
**THE NATO MILITARY INTERVENTION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE
ARABIC WORLD (LIBYA AS A MODEL)**

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ABSTRACT

The international NATO military intervention in Libya is a vivid example of the end of concept of national security, for the sovereignty of the State. It's a type of contain Arab regional order by the major Powers (represented in the NATO), on the top of it USA in the light of its strategic interests; first and foremost the energy in its various forms.

The NATO intervention was based on the United Nations resolution no. (1973) year of (2011) and on League of Arab States resolution no. (7998) March of (2011), in the light of changing of the current international relations in the post-cold-war era and seeking some major countries to use intervention under its foreign policy to achieve economic and political interests.

From this point we can say that, the regional and international environment with the support of interior environment have the greatest impact in making changes, the interior environment was unable to make changes without the regional and international support; which were waiting the right conditions under strategic vision for intervention under various pretexts.

After the intervention of NATO and overthrow the regime, the Libyan current situation threaten the Arabic security, there was no doubt that the Libyan crisis has turned to a card in hand of terrorist groups; that have been active in the Arabic countries. Some of these groups sees the presence of foreign forces as occupation needs "Armed Jihad", which really threatening the regional security and stability, after Libya has become as a failed State where it has nothing but tribalism and its political components calls for separation.

Even with existing of two governments in the eastern and western Libya, which suggestion the scenario of partition and civil war, thus and in the light of political interact on the reality which will reflect on the future of Arabic security and stability.

The study concluded to a group of important results and recommendations, the most important is that, Libya will never be a state again until under presence of an army, security forces and one

political authority; all of this required the cooperation of neighboring States and the international community in caring out this task.

Keywords: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization(NATO), International intervention, Arabic security.

The importance of study:

- this study is one of important modern studies in field of modern international relations, that's interested in the scope of armed conflicts and in post-cold war strategic studies, hence the importance of this study.
- knowing the new role of NATO on civil protection and implementing relevant Security Council resolutions.
- knowing the implications of NATO intervention in Libya on the Arabic security.

Study scope:

In the light of above mention, the problem can be as follow:

- Is the NATO intervention in one of the Arabic state is a political and military threatening for Arabic national security?
- What are the real reasons for the intervention in Libya, political and economic targets or human values?
- What is the Libyan future after the intervention and overthrow the regime?

Study hypothesis:

- The NATO military intervention under the article of civil protection and implementation of Security Council resolutions causes flagrant imbalance in the Arabic security specially in neighboring Arab States.
- After the fall of the Soviet Union the NATO turned to a political and security power control the international policy to impose its new conditions, because of the NATO success on its missions.

Study Methods

The researcher used

- The behavioral methodology/ based on the theory that based on interact between incomes and outcomes of echelons, the effects and the conflicts Arabic security as a result of the NATO intervention.
- The historical methodology to represent the important development of Libyan case, and highlight the united nation results on the post Libyan order. the researcher will use the law approach by discuss the international results that paved the intervention in Libya.

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First chapter

First

The United Nations and The decision to use force the root of Libyan crisis

Libya is one of the Arab oil countries, the experts calculated its production on (1.6) million barrels annually. But their a big gap in the indicators of human development between it and other oil countries, e.g. In Qatar the average per capita income of (73) thousand dollar but in Libya its not more than (14) thousand dollar. It is indicative number on the light of country wealth and the limited of people. The number of Libyan residence not more than (6.5) M, let alone the unemployment rates that nearly more than (30%) according to international reports.

The protests started in eastern of Libya, in the city of Benghazi, as a result of hidden conflict between the eastern and western of Libya, that are covered all the Libyan territory then it converted to armed conflict and the country changed to a disparate groups.

The borders; because of the weakness in the army and national security, it's also allowed to compromised and carry out smuggling arms into the country with the moving of mercenary and

armed gangs. So we can say that the political and economic environment is one of the most effected motivation in the Libyan crisis.

Libya have an important geographical position; because it's mid-size country, with a surface area of some (2957541) km, its population about (6) million.

The most effected internal and external factors in the crises, it's as follow:

1- The historical and political factor

- The conflict between eastern and western of Libya on the position and economy, the eastern area which was one of supporters for cup movement led by former president "Muammar Al-Qadhafi " against the former royal regime. Now its became a strong hold of Islamist opposition and others.
- The unsuitability of Libyan foreign policy, the seeking to Arab unity at time and to African unity in another time, andunityary, bilateral and collective projects, in addition to the former regime ventures in supporting the splinter movements around the world, which made a bitter feelings to the most of Libyans.
- Investing in tribalism as a part of the competition and conflict between the Libyan communities, by purchasing tribal loyalties distribution the oil income to it.
- The increasing on the coup attempt as (1986) and (1991), and it's eradicated by the regime.

