

Libya in Perspective

An Orientation Guide



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CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY

Introduction

Libya is located in North Africa. Its northern lands are part of a region called the Maghreb, which borders the Mediterranean Sea west to Morocco.¹ During the colonial era, the French defined North Africa, or *Afrique du Nord*, as Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia; modern geographical definitions include Libya but continue to exclude nearby Egypt.² Cultural and political geographies include Egypt, Libya, and sometimes all of North Africa in the broad but loosely defined region of the Middle East, which in some analyses extends all the way to Afghanistan and Pakistan.³



© Steve Rideout
Sahara Desert in Libya

To the south, Libya is dominated by the Sahara, the world's largest desert.⁴ Thus, most of Libya's population of 6.7 million lives near the country's long northern coastline, where the climate is hospitable year-round.⁵ The Libyan Desert, a sub-region of the Sahara, contains one of the richest fossil records on the planet.⁶ Many oil deposits exist throughout this region, making Libya rich in energy resources. The southern deserts are home to minority populations of nomads, herders, and oasis farmers.

Geographical Divisions and Topographical Features

Covering more than 8.5 million sq km (3.3 million sq mi), or approximately 25% of Africa, the Sahara divides the continent into North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa.⁷ Situated on the north side of this demarcation, Libya shares borders with six countries: Tunisia to the northwest, Algeria to the west, Niger and Chad to the south, Sudan to the southeast, and Egypt to the east. At 1,115 km (693 mi), the land border with Egypt is Libya's longest, although its southern border with Chad is shorter by only 60 km (37 mi). In the north, the Mediterranean Sea poses Libya's only natural boundary. Measuring 1,770 km (1,100 mi), its coastline is the longest of any African nations that border the Mediterranean.⁸ Overall, Libya encompasses an area of 1,759,540 sq km (679,362 sq mi), making it one of Africa's largest countries. By comparison, it is slightly larger than the state of Alaska.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Maghrib," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/356614/Maghrib>

² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "North Africa," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/418538/North-Africa>

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Middle East," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/381192/Middle-East>

⁴ Sahara is the Arabic word for "desert." Thus, while there are many *saharas*, there is only one desert named the Sahara. *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Sahara," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/516375/Sahara>

⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html> Other population estimates are lower.

⁶ Cassandra Vivian, "Chapter 1: The Natural World," in *The Western Desert of Egypt: An Explorer's Handbook* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 4–5.

⁷ PBS.org, "Africa: Explore the Regions: Sahara," 2000, http://www.pbs.org/wnet/africa/explore/sahara/sahara_overview_lo.html

⁸ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

Because more than 90% of the country lies within the Saharan belt, Libya is mostly desert and semi-desert terrain.⁹ Sand dunes account for roughly 15% of the Sahara, and individual dunes can be enormous in size; near Egypt, a single dune known as the Libyan Erg is roughly the size of France.¹⁰ The desert's dry, rocky plains and enormous sand seas contrast sharply with the arable lowland plains along portions of the northern coastline. The country has three historical divisions: Tripolitania in the west, Fezzan in the southwest, and Cyrenaica in the east.

Tripolitania (Western Region)

Tripolitania covers Libya's northwest quadrant. Libyans now commonly refer to Tripolitania as the "Western Region." The Sahel al-Jefara, or Jefara Plain, runs along the Mediterranean coastline in the far northwest. Reaching a maximum width of approximately 120 km (75 mi), the triangular plain rises as it extends toward the foothills of the Jebel Nafusah, or Nafusah Plateau, to the south.¹¹ Inland from the sandy beaches and marshes of the coast, the Jefara Plain is used for dry-land agriculture and well-driven irrigated farming. South of the arable land, the Jebel Nafusah's ridges and areas of loose gravel and sand stretch to the southern escarpment, which at its highest point is about 1,000 m (3,281 ft) above sea level. Traces of ancient volcanoes are visible in the black rock formations and lava fissures of the escarpment. Some of these fissures were further divided over time by *wadis* (former water-runoff channels), creating a number of distinct massifs.¹² These have individual names, but together they are known as "the Jebel."¹³ The rocky, largely barren al-Hamra Plateau lies south of the Jebel Nafusah.¹⁴



© Maher A. A. Abdussalam
Bridge over a wadi

Tripolitania is Libya's most populous region, home to roughly half the national population.^{15, 16} The capital, Tripoli, is the largest cluster in the region. Most of Libya's agricultural production is found in Tripolitania's fertile land along the coast, where citrus fruit, olive trees, and principal crops (such as tomatoes, wheat, barley, potatoes, dates, and soybeans) thrive.¹⁷ In the inland area, cattle and sheep graze in pastures. Further south, the terrain is swallowed by sand dunes.

⁹ Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011,

<http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

¹⁰ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 12.

¹¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Geography: Regions," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹² Massifs consist of hardened elevated crust or mountainous regions where individual peaks are formed or separated from surrounding rocks by the combined forces of uplift and erosion.

¹³ William Bayne Fisher, "Chapter 18: Libya: Tripolitania," in *The Middle East: A Physical, Social, and Regional Geography*, 7th ed. (London: Methuen & Co. 1978), 542.

¹⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Relief," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46539/Relief>

¹⁵ Gwillim Law, "Districts of Libya," Statoids.com, 28 January 2012, <http://statoids.com/uly.html>

¹⁶ World Gazetteer, "Libya: Administrative Divisions: Calculation 2012," n.d., <http://world-gazetteer.com/wg.php?x=&men=gadm&lng=en&des=wg&geo=-133&srt=npan&col=abcdefghijklnoq&msz=1500>

¹⁷ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Appendix: Economic Libya," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 134–135.

Fezzan

The second-largest and least-populated region, Fezzan takes up the southwestern portion of Libya.¹⁸ Topographically, Fezzan is characterized by an elevated great basin with numerous east-west oriented depressions and the vast *idehan* (sand seas) of the northern Sahara, such as the Marzuq. Before desertification consumed much of the region, Fezzan contained a fertile plateau and well-traveled routes linking the African interior to the Mediterranean Sea.



© sflvat / wikimedia
Oasis Ubari in Fezzan area

Hidden in the region's vast expanses of sand dunes are oases with vegetation and, in some cases, small lakes. Some ancient oasis cities remain important outposts in southwestern Fezzan. Depressed areas among the dunes conceal desiccated riverbeds (*wadis*) that lead to dry basins (*sarir*) where large salt deposits exist. Basins that have been filled by shifting sands are called *ergs*. Exposed, wind-eroded rock plateaus known as *hamada* are a common feature of this portion of the desert.¹⁹ The low Acacus Mountains in southwestern Fezzan contain famous archaeological sites that are included on the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage List.²⁰ Settlement ruins found near ancient rock art date to the ninth century B.C.E. and earlier.

Cyrenaica

Making up the eastern half of the country, Cyrenaica is Libya's largest geographical region. It is home to more than a million people. Similar to Tripolitania, Cyrenaica's topography consists of several terraces that rise from the shore. Libya's second-largest city, Benghazi, is the main city in Cyrenaica, on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Sidra. South along the gulf coast is Libya's lowest point, Sabkhat Ghuzayyil at 47 m (154 ft) below sea level.²¹ Inland from the coastal escarpment are the second and third terraces, where the ancient Greek cities of Cyrene and Barca were located (the latter is now destroyed). The terrain further rises into the upper elevations of the Jebel al Akhdar, or Green Mountains, which reach a high point of 882 m (2,894 ft). Thereafter, the terrain descends into the Libyan Desert, which covers most of the Cyrenaica region. In the south, the terrain again rises into a desert plateau.



© gordontour / flickr.com
Northeast coast of Libya

The Libyan Desert is a distinct sub-region of the Sahara that comprises three massive sand seas. The Rebiana and Calanscio sand seas are wholly within Libya, while the larger Great Sand Sea originates in northeast Libya and runs southeast, deep into Egypt.²² At the southern edge of

¹⁸ Ronald Bruce St. John, "Fezzan," in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 75–76.

¹⁹ Anthony Ham, "Eastern Cyrenaica: Tobruk," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 22–23.

²⁰ UNESCO, "Rock-Art Sites of Tadrart Acacus," 2012, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/287>

²¹ Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011, <http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

²² Cassandra Vivian, "Chapter 1: The Natural World," in *The Western Desert of Egypt: An Explorer's Handbook* (Cairo, Egypt: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 11–13.

Cyrenaica on the border with Chad, a mountain range known as the Tibesti Massif supports a unique ecosystem and contains Libya's highest point, Bikku Bitti, which reaches 2,267 m (7,438 ft).²³

Climate

Two distinct geographic features determine Libya's climate: the Mediterranean Sea and the Sahara. To the north, the Mediterranean climate has two main seasons. Summer, from April through September, is hot and dry; winter is moderately cool and wet, but can change daily to comfortably warm and sunny. Tripoli experiences average temperatures of 11°C (52°F) in January and 28°C (82°F) in July. The region is prone to extreme highs—in 1922, in the town of Al Aziziyah, near Tripoli, the temperature reached 58°C (136°F), a world record.^{24, 25} South of the coastal region, a desert climate predominates. Temperatures vary dramatically throughout the day, from daytime highs of 38°C (100°F) to nighttime lows below freezing.²⁶



© US Army Africa
Coastline of Tripoli

Because of its dominant desert climate and location on the southern edge of the Mediterranean basin, Libya receives less rainfall than other Mediterranean countries. In general, the steppe regions in the north receive less than 10 cm (4 in) of annual precipitation, while less than 2.5 cm (1 in) of rain falls each year in the desert.²⁷ The wettest place in the country, along the east-central coast of the Jebel Akhdar range, receives as much as 60 cm (24 in) of precipitation per year.^{28, 29} To the east of this range, the coastline is parched despite the Mediterranean Sea, which elsewhere provides a moderating influence. Likewise, the Sirte Desert in north-central Libya reaches all the way to the Gulf of Sidra on the Mediterranean coast.



© Steve Rideout
Stuck in a sand storm

Northern Libya periodically endures droughts that can last from 1 to 2 years. This extreme weather condition is exacerbated by the *ghibli*: dry desert winds that blow from spring to early summer, and then sporadically throughout the year. The sand-laden ghibli originate in the

²³ Central Intelligence Agency et al., "Libya," in *Encyclopedia of Earth*, 31 December 2011, <http://www.eoearth.org/article/Libya>

²⁴ Arizona State University and World Meteorological Organization, "World: Highest Temperature," n.d. <http://wmo.asu.edu/world-highest-temperature>

²⁵ NOAA, "Global Measured Extremes of Temperature and Precipitation," 20 August 2008, <http://www.ncdc.noaa.gov/oa/climate/globalextremes.html>

²⁶ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 2: The Land," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 12–13.

²⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Land: Climate," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46542/Climate>

²⁸ BBC Weather, "Country Guide: Libya," n.d., http://www.bbc.co.uk/weather/world/country_guides/results.shtml?tt=TT000330

²⁹ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 2: The Land," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 12–13.

interior highlands of the country and blow toward the Mediterranean Sea.³⁰ These powerful, hot, and blinding winds are capable of forming a moving sandstorm wall up to 610 m (2,000 ft) high; they can ruin crops and kill exposed livestock within a few hours.³¹

Bodies of Water

Libya has no significant natural bodies of water or permanent rivers and streams. The desert climate reduces seasonal water runoff to a small region along the Mediterranean coast. There are no natural reservoirs of fresh water, other than some small saline lakes found in desert depressions between permanent sand dunes. The Zellaf Sand Dunes in the Fezzan region contain a set of lakes that formed when fractures in the bedrock released water from a deep aquifer. Levels of natron (a mineral found with other salts) in these small lakes are so high that buoyancy is exaggerated.³²



© Dennixo / wikimedia
A natural lake near Benghazi

Ancient aquifers underneath the desert hold large freshwater reserves (tens of thousands of cubic kilometers) that feed small southern oases.³³ The Great Man-Made River (GMR) project (Libya's "Eighth Wonder of the World") is tapping these aquifers to provide water for irrigated agriculture and cities to the north. Reservoirs were built near Benghazi, Ajdabiya, and Sirte that store the collected waters of the project.³⁴

Major Cities

Libya is one of the least-densely populated countries in the world. But approximately 90% of the population live along the Mediterranean coast on less than 10% of the country's land area.³⁵ The major cities, particularly Tripoli and Benghazi, contain a large share of the national population.³⁶ During the 2011 civil war, residents (particularly those associated with Qadhafi) fled from cities

³⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Climate," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46542/Climate>

³¹ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Chapter 1: Geography," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 12–13.

