next day witnessed deaths during a protest in Benghazi demanding the release of political prisoners. The momentum of the events accelerated through the Eastern cities of Libya, where the regime used excessive force against the protestors with heavy arms. After a week after the commencement of the revolution, resignations in the regime's government started and the

international community started condemning the actions of Al Ghaddafi and called for urgent actions (Wright, 2012).

In March 2011, the National temporary council was established and the world started recognizing it as the representative of the Libyan people. One month after the start of the events and on the 19th of March 2011, the United States, United Kingdom and France started hitting military targets for the Libyan regime in order to stop the usage of force against the Libyan civilians. Following the attacks, Al Ghaddafi considered the military action against him as a military action against Libya and promised to arm the people in Libya (Diamond, 2014).

Although several trials were made by Al Ghaddafi to absorb the anger of the people and the international community action against his regime, the rebels refused all proposals as all of them did not constitute his resignation. The rebels started taking positions around the country by April 2011, while the regime started collapsing and sending hopeless calls to the people in denial actions. After Al Ghaddafi escaped, he was found by the angry rebels and killed by them on the 20th of October 2011. The accelerated actions from the international community and the people against the regime can indicate the amount of issues that were accumulated over the years, where no political or social awareness system was put to prevent such events (Yafi, 2012).

2.4 Obstacles to Democratic Transformation in Libya

It is evident that the politics of Libya have suffered from the ideologies that Al Ghaddafi tried to force on the country for over forty years. In the current time, the Libyan political analysts see the forcing of new ideologies by Islamic parties under several justifications, which should have the same results on the short and long runs. Such ideologies that currently adopted in Libya could hinder the development of the country, which is suffering from the slow pace (Diamond, 2014).

During the years before the revolution, only minor fights against radical groups were faced by the Ghaddafi regime in the nineties. However, there is no doubt that the Libyan society

is a conservative one, which is influenced by the Islamic teachings. Therefore, many Libyan leaders see this fact as a unifying matter between the people of the country. Nonetheless, it is thought that the current Islamists' policies and actions in Libya is increasing the gap between the different parts of the country(Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

The Libyan society is based on a tribal system, which varies in its size and influence. Regardless of the trials from the state to diminish these classifications for more than fifty years, the Ghaddafi regime did not succeed in his task. Furthermore, although the tribal system was not the simulator during the Libyan revolution in 2011, during the years past the revolution there was a clear usage of the tribal factor in the alliances formed, which led to many divisions with the Libyan society. There are many hands that work on empowering the tribal division in order to use it for control on the ground (Diamond, 2014).

Moreover, despite the fact that the Libyan society consists of an Arab majority, there were efforts made by Al Ghaddafi to diminish any racial differences with the society. Nevertheless, the Ghaddafi regime used a more excessive force against the Amazigh, which pushed them to participate into the revolution. The minorities continuous calls after the revolution to recognize them as part of the Libyan society by recognizing their language and heritage, and provide them with adequate representation in the political structure is another challenge that faces the democratic transformation in Libya. Although six seats were given to the minorities in the Libyan parliament, as well as recognizing the Amazigh culture as part of the Libyan culture, these steps were not enough to satisfy the demands of the minorities in Libya (Yafi, 2012).

The political awareness is another challenge that faces the democratic transformation in Libya. The long years of absenting the people of the country from a decent political life prevented the development of the political awareness in the country for decades. Instead, the philosophy of Al Ghaddafi was based on a simple political system of the leader and the people. Moreover, the unhealthy development process that was adopted by the Ghaddafi regime resulted into negative impacts on the way people perceive and practice politics, economic and social practices (Yafi, 2012).

The way the economics were managed during the Ghaddafi reign had adverse effects on the chances for the democratic transformation on the short and medium runs, and on the

overall democracy empowerment in the country. The way the resources of the country were managed, specifically the oil resources, resulted into diminishing of the society's middle class, absencing the civil society organizations and affecting the values of independence, individual freedom. Therefore, the economic challenge remains as the main subject on the medium and long runs as the people's demand are rising from the current situation, especially the young generation. Moreover, the use of emotional speeches, elevating the expectations of the people, blaming the old regime for negative impacts and buying people's loyalties with money, which are practices happening since the revolution, could only harm the Libyan society, politics and economy (Yafi, 2012).