2- The economic factor

- Libya adopted on gas and oil, it is one of the important exporter countries, the oil reserves nearly (30) billion barrels.
- The regime did not use this wealth in building infrastructure or developing Libya like the Gulf Countries.
- The Libyan's feelings about widespread corruption in the regime.

3- Deterioration Of Human Rights

Many international organizations expressed critics about the situation in Libya, in the light of repressive practices and massacres by the regime as the case of Abu Salim prison (1975) when (1142) have been executed in addition to disappearance and extrajudicial execution. According to reports of Amnesty International(2010)¹

The institutions and revolution don't have a real revolutionary Committees meaningful participation in political and economic affairs from Libyan, which made a reserved power and beneficiaries class in corruption climate. Specially in the absence of civil society

¹ See reports of Amnesty International(2010)

institutions and the try of the late president to pass the governance to his son “Saif al islam”²

First chapter

Second

The resolutions of the United Nations on the two projects of intervention

A- The intervention in international law.

No dubiety that, the intervention in Libya is a complicated and has other sides, these sides are in the law of intervention, this is shown in the international law on scoop of protect humanity, and the proving on the military intervention resolution only don by the security council according to article (42) of section seven of the charter. That become with distribute a multi-national forces to establish a safety area and enforce compliance with the ban on flights, the (139) of World Summit Outcome Document (2005) called to take timely and decisive collective action.

The intervention passed in three levels:

- Establishment of the United Nations (1945) End of the Cold War
- The nineties, imposed new concepts because of the changes witnessed by the international regime / occupation of Kuwait and the destruction of Iraq.
- The War on Terrorism and Protection Contest / Adoption of the World Final Declaration (2005). Intervention in Libya and Somalia and the war on the organization of Islamic countries.

B- Nations resolutions

The United Nations adopted resolution (1970) unanimously pursuant to Chapter VII of the Charter, after 11 days of demonstrations and continued violent crimes against demonstrators.

The resolution called for an immediate end to the violence and considered that the widespread systematic attacks being carried out in Libya could amount to crimes against humanity. The Security Council therefore imposed a comprehensive civilization on weapons, targeted sanctions and called upon neighboring countries to take their national and international Its territory by inspecting goods destined for or coming to Libya in the event that it contains prepared materials.³

In the absence of Libya's commitment to these resolutions, he expressed his deep dismay at the deterioration of the situation and the escalation of violence and loss among civilians. (1973) on

² See Dr. RasheedKheshasheh Libya between the letting and reform. (2009)

³UN Doc A/66/874-S 2012/ 587.

17/03/2011, which included military action under Chapter VII of the Charter to protect civilians from serious violations committed by the Libyan regime.

The Security Council has therefore authorized neighboring regional states to take measures to protect the civilian population, including sanctions, including arms embargoes, freezing Libyan authorities' assets abroad and banning Libyan airline flights.

In light of this, Britain, France, the United States, Belgium, Norway, Spain and a number of Arab countries have sent letters of danger to all members of the Security Council for humanitarian measures through humanitarian operations and evacuation trips⁴. The Alliance also continued through these countries to prepare a plan that was able to change the political system in Libya⁵The plan included the following:

- 1- Recognition of the Transitional National Council in Benghazi
- 2- Confusion on the army battalions belonging to President Muammar Gaddafi
- 3- Bombing the barracks of Aziziyah, where President Muammar Gaddafi and his family are hiding
- 4- Declaration of urban air areas

Second chapter

First

The implications of NATO intervention on the Arabic world future.

The directions of NATO to the Middle East

The Arab world from the ocean to the Gulf witnessed the attention of NATO through the strategic projects carried out by the major powers towards the geo-strategic environment. The phenomenon of military operations represented a new phenomenon in contemporary international relations. It must be recognized that the authoritarian regimes in the region Through its effective role in attracting direct or indirect intervention in the region.

In 2010, the Alliance developed its new strategic concepts, defining the frameworks that would require NATO to engage in military actions, including:

- Military capabilities / NATO has enormous military and political capabilities that allow it to deal with crises

⁴Michael N. Schmitt, ' Wings Over Libya : the No-Fly International Law Online, 36,2011, p. 58-383

⁵ See masadqasem, the international intervention in the non- law situation. (2003).