³² Louis Werner, "Libya's Forgotten Desert Kingdom," *Saudi Aramco World* 55, number 3 (May/June 2004),

<http://www.saudiaramcoworld.com/issue/200403/libya.s.forgotten.desert.kingdom.htm>

³³ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 5: Infrastructure in Libya," in *The Libyan Economy* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 163.

³⁴ John Watkins, "Libya's Thirst for 'Fossil Water,'" BBC News, 18 March 2006,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4814988.stm>

³⁵ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, United States Department of State, "Background Note: Libya," 9 March 2012,

<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

³⁶ World Gazetteer, "Libya: Largest Cities and Towns and Statistics of Their Population: Calculation 2012," n.d.,

<http://world-gazetteer.com/wg.php?x=&men=gcis&lng=en&des=wg&geo=-133&srt=pnan&col=abcdefghijklmnoq&msz=1500&pt=c&va=&srt=npa>

as well as to them.³⁷ In 2012, Benghazi and Tripoli began to see an influx of refugees from Syria.³⁸

City	Estimated Population 2012
Tripoli	1,018,648
Benghazi	632,937
Misratah	285,759
Tobruk (Tubruq)	138,353
Sabha	99,028
Al-Khufrah Oasis	57,394 (district)

Tripoli

Tripoli is located in the northwest on the shore of the Mediterranean.³⁹ Also known as Tarabulus al-Gharb (“Tripoli of the West”), this coastal oasis is Libya’s capital and major economic engine. It is Libya’s only city with a population over 1 million, and more than 2 million people live in the greater metropolitan area.⁴⁰ Planned use of the limited arable land provides the bulk of the region’s vegetables, fruit, tobacco, and grain supply. Tripoli is also home to the nation’s largest port. Fresh seafood is abundant because the fishing industry operates in nearby Mediterranean waters.⁴¹ Other major industries include tobacco processing and the manufacture of textiles such as carpets. The city’s heavy industry includes auto assembly plants and an oil depot.



© Bryn Jones
City of Tripoli

Called “The White City” for its brilliant white buildings that reflect the sun, Tripoli initially developed as a trade route terminus for overland caravans and seagoing ships.⁴² Many historic buildings remain in the old quarter, an ancient walled section known as a *medina*. Italians expanded the city with broad streets, parks, and colonial residences. The city’s modern section holds skyscrapers, factories, and the University of Tripoli.

³⁷ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Libya: Many IDPs Return by Concerns Persist for Certain Displaced Groups,” 8 March 2012, <http://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/libya>

³⁸ UNHCR, “UNHCR Libya External Update,” February 2012, [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/%28httpDocuments%29/9A88168EE37F7A66C12579B400387905/\\$file/U/NHCR+External+update+-+February+2012.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/%28httpDocuments%29/9A88168EE37F7A66C12579B400387905/$file/U/NHCR+External+update+-+February+2012.pdf)

³⁹ Ronald Bruce St. John, “Tripoli,” in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 254–255.

⁴⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Tripoli,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/605829/Tripoli>

⁴¹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 10–11.

⁴² Francesca Di Piazza, “Chapter 2: The Land,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 18.

During the 2011 civil war, the city suffered physical damage and population loss from air strikes and street fighting.^{43, 44} A December 2011 estimate of 1.7 million residents fell to 1.1 million by March 2012.^{45, 46} The transitional government moved its headquarters from Benghazi to Tripoli in late 2011. Sporadic violence from armed militias continues in the city.^{47, 48, 49}

Benghazi

Libya's second-largest city lies in the northeast on a fertile coastal strip along the Mediterranean Sea and the Gulf of Sidra. Originally a Greek outpost, the city was later named for a 15th-century *marabout* (Muslim holy man), Sidi ibn Ghazi, who may be buried nearby.⁵⁰ Benghazi has two large, economically significant ports; the main port is a center for oil production and refining. The city has served as a regional capital, and in 2011, it was where the rebellion against Qadhafi originated.



© Dennix / wikimedia
Benghazi Old Town

Benghazi endured protracted Axis-Allied fighting during World War II, including repeated Allied bombing.^{51, 52, 53} In the 2011 civil war, warring forces struck again, with both Qadhafi and NATO air strikes as well as ground battles.^{54, 55} Since the victorious transitional government

⁴³ International Commission of Inquiry on Libya, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, "Satellite Imagery and the Libyan Conflict," 23 February 2012,

http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session19/A_HRC_19_68_AnnexIV.pdf

⁴⁴ C. J. Chivers and Eric Schmitt, "In Strikes on Libya by NATO, an Unspoken Civilian Toll," 17 December 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/18/world/africa/scores-of-unintended-casualties-in-nato-war-in-libya.html?_r=1

⁴⁵ Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, 12 March 2012, 2, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

⁴⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

⁴⁷ Jomana Karadsheh and Talia Kayali, "Militia Storms Hotel in Libya after Guest Told to Pay Overdue Bill," CNN, 25 March 2012, <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/03/24/world/africa/libya-militia-hotel/>

⁴⁸ Rami Al-Shaheibi, "Libya Ruler Speaks Out Against Militia Power," Associated Press, 18 March 2012, <http://news.yahoo.com/libya-ruler-speaks-against-militia-power-202142800.html>

⁴⁹ Oliver Holmes, "Rival Libya Militias Fight Gunbattle in Capital," Reuters Africa, 1 February 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/libyaNews/idAFL5E8D14W020120201>

⁵⁰ Francesca Di Piazza, "Chapter 2: The Land," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 19.

⁵¹ *Argus* (Australia), "Harbour Works at Benghazi Bombed," 6 October 1941, Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/8208866>

⁵² *Sydney Morning Herald*, "Liberators Bomb Benghazi," 29 September 1942, Trove, National Library of Australia, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/17815114>

⁵³ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 19.

⁵⁴ Ola Galal and Massoud A. Derhally, "Qaddafi Bombs Benghazi as Son Says 'Too Late' for No-Fly Zone Over Libya," Bloomberg, 16 March 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-03-15/qaddafi-forces-near-benghazi-as-rebel-says-world-failed-us-.html>

⁵⁵ Lane Turner, "The Big Picture: Libya: UN Air Strikes Aid Rebels," *Boston Globe*, 21 March 2011, http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2011/03/libya_un_airstrikes_aid_rebels.html

moved from Benghazi to Tripoli, some regional leaders have urged Benghazi to take more autonomy in the new nation.⁵⁶

Misratah

Across from Benghazi on the western side of the Gulf of Sidra, Misratah is Libya's third-largest city. Once a caravan transit point, it is home to one of the country's oldest carpet and textile industries, as well as a sizeable steel production facility.⁵⁷ Although Misratah lay between Qadhafi's power bases of Tripoli and Surt, its residents protested with Benghazi from the beginning of the 2011 uprising. When government security forces began shooting on 20 February, the battle was on and lasted until Misratan militia members captured and killed Qadhafi in October.^{58, 59} Recovery from the civil war along the city's main business street is slow.⁶⁰ Misratans elected a local council in February 2012 and are taking over management of their port. Their militia is accused of human rights abuses against Qadhafi loyalists.⁶¹



© Mario 1952 / wikimedia
A central park in Misratah

Tobruk

Tobruk is on the northeastern coast of Libya, 142 km (88 mi) west of the border with Egypt.⁶² Libya's only natural harbor, the city was colonized by Greeks, Romans, and Italians. Tobruk was strategically important during World War II, and large war cemeteries are a legacy of that conflict. Oil has been a major industry since the 1960s.⁶³ Rebels took the city early in the 2011 conflict.^{64, 65} Qadhafi forces soon attacked the nearby Sarir oil field, trying to stop oil revenues from reaching rebel



© Mario 1952 / wikimedia
Tobruk Port

⁵⁶ Elizabeth Arrott, "Libya Deals with Divisions in Fallout from Arab Spring," Voice of America, 14 March 2012, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/middle-east/Libya-Deals-With-Divisions-in-Fallout-From-Arab-Spring-142642326.html>

⁵⁷ Francesca Di Piazza, *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books (Lerner Publishing Group), 2006), 19.

⁵⁸ Xan Rice, "Libyan Rebels pay a Heavy Price for Resisting Gaddafi in Misrata," *Guardian* (UK), 21 April 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/21/libyan-rebels-heavy-price-misrata>

⁵⁹ Christopher Stephen and Caroline Alexander, "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Government is Hobbled as Misrata's City-State Thrives," Bloomberg, 28 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/libya-hobbled-as-misrata-s-armed-city-state-thrives.html>

⁶⁰ Rob Young, "Libya's Commercial Hub Recovers Slowly," 3 January 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-16366285>

⁶¹ Christopher Stephen and Caroline Alexander, "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Government is Hobbled as Misrata's City-State Thrives," Bloomberg, 28 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/libya-hobbled-as-misrata-s-armed-city-state-thrives.html>

⁶² Anthony Ham, "Eastern Cyrenaica: Tobruk," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 186–187.

⁶³ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Tobruk," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/597808/Tobruk>

⁶⁴ *Al Jazeera*, "Gaddafi Loses More Libyan Cities," 24 February 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/2011223125256699145.html>

⁶⁵ *Economist*, "Building a New Libya," 24 February 2011, <http://www.economist.com/node/18239900>

hands.⁶⁶ In 2012, Tobruk's local council opposed the call for regional autonomy.⁶⁷

Sabha

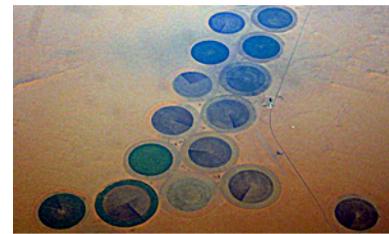
The *de facto* capital of the Fezzan region, Sabha is Libya's largest oasis.⁶⁸ Its location at the junction of two major caravan routes linking the African interior to the Mediterranean coast made it an important transit point. The oasis' soil is fertile enough to support vegetable crops such as onions, and grains such as barley and wheat.⁶⁹ Cargo travels in heavy trucks and camel trains on unpaved desert routes running southwest toward Algeria and southeast toward Niger and Chad. Sabha houses a military base, immigrant populations from Chad, Niger, and Sudan that are presumed to be Qadhafi loyalists, and many members of the Qadhadhfa tribe.^{70, 71} It became a Qadhafi stronghold during the 2011 civil war. In 2012, Arab-African ethnic violence threatens to overwhelm the authority of the transitional government.⁷²



© Franzfoto / wikimedia
Gaberoun Oasis in Sabha

Al Khufrah Oasis

The Al Khufrah Oasis is in the southeastern region. A series of small oasis communities, Al Khufrah is one of Libya's largest inland agricultural endeavors. These oases exist because of the water from the Nubian Sandstone Aquifer System. This giant aquifer's reserves are estimated at 375,000 cubic km (90,000 cu mi) of groundwater in vast chambers that extend below Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and Chad.⁷³ The diversion of water to irrigated farms in the region may be causing some oasis lakes to dry up.⁷⁴



© futureatlas.com / flickr.com
Irrigation system in Khufrah

⁶⁶ Platts, "Libya Rebels Cut Oil Flow to Tobruk amid Uncertainty over Exports," 11 April 2011, <http://www.platts.com/RSSFeedDetailedNews/RSSFeed/Oil/8774507>

⁶⁷ Wolfram Lacher, "Is Autonomy for Northeastern Libya Realistic?" *Sada* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 21 March 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/sada/2012/03/21/is-autonomy-for-northeastern-libya-realistic/a431>

⁶⁸ Ronald Bruce St. John, "Sebha," in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 227.

⁶⁹ Anthony Ham, "Sebha Region," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 216–217.

