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A Literature Review: Analysis of Conditions in Libya Pre and Post the Arab Spring Revolution

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ARTICLE INFO

Received:
Revised:
Accepted:
Online:

Keywords:
Arab Spring, Revolution, Libya,
Middle East, Security

ABSTRACT

The Arab Spring Revolution was an act of protest that occurred in the Middle East due to the suppression of government and democracy system, taking away the freedom and rights of the people. The tyrannical government was protested by its citizens on a large scale in order to be overthrown. The Arab Spring revolution which occurred in Libya was a group of people who opposed the government so that they carried out a revolution in order to the government could be replaced and overthrown. Muammar Gaddafi was the leader of the Libyan tyranny who served for 42 years and finally succeeded in stepping down due to the Arab Spring revolution carried out by the majority of the Libyan people. After the revolution, Libya's conditions and situation are no longer the same, especially in terms of security. This research uses a literature study approach and takes secondary data then being analyzed. Secondary data is taken from scientific articles published on the internet that discuss conflicts in the Middle East, especially in Libya.

1. Introduction

At the end of 2010, a massive movement took place in the Middle East. The occurrence of the Arab Spring phenomenon attracted the attention of the world at that time. The democratic process that occurs in the Middle East creates conflict. The Arab Spring phenomenon made security in the Middle

East very complex, causing delays in the development of the Middle East itself at the end of the cold war [1]. The administration in the Middle East was certainly against the democratic process that takes place there, the democracy that occurs is not as it should be and causes conflicts between groups. The administration began to garner support for overthrowing the democracy that existed at

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the time, the poor democratic process sparked a lot of protests. But the protests that were carried out did not give the significant result, the people who protested were brutally massacred by the Libyan government [2]. The massacre carried out by the Libyan government quickly changed the Libyan government system, the government system at that time turned into an autocratic regime, where the regime was led under the command of Gadaffi. The drastic change in the system which occurred in Libya made the allies attack the security forces led by Gadaffi. NATO also intervened, by carrying out air strikes, the NATO attack on Gadaffi was an extraordinary event that occurred in the Arab Spring. The intervention carried out by NATO succeeded in overthrowing the Libyan government, namely Gadaffi. Libya at that time faced a very big challenge, the challenge faced by Libya greatly shook Libya [3]. After the intervention, Libya experienced a revolution, where Libyan security and politics became unstable, political and security instability in Libya made interactions in Libya chaotic and disrupted.

The insecurity and instability which occurred in Libya led to a revolution, the revolution caused the Maghreb sub-complex and the security complex to be disrupted in the Middle East. Disruption of the sunset sub-complex and security complex certainly causes ongoing conflicts. The lack of control at the center is one of the factors that makes terrorists in Libya increasingly powerful. The instability that causes the weakening of security in Libya is exploited by terrorist organizations such as ISIS and Ansar Al-Sharia. The organization made the conflict in Libya even more murky. Although the government has been overthrown, in which the government usurped the rights of the Libyan people, the terrorist organizations have made things worse. Ansar Al-Sharia was even named as the mastermind behind the death of the US ambassador to Libya, namely J. Christopher, which occurred in 2012. Ansar Al-Sharia was even accused of being the mastermind behind the attacks on the US and UK consulates [4]. The accusations directed at the terrorist organization have only exacerbated the situation in Libya. The

magnitude of the conflict after the Arab Spring revolution in Libya certainly made Libya an insecure region, however, researchers reveal that the younger generation holds an important key in uniting the important components of the Arab Spring revolution. Libya is expected to have a population of young people in 2030. The young generation in Libya is also expected to make the economy, social and politics in Libya stable and equal.

Libya is on the verge of a conflict that seems to have no end after the intervention carried out by NATO. The intervention carried out by NATO succeeded in crippling and overthrowing the government, the situation in Libya after the intervention carried out by NATO became better after a while, but it did not take long for revolution and destruction to occur in Libya. Libya is facing political instability. The intervention carried out by NATO became the cause of the destruction in Libya, as the theory of complex regional security put forward by an expert named Burren Buzan. Regions are unique relationships between states and sub-systems, where topographic proximity affects each other. Meanwhile, complex security is a state that has a major security perception and the problems faced are interrelated so that its national security cannot be defined and resolved. Complex security is by nature highly resistant to change, and anarchic in general. In the complex security theory, it is explained that intervention from other countries or external parties such as that carried out by NATO in Libya actually affects the characteristics of the security complex of the intervening country [5].