Furthermore, the structure of the new state is one of the challenges that is facing the political system in Libya. The main relation in question is the relation between the different regions of the country and the central authority in the capital. Therefore, the federal and tribal challenges are one of the most influential factors in the picture of the democracy in Libya. The establishment of a unified unity between the different parts of the country is an important step for a healthy democratic transformation (Diamond, 2014).

There are other challenges that are related to the lack of consensus between the Libyan parties about essential legislations and issues such as religion, parties, human rights and women rights. Moreover, the attacks that were carried out by military groups in several occasions symbolize the differences between the different groups within the established temporary political system. The main conflict between the politicians in the parliament are with desire of some of them to exclude the people related with the old regime from the political rights, which is objective by the majority of the legislators. Furthermore. The lack of a permanent constitution is one of the issues that face democracy in Libya (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

Due to the tribal and alliances nature of the Libyan society, it was difficult to choose the right formation for the 200 seats in the parliaments. Thus, the temporary parliament elections stated that out of the total seats in parliament, 120 seats shall be for independent nominations, which was used by some of the parties to gain majority in the legislative establishment. Nonetheless, the permanent constitution remains the main concern in the

current phase, which is a task given to sixty members of the parliament from different backgrounds (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

Furthermore, the security situation in the country is one of the problematic issues after the revolution. Therefore, establishing the basic system of the country and going back to the civil life, are forming the main requirements for having a feasible constitution and elections. The political democratic transformation cannot ignore that there are several military groups that are influencing the political system, as well as the social unity of the people of the country. Until this moment, none of the political leaderships succeeded into annexing all the militant groups under a unified entity for the country. Moreover, the delays in building national and security establishments that represents the government contributed into the issues that are suffered during the democratic transformation. The current security situation on the ground threatens all the political efforts that have been put by the Libyan politician to reach to a consensus on a Libyan army (Diamond, 2014).

Finally, the challenge of confederation political system in the country, which is the most feared, is one of the unwanted results of the political operations in Libya. Moreover, the new system is required to achieve equality and justice for all the Libyan citizens regardless of their city's or tribal backgrounds (Elbadawi & Makdisi, 2010).

CONCLUSION

In light of the studied subject and the review of the democratic transformation issues that are faced by the Arab World, and especially the Libyan case study, there are many challenges that are classified as overall challenges for the Arab world and specific challenges for Libya. Thus, the overall challenges are as the following:

- The long one-party mentality and the weakened political diversity
- Lack of political changes
- The current view of the democracy and diversity in the Arab World
- Lack of Arab society political experience
- The Arab countries structures
- The weakness of the democratic forces

The Arab world is not convinced that the democratic change is a priority, which results into debates about overthrowing the tyrant regimes and transforming to a democratic system in the Arab world since decades. Therefore, there are other important issues such as development, economic challenges and weaknesses, poverty, and high unemployment rates. In addition to that, an uncontrolled transformation towards democracy without a proper monitoring for political diversity and legitimacy would open bigger doors for foreign interference and civil conflicts, as witnessed in cases like Syria.

The Arab World remains away from the complete changes that happened in the Soviet Union, communism, and the tyrant regimes in South America and Asia, although some of the Arab regimes have shown diversity in their systems. Moreover, the tyrant regimes in the Arab world depended on security forces such as police and army to protect their positions. Therefore, removing the head of the regime does not mean removing the regime itself. The reason behind the of political changes is mainly the lack of mature and democratic diversity that represents the true will of the people in the Arabic people. This is proven through the ideologies that are present in the Arab world, which either has a

religious vision based on the Islamic ideology, or the secular imitations to external ideologies such as communism, capitalism or nationalism.

Therefore, it is evident that the current available diversity of political parties in the Arab World have failed to represent the people of their countries and mainly focus on their issues such as social security, education, healthcare and employment. Such a phenomenon caused the ruling parties to be protected by external forces against the people of the country, which is evident in the example of the Syrian regime. There is a mutual benefit between the lack of awareness that the Arab societies suffer from and the power monopoly possessed by the regimes that do not want any monitoring or change in their power scheme. Thus, the current systems are not possible to build themselves into democratic systems, but works on consuming resources and killing any chances of political changes that may arise.