⁷⁰ ABC News, "Battles Rage in Western Libya," 13 June 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-06-13/battles-rage-in-western-libya/2755950?section=justin>

⁷¹ Hadeel Al-Shalchi and Maggie Michael, "Libyan Forces Fight Rebels on Several Fronts," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, 12 June 2011, <http://www.businessweek.com/ap/financialnews/D9NQG8B00.htm>

⁷² Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Libya Struggles to Contain Tribal Conflicts," *Reuters*, 8 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-libya-violence-idUSBRE83702Z20120408>

⁷³ International Atomic Energy Agency, "The Nubian Aquifer Project: Ancient Waters, Unique Landscapes," 15 March 2010, http://www-naweb.iaea.org/naweb/ih/IHS_projects_nubian_ancient.html

⁷⁴ Felicity Barringer, "A Rare Isotope Helps Track an Ancient Water Source," *New York Times*, 21 November 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/22/science/rare-krypton-81-isotope-helps-track-water-in-ancient-nubian-aquifer.html?_r=3&pagewanted=2

Al Khufrah has been the site of repeated conflict since the onset of the civil war. Rebel and Qadhafi forces fought for its control in 2011.⁷⁵ As of early 2012, post-Qadhafi intertribal conflicts had killed over a hundred people.⁷⁶

Environmental Issues

Water is a major factor in the environmental issues facing Libya. On land, Libya suffers from droughts, shortages of freshwater, and desertification.⁷⁷ In the sea, overfishing, pollution, and invasive species have a serious impact on the marine environment similar to the effect of desertification on land.⁷⁸ Efforts to address these concerns include projects to reforest deserts, tap and redistribute water resources, and raise conservational awareness.^{79, 80}



© Jaap Berk
GMR irrigation project

The Great Man-Made River (GMR) is a massive underground water pipeline project. Begun in 1984, the GMR project draws freshwater from the Nubian Sandstone Aquifers in the Sahara and transports it to the coastal plains for drinking and irrigation.^{81, 82, 83} The aquifers are nonrenewable resources that supply water to Libya, Chad, Egypt, and Sudan. The depletion of these reserves has begun to empty oasis lakes, raising international concern about the effect this will have on the ecosystem and habitat.^{84, 85} In 2011, NATO air strikes damaged the GMR project's pipe plant.^{86, 87, 88} In early 2012, a Canadian company announced that it is resuming work on the project.⁸⁹

⁷⁵ BBC News, "Libya: NATO Strike 'Kills Rebels' in Misrata," 28 April 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13223197>

⁷⁶ Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Libya Struggles to Contain Tribal Conflicts," Reuters, 8 April 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-libya-violence-idUSBRE83702Z20120408>

⁷⁷ Ali Mansour Ali Saad, Noresah Mohd Shariff, and Sanjay Gairola, "Nature and Causes of Land Degradation and Desertification in Libya: Need for Sustainable Land Management," *African Journal of Biotechnology* 10, no. 63 (17 October 2011): 13680–13687, <http://www.academicjournals.org/ajb/PDF/pdf2011/17Oct/Saad%20et%20al.pdf>

⁷⁸ Richard Black, "Tuna Fished 'Illegally' during Libya Conflict," BBC News, 6 November 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-15597675>

⁷⁹ International Union for Conservation of Nature, "Towards a Representative Network of Marine Protected Areas in Libya," July 2011, <http://data.iucn.org/dbtw-wpd/edocs/2011-037.pdf>

⁸⁰ Encyclopedia of the Nations, "Libya: Forestry," 2009, <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Libya-FORESTRY.html>

⁸¹ Water-Technology.net, "GMR (Great Man-made River) Water Supply Project, Libya," 2009, <http://www.water-technology.net/projects/gmr/>

⁸² *Economist*, "Plumbing the Sahara (Graphic Detail)," 11 March 2011, http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/03/libyas_water_supply

⁸³ John Watkins, "Libya's Thirst for 'Fossil Water,'" BBC News, 18 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4814988.stm>

⁸⁴ International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), "Water Resources Programme: Nubian Aquifer Project: Background: Irrational Use," 15 March 2010, http://www-naweb.iaea.org/naweb/ih/IHS_projects_nubian_irrational.html

⁸⁵ Felicity Barringer, "A Rare Isotope Helps Track an Ancient Water Source," *New York Times*, 21 November 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/22/science/rare-krypton-81-isotope-helps-track-water-in-ancient-nubian-aquifer.html?_r=3&pagewanted=2

⁸⁶ Missy Ryan, "Libya Wants More Talks as NATO Strikes Hit Capital," Reuters, 23 July 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/23/us-libya-idUSTRE76H06X20110723>

The Mediterranean environment is particularly susceptible to pollution because its waters are bottlenecked at the Strait of Gibraltar and not flushed out and replenished in large quantity. In Libya's coastal areas, the low awareness of environmental issues and the uncontrolled pollution from sewage, petroleum byproducts, and industrial and urban waste threaten marine biodiversity.⁹⁰ Overfishing of valuable species, such as the Atlantic bluefin tuna, is an international concern, and Libya appears to be one of the largest non-EU culprits.^{91, 92}

The armed conflict throughout the country since 2011 has revived concerns about the polluting effects of war-damaged infrastructure, abandoned ordnance, undeclared chemical weapons, and poorly supervised nuclear fuels.⁹³

Natural Hazards

Natural hazards in Libya are caused by the desert climate, which produces the spring and early summer *ghibli* sandstorms. These storms can last for hours or days, and can be powerful enough to displace the air with a dry, moving wall of dust and grit that can be deadly, depending on the length of exposure. Conversely, occasional extended downpours can lead to flooding, especially in urban areas that lack adequate storm drainage.

Libya's location near the convergence of the African and Eurasian tectonic plates leads to occasional significant earthquakes along the north coast.⁹⁴ The region suffered major quakes in 365 C.E., when the ancient city of Cyrene was mostly destroyed, and in 1183 C.E., when a devastating quake in Tripoli killed an estimated 20,000 people.⁹⁵ In 1963, an earthquake struck the town of Al Marj (Barca) in the northern Cyrenaica region, leaving 300 dead and another 12,000 homeless.^{96, 97}



© gordontour / flickr.com
Cyrene ancient earthquake ruins

⁸⁷ Roshan Khadivi, "UNICEF Acts to Stave Off Potential Water Crisis Caused by Fuel Shortages in Libya," UNICEF, 29 August 2011, http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/laj_59672.html

⁸⁸ Human Rights Investigations, "NATO Bombs the Great Man-Made River," 27 July 2011, <http://humanrightsinvestigations.org/2011/07/27/great-man-made-river-nato-bombs/>

⁸⁹ Pure Technologies [website], "Pure Technologies Announces Receipt of Payment and Resumption of Activities in Libya," 30 March 2012, http://www.puretechltd.com/php/public_view_press.php?ID=207

⁹⁰ IUCN, "Nature's Key to a Bright Future for Libya," 9 November 2011, http://www.iucn.org/news_homepage/?8583/Natures-key-to-a-bright-future-for-Libya

⁹¹ United Press International, "Smaller Catch of Mediterranean Tuna Urged," 14 October 2008, http://www.upi.com/Science_News/2008/10/14/Smaller-catch-of-Mediterranean-tuna-urged/UPI-28141224016090/

⁹² Environment News Service, "Europe Clamps Down on Overfishing of Bluefin Tuna," 20 March 2008, <http://www.ens-newswire.com/ens/mar2008/2008-03-20-01.asp>

⁹³ Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy (Report for Congress RL33142)," Congressional Research Service, 12 March 2012, 11–16, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

⁹⁴ USGS, "Africa: Seismic Hazard Map," 29 March 2010, <http://earthquake.usgs.gov/earthquakes/world/africa/gshap.php>

⁹⁵ Suleiman, A. S., "Historical Earthquakes in Libya" (abstract 5072, EGS–AGU–EUG Joint Assembly, Nice, France, 6–11 April 2003), SAO/NASA Astrophysics Data System, Physics Abstract Service, April 2003, <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2003EAEJA.....5072S>

⁹⁶ N. N. Ambraseys, C. P. Melville, and R. D. Adams, "Chapter 2: Macroseismic Information," in *The Seismicity of Egypt, Arabia, and the Red Sea: A Historical Review* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 90–91.

⁹⁷ David W. Gordon, "Libyan Earthquake of February 21, 1963" (report abstract), Washington, DC: Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1964.

CHAPTER 1 ASSESSMENT

1. Tripolitania is now commonly referred to by Libyans as the Western Region.
True
 Now commonly referred to by Libyans as the Western Region, Tripolitania covers the northwestern portion of Libya.
2. Fezzan is Libya's most populous region.
False
 Libya's most populous region is Tripolitania, home to half the population and the largest city, Tripoli. Fezzan's southwestern deserts are Libya's least populated region.
3. Nighttime temperatures in Libya's desert region can fall below freezing.
True
 The temperate Mediterranean climate does not extend to the Sahara, where temperatures vary dramatically throughout the day, and can fall below freezing at night.
4. Enormous sand dunes are referred to as *ghibli* by Libyans.
False
 The *ghibli* are spring-to-summer desert winds capable of sandstorms that ruin crops and kill livestock. Shifting sands are called *idehan* or *ergs*.
5. The Qadhafi government did nothing to address Libya's recurrent droughts and water shortages.
False
 The Great Man-Made River (GMR), a massive water pipeline project, was developed to tap water from desert aquifers and transport it to farms and cities. The aquifers, shared with neighboring countries, are showing signs of depletion.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY

Introduction

Libya was a crossroads for ancient empires of the Mediterranean. The coast, which was connected to the desert interior via caravan routes, was the site of trading settlements and imperial outposts for the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans. From these early civilizations arose Libya's historical geographic divisions: Tripolitania (northwest), Cyrenaica (east), and Fezzan (southwest). The Berbers, the native tribes of North Africa, were assimilated or replaced by foreign peoples over the centuries. The arrival of Arabs in the 7th century and a large influx of Bedouins (Arab nomads) in the 11th century brought Arab culture and the religion of Islam to the region. Beginning in the 19th century, Italy colonized Libya despite armed resistance from native populations. After World War II, the three historical regions became one independent country in 1951. In 1969, Colonel Muammar Qadhafi led the socialist Revolutionary Command Council to overthrow Libya's federal monarchy. He ruled the country for 42 years with an eclectic, eccentric mix of socialist, Islamic, and Arab nationalist policies. But Libya's troubled relationships with regional and global powers were shaped particularly by his state support of international terrorism. His repression of the Libyan people led to his overthrow and death in 2011. After Qadhafi's fall, the National Transitional Council (NTC) took control as an interim government. Elections for a national assembly to replace the NTC were scheduled for June 2012.



© David Gunn
Theater at Leptis Magna

Early History and Peoples

Neolithic peoples lived in Libya before 8000 B.C.E.⁹⁸ Rock carvings and paintings suggest that inhabitants were nomads, or semi-settled herders and farmers. (At that time, the region had a wetter climate, and grasslands covered what is now desert.) These indigenous groups preceded the Egyptian dynasties, which emerged to the east in the late 4th millennium B.C.E.⁹⁹

Berbers

The many different indigenous tribes of North Africa are known collectively as Berbers or *Imazighan*. The name "Berber" comes from *barbara*, the Roman word for barbarian. *Imazighan* (singular *Amazigh*), which is the name they use, roughly translates to "free men."¹⁰⁰ Though their exact origins and early history remain unclear, the Berbers were nomadic pastoralists and farmers who lived throughout the northern African plains during the ancient era.¹⁰¹ Their grazing herds may have contributed to the region's transformation from grasslands to desert after

⁹⁸ Jona Lendering, "Rock Art of the Fezzan," Livius.org, 25 May 2009, http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes_rock_art.html

⁹⁹ Kathryn A. Bard, "Chronology of Ancient Egypt," in *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Routledge, 1999).

¹⁰⁰ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Berber," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/61465/Berber>

¹⁰¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

2000 B.C.E.¹⁰² The Berbers struggled against foreign occupiers for thousands of years, and most were eventually assimilated.

The ancient Egyptians knew one of the early Berber tribes as the *Lebu*.¹⁰³ This is thought to be the root word for “Libya,” the name that the Greeks and others later applied to all of northern Africa except Egypt.¹⁰⁴

Phoenicians

The Phoenicians founded an extensive trading empire along the Mediterranean coast. In the 12th century B.C.E., they sailed west from the ports of Tyre (in modern Lebanon) and Sidon (in modern Syria). From their eastern homeland, they expanded via the sea to avoid the inhospitable lands that surrounded them. Phoenicians were considered accomplished seamen, but they generally did not sail at night or venture out of sight of land. When they sailed to Spain for trade, they followed the southern Mediterranean shore as a guide and as refuge from winter storms. By 1000 B.C.E., they were regularly visiting the North African coast, including Tripolitania.¹⁰⁵ They traded and signed treaties with Berber tribes, and established colonies as far west as Carthage (in modern Tunisia).^{106, 107}

Garamantes

During the 1st millennium B.C.E., the Garamantes were the dominant inland group. Archeological excavations have revealed several large Garamantian settlements in Fezzan. The ancient city of Garama thrived as a regional capital from 900 B.C.E. to 500 C.E.¹⁰⁸ Thought by some to be a Berber tribe, the Garamantes established settlements around oases, built stone dwellings, and developed impressive engineering skills.¹⁰⁹ Most famously, they constructed *foggares*, which were stone-lined underground irrigation canals to cultivate the arid land around the oases. They also built tens of thousands of pyramid-shaped tombs.¹¹⁰ Although their political power was limited, the Garamantes controlled important regional trade routes. Later, they were able to slow the Roman Empire’s expansion across the region.