After the end of the cold war, the US intervened in Afghanistan and Iraq, meanwhile NATO also carried out operations in Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosova in 2003. The US invaded Iraq and planned to deploy its military in Turkey, even though at that time the Turkish government refused to use its country as US military base. The refusal by the Turkish government has clearly worsened relations between Turkey and the US. After Turkey's refusal, the US changed its operations in carrying out the invasion of

Iraq, the change in operations changed the pattern of security in the Middle East very significantly. This change in security patterns has made the Middle East an unsafe area. Regional security in the Middle East collapsed very quickly due to changes in operations carried out by the US [6].

Research conducted by [7] puts forward the theory that revolutions are carried out very rarely succeed, especially in democratic countries. This failure was caused by the absence of political, economic and social involvement when the revolution was carried out. Barany explained that politics, social and economics played an important role in the success of the revolution, however, these three aspects were still not sufficient. The military holds the main key in the success of the revolution. Support from the military is very much needed in the success of the revolution, without military support the potential for the success of the revolution is still very small even though it has involved politics, social and economics in it. The military must side with the government in power, because the military is the heart of state security. Even though the military is at odds with the government, the military is obliged to be neutral and not take sides with the rebels. The military's impartiality to the government has resulted in the absence of a protector for the government itself, so that national security has the potential to be disrupted which eventually causes chaos [7]. While the theory put forward by [8] explained in his democracy theory that democracy involving religion is often the biggest obstacle and the cause of the failure of the transition. In carrying out a revolution, transition is important in creating a new democracy, but in the Middle East politics and democracy are mixed by religion so that the failure of revolution in the Middle East is caused by religion. Nevertheless, Haqqam explained that democracy and religion still need each other, democracy and religion can also bloom simultaneously. However, democracy and religion should not interfere with each other and interfere with each other so that the transition after the revolution can run smoothly. The government must not use religion as a reference in running the

government, democracy and religion have their respective roles in the country and must not interfere with each other. The research conducted by Zoltan Batany focused on discussing the military from Libya which was the cause of the failure of the revolution, while the research conducted by [8]. focused on discussing Libya's failure to make a transition after the revolution caused by religion.

Based on this, the researcher is interested in conducting an analysis related to the factors that cause instability and insecurity in Libya, as well as the strategies that must be used by the Libyan people [9].

Arab Spring Revolution

Commonly known as the Arab Spring is a wave of revolution that occurred in the Middle East, including Libya. Arab Spring refers to the uprisings carried out by the people of the Middle East. Arab Spring is a group of people who protest against a bad and unfair government system [10]. The protest action was carried out in order to ask for democracy and a new government, and also to side with the people. This wave of revolution was carried out on a large scale because the people in the Middle East were not treated properly, the leaders in the Middle East at that time, especially Libya, acted very arbitrarily and the people were not given their rights, so that in the Arab Spring revolution, they opposed the leader who was in the middle. served. People were silenced and deprived of their voice, street demonstrations were the only way for them to have a voice. The Spring Arab Revolution that took place in Libya. The Arab Spring revolution that occurred in Libya is the same as the conflict between Israel and Palestine, where people who oppose and oppose the government are considered terrorists and disturb peace. The chaos that took place in Arab countries like Libya had a huge impact on the world [11].

The beginning of the Arab Spring Revolution began in Sidi Bauzid and Tunisia in December 2010. The Tunisian revolution is also known as the Jasmin revolution, the

Jasmin revolution began with a 16-year-old man who burned himself alive as a form of protest against the government. The Arab Spring revolution then continued to Egypt and Libya [12]. After the fall of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt, the Arab land revolution then continued to Libya. The anti-government group was formed and occurred for the first time on February 15, 2011. The revolution carried out by the people of Arab countries, especially Libya at that time occurred due to internal factors. The community was forced to stage large-scale protests because of the tyrannical government under Gadaffi's leadership.