For the Libyan democratic transformation, it is evident that the politics of Libya have suffered from the ideologies that Al Ghaddafi tried to force on the country for over forty years. In the current time, the Libyan political analysts see the forcing of new ideologies by Islamic parties under several justifications, which should have the same results on the short and long runs. During the years before the revolution, many Libyan leaders saw the Islamic thoughts as a unifying matter between the people of the country. Nonetheless, it is thought that the current Islamists' policies and actions in Libya is increasing the gap between the different parts of the country.

The Libyan society is based on a tribal system, which varies in its size and influence. Regardless of the trials from the state to diminish these classifications for more than fifty years, the Ghaddafi regime did not succeed in his task. Furthermore, although the tribal system was not the simulator during the Libyan revolution in 2011, during the years past the revolution there was a clear usage of the tribal factor in the alliances formed, which led to many divisions with the Libyan society. Moreover, despite the fact that the Libyan society consists of an Arab majority, there were efforts made by Al Ghaddafi to diminish any racial differences with the society. The minorities continuous calls after the revolution to recognize them as part of the Libyan society by recognizing their language and heritage, and provide them with adequate representation in the political structure is another challenge that faces the democratic transformation in Libya. Although six seats were given

to the minorities in the Libyan parliament, as well as recognizing the Amazigh culture as part of the Libyan culture, these steps were not enough to satisfy the demands of the minorities in Libya.

The political awareness is another challenge that faces the democratic transformation in Libya. The unhealthy development process that was adopted by the Ghaddafi regime resulted into negative impacts on the way people perceive and practice politics, economic and social practices. Furthermore, the way the economics were managed during the Ghaddafi reign had adverse effects on the chances for the democratic transformation on the short and medium runs, and on the overall democracy empowerment in the country.

Furthermore, the structure of the new state is one of the challenges that is facing the political system in Libya. The main relation in question is the relation between the different regions of the country and the central authority in the capital. Therefore, the federal and tribal challenges are one of the most influential factors in the picture of the democracy in Libya. The establishment of a unified unity between the different parts of the country is an important step for a healthy democratic transformation.

There are other challenges that are related to the lack of consensus between the Libyan parties about essential legislations and issues such as religion, parties, human rights and women rights. Moreover, the attacks that were carried out by military groups in several occasions symbolize the differences between the different groups within the established temporary political system. The main conflict between the politicians in the parliament are with desire of some of them to exclude the people related with the old regime from the political rights, which is objective by the majority of the legislators. Furthermore, the lack of a permanent constitution is one of the issues that face democracy in Libya.

Due to the tribal and alliances nature of the Libyan society, it was difficult to choose the right formation for the 200 seats in the parliaments. Thus, the temporary parliament elections stated that out of the total seats in parliament, 120 seats shall be for independent nominations, which was used by some of the parties to gain majority in the legislative establishment. Nonetheless, the permanent constitution remains the main concern in the current phase, which is a task given to sixty members of the parliament from different backgrounds.

Furthermore, the security situation in the country is one of the problematic issues after the revolution. Therefore, establishing the basic system of the country and going back to the civil life, are forming the main requirements for having a feasible constitution and elections. The political democratic transformation cannot ignore that there are several military groups that are influencing the political system, as well as the social unity of the people of the country. The delays in building national and security establishments that represents the government contributed into the issues that are suffered during the democratic transformation.

Finally, the challenge of confederation political system in the country, which is the most feared, is one of the unwanted results of the political operations in Libya. Moreover, the new system is required to achieve equality and justice for all the Libyan citizens regardless of their city's or tribal backgrounds.