© Taguelmoust / wikimedia
Exit of a foggara

¹⁰² Jona Lendering, “Rock Art of the Fezzan,” Livius.org, 25 May 2009, http://www.livius.org/ga-gh/garamantes/garamantes_rock_art.html

¹⁰³ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 2: The Libyan Past: Prehistory,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 91.

¹⁰⁴ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁰⁵ John Wright, *Nations of the Modern World: Libya* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), 27–32.

¹⁰⁶ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 23.

¹⁰⁷ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 2: The Libyan Past: The Phoenicians,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 92–93.

¹⁰⁸ David Mattingly, “Chapter 9: Twelve Thousand Years of Human Adaptation in Fezzan (Libyan Sahara),” in *The Archaeology of Drylands: Living at the Margin*, eds. Graeme Barker and David Gilbertson (London: Routledge, 2000), 166–167.

¹⁰⁹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 26.

¹¹⁰ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History: Fezzan and the Garamantes,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

Ancient Empires

Carthage

The Latin name for the Phoenician colonies in North Africa was “*pūnicus*” or the Punic culture. The most significant colony, Carthage, was established in 814 B.C.E. as a city-state (in modern Tunisia, west of Tripolitania). Carthage gained authority over much of North Africa and the Mediterranean islands of Sardinia and Malta.¹¹¹ It became the Phoenician power base after the Assyrians took Tyre, the capital of Phoenicia, in the late eighth century B.C.E.¹¹² In Libya, the Phoenicians established the Punic cities of Sabrata, Oea, and Leptis Magna, which collectively became known as Tripolis, or “three cities.” (Today, the site holds Tripoli, Libya’s capital and largest city.) Phoenician power weakened during the Punic Wars with the growing Roman Empire. The third war resulted in the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.E.¹¹³



© Delphine Bruyere
Ancient theater

The Greeks

Like Phoenicia, southern Greece was within sailing range of North Africa, and the Greeks colonized Libya’s northeastern coast. In 631 B.C.E., Battus founded the Greek colony of Cyrene that eventually gave its name to the region of Cyrenaica. His Battiad dynasty ruled for 200 years, establishing the port of Apollonia (Marsa Susah) and the cities of Euhesperides (Benghazi) and Barca (al-Marj).^{114, 115} The Greeks also developed trade routes southwest toward the oases of Murzzuk and southeast to the important trading post Siwa (in modern western Egypt).¹¹⁶



© gordontour / flickr.com
Ancient Greek harbor

The armies of Alexander the Great entered Cyrenaica in 331 B.C.E. after taking Egypt from the Persians. When Alexander died without ready heirs in 323 B.C.E., his advisor Ptolemy became the next *satrap* (leader) of Egypt, which then included Cyrene.¹¹⁷ The Ptolemies of Egypt, a Greco-Egyptian dynasty, later formed a federal constitution over Greek Cyrenaica. This arrangement lasted until Ptolemy Apion died in 96 B.C.E. and bequeathed Cyrenaica to the

¹¹¹ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 2: The Libyan Past: The Phoenicians,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 92–93.

¹¹² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Lebanon: History: Phoenicia: Assyrian and Babylonian Domination,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/334152/Lebanon/23369/Assyrian-and-Babylonian-domination-of-Phoenicia>

¹¹³ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 22–23.

¹¹⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Cyrene,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/148662/Cyrene>

¹¹⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “North Africa: Ancient North Africa: The City: The Greeks in Cyrenaica,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/418538/North-Africa/46470/The-Greeks-in-Cyrenaica>

¹¹⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Siwa Oasis,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/546985/Siwa-Oasis>

¹¹⁷ Günther Hölbl, “Chapter 1: Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I Soter (332–282),” in *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, trans. Tina Saavedra (London: Routledge, 2001), 12–14.

Romans.¹¹⁸ The period of Ptolemaic rule brought economic, architectural, and cultural development in the region.

Romans

Rome took Cyrenaica in 74 B.C.E., and Tripolitania a few decades later.¹¹⁹ After suppressing rebellions in the Sirte area (south of the Gulf of Sidra), Rome brought Tripolitania and Cyrenaica into a single administrative apparatus by the end of the first century C.E.¹²⁰ Although these regions retained distinctive Punic and Greek characters, their inhabitants shared a language and legal system under the Romans. Displaced Jews from the east, and later, Christians, also influenced the wider culture. (Tripolitania later came under the Roman church, while Cyrenaica looked to the Coptic church in Alexandria.)¹²¹ The *Pax Romana* of the Roman Empire brought 400 years of peace and prosperity.¹²² Benefits of Roman rule included urban forums, markets, and baths. Tripolitania and Cyrenaica increasingly produced to their strengths, with olive oil from the former region and wine, horses, and medicine from the latter.¹²³ Rome also tried to subjugate Saharan tribes to the south, but the Garamantes and others were never entirely assimilated.¹²⁴



© David Gunn
Severus Arch at Leptis Magna

The Roman Empire in Africa reached its peak with the emergence of a Libyan emperor. Septimius Severus, from Leptis Magna (east of Tripoli), ruled from 193–211 C.E. He made his native city a major center for commerce and culture.¹²⁵ After his reign, unrest spread across the empire as distant provinces increasingly governed their own affairs. A succession of evermore dictatorial rulers weakened the empire. Roman Africa contracted from its previous borders, which had stretched from Egypt in the east to Mauritania in the west, and north to the Strait of Gibraltar.¹²⁶ In 365 C.E., a huge earthquake struck, destroying Cyrene, Leptis Magna, and

¹¹⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Ptolemy Apion,” 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/482204/Ptolemy-Apion>

¹¹⁹ Martin Goodman and Jane Sherwood, “Chapter 28: North Africa,” in *The Roman World, 44 BC–AD 180* (London: Routledge, 1997), 278.

¹²⁰ Anthony Ham, “Eastern Cyrenaica: Tobruk,” in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 11.

¹²¹ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History: Libya and the Romans,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹²² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Pax Romana,” 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/447447/Pax-Romana>

¹²³ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History: Libya and the Romans,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹²⁴ Geoff Simons, “Chapter 2: The Libyan Past,” in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 100–101.

¹²⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Septimius Severus,” 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/536763/Septimius-Severus>

¹²⁶ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Africa,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/8126/Africa>

Apollonia.¹²⁷ A few decades later, the declining empire split itself and Libya into eastern and western halves—Tripolitania attached to the west and Cyrenaica to the east.

Vandals and Byzantines

Crossing from Spain in 429, a Germanic tribe known as the Vandals overran territory in Morocco and Algeria, ultimately establishing a kingdom based in Carthage. With the divided Roman Empire in decline, the Vandals extended their domain across North Africa. In Tripolitania, they levied taxes and exploited the land, leaving civil matters to the Romans. In 455, they were strong enough to sack Rome.¹²⁸ Nearly 80 years later, the Vandals fell to the Byzantines under General Belisarius, who was tasked with regaining control of North Africa for the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire.¹²⁹ Soon, Berber tribes in the Libyan interior formed the *Zenata*, a confederation that attacked the Byzantines from the south, while the Sassanians, a pre-Islamic Persian empire, challenged the Byzantines from the east.^{130, 131} Thus, Byzantine rule was fragile when Arabs arrived in the early seventh century.¹³²



© Maksim / wikimedia
Plunder by the Vandals

Muslim Dynasties

Not long after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, Arab Muslim forces entered Cyrenaica. They established a provincial capital at Barca, and took most of Libya from the last of the Byzantine armies.^{133, 134, 135} Soon they were fighting Berber tribes in the region. While resisting Arab control, the Berbers gradually accepted the Muslim faith, often merging it with their folk traditions. Islam was developing numerous sects, which disagreed over the selection process for the successor to Muhammad. The two main branches of Islam, Shi'ite and Sunni, grew apart. A North African



© duimdog / flickr.com
Mosque in Tripoli

¹²⁷ Anthony Ham, "The Earthquake of AD 365," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Melbourne, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 182.

¹²⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Vandal," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/622890/Vandal>

¹²⁹ Steven Mitchell, "Chapter 10: The Roman Empire of the Fifth and Sixth Centuries: The Reconquest of the West: Africa," in *A History of the Later Roman Empire, AD 284–641* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 141–142.

¹³⁰ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 2: The Libyan Past," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 102.

¹³¹ James Azema, "Leptis Magna: History and Background," in *Libya Handbook: The Travel Guide*, 1st ed. (Bath, UK: Footprint Travel Guides, 2000), 110.

¹³² LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Early History: Libya and the Romans," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹³³ Marshall Cavendish, "Chapter 1: History and Movement of Peoples: The Prophet Muhammad," in *World and Its Peoples: The Middle East, Western Asia, and Northern Africa: Vol.1, Arabian Peninsula* (Tarrytown, NY: Marshall Cavendish, 2007), 26.

¹³⁴ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, "Chapter 2: The Call of the Minaret in the 'West': The Establishment of Islam in the Maghrib and Spain," in *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 28–29.

¹³⁵ John Wright, *Nations of the Modern World: Libya* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), 77.

sect, the Kharijites, attracted Berbers with its doctrine that the Muslim caliph (leader) need not be a descendant of the Prophet, an Arab, or an elite. In 712, the Umayyad caliphate included Berber Muslim converts in its campaign to conquer Spain.¹³⁶ The Umayyads, based in Damascus (Syria), were later toppled by the Abbasids, who moved the caliphate to Baghdad (Iraq).¹³⁷ Sunni Abbasid *amirs* (governors) brought regional infrastructure and prosperity to Tunisia and Tripolitania.¹³⁸

In the late ninth century, Berber converts to a militant Shi'ite sect known as Ismailis rose against their Sunni governors. The Ismaili leader *al Mahdi* ("divinely guided one") claimed descent from Muhammad's daughter Fatima.¹³⁹ The Shi'ite Fatimids conquered Egypt in the mid-10th century. From Cairo, they challenged the Sunni caliphate at Baghdad, while allowing distant Tripolitania to fall into decline.¹⁴⁰ In 1049, Berbers rose again, this time as Zirid vassals challenging their Fatimid rulers by re-establishing Sunni orthodoxy in Tripolitania.¹⁴¹ The Fatimids responded by encouraging a large population of Bedouins from Arabia—the Hilalians—to migrate west across North Africa. These Arab nomads sacked Cyrene and Tripoli, and settled in areas from Libya to Morocco. Their presence in the region eventually replaced farming with herding, and produced a lasting cultural Arabization.¹⁴² In 1160, yet more Berbers, the Almohads from Morocco, extended their Islamic rule east to Tripolitania. When the Almohads shifted their focus to Spain, their appointed governor Muhammad bin Abu Hafs and his descendants ruled Tripolitania. The Hafsid dynasty survived along the coast until the 16th century.¹⁴³

The Ottoman Era

In 1510, Spain captured Tripoli, and the Spanish king entrusted the city to the Knights of Saint John, a militant Christian group that sought to counter Muslim influence in the region. The Spanish were competing with the Turkish Ottoman Empire for control of the Mediterranean region. Pirates frequented the Barbary Coast (as the shores of North Africa became known). The famed Khair ad Din, or Barbarossa ("Red Beard"), conquered North African territory in the

¹³⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹³⁷ Anthony Ham, "History," in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 33.

¹³⁸ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹³⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs: Fatimids," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁴⁰ Stephen Glain, "Chapter 6: Egypt: The Towering Dwarf: Thuggery and Its Discontents," in *Mullahs, Merchants, and Militants: The Economic Collapse of the Arab World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 262.