Theoretical Framework

The state of ontological security has been defined differently. Ontological security is often debated in the branch of international relations, namely realism and idealism, it is considered as a relative condition in the present or as an absolute condition in the future. In both cases, objectivity is a sign of security reference. This way of thinking has at least two implications, namely security is understood as something that can be known objectively so that it needs to be measured, monitored, and improved carefully through scientific reasoning and investigation. Second, security attains a normative quality: emerges as a good thing that must be actively realized. From such a perspective, the general definition of security is usually considered not to exist – or at least not to be likely – to be a threat to a particular object. For example, [13] defined safety as the small probability of damage to the value obtained (1997). The definition of security as described by Baldwin tries to understand the essence underlying the term. However, it is impossible not to be conceptualized in a different way. In order to move from the essence to the concept of security in the context of a particular academic and/or political project, the most important question that must be answered is: security for whom? In most cases, the answer will refer to some or all of the individuals or some or all of the states. However, keep in mind that security can be applied equally to objects as diverse as, for example, animal life, the biosphere, or

physical infrastructure. To define security objects in depth, it is necessary to be able to see the actual entities that require security, but also to identify the threatened values that certain entities contain or represent. Likewise, a human being is associated with several values, all of which are valuable to maintain. In such cases, the concept of security needs to be clear i.e. it refers to physical integrity, economic well-being, autonomy or psychological well-being. In the end, different objects and values produce different conceptualizations of security, and the most important of which is human life and state sovereignty. Basically, the notion of environmental security is not an accurately defined concept of security, because it is still very open to who or what should be secured.

The strategy theory defined by Lykke (1989) explains that strategy consists of three elements, namely means, ways, and ends. In his book, Lykke explains that means is a means to achieve goals, meaning that every strategy must have a goal that must be achieved. While ways are ways or tips that are carried out in achieving goals and ends are goals to be achieved. The three elements are mutually sustainable, where ends are the goals that must be achieved, so that the strategies used can be more directed, ways are steps taken to realize these goals, and means where resources must be developed using facilities and infrastructure so that the objectives of the strategy maximally achievable.

Meanwhile, conflict is an activity in which individuals or groups take other human rights and threaten the wants, needs, and obligations of all levels of society. The definition of conflict is explained by Michael Nolson (2014), conflict is also defined as the disagreement of a group which impacts on the threat of environmental and social stability. The manifestation of conflict itself begins with disagreement followed by verbal violence and intervention, conflict usually occurs between groups, individuals, or organizations.

2. Research Methods

This research uses the literature review method, where the author will review scientific articles that have been published on the internet. The study method in the library is used so that research can still be carried out so that the author does not need to go directly to the field. The advantage of the literature review method is that it saves time and research costs, plus this method is very suitable for use in the midst of the Covid-19 outbreak which makes access to research limited. The author uses secondary data, where data that has been presented in previous studies is used and then compared with other data so that the analysis can be carried out. The articles that will be used as literature review is scientific articles that discuss the Middle East, especially Libya because the focus of this research is the conditions and situation in Libya. The written data will be used in this scientific article, then presented in this paper in the form of a descriptive explanation.

Revolution in Libya

Muammar Gaddafi, was a leader of Libya before the revolution. Gaddafi was held accountable for his actions that killed 14 protesters who opposed the government in 2006. The death of these 14 protesters angered the Libyan people, besides that Gaddafi's leadership also massacred many Libyan people who openly opposed the government he led. Gaddafi's atrocities against his citizens made the Libyan people protest on a large scale. The Libyan people protested and demanded the government against a system and rules that were very heinous, inhumane and oppressive to the people.

During his 42 years as leader and running the government of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi even refused and protected himself against protests by the Libyan people. Gaddafi does not want to step down despite protests and massive demonstrations taking place in Libya, even Gaddafi threatens people who want to overthrow him. One of Gaddafi's threats to the protesters at that time was that Gaddafi threatened to create a civil war if the protesters continued to carry out