- The security structure / conservation of strategic resources are so energy-efficient that NATO will go away to exporting countries.
- The nature of crises, which may threaten and reconcile and which are outside the territory of NATO member states.

That is why NATO bases its justification for intervention in Libya that the Libyan state is on the verge of collapse and is considered a soft spot for terrorism will be launched by Al Qaeda, an important source of energy and a strategic corridor towards the African Sahel countries.

NATO's interest in the southern Mediterranean and the Middle East began in 1991 following the NATO leaders' summit in Rome. NATO's policy on non-European Mediterranean countries was given special importance and stability and peace on the southern borders of Europe were very important.⁶

The 1999 Washington Summit also confirmed that NATO was exposed to direct and indirect threats to regional security in the areas surrounding the Atlantic caused by terrorism, sabotage, ethnic conflicts, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, etc⁷.

The dangers in NATO's vision are the southern Mediterranean and the Middle East, and therefore the Arab region is the destination, which lies under the security, political and military umbrella of NATO, and because of the containment of this area of threat because the alliance claimed by the United States and Europe sought to move towards the Arab region and from The vision and strategy of the Alliance, which came to reveal as a threat or considering that the Arab region is unstable Reasons cited in several reports of the Alliance, including the explosion Population Migration to Europe, Islamic fundamentalism, the Palestinian-Israeli conflict Fear of Ngo Energy sources.⁸

Second

The implications of NATO on the Arabic security

1- Arab Regional Security

Regional security is defined by the framework of contemporary schools of thought as a group policy belonging to one region which seeks to establish and organize military cooperation for that region to prevent a foreign or foreign force from threatening it.⁹

⁶[http:// www.caus.or/Publications/bulcins/Nato/Medit/](http://www.caus.or/Publications/bulcins/Nato/Medit/)

⁷ See the Washington declaration page on internet 24 April 1999 article 18.

⁸[http:// www.nato/1999.064 chimNato Home page Internet.](http://www.nato/1999.064_chimNato_Home_page_Internet)

⁹RaedHassanein, Israeli Politics in Africa, Beirut: IbnRushd House, pp. 147-196

Arab security is defined as the ability of the Arab nation to preserve the nation's achievements, bases and principles from the dangers and threats it faces. The British Department of Knowledge defines regional security as protecting the nation from the threat of oppression by a foreign power¹⁰.

It is therefore possible to say that the Arab political thought did not end with a specific formulation of the concept of Arab security, which can cope with the shifts in the regional and international climate and its balances and its implications for the perception and dimensions of security. The threat to Arab security is the tendency of sovereignty and strategic exposure to the other.¹¹

The intervention of a NATO-sized military organization in the Arab region is one of the most controversial concepts in international politics today and is an important development for Arab security on more than one level. And that his presence in the region would have very serious consequences for Arab national security.

After the fall of the regime, the Libyan regime witnessed profound changes, opening files not only related to regime change, but also an attempt to reformulate a social contract that witnessed the formation of a new state. Libyan tribal society became involved in determining the fate of its state after four decades of dictatorship, tyranny, And to realize the seriousness of the current situation, it is necessary to monitor the most important changes caused by the intervention of the alliance in the Libyan society and its impact on neighboring countries and Arab security in general.

Political Rise of Islamic Radical Leaders.

- The proliferation of real and medium weapons in the hands of the citizen and the proliferation of arms trade.
- The spread of armed gangs of more than 100 combat units and control of some of the basic facilities of the state and no links between them, while refusing to lay down arms despite the presence of semi-official government institutions in Libya.

The differences between the Libyan politicians in the form of the state after the fall of the regime, some want to implement the Constitution (1951), which divided Libya into three states (Fezan, Barqa, Tripoli) and some believe in the unity of Libyan soil and rejects any division.

B- The repercussions on the neighboring Arab countries

¹⁰Hamed, Rabee, *The Theory of Arab National Security, and the Contemporary Development of International Dealings in the Middle East*, Cairo: Dar Al Mawkif Al Arabi 1984, p. 83

¹¹[http:// www.Washingtoninstitue.org/policy-analsis/vew/Algers-role](http://www.Washingtoninstitue.org/policy-analsis/vew/Algers-role) in solving the Libya-crises

The neighboring Arab countries have been affected by Libya's intervention in Libya through the following:

- Limit the strategic decisions of the decision-maker, starting with the US occupation of Iraq through NATO forces in Libya.
- The Arab national security, especially the neighboring countries, remains dependent on the stability of the internal situation in Libya and the possibility of summoning Southern Sudan international protection forces to protect against the threats of the Sudan in the north in the future in light of the continuation of contentious issues on both sides. Algeria and Tunisia are engaged in fierce wars across long borders with the terrorist organizations coming and financed from Libya.
- The continuation of the arms trade and smuggling from Libya to the neighboring countries and this is a thorn in the back of Arab political regimes, where this situation feeds the phenomenon of insecurity in these countries as well as the inability of the current Libyan state of its new components to control the border with neighboring countries.
- The rise of al-Qaeda and other Islamic and jihadist organizations as a result of the weakness of the Libyan states and the absence of their security institutions after the fall of the regime.
- The tension of Libyan-African relations, where the former regime established a network of economic relations whether oil or investments.
- Encouraging separatist movements in Libya's neighboring countries such as the Tuareg Movement and the Azawad Movement in northern Mali, the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) in the Darfur region of Sudan, and some radical Egyptian organizations that draw arms from Libya.

It can be said that the disintegration of power in Libya after the intervention of NATO there is the most recent impact of the internal components of the Libyan conflict, including armed jihadist groups and the growth of organized crime in various forms of smuggling of arms and drug trafficking and illegal immigrants and others, and this course affected the stability and security of the Arab system.

In light of the negative image of the alliance in the Arab region due to the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan, the role of the alliance in Libya after the fall of the regime remains in doubt and mistrust in terms of exploiting the idea of humanitarian assistance for other purposes.

Conclusions and recommendations

The study found the following results:

- The political culture of Libya and tribal behavior is the character of the state, which focused on one person and one culture. This has hindered the building of a state of civil institutions based on multiculturalism and political pluralism, and contributed to the rebellion and revolution to the political system.
- The authoritarian political regimes in the region have been a case of polarization of external interference in its internal affairs, whether directly or indirectly, including the Libyan regime.
- NATO has developed its strategic concepts to deal with crises that pose a serious threat to its members, even in distant areas not far from the NATO countries geographically, which means the expansion of the security environment of the alliance, which is what happened in Libya in 2012.

The intervention of the Atlantic in Libya means the loss of the Arab League entity that embodies the identity of Arab security - the initiative on Arab crises in favor of NATO, which means that the presence of NATO in the Arab region will be a party to any security arrangements in the future.

- The goal of overthrowing the Libyan regime came within the framework of Western domination of Africa in particular and the sources of energy in the world and the annoyance that was formed by the former President, "Muammar Gaddafi," for Western countries UN resolutions were the protection of civilians and not change the regime, which means that NATO has exceeded the mandate of the resolution (1973) in three situations:
 - Bombing the population and buildings that do not constitute military targets.
 - Seek to kill the head of state.
 - Supply and supply of weapons to the rebels.
- The Arab security suffers from the increase of external penetration, which means the emergence of the phenomenon of internationalization of the Arab system and through the foreign presence on its land and there are many files such as Iraq and Syria and in light of that should:

1. Stop the proliferation of light weapons and heavy in the hands of citizens and develop solutions to integrate these militias and quilt in the army and security forces.
2. The cessation of external intervintion in international or regional affairs in Libyan internal affairs.
3. Abolish both the House of Representatives, the National General Conference and the Constitution Preparation Committee and call for holding legislative elections in accordance with strict rules and standards by international experts in coordination with the supreme courts in Libya, which administers the country temporarily.
4. The Security Council should instruct the Libyan state to develop plans to rebuild the military and security establishment on modern bases, not tribal or regional, and I believe that the neighboring Arab countries should assist in this role to ensure protection for its security against the deterioration of the situation in Libya and the security chaos.
5. Work on fair elections to ensure the establishment of a national authority under the Constitution.

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Supplement

Reports of the United Nations on the work of the NATO Gulf in Libya

On 19 March 2011, military forces from France (the Harmanat operation), the United Kingdom (Operation Eilemi) and the United States (Operation Odyssey Dawn) launched attacks inside Libya. NATO took command of operations within the no-fly zone on March 24, 2011, and NATO forces carried out air strikes themselves. NATO spearheaded all offensive operations carried out by 18 NATO and Middle East countries as part of Operation Defensive Shield on 31 March 2011.