¹⁴¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs: Fatimids," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁴² LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs: Hilalians," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁴³ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Islam and the Arabs: Hafsids," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

name of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁴ Piracy, including the capture and trade of slaves, made up a large share of regional economic activity for many centuries.¹⁴⁵

In 1551, Turks captured Tripoli from the Knights of Saint John, beginning a long period of Ottoman influence along the Libyan coast. Tripoli became a powerful regency of the empire.¹⁴⁶ Military units of janissaries soon dominated the region. They ruled by force and were only nominally subject to a local governor, or *pasha*; thus, frequent military coups occurred.¹⁴⁷ In 1711, Ahmed Karamanli, a cavalry officer of Turkish-Libyan descent, took control of Tripoli (by paying the Ottoman Empire for the position of regent). The Karamanli dynasty earned much of its income through piracy and extorting tribute from foreign ships in return for safe passage through nearby Mediterranean waters.¹⁴⁸ After the U.S. and European powers refused to pay increased tribute in the early 19th century, Tripoli's economy declined and civil war erupted.¹⁴⁹ Amid the unrest, the Ottoman Empire reasserted its authority over the region in 1835.¹⁵⁰ But with the empire in decay, Ottoman administration was largely ineffective during the following decades.¹⁵¹



© Shuppiluluma / wikimedia
Red Beard Barbarossa

The Sanusi Brotherhood

An important legacy of the Ottoman period was the creation of the *Sanusiyyah*, an Islamic order founded by Muhammad bin Ali as Sanusi (1787–1859), a well-traveled Muslim scholar and holy man. Born in Algeria, he promoted an austere version of Islam. In 1830, while traveling through Tripolitania and Fezzan on his way to Mecca, local tribes gave him the title of Grand Sanusi. After a stay in Mecca, the Grand Sanusi returned to Cyrenaica, where he established an Islamic *zawiya* (lodge) in 1843. Akin to the strict school of Wahhabism, the underlying principle of the Sanusi Brotherhood was an ethic of extreme self-discipline.¹⁵² This appealed to the Bedouin population of the Cyrenaica region, who joined the order in large numbers.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁴ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁴⁵ Francesca Di Piazza, "History and Government: Spaniards, Ottomans, and Pirates," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 25.

¹⁴⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁴⁷ Anthony Ham, "History: Ottoman Rule," in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 34–35.

¹⁴⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Tripolitania," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/605842/Tripolitania>

¹⁴⁹ Stuart Murray, "Fighting Pirates on the Hostile Shores of Tripoli," in *Atlas of American Military History* (Infobase Publishing, 2005), 46–47.

¹⁵⁰ Anthony Ham, "History: Ottoman Rule," in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 34–35.

¹⁵¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency: The Ottoman Revival," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵² B. G. Martin, "Chapter 4: The Sanusi Brotherhood in Libya and the Sahara," in *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

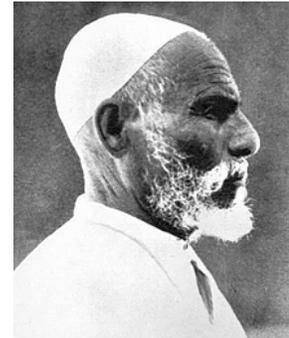
¹⁵³ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency: The Sanusi Order," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

After the Grand Sanusi's death in 1859, his sons, Muhammad al-Mahdi and Muhammad Sharif, continued to spread the Sanusi message throughout the Sahara.¹⁵⁴ In 1895, al-Mahdi—an effective, charismatic leader—moved the order's center of operations south to the Al Khufrah oases, where the brotherhood's missionary activities would be more effective in the face of French colonial advances in Sudan. By 1902, there were 146 Sanusi lodges throughout Africa and Arabia. In Cyrenaica, the lodge network connected most of the Bedouin tribes.¹⁵⁵ The brotherhood served as an outlet of dissension against Ottoman authority, and played an even greater role in resisting Libya's next foreign occupier.

The Italian Colonial Era

In the 19th century, Western Europe challenged the Ottoman Empire for northern Africa. Libya, which was still a conglomeration of tribal peoples in distinct regions, became central to Italian expansionist designs. Italy declared war against the Ottomans in 1911, on the premise that Ottomans had armed Arab tribesmen in an effort to thwart Italy's local commercial interests.¹⁵⁶ The Turks, preoccupied with a more pressing conflict in the Balkans, soon settled with Italy.¹⁵⁷ The ambiguous Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1912, required the Ottomans to cede “independence” to Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, while Italy simultaneously annexed the regions. The Bedouin tribes (who, as Muslims, still identified with the Ottoman sultan and Islamic law) took up arms against Italy.¹⁵⁸ Led by the Sanusis, the resistance was strongest in Cyrenaica and Fezzan.¹⁵⁹ Italy's alignment with the Allied Powers in 1915 incorporated the first Italo-Sanusi War (1914–1917) into World War I. The Central Powers—Germany and Turkey—armed the Sanusis, who extended the front into Egypt but were soundly defeated there by the British. At war's end, the Allied Powers accepted Italy's claims to Cyrenaica and Tripolitania.

Continued resistance against Italy was hampered by disagreement between tribal Sanusis in Cyrenaica and Fezzan and nationalists in the urban areas of Tripolitania. Nationalists (themselves divided between Berbers and Arabs) wanted a centralized republic, while the Sanusis wanted their own tribal states. When the Italians recognized Muhammad Idris, son of Muhammad al-Mahdi, as amir of Cyrenaica, some nationalists offered him leadership over Tripolitania as well.¹⁶⁰



Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons
Sheik Umar al Mukhtar

¹⁵⁴ B. G. Martin, “Chapter 4: The Sanusi Brotherhood in Libya and the Sahara,” in *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

¹⁵⁵ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Ottoman Regency: The Sanusi Order,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵⁶ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵⁷ David S. Sorenson, “Chapter 18: The Modern History of Libya,” in *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East: History, Religion, Political Economy, Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 383.

¹⁵⁸ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁵⁹ Anthony Ham, “History: Ottoman Rule,” in *Libya*, 2nd ed. (Footscray, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2007), 36.

¹⁶⁰ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism: Italian Rule and Arab Resistance,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

But Idris soon fled the country, and Italy (led by Benito Mussolini) started the second Italo-Sanusi War in 1923. Tripolitania soon fell, but Cyrenaica resisted under the leadership of Sheik Umar al Mukhtar. After years of guerrilla warfare, Mukhtar's capture and execution in 1931 ended the Sanusi resistance.¹⁶¹ Italy then encouraged mass emigration to their "fourth shore," investing in roads, ports, and an 1,822 km (1,132 mi) trans-Libyan aqueduct.^{162, 163} Over 100,000 Italians immigrated, receiving land grants at the expense of Tripolitarians and Cyrenaicans, whose farmlands and livestock were confiscated or destroyed. In 1939, Italy officially incorporated Libya as an Italian territory.

Libyan officials have since referred to the Italian colonial period as "virtual genocide" of the Libyan people.¹⁶⁴ An estimated 25% of the Libyan population died during Italy's 30-year occupation.¹⁶⁵

World War II

Under Mussolini, Italy's colonial campaign became a fascist pursuit of global dominance in the run-up to World War II. When the war reached the Mediterranean and North Africa regions, the Axis Powers had 200,000 Italian troops stationed in Tripoli, and the Allied Powers had 35,000 British troops in Alexandria, Egypt.¹⁶⁶ The ensuing battles—characterized by tank warfare—were waged in the open desert and across the northern coastal cities, damaging infrastructure and local economies. By the time the Axis armies retreated west of Tripoli, western Egypt and Cyrenaica were the war's longest ongoing theater of operations. Inhabitants of Cyrenaica—including veteran Sanusi fighters—supported the Allied troops, who expelled all Axis forces from the Libyan region by February 1943.¹⁶⁷ The British took administrative control of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, while the French established a presence in Fezzan.¹⁶⁸



© United Kingdom Government
British tanks in 1941

¹⁶¹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Italian Colonialism: The Second Italo-Sanusi War," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁶² Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 2: Italy's Fourth Shore and Decolonization, 1911–1950," in *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 33.

¹⁶³ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 3: The Fourth Shore," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 118–119.

¹⁶⁴ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 3: The Fourth Shore," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 118–119.

¹⁶⁵ Francesca Di Piazza, "History and Government: Guerrilla War," in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 29.

¹⁶⁶ Adrian Gilbert, "The North African Campaign," in *The Encyclopedia of Warfare: From Earliest Times to the Present Day, Part 25* (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 256.

¹⁶⁷ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: World War II and Independence: The Desert War," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁶⁸ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: World War II and Independence: Allied Administration," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

Independent Libya (United Kingdom of Libya)

After the war, the Allies determined that Italy should not retain its colonial possessions. Their disposition became the responsibility of the newly formed United Nations. Negotiations over Libya were problematic because of its historical divisions. The British-backed return of amir Muhammad Idris to Cyrenaica in 1947 complicated matters when he proclaimed independence for the region in 1949.¹⁶⁹ That November, the UN resolved that “Libya, comprising Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan, shall be constituted an independent and sovereign state,” and set a unification deadline for 1 January 1952.^{170, 171} After the creation of a National Constituent Assembly, which represented each province, a federal constitutional monarchy was established. King Muhammad Idris declared the independence of the United Kingdom of Libya on 24 December 1951, just shy of the UN deadline.¹⁷²



© Libyan Information Ministry
King Idris of Libya

In 1952, Libya was one of the world’s poorest nations. It was the largest recipient of aid from the U.S. in the 1950s, and by 1960, U.S. and U.K. assistance made up a third of its economy.¹⁷³ This external reliance on the West was at odds with the Arab Muslim nationalism that was spreading across northern Africa. Other rising regional powers, including Algeria and Egypt, were fueled by new oil wealth. In 1959, after a decade of exploration, drills finally struck large fields of oil in the Sirtica region of northwestern Cyrenaica.¹⁷⁴ Yet the monarchy declined, and King Idris was suspected of funneling money to the Cyrenaican elite while most of the country remained impoverished. By the mid-1960s, the legitimacy of the monarchy was in question as King Idris failed to enact reforms.

Revolution

On 1 September 1969, a bloodless coup abolished the Libyan monarchy in a matter of hours. Spearheaded by a group of young military officers, the coup quickly received the support of the army and led to control over Tripoli and other key locations within a few days.¹⁷⁵ A 14-member Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) proclaimed the Libyan Arab Republic, and moved to banish foreign military bases, suppress existing political parties, and appoint staff to run all

¹⁶⁹ Reinhard Schulze, *A Modern History of the Islamic World* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000), 135.

¹⁷⁰ United Nations, U.N. General Assembly Resolution 289 (IV): *Question of the Disposal of the Former Italian Colonies*, 21 November 1949, <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/4/ares4.htm>

¹⁷¹ Saul Kelly, “Chapter 6: Implementing the U.N. Resolutions, 1949–1952,” in *Cold War in the Desert: Britain, the United States and the Italian Colonies 1945–52* (London: Macmillan, 2000), 132–134.

¹⁷² LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 1: Historical Setting: World War II and Independence: The United Nations and Libya,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁷³ David S. Sorenson, “Chapter 18: The Modern History of Libya,” in *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East: History, Religion, Political Economy, Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 384–385.

¹⁷⁴ J. A. Allan, “Chapter 1: Libya Before Oil,” in *Libya: The Experience of Oil* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1981), 19.

¹⁷⁵ BBC News, “1969: Bloodless Coup in Libya,” *On This Day 1950–2005: 1 September*, http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/september/1/newsid_3911000/3911587.stm

essential ministries.¹⁷⁶ The members of the RCC were from middle-class and rural tribes, outside of the Sanusi elite that had declared independence two decades earlier. One of the RCC members was Captain Muammar Abu Minyar al-Qadhafi, a 27-year-old Bedouin from the Qadhafda (Qathathfa) tribal area of Sirte.¹⁷⁷ His peers promoted him to colonel as he became the country's new leader.¹⁷⁸

From its first official communiqués, the RCC rallied the people with populist and revolutionary rhetoric, often inspired by Arab nationalism. Qadhafi's "Third Universal Theory" proposed Islam (rather than Marxism) as a basis for socialist governance.¹⁷⁹ (Muslim clergy objected that Islamic doctrine was not Qadhafi's domain.¹⁸⁰) In 1971, Qadhafi declared that the republic would have popular rule through regionally appointed representatives and a directly elected president. Early efforts to encourage participation in the government's reform programs (*zahf*) were hindered by legislation such as "Law Number 71," which made political activity outside the officially approved Arab Socialist Union illegal and punishable by death.¹⁸¹ Qadhafi then started the Popular Revolution (a.k.a. Libya's Cultural Revolution) on the Prophet Muhammad's birthday in 1973.^{182, 183} By August, approximately 2,400 People's Committees of 16 to 20 individuals were created to involve the public in reform.¹⁸⁴ Committees chosen at the workplace, village, and neighborhood levels were responsible for selecting members to serve on district level committees, which in turn sent members to an annual General People's Congress. This "direct democracy" brought the people's views to Qadhafi, and sent his directives back to the grass roots.¹⁸⁵ Qadhafi's *Green Book*, published as three slender volumes in 1975, was declared the road map for the revolution. But his collected pronouncements on diverse topics (such as



© al-Ahram / wikimedia
Qadhafi and Nasser 1969

¹⁷⁶ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 6: Libyan Revolution," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 200–201.

¹⁷⁷ Brian Lee Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism, and the Origins of the U.S. Attack on Libya* (New York: Praeger [Greenwood Press], 1990), 2.