demonstrations. Muammar Gaddafi asked the Libyan people to stop the revolution if they do not want to cause a civil conflict that will destroy Libya in the future [14]. Despite getting threats from the government, the people and groups who oppose the government don't care, Libyans continue to carry out their revolution as an act of overthrowing the Libyan government, especially its leader who is considered tyrannical. The continuing revolution carried out by the Libyan people has made Libya dominated by groups of protesters who want to overthrow Gaddafi. The continuation of the revolution and the dominance of protesters in Libya made Gaddafi's support decreased, those who initially supported Gaddafi even turned to the side of the protesters and joined against Gaddafi [15]. The revolution that was continuously voiced by the Libyan people made the Libyan diplomats and military at that time stop supporting Gaddafi, and decided to support the people in overthrowing Gaddafi. Gaddafi's support which has decreased significantly has made Gaddafi's strength and power very weak, plus the military is no longer on his side. Getting support from the Libyan military and diplomats made the Libyan people's enthusiasm even more burning in carrying out a revolution that culminated in overthrowing Gaddafi from the seat of power [16]. Gaddafi's system of government and democracy is very against and does not support the people, as was the case when the Libyan people did not get social and political freedom. The lack of social and political freedom that the Libyan people got made them angry and tired of facing Gaddafi's tyrannical government at that time. The Gaddafi government's policy of continuously suppressing the people finally made the people culminate in carrying out a revolution. After eight months of consistent revolution, the Libyan people were finally able to overthrow Gaddafi. Gaddafi's abdication from the throne of Libya is the result of the revolution carried out by many parties in Libya. Muammar Gaddafi was officially ousted from government on February 15, 2011. Even though Gaddafi has stepped down from government, Libyan external parties such as NATO consider that the potential for conflict

in Libya is still high if Gadaffi is not eliminated. On this basis, NATO decided to drop bombs on Gadaffi via air combat aircraft. The fall of the bomb left Gadaffi so seriously injured that Gadaffi had to take his last breath. Gadaffi' [4], [6] death was the first death of a leader in an Arab country after the revolution [17].

Findings: Security in Libya Before and After the Arab Spring Revolution

The fall of Gadaffi's government in Libya created a massive revolution in Libya. This revolution was originally expected to establish a stable and secure security. Politics and democracy after the wave of revolution became a bright light for Libyans, Libyans hope that democracy and politics can change when the revolution is successful. However, after the Arab Spring revolution, conditions in Libya worsened. The situation in Libya was bad even before the revolution took place. The insecurity before the revolution was created by the Libyan government itself, the Libyan people were divided into two groups before the Arab Spring revolution, namely those who were pro-government and those opposed to the government. Even though the government before the Arab Spring revolution oppressed the Libyan people and did not give the rights of its citizens, the political system still tends to be stable and the certainty of the government is filled so that no other group takes power. The system that was run by the previous government was a mistake, but the situation was not as bad as after the revolution. The pre-revolutionary insecurity and instability had been disturbed, but this has not exacerbated the Libyan situation. Before the revolution, Libya still had official national security, so that people could be protected from internal and external conflicts. The Libyan people's nightmare got worse after the Arab Spring revolution. The Arab Spring before the revolution actually occurred was only a conflict between the citizens and the government, where the people did not agree with the democratic system and government policies.

Looking at the Libyan conditions described above, it can be said that a very bad conflict occurred in Libya, this condition is in accordance with the definition of conflict described by Michael Nolson. Many efforts must be made by the Libyan people to stop the conflict, such as turning their disapproval of groups, individuals, and organizations into cool-headed discussions. Libyan people express their disapproval of things in a violent way, especially terrorist groups such as ISIS and Ansar AL-Shariah. The Libyan people and groups in Libya can begin to express their disapproval through diplomacy so that the conflict can be more suppressed. The fatal mistake made by the Libyan people was also by overthrowing their government with violence and massiveness.

The revolution in Libya took place in February 2011 after the collapse of the Gadaffi regime. But no one thought that the revolution was the beginning of the destruction of Libya. Four years after the revolution, the UN notes that 3,700 Libyans have been killed and 418,000 Libyans have been displaced. After the Arab Spring revolution, the democratic transition in Libya became weaker, even weaker before the revolution. Weakened democracy after the revolution created massive instability in Libya, the resulting instability is even greater than the instability before the fall of the government and the revolution. After the government was vacant, uncertainty created in Libya, where the situation was exploited by local groups in Libya. The two local groups who were previously opposed to the government, after the revolution took advantage of the vacancy of the government to increase their influence in Libya. The uncertainty that existed in Libya was used to the fullest against the two groups in strengthening their position in Libya, the strengthening of the positions carried out by the two groups actually increased the insecurity and threats that existed in Libya. The two groups are ISIS and Ansar Al-Sharia. The revolution in Libya is getting worse every day, even after the tyrannical government has been overthrown. Very complex internal relations in Libya led Libya to civil war. It was this civil war that made