•NATO aircraft carried out a total of 17,939 armed sorties in Libya between 31 March 2011 and 31 October 2011: 17314 of them were carried out using fixed-wing aircraft, 375 using helicopters and 250 using unmanned aerial vehicles or unmanned aerial vehicles. The air strikes

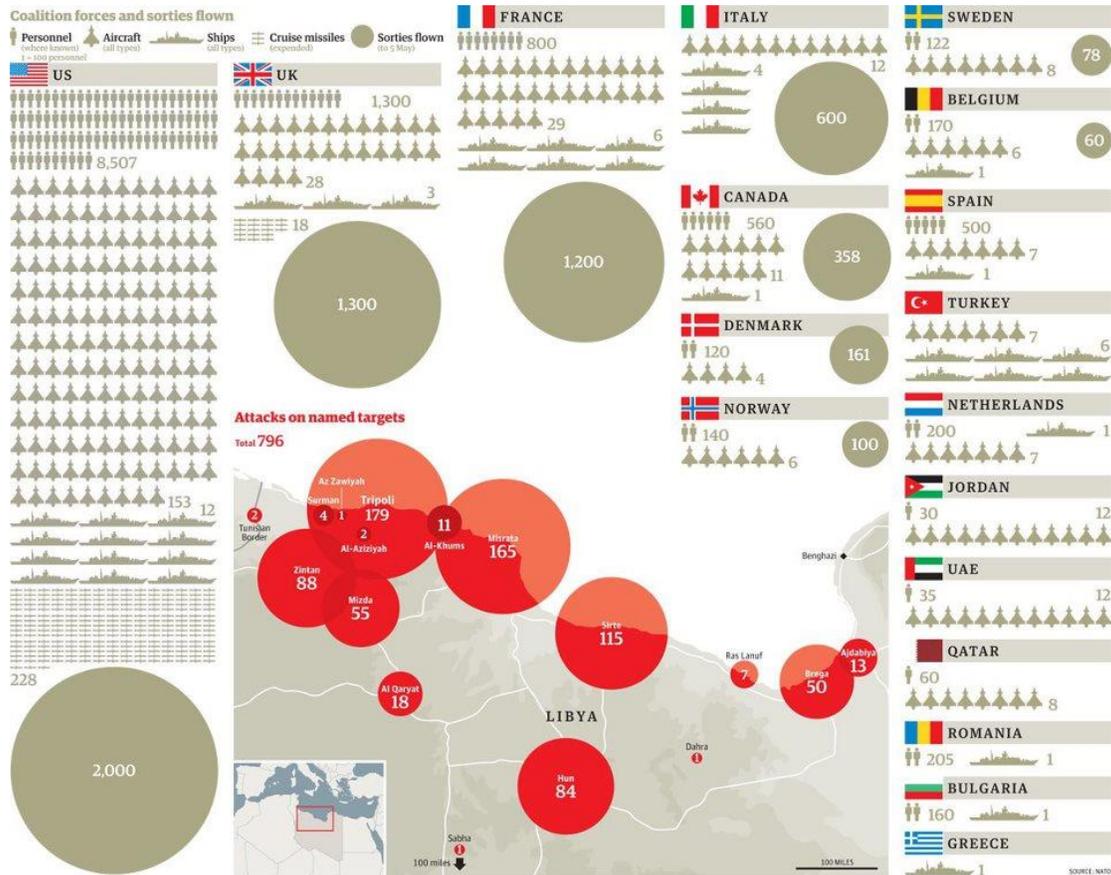
were of two types: deliberate (premeditated) and dynamic (opportunistic strikes on targets that appear during the mission.)

- NATO's air campaign in Libya was the first in NATO history in which one party to the conflict used strictly guided munitions. The Alliance used 7642 air-to-surface weapons, all of which were precision-guided: 3644 laser-guided, 2844 with GPS, 1150 precision-guided direct weapons (such as Hellfire missiles) and four precision-guided weapons. NATO informed the Commission that some 470 shells had been fired by the Navy, but did not specify the number of Tomahawk missiles launched from the ships (the British and US naval forces launched at least 110 Tomahawk missiles and an unknown number of air munitions before NATO received operational command.)

- NATO informed the Commission that civilian casualties were zero and NATO reported that no targets were hit if there was any reason to suggest civilian casualties (false reports and the Commission's report refute this allegation that all cases were not documented.)

- Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Jordan, the Netherlands, Norway, Qatar, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom and the United States participated in operations against Libya.

- The Commission documented five air strikes that killed 60 civilians and injured 55 others. It also investigated two air strikes that caused damage to civilian infrastructure, although there was no military objective in the area, and some cases were not investigated due to the inability, according to the Commission



The Tunisian Wakeup Project

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