¹⁷⁸ Amal S. M. Obeidi, "Chapter 6: Political Participation: The Machinery of the System and People's Disbelief," in *Political Culture in Libya* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2001), 137–138.

¹⁷⁹ Geoff Simons, "Chapter 6: Libyan Revolution," in *Libya: The Struggle for Survival*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 200–201.

¹⁸⁰ Shawky S. Zeidan, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Opposition to Qadhafi," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁸¹ Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 4: A Libyan Sandstorm," in *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 82–83.

¹⁸² Amal S. M. Obeidi, "Chapter 6: Political Participation: The Machinery of the System and People's Disbelief," in *Political Culture in Libya* (Richmond, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2001), 138–139.

¹⁸³ James Norris, "Libyan Cultural Revolution," in *Encyclopedia of the Developing World*, ed. Thomas M. Leonard (New York: Routledge, 2006), 962–963.

¹⁸⁴ Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 4: A Libyan Sandstorm," in *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 82–83.

¹⁸⁵ Mary-Jane Deeb, "Chapter 14: Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 4th ed., eds. David Long and Bernard Reich (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 383.

denouncing private enterprise as exploitative) offered no clear model of what society he was trying to build. As a result, government initiatives came to be based on the latest thing he said.¹⁸⁶

Consolidation of Power

A quadrupling of oil prices supported Qadhafi's consolidation of power. But his policies often worked at cross-purposes and pitted groups within the RCC against each other. By the mid-1970s, ballooning oil revenues threatened to ignite inflation. Qadhafi remained uninterested in building a state bureaucracy capable of recycling oil revenues into the domestic economy. A resulting coup attempt was put down in 1975, and the number of RCC members (who were Qadhafi loyalists) dropped from 12 to 5.¹⁸⁷ In 1977 the regime executed many accused coup participants, the RCC was abolished, and its five members were appointed to the powerful General Secretariat of the General People's Congress (GPC).¹⁸⁸



© Martin Beek / flickr.com
Muammar Qadhafi

In 1977, the country was renamed the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. Power was directly vested in the GPC, to implement a "state of the masses" (*jamahiriya*).¹⁸⁹ Even Libya's embassies were renamed "people's bureaus."¹⁹⁰ In the same year, Qadhafi tightened his control over the people by creating Revolutionary Committees to oversee the People's Committees. Revolutionary authority "had power to supervise, whenever necessary, the 'popular' mechanism of government."¹⁹¹ Appointment to the committees was contingent on loyalty tests, including memorizing Qadhafi's speeches.¹⁹² Professed loyalty to Qadhafi's cause was more important than any technical knowledge or administrative experience. Between 10% and 20% of the population were probably engaged in surveillance on behalf of the government, a rate comparable to Saddam Hussein's Iraq and Kim Jong-Il's North Korea.¹⁹³ In 1979, Qadhafi

¹⁸⁶ Arunan Sivalingam, "The Centralization of Power under Muammar Qadhafi: A Case Study on Libya" (paper, Lethbridge University, 17 November 2006), <http://www.scribd.com/doc/19006632/The-Method-of-Power-Consolidation-in-the-State-of-Libya>

¹⁸⁷ Mary-Jane Deeb, "Chapter 14: Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 4th ed., eds. David Long and Bernard Reich (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 384.

¹⁸⁸ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Independent Libya: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁸⁹ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: Independent Libya: The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

¹⁹⁰ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Libya," March 2009, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

¹⁹¹ Frank Anderson, "Qadhafi's Libya: The Limits of Optimism," *Middle East Policy* 6, no. 4 (Winter 1999), http://www.mepc.org/journal_vol6/9906_anderson.asp

¹⁹² Mansour O. El-Kikhia, "Chapter 5: Qaddafi's State," in *Libya's Qaddafi: The Politics of Contradiction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 87.

¹⁹³ Mohamed Eljahmi, "Libya and the U.S.: Qadhafi Unrepentant," *Middle East Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 11–20, http://www.meforum.org/878/libya-and-the-us-qadhafi-unrepentant#_ftnref19

furthered his vision of Libyan “direct democracy.” He abandoned his official titles and positions, choosing instead to become the “Brotherly Leader” and “Guide of the Revolution.”^{194, 195}

The Pariah State

Libya was suspected of state-supported terrorism from the early days of Qadhafi’s rule.¹⁹⁶ In 1979 Libya was placed on the United States’ list of state sponsors of terrorism.¹⁹⁷ In 1986, Libyan involvement in the bombing of a West Berlin discotheque frequented by American military personnel brought about retaliatory U.S. air attacks against targets in Tripoli and Benghazi, injuring Qadhafi and some of his children.^{198, 199} But he continued to support terrorism, most famously the 1988 bombing of a commercial flight over Lockerbie, Scotland. Subsequent political and economic sanctions worsened conditions inside the country through the early 2000s.²⁰⁰



© mashleymorgan / flickr.com
U.S. F-111 jet used in 1986

The lack of public outrage in Libya over the U.S. attacks should have notified Qadhafi of his failure to inspire loyalty in the people.²⁰¹ Nevertheless, reports of internal human rights abuses continued. Following military mutinies in the 1980s, Qadhafi authorized a paramilitary people’s force under a separate command in 1988. Islamist and other opposition groups in the 1990s were put down harshly.²⁰² Exiles overseas sought to restore the monarchy and hold elections.²⁰³

In the 2000s, Qadhafi tried to repair global and local excesses of his “pariah state.” Abroad, he made reparations for the Lockerbie bombing, ended Libya’s program for weapons of mass destruction, and entered the United States to speak at the UN.^{204, 205, 206, 207} At home, he blamed

¹⁹⁴ Mary-Jane Deeb, “Chapter 14: Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,” in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. David Long and Bernard Reich (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 383.

¹⁹⁵ Freedom House, “Freedom in the World—Libya (2007),” 16 April 2007, <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/473c55d92.html>

¹⁹⁶ Cindy C. Combs and Martin W. Slann, “Libya, State-Supported Terrorism by,” in *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, Revised ed. (New York: Facts on File [Infobase Publishing], 2007), 173–175.

¹⁹⁷ Jonathan B. Schwartz, “Dealing with a ‘Rogue State’: The Libya Precedent,” *American Journal of International Law* 101 (2007), 553, <http://www.asil.org/pdfs/roquestate.pdf>

¹⁹⁸ Christopher Hellman and Victoria Garcia, “Chronology of Major Terrorist Attacks Against U.S. Targets,” Center for Defense Information, 12 September 2001, <http://www.cdi.org/terrorism/chronology-pr.cfm>

¹⁹⁹ Matthew Holehouse, “Libya: Profile of Colonel Gaddafi’s Eight Children,” *Telegraph* (UK), 22 August 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8715113/Libya-profile-of-Colonel-Gaddafis-eight-children.html>

²⁰⁰ Christopher M. Blanchard and Jim Zanotti, “Libya: Background and U.S. Relations,” Congressional Research Service, 18 February 2011, 7, <https://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/157348.pdf>

²⁰¹ Frank Anderson, “Qadhafi’s Libya: The Limits of Optimism,” *Middle East Policy* 6, no. 4 (Winter 1999), <http://mepc.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/qadhafis-libya-limits-optimism>

²⁰² Mary-Jane Deeb, “Chapter 14: Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,” in *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, 2nd ed., eds. David Long and Bernard Reich (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2002), 384.

²⁰³ Christopher M. Blanchard, “Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy,” Congressional Research Service, 28 March 2012, 16–17, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

²⁰⁴ Andrea Koppel and Elise Labott, “Libya Offers \$2.7 Billion Pan Am 103 Settlement,” CNN, 29 May, 2002, <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/US/05/28/libya.lockerbie.settlement/>

bureaucrats for frittering away the people's money, and proposed to dismantle much of the government, including a number of ministries, and distribute oil revenues directly to the people.^{208, 209} But his 2009 UN speech displayed contempt for much of the international community, and his harsh treatment of internal opposition grew.

Fall of Qadhafi

In February 2011, the government's arrest of a human rights activist sparked protests in Benghazi that quickly spread throughout the land.²¹⁰ When Qadhafi attacked the protesters from the air, the international community responded with a UN-approved, NATO-enforced, no-fly zone.^{211, 212} NATO soon began an air campaign against Qadhafi forces, to support the rebels and the civilian population. By August, armed opposition groups drove Qadhafi and his supporters from power in Tripoli to his hometown stronghold in Sirte. On 20 October, social media went viral with images and video of a bloodied, captured, and finally, apparently dead Qadhafi. His body (along with his son's) went on public display in a cold locker in Misratah for several days.²¹³ Although his tribe and his exiled family sought possession of his body for burial, the NTC finally buried him in a secret location, in order to prevent both veneration and desecration of the site.^{214, 215}



© Ibrahim Al Agouri
Protests in Benghazi July 2011

²⁰⁵ BBC News, "US to Renew Full Ties with Libya," 15 May 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4773617.stm>

²⁰⁶ Neil MacFarquhar, "Libyan Leader Delivers a Scolding in U.N. Debut," *New York Times*, 23 September, 2009, <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/24/world/24nations.html>

²⁰⁷ "Muammar Gaddafi Speech to United Nations, September 23, 2009 (Full)," YouTube video, 1:38:10, posted by "Qadhahfa," 9 October 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BKMyY2V0J0Y>

²⁰⁸ Philip Pank, "Gaddafi Offers Oil and Power to People," *Times* (UK), 21 February 2009, 46, <http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/news/world/africa/article2594110.ece>

²⁰⁹ Roula Khalaf, Andrew England, and Heba Saleh, "Risky Foray: Why Gaddafi is Seeking to Shrink the Libyan State," *Financial Times*, 19 September 2009, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/c48dc4e6-8417-11dd-bf00-000077b07658.html#axzz1rqtJjufS>

²¹⁰ Reuters, "Timeline: Libya's Civil War," *Guardian* (UK), 19 November 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/19/timeline-libya-civil-war>

²¹¹ *Al Jazeera*, "Nations Condemn Libyan Crackdown," 22 February 2011, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122214042786138.html>

²¹² NATO, "NATO and Libya," 28 March 2012, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_71652.htm

²¹³ Mary Beth Sheridan, "Libyans Line up to See Gaddafi's Body on Display; Groups Call for Probe into Death," *Washington Post*, 21 October 2011, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/libyans-delay-burial-of-gaddafi-pending-inquiries/2011/10/21/gIOAZkTO3L_story.html

²¹⁴ Ian Black, "Gaddafi Buried in Secret Desert Location," *Guardian* (UK), 25 October 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/oct/25/gaddafi-buried-libya-desert>

²¹⁵ Reuters Africa, "Gaddafi Family Demands Body; NATO Ends Libya War," 21 October 2011, <http://af.reuters.com/article/energyOilNews/idAFL5E7LL4AT20111021>

Recent Developments

In 2012, Libya's future is uncertain. The internationally recognized NTC scheduled summer elections for a national assembly and a constitutional referendum to follow.²¹⁶ But this timetable was threatened by the council's lack of nationwide control.²¹⁷ Some Cyrenaicans have called for regional autonomy, while others disagree.^{218, 219} Independent militias continue to operate without national authorization in Tripoli, Misratah, and elsewhere.^{220, 221, 222} Violence continues throughout the country.



© EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection
Fighting continues in 2012

On 11 September 2012 a mob stormed the U.S. consulate in Benghazi and killed four American personnel, including the American ambassador to Libya.²²³ Longstanding tribal and ethnic tensions have become violent throughout the south and the west, and hundreds are dying in each incident.²²⁴ The final disposition of Qadhafi's arms and forces is an international concern.²²⁵ The NTC discovered undeclared chemical weapons and unarmed nuclear weapons in late 2011 (and committed to destroying them in spring 2012).^{226, 227} Neighboring states fear both Libyan weapons and Libyan-trained soldiers within their borders, and Libyan-supplied arms and expertise may be contributing to regional conflicts from Mali to Syria.^{228, 229}

²¹⁶ Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy (Summary)," Congressional Research Service, 28 March 2012, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

²¹⁷ Agence France-Presse, "Libya Violence Threatens Elections, NTC Warns," Magharebia, 5 April 2012, http://magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2012/04/05/newsbrief-04

²¹⁸ Edward Yeranian, "Eastern Libyans Seek Federalism," Voice of America, 6 March 2012,

<http://www.voanews.com/english/news/middle-east/Eastern-Libyans-Seek-Federalism-141605693.html>

²¹⁹ Wolfram Lacher, "Is Autonomy for Northeastern Libya Realistic?" *Sada* (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), 21 March 2012, <http://carnegeendowment.org/sada/2012/03/21/is-autonomy-for-northeastern-libya-realistic/a431>

²²⁰ Elizabeth Arrott, "Libya Deals with Divisions in Fallout from Arab Spring," Voice of America, 14 March 2012, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/middle-east/Libya-Deals-With-Divisions-in-Fallout-From-Arab-Spring-142642326.html>

²²¹ Christopher Stephen and Caroline Alexander, "Libya's Post-Qaddafi Government is Hobbled as Misrata's City-State Thrives," Bloomberg, 28 February 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-28/libya-hobbled-as-misrata-s-armed-city-state-thrives.html>

²²² Rami Al-Shaheibi, "Libya Ruler Speaks Out Against Militia Power," Associated Press, 18 March, 2012, <http://news.yahoo.com/libya-ruler-speaks-against-militia-power-202142800.html>

²²³ Sarah Aarhun, "4 hours of fire and chaos: How the Benghazi attack unfolded," *CNN*, 13 September 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/12/world/africa/libya-consulate-attack-scene/index.html?iref=allsearch>

²²⁴ Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Libya Struggles to Contain Tribal Conflicts," 8 April, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-libya-violence-idUSBRE83702Z20120408>

²²⁵ Christopher M. Blanchard et al., "Change in the Middle East: Implications for U.S. Policy," 7 March 2012, 11, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42393.pdf>

²²⁶ RIA Novosti, "Chemical, Nuclear Weapons Found in Libya—Prime Minister," 31 October 2011, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20111031/168283090.html>

²²⁷ Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, 28 March 2012, 15, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

²²⁸ Christopher M. Blanchard, "Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, 28 March 2012, 11–20, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

²²⁹ Scott Stearns, "Tripoli Questions Russian Claims of Libyan Training for Syrian Opposition," Voice of America, 8 March 2012, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/middle-east/Tripoli-Questions-Russian-Claims-of-Libyan-Training-for-Syrian-Opposition-141955983.html>

CHAPTER 2 ASSESSMENT

1. The earliest foreign settlements along Libya's Mediterranean shore were established by the Romans.
False
Phoenicians traded with Berbers before establishing colonies around the ninth century B.C.E. Greeks founded Cyrene in 631 B.C.E and bequeathed Cyrenaica to the Romans in 96 B.C.E.
2. The Berber tribes living in the region were initially hostile toward the Arab armies that arrived in the seventh century C.E.
True
Berbers struggled against the Romans, Vandals, and Byzantines before the Arabs arrived. While resisting Arab control, the Berbers gradually accepted the Muslim faith.
3. In the early 20th century, Italy encouraged mass emigration to Libya, calling the territory its "fourth shore."
True
Over 100,000 Italians were living in Libya by 1940. Many received the land of displaced Tripolitanians and Cyrenaicans.
4. Sanusi amir Muhammad Idris proclaimed independence for Cyrenaica in 1949.
True
The British-backed return of Amir Idris to Cyrenaica complicated UN attempts to create a Libyan state unifying the historical regions of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Fezzan.
5. Qadhafi's skillful manipulation of loyalty and fear deterred coup attempts during his 42 years of rule in Libya.
False
In 1975, a major coup attempt against Qadhafi was crushed. Military mutinies in the 1980s led Qadhafi to create a separate paramilitary force.

CHAPTER 3: ECONOMY

Introduction

At the time of independence in 1951, Libya was one of the world's poorest countries.²³⁰ In 1959, oil was discovered, and the country's economic development changed dramatically. Libya began to export oil in 1961, joined the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) in 1962, and soon became the world's fourth-largest supplier of crude oil.^{231, 232} Revenues flowed into state coffers, enabling the government to be relatively autonomous from its people.²³³ Libya became a rentier state, which derives its operating funds from control over a natural resource rather than taxes on national production. As a result, Muammar Abu Minyar al-Qadhafi, who came to power in a 1969 coup, was able to pursue an increasingly radical revolution (*thawra*) that relied on wealth (*tharwa*) from oil sales.²³⁴



© Cipiota / wikimedia
Libyan oil platform

Government expenditure as a share of gross domestic product (GDP) rose considerably, in line with Qadhafi's goal of creating a socialist "state of the masses" (*Jamahiriya*).²³⁵ The private sector shrank as family-owned trading firms, whose owners made money by exploiting their employees, were reorganized into worker-run "people's supermarkets."²³⁶ Private enterprise was banned for a time, and the nation's centuries-old *souks* (bazaars), which were traditional centers of retail commerce, were closed.²³⁷ Economic reorganization increased the number of public sector jobs, moving citizens to curry favor with any government official in a position to allocate jobs. But supply never matched demand, and unemployment became a structural problem.²³⁸ Economic growth was not inclusive. Opportunities were not shared equally throughout the

²³⁰ John L. S. Simpkins, "Update: Libya's Legal System and Legal Research," GlobalLex (Hauser Global Law School Program, New York University School of Law), November/December 2010,

<http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Libya1.htm>

²³¹ Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), "Libya Facts and Figures," 2012,

http://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/166.htm

²³² Jawdat Bahgat, "Libya's Energy Outlook," *Middle East Economic Survey* 47, no. 43 (25 October 2004),

<http://www.mafhoum.com/press7/213E14.htm>

²³³ Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 2: Italy's Fourth Shore and Decolonization, 1911–1950," in *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 33.

²³⁴ Dirk Vandewalle, *Libya Since Independence: Oil and State-Building* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 82–85.

²³⁵ Meliha B. Altunisik, "A Rentier State's Response to Oil Crisis: Economic Reform Policies in Libya," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 18 (1996).

²³⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 1: Historical Setting: The Socialist People's Libya Arab Jamahiriya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987),

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

²³⁷ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Chapter 3: Economy," in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 47.

²³⁸ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 15–16, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

population, as reflected in low salaries and widespread poverty. Trade unions were forbidden, and fear seemed to sap business creativity and entrepreneurial spirit.²³⁹

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimated that, in the aftermath of the civil war, the Libyan economy contracted more than 50%.²⁴⁰ Libya now faces the economic challenges of post-war reconstruction: rebuilding war-damaged properties, repairing infrastructure, and resuming public services. While the oil industry appears to be returning to pre-war production levels, other economic sectors remain paralyzed.

Agriculture

In Libya, agriculturally productive land is found along the northern coast and around a few interior oases.²⁴¹ Major field crops are wheat, barley, and sorghum. The Italians introduced olive trees. Other tree fruits are almonds, citrus, apricots, and figs. Southern oases specialize in dates. In Cyrenaica, herders raise sheep, goats, cattle, camels, horses, donkeys, and mules.²⁴²

In 1958, before the influx of oil revenues, agriculture contributed over 26% of GDP, and Libya was self-sufficient in food production.²⁴³ By 1978 agriculture had plummeted to just 2% of GDP, and domestic food production eventually provided only about 25% of the country's consumption.^{244, 245} The government promoted the growth of domestic agriculture with the Great Man-Made River project (GMR), which taps aquifers under the southern desert to supply irrigated farmlands (and cities as far north as Tripoli).^{246, 247}

Libyan farmers have traditionally grown crops for direct consumption (rather than storage or export). This often results in post-harvest financial losses for farmers, particularly in years with good harvests.²⁴⁸ Agribusiness solutions would stagger the growing season, create storage



© gordontour / flickr.com
Sheep grazing

²³⁹ *Economist*, "How to Squander a Nation's Potential," 20 August 2009, http://www.economist.com/world/middleeast-africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14270103

²⁴⁰ Ventures Middle East, "Libya Construction Industry 2012," February 2012, http://www.researchandmarkets.com/research/860113/libya_construction

²⁴¹ NASA Earth Observatory, "Green Circles—Al Khufrah Oasis, Libya," 14 November 2004, <http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/IOTD/view.php?id=4998>

²⁴² *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46550/Agriculture-forestry-and-fishing>

²⁴³ U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Libya: Cereal Production," 13 May 2004, <http://www.fas.usda.gov/pecad/highlights/2004/05/libya/index.htm>

²⁴⁴ David S. Sorenson, "Chapter 18: The Modern History of Libya," in *An Introduction to the Modern Middle East: History, Religion, Political Economy, Politics* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008), 389–390.

²⁴⁵ The CIA *World Factbook* reported that agriculture made up 1.5% of Libya's GDP in 2008 when the price of oil hit new highs. Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya" in *The World Factbook*, 5 March 2009, <http://web.archive.org/web/20090311020434/https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

²⁴⁶ John Watkins, "Libya's Thirst for 'Fossil Water,'" BBC News, 18 March 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/4814988.stm>

²⁴⁷ *Economist*, "Libya's Water Supply: Plumbing the Sahara (Graphic Detail)," 11 March 2011, http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/03/libyas_water_supply

²⁴⁸ Investment Centre Division, FAO, "Bankable Investment Project Profile: Warehouse for Grading, Packing and Storage," June 2006, <ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/009/ag391e/ag391e00.pdf>

facilities, and introduce modern technology and farming methods (such as hydroponic greenhouses and potted growing systems).²⁴⁹ Libyan scientists have traveled abroad to gain the necessary agricultural training.²⁵⁰

The International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas is helping Libya recover from the disruptions of the 2011 conflict, supplying seeds for the 2012 planting season.²⁵¹ An outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in animals spread from Egypt to Libya in 2012.²⁵²

Industry

Industry accounts for the majority of Libya's GDP (56.7% in 2011) because of the extraction, processing, and transportation of petroleum products.²⁵³ Other heavy industries produce aluminum, iron and steel, and cement, while light industries include food processing, handicrafts, and textile manufacture.²⁵⁴ In addition to oil, nationalized industries are tobacco, salt, and esparto grass (used to make paper), which was once Libya's most lucrative export.^{255, 256}



© Carsten ten Brink
Petroleum tanks

Libya's physical infrastructure was reportedly deteriorating even before the 2011 conflict. Once military security and political stability have been re-established, reconstruction projects (estimated at USD 200 billion to 480 billion) are predicted to grow construction-related industry over the next decade.²⁵⁷

Energy and Natural Resources

Oil and gas are Libya's most economically important natural resources by far. Proven reserves that were among the largest in Africa yielded 2% of the world's annual production before the setback of the 2011 conflict.^{258, 259} In 2011, oil sales accounted for 65% of GDP and 95% of

²⁴⁹ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 8: Economic Reform and Diversification," in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 313.

²⁵⁰ Government of Western Australia, Department of Agriculture and Food, "Libyan Visitors to Share Agriculture Knowledge," 22 June 2009, http://www.agric.wa.gov.au/PC_93365.htm

²⁵¹ Hazem Badr, "Libyan Researchers Appeal to Farming Experts," SciDev Net, 3 November 2011,

<http://www.scidev.net/en/agriculture-and-environment/news/libyan-researchers-appeal-to-farming-experts.html>

²⁵² Caryl Lockhart et al., "Foot-and-Mouth Disease Caused by Serotype SAT2 in Egypt and Libya," *Empres Watch* (Food and Agriculture Organization) 25 (March 2012), <http://www.fao.org/docrep/015/an380e/an380e00.pdf>

²⁵³ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

²⁵⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

²⁵⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya: Manufacturing," 2012,

<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46551/Manufacturing>

²⁵⁶ Ali Abdullatif Ahmida, *The Making of Modern Libya: State Formation, Colonization, and Resistance* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009), 170.