the situation after the revolution even worse. The deteriorating situation in Libya caused by the civil war greatly affected the environment and politics in Libya. Civil war was also one of the factors that made Libya's political, social, economic and human rights very unstable and disintegrated. In addition to instability in politics, economy, etc., the civil war that took place in Libya also caused a lot of infrastructure in Libya to be damaged, even destroyed so that it could no longer be used. The damage to the infrastructure has made a very significant contribution to the welfare of the people, the Libyan people have become difficult to access basic needs such as electricity, water, education, and health. The internal conflict that occurred in Libya made the unemployment rate rise drastically, so that the economy in Libya became worse and the people more miserable.

The Libyan people carried out a revolution in accordance with the strategy described by Lykke, namely to implement three important elements in the revolution, namely means and ways. The aim of the revolution that Libya wants to carry out is to make massive changes, not only to the government, but also to the democratic system. The democratic system and tyrannical government are considered by the Libyan people as something that tortures, restricts, and snatches the people's rights so that a large-scale revolution is needed to be carried out. The forms of demonstrations and protests carried out by the Libyan people are the methods and steps taken by the Libyan people in achieving the objectives of the revolutionary strategy carried out. Unfortunately, the Libyan people do not apply the means in carrying out their strategy to carry out a revolution. This became fatal because the elements of the strategy carried out were not fully fulfilled which ended in the failure of the strategy which destroyed the revolution itself and made the goals of the revolution not achieved. The Libyan people should use their resources and means to achieve the goals of the revolution, as well as take advantage of the alignments of the military and other government agencies in overthrowing president Muammar Gaddafi and forming a

new government. If the Libyan people take advantage of the means and resources, such as the strategy described by Lykke, it is not impossible to overhaul the government to the constitution without conflict.

The internal conflict or civil war that occurred in Libya has many triggers, based on a lot of literature, the three triggers supporting the occurrence of internal conflict in Libya are national competition for political influence, taking control of resources, and controlling natural resources. These three things are fought over by local Libyans as a result of a power vacuum. These three things are fought for in order to improve the quality of life and have a great influence so that the people and groups in Libya even do everything they can to get it, even killing each other. Looking at the description, it can be seen that it has contributed greatly in increasing the conflict in Libya. The second factor is the presence of groups such as Ansar Al-Sharia and ISIS who are fighting for power and resources in Libya so that civilians are victims of their competition in taking over Libya. The two terrorist groups are even equipped with sophisticated weapons so that no Libyan citizen or Libyan military can stop them. Weak national security, namely the military after the fall of the government, made it easier for the two groups to destabilize Libya. The last factor is the high tension of local residents, after the collapse of the government, the tension of local residents in Libya became easy to rise so that conflicts very easily occurred. Even small things make the tension of local residents in Libya very easy to rise. The rapidly rising tension of local residents made social interaction difficult, which resulted in the conflict in Libya not being able to be resolved using only negotiations.

The deteriorating and chaotic conditions in Libya do not meet the requirements of security and stability as described by Baldwin in his security theory. The security described by Baldwin must include economic stability, psychological well-being, and autonomy. In addition, the condition of the existing infrastructure in Libya has been destroyed and cannot be used, of course this

is an important indicator that shows the insecurity that occurs in Libya. Although environmental security is something that cannot be accurately defined, the picture in Libya is very clear about insecurity and instability. Baldwin also explained that the general definition of security is the absence of direct threats to objects and subjects, however, Libya faces too many threats, both to its people and to objects there. The occurrence of insecurity in Libya because the subjects and objects that want to be protected are only certain groups such as ISIS and Ansar Al-Syariah causing the absence of protection for civil society and infrastructure in Libya. Security will only be created if the threat disappears and the security aims to protect the community and existing infrastructure. To create a new security in Libya, we need groups or institutions that protect objects and civil society in Libya. New security and stability can be created when the two terrorist groups stop to only prioritize the interests of their groups and unite with the Libyan people to create a new government and democracy in Libya. These two terrorist groups want influence and power so the Libyan people need to offer them positions in government and demand them to create a healthy government and take sides with civil society.