REFERENCES

- Armstrong, k. (2002). *Islam: A Short History (Modern Library Chronicles)*. London: Modern Library.
- Dabashi, H. (2012). *The Arab Spring: The End of Postcolonialism*. London: Zed Books.
- Diamond, L. (2014). *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World*. USA: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Elbadawi, I., & Makdisi, S. (2010). *Democracy in the Arab World*. Tylor and Francis eBooks.
- Erlich, R., & Chomsky, N. (2016). *Inside Syria: The Backstory of Their Civil War and What the World Can Expect*. USA: Prometheus Books.
- Fieldhouse, D. K. (2008). *Western Imperialism in the Middle East 1914-1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finkel, D. (2013). *Thank You for Your Service*. USA: Sarah Crichton Books.
- Finlan, A. (2003). *The Gulf War 1991*. New York: Osprey Publishing.
- Hourani, A. (2011). *A History of the Arab people*. Oxford: Blackstone Audio, Inc.
- Lynch, M. (2012). *The Arab Uprising: The Wave of Protest that Toppled the Status Quo and the Struggle for a New Middle East*. USA: PublicAffairs.
- Puddington, A., & Roynance, T. (2016). *Freedom in the World 2016*. Washington DC: Freedom House.
- Raaflaub, K. A., Ober, J., & Wallace, R. (2007). *Origins of Democracy in Ancient Greece*. London: University of California Press, Ltd.
- Rogan, E. (2011). *The Arabs: A History*. Oxford: Basic Books.

- Schayegh, C., & Asran, A. (2015). *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates*. Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group Ltd.
- Schmitter, P. C., & Lynn Karl, T. (1991). What democracy is and is not. *Journal of Democracy by the National Endowment for Democracy and John Hopkins University Press*, 103-109.
- Vandewalle, D. J. (1998). *Libya Since Independence: Oil and State-Building*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Worth, R. F. (2017). *A Rage for Order: The Middle East in Turmoil, from Tahrir Square to ISIS*. Oxford: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Wright, J. (2012). *A History of Libya*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yafi, W. S. (2012). *Inevitable Democracy in the Arab World: New Realities in an Ancient Land*. USA: Palgrave Macmillian.

WEBSITE REFERENCES

- Anderson, J. W. (2005, October 26). *Sunnis Failed to Defeat Iraq Constitution*. Retrieved from washington post: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/10/25/AR2005102500357.html>
- Cockburn, P. (2016, April 20). *Mission creep: Baghdad after the fall of Saddam Hussein*. Retrieved from INDEPENDENT: <http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/mission-creep-baghdad-after-the-fall-of-saddam-hussein-a6991536.html>
- Fallows, J. (2015, May 19). *The Right and Wrong Questions About the Iraq War*. Retrieved from The Atlantic: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/05/the-right-and-wrong-questions-about-the-iraq-war/393497/>
- Jebril, J. (2017, January 24). *Impacts of the January Revolution in Egypt*. Retrieved from New Khaleej: <http://www.thenewkhalij.org/ar/node/57502>

- RHP. (2014, November 16). *Highway of Death, the result of American forces bombing retreating Iraqi forces, Kuwait, 1991*. Retrieved from Rare Historical Photos: <http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/highway-death-in-pictures-1991/>
- Safty, A. (2012, January 25). *THE NEW STORM AND DEMOCRACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST*. Retrieved from Center of Strategic Research (Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs): <http://sam.gov.tr/>
- Stevens, P. (2016, December 7). *MOHAMMED BOUAZIZI: THE FIRE BURNS ON*. Retrieved from GLOBAL CONNECTIONS: <http://globalconnections.champlain.edu/2016/12/07/mohammed-bouazizi-fire-burns/>
- UK Government. (2012, August 14). *Embargoes and sanctions on Iraq*. Retrieved from GOV.UK: <https://www.gov.uk/guidance/arms-embargo-on-iraq>
- Wise, D. (2016, February 22). *Did the Crusades lead to Islamic State?* Retrieved from The Conversation : <http://theconversation.com/did-the-crusades-lead-to-islamic-state-54478>

CV

Name: Hosam Mustafa Harzallha

Date of birth: 14 / 04 / 1986 Place of birth : Tripoli/Libya

Marital status: Single

Address : Libya – Tripoli

Tel : 05443487015

Email add: hosam.mostafa86@yahoo.com

Education / Certifications – High diploma in political science obtained in 2009 graduate from Aljabel Alghrbi University, and MSc degree in International Political Economy in 2017 graduate from Karabük University.