In addition to the three supporting factors that contributed to causing local conflict in Libya, there are other main factors that trigger the conflict in Libya. These factors are the main players in the internal conflict in Libya. These factors are as follows:

1. Political vision for Libya.
2. Weak democratic culture.
3. The process of transitioning to the constitution.
4. Unequal political and administrative participation.
5. External intervention.
6. Political dialogue process.

7. Weak state security sector.
8. Unemployment.
9. There is no protection of human rights.
10. Weak civil society.
11. The existence of militant groups such as ISIS and Ansar AL-Sharia.

The initial mistake that occurred in Libya even before the revolution that brought destruction to Libya was that the political vision of Libya was not clear and had no significant purpose, so that the ongoing political practice was ineffective. This is also what triggers the formation of an authoritarian government. Plus the existence of a very weak democratic culture made the government difficult to overthrow at that time. Those mistakes were there from the start, and made things worse when the government fell. The process of political dialogue that occurred before the Arab Spring revolution also made the distance between the government and society so far away, causing problems and conflicts to be resolved diplomatically. After the Arab Spring, the intervention of NATO and the US actually worsened the situation in Libya, the complex security of the region that was naturally formed in Libya before the revolution actually experienced a shift and change in characteristics after the intervention of outside parties such as NATO and the US. In the complex security theory of the region, intervention from outside parties will actually damage the complex security that exists in the country being intervened, since the beginning Libya has approached the verge of collapse after intervention from outsiders. The absence of human rights protection in Libya makes the government act ruthlessly, even daring to kill and massacre people openly. Protection of human rights is an important key in creating security in a country, people can be protected and live safely with the protection of human rights provided. After the fall of Gadaffi's government, Libya experienced a transition due to an empty government, this moment should be used by the Libyan people in

creating a new and better constitution, where the constitution sided with the people fully. This was done to avoid a tyrannical government in the future, but the Libyan people did not do that. The failed constitutional transition made national security in Libya very weak and lost its fangs, causing nothing to protect civilians, either from internal or external attacks. The weakening of the country's national security has been used very well by terrorist groups such as ISIS and Ansar Al-Sharia in dominating Libya. The dominance carried out by these militant groups cannot be stopped, due to the weakness of civil society so that no one can put up a fight to stop them. The collapse of the government made the situation in Libya very chaotic, where the chaos stopped many company and government operations which led to high unemployment rates.

3. Conclusion

Looking at the comparison above, namely the Libyan situation before and after the Arab Spring revolution, it becomes a very valuable lesson for all parties. The chaos that began with Libya's authoritarian rule ended tragically in endless conflict and suffering for Libyan civil society. The revolution which was originally carried out to create democracy and a new government, where the aim was to free the Libyan people from authoritarian leaders, turned into a tragic one. The revolution carried out by Libya has failed due to many factors and missteps taken by the people in Libya. The internal conflict in Libya is still going on today and has claimed many lives and casualties. Victims and civilians who suffered certainly increased far more than before the revolution. Eleven main factors plus three supporting factors that caused this conflict to occur were not noticed by the Libyan people from the start, even before the revolution, so that Libya has now become a battlefield between local Libyans. The intervention carried out by NATO and the US became a major trigger for the destruction of Libya at that time, the intervention actually damaged and changed the security characteristics of

the complex regional security that had been formed in Libya.

To restore security and stability in Libya, the Libyan people need to stop intervention from external parties such as NATO and the United States. This external intervention is the main cause of the chaotic situation in Libya. Communities and institutions in Libya must start to resolve the conflict internally. Human resources and civil society capabilities need to be developed and improved, and must unite with the Libyan military in stopping terrorist groups in Libya. However, Libya can rise up and stop the war that is taking place only if all parties there decide to cooperate. Of course, this is not easy, therefore the surviving government institutions need to cooperate with the people to raise the military so that the national security center can protect civilians and stop militant organizations and groups.

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