²⁵⁷ Business Monitor International, "Libya Infrastructure Report 2012: Description," Research and Markets, February 2012, http://www.researchandmarkets.com/reports/2077125/libya_infrastructure_report_2012

²⁵⁸ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), Independent Statistics and Analysis, "Country Analysis Brief: Libya," February 2011, <http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=LY>

export earnings.²⁶⁰ Libyan oil and gas moves through over 5,000 km (3,100 mi) of oil and gas pipeline, several domestic refineries (and a liquid natural gas facility), oil export terminals, and dozens of tankers to its final destinations, which include Libyan-owned refineries in Egypt and Europe.^{261, 262, 263} Analysts expect current proven oil reserves (46.4 billion bbls, now Africa's largest) to grow when multinational companies feel confident enough of the new government to resume exploration. Libya's optimistic projection is for oil production to surpass 2010 levels of 1.8 million bbl/d and reach 3 million bbl/d by 2017.²⁶⁴ In April 2012, the oil minister reported that oil production was nearing pre-conflict levels.²⁶⁵

Libya has met most of its domestic energy needs with oil-burning electricity plants. It plans to convert more of these plants to natural gas to free up more oil for export. Abundant natural gas reserves (54.7 trillion cubic feet in 2011) permit inefficiencies in production: in 2009, almost half of the gas was vented, flared, or re-injected "to enhance oil recovery."²⁶⁶



© BRQ Network
Oil Refinery

Natural gas exports grew after Libya and Italy built the 595-km (370-mi) "Greenstream" pipeline under the Mediterranean to southwestern Sicily.^{267, 268} Closed by the 2011 conflict, the Greenstream pipeline reopened in October 2011.²⁶⁹ Despite Qadhafi's 1970 nationalization of oil companies, the industry depends upon foreign expertise, equipment, and market demand to convert oil into spendable wealth. Thus, Libya's economy is sensitive to difficulties with the recruitment of qualified personnel, the participation of multinational companies, and drops in world oil prices. (Also, it had suffered under the periodic international sanctions brought about by Qadhafi's behavior.)^{270, 271, 272, 273}

²⁵⁹ Ventures Middle East, "Libya Construction Industry 2012," February 2012,

http://www.researchandmarkets.com/research/860113/libya_construction

²⁶⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

²⁶¹ Theodora, "North Africa Pipelines Map—Crude Oil (Petroleum) Pipelines—Natural Gas Pipelines—Products Pipelines," 8 May 2008, http://www.theodora.com/pipelines/north_africa_oil_gas_products_pipelines_map.html

²⁶² *Tripoli Post*, "Libya Adds Two Oil Tankers to Its Fleet," 22 August 2009,

<http://tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=2&i=3490>

²⁶³ International Energy Agency (IEA), "Facts on Libya: Oil and Gas," 21 February 2011,

http://www.iea.org/files/facts_libya.pdf

²⁶⁴ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "Libya—Analysis," February 2011,

<http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=LY>

²⁶⁵ Associated Press, "Libya Oil Minister Says Output Near Pre-War Levels with 1.5 Million Barrels a Day,"

Washington Post, 23 April 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/libya-oil-minister-says-output-near-pre-war-levels-with-15-million-barrels-a-day/2012/04/23/gIQAfYRocT_story.html

²⁶⁶ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "Libya—Analysis," February 2011,

<http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=LY>

²⁶⁷ Energy Information Administration, U.S. Department of Energy, "Country Analysis Brief: Libya: Exports,"

February 2011, <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Libya/pdf.pdf>

²⁶⁸ African Energy, "Libya Report," 2009, http://www.africa-energy.com/html/Public/Libya_Report/Libya.html

²⁶⁹ Colleen Barry, "Eni Reopens Gas Pipeline from Libya to Italy," Associated Press, 13 October 2011,

<http://news.yahoo.com/eni-reopens-gas-pipeline-libya-italy-133942051.html>

²⁷⁰ Sami Zaptia, "Opinion: Libyans Abroad: Come Home We Need You!" *Tripoli Post*, 11 March 2007,

<http://www.tripolipost.com/articledetail.asp?c=5&i=1336>

²⁷¹ Middle East Economic Survey, "Libya Stalemate On Exploration Restart," Review of Middle East Energy, Finance & Politics, 2 April 2012, <http://www.mees.com/en/articles/4444-libya-stalemate-on-exploration-restart>.

International companies with interests in Libya include Occidental, Conoco Phillips, Exxon Mobil, Royal Dutch Shell, and British Petroleum.²⁷⁴

Trade and Transportation

Libya's main exports are petroleum products. The European Union buys around 85% of Libyan oil and gas for export, with Italy leading France, Germany, and Spain (Spain buys all of Libya's liquefied natural gas). China and the United States are other major purchasers.²⁷⁵ Libya must import almost everything else—food, machinery, transport equipment, and consumer products. The European Union, again led by Italy, is also Libya's largest import partner, accounting for 40% of annual imports. Other major importers are China and South Korea, as well as nearby Turkey, Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria.^{276, 277}



© Tarek Siala
Coastal highway in Tripoli

In the 21st century, Libya is trying to overcome decades of international economic sanctions. Libya began the application process for membership in the World Trade Organization in 2004.²⁷⁸ Libya belongs to free trade zones for Africans (COMESA) and Arabs (GAFTA/PAFTA). In 2006, Libya declared two coastal free trade zones in Zuwara (west of Tripoli) and Misratah (east of Tripoli).^{279, 280} In the wake of the 2011 Arab Spring, countries of the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Mauritania, and Libya) are looking to revitalize regional trade, which will require improving transportation to lower shipping costs, lowering tariff barriers, ending the arbitrary decisions of border personnel, and developing transparent means to settle trade disputes.²⁸¹

Libya has depended on foreign investment, expertise, and interest in trade to develop its transportation networks. Colonial-era railroads were closed in the 1960s, but Russian and Chinese projects began in recent years.^{282, 283, 284} World War II Allied military facilities became

²⁷² Global Security, "Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)," 29 April 1996,

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/library/news/iran/1996/13115527-13121326.htm>

²⁷³ drops in world oil prices

²⁷⁴ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "Libya—Analysis," February 2011,

<http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=LY>

²⁷⁵ U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), "Libya—Analysis," February 2011,

<http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=LY>

²⁷⁶ European Commission, "Trade: Bilateral Relations: Statistics: Libya," 21 March 2012,

http://trade.ec.europa.eu/doclib/docs/2006/september/tradoc_113414.pdf

²⁷⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

²⁷⁸ World Trade Organization, "Accession Status: Libya", n.d.,

http://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/a1_libya_e.htm

²⁷⁹ LFTZ, "Libyan Free Trade Zones," 2006–2012, <http://www.libyanfreetradezone.com/>

²⁸⁰ Ministry of Industry & Trade, The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, "Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA)", n.d. <http://www.mit.gov.jo/Default.aspx?tabid=732>

²⁸¹ Lahcen Achy, "The Arab Spring Revives Maghreb Integration," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 6 March 2012, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/03/06/arab-spring-revives-maghreb-integration/a0rf>

²⁸² Railway Gazette, "First 14 Km of Libyan Rail Network in Place," 13 August 2010,

<http://www.railwaygazette.com/news/single-view/view/first-14-km-of-libyan-rail-network-in-place.html>

modern air and sea ports, further developed by and for the oil and gas industry. Italy agreed to fund work on Libya's coastal highway as part of a compensation package for colonial-era misdeeds.²⁸⁵

Tourism

Libya's Mediterranean coastline and archeological sites are potential travel destinations for nearby European and Middle Eastern vacationers, and its deserts hold attractions for World War II history buffs and ecotourists. In the early 2000s, the tourism sector's contribution to the economy grew to 3% of GDP, and a spurt in luxury hotel investment occurred later in the decade.^{286, 287} But analysts have questioned whether tourism can achieve its full potential in the face of visa difficulties and a blanket prohibition of alcohol.²⁸⁸ The 2011 conflict stopped all but business-related travel, and further decline is predicted for the sector in 2012, followed by another decade for the sector to return to pre-conflict levels.²⁸⁹



© gordontour / flickr.com
Temple of Zeus in Cyrene

Banking and Finance

Qadhafi nationalized Libyan banking in 1969–1970, but showed little interest in developing reliable government organizations that could administer Libya's wealth.²⁹⁰ His attitude led to a coup attempt in 1975 and showed in 2009, when he proposed to distribute oil income directly to the people in order to end government corruption. (The proposal, which also would have ended public subsidies and services paid for by oil revenues, was delayed indefinitely by the people's congresses.)^{291, 292, 293} Libya's 21st-century attempts to meet international expectations for financial operations highlighted several deficiencies in the sector: 1) banks could not gather

²⁸³ Reuters, "China Railway Suspends Libya Projects, Evacuates Workers," 1 March 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/03/02/chinarailway-idUSTOE72100Q20110302>

²⁸⁴ Scott Lewis, "Rail Network Construction in Libya Stalled by Rebellion," *Engineering News-Record*, 23 September 2011, <http://www.nrcma.org/download.cfm?ID=27798>

²⁸⁵ *National* (Abu Dhabi Media), "Libya Set for US \$5bn Payout from Italy," 31 August 2008, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/africa/libya-set-for-us-5bn-payout-from-italy>

²⁸⁶ World Travel and Tourism Council, "Travel and Tourism: Economic Impact 2012: Libya," 2012, 3, http://www.wttc.org/site_media/uploads/downloads/libya2012_1.pdf

²⁸⁷ Euromonitor International, "Travel and Tourism in Libya: Executive Summary," June 2011, <http://www.euromonitor.com/travel-and-tourism-in-libya/report>

²⁸⁸ Africa Investor, "Sanctioning Investment," July–August 2007, http://www.pri-center.com/documents/ai/Sanctioning_investment.pdf

²⁸⁹ World Travel and Tourism Council, "Travel and Tourism: Economic Impact 2012: Libya," 2012, 3, http://www.wttc.org/site_media/uploads/downloads/libya2012_1.pdf

²⁹⁰ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, "Chapter 8: Economic Reform and Diversification," in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 283.

²⁹¹ Al Jazeera Africa, "Libya Delays Gaddafi Oil Plan," 3 March 2009, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2009/03/200933183343913989.html>

²⁹² Bruce Ronald St. John, "Qadhafi's Old Theories Facing New Realities" *Sada*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 4 December 2008, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/arb/?fa=show&article=22478>

²⁹³ Beat Stauffer, "Revolutionary Rhetoric or Radical Change?" *Qantara.de*, 9 April 2009, http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/c-476/nr-1138/i.html

reliable data on a borrower's finances in order to assess loan risk; 2) small borrowers often did not have sufficient collateral to guarantee their loans; 3) managers lacked incentives for making private sector loans because the loans were not part of managerial performance evaluations. Also noted was the lack of a legal system to enforce contracts and facilitate recovery of collateral.²⁹⁴

Early in the 2011 civil war, rebels reconstituted Libya's national bank (and national oil corporation) to gain access to frozen funds (and sell embargoed oil).²⁹⁵ By 2012, the Central Bank of Libya resumed control of some USD 100 billion in government assets, and began to manage the supply of currency to support the exchange rate, reduce cash hoarding, and introduce new banknotes.^{296, 297, 298, 299} Libya's stock exchange reopened 15 March 2012, with 10 listed companies and 1 trade reported.³⁰⁰



© Alfred Diem
Central Bank of Libya

New banks with international backing and “no socialist legacy” are introducing new financial information and communication technologies (ICT) and a modern “sales and marketing” culture.”^{301, 302}

Standard of Living

Libya's small population and large GDP combine to produce the highest per capita income in the region. Life expectancy and literacy rates also surpass those of its North African neighbors. By international standards, Libya ranks as an upper middle-income economy with high human development.^{303, 304} Yet these numbers mask an unequal distribution of economic opportunities and benefits, as well as high levels of underemployment, unemployment, and poverty (the CIA reports that one-third of Libyans are at or below the national poverty



© Carsten ten Brink
High poverty rate

²⁹⁴ Waniss A. Otman and Erling Karlberg, “Chapter 8: Economic Reform and Diversification,” in *The Libyan Economy: Economic Diversification and International Repositioning* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), 290.

²⁹⁵ Bill Varner, “Libyan Rebel Council Forms Oil Company to Replace Qaddafi's,” Bloomberg, 22 March 2011, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-03-21/libyan-rebel-council-sets-up-oil-company-to-replace-qaddafi-s.html>

²⁹⁶ Ralph Chami et al., “Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities,” Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 7–8, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

²⁹⁷ Office of the Spokesperson, U.S. Department of State, “Background Briefing on Libya (via teleconference),” 8 March 2012, <http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/texttrans/2012/03/201203081844.html#axzz1szNlmnUP>

²⁹⁸ Central Banking.com, “Libya Begins Phasing out Old Banknotes,” 16 January 2012, <http://www.centralbanking.com/central-banking/news/2137850/libya-begins-phasing-banknotes>

²⁹⁹ Banknote News, “Libya,” n.d., <http://www.banknotenews.com/files/tag-libya.php>

³⁰⁰ Ahmed A. Namatalla, “Post-Qaddafi Libya Bourse Opens as 4 IPOs Seen by Year-End,” Bloomberg, 15 March 2012, <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-03-14/post-qaddafi-libya-exchange-opens-as-four-ipos-seen-by-year-end.html>

³⁰¹ Libyan British Business Council, “Libya's Financial Institutions and Investment Opportunities 2012 (Event Summary),” 2011, http://www.lbcc.org.uk/display_event.php?event_id=45

³⁰² Tadhg Enright, “Rich But Starved: Libya's Economic Challenge,” Sky News, 24 August 2011, <http://news.sky.com/home/business/article/16055574>

³⁰³ World Bank, “Data: Libya,” 2012, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/libya>

³⁰⁴ UN Development Programme, “Human Development Reports: Indices and Data,” 2011, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics>

line).^{305, 306, 307} Since the late 1970s, the government seized tens of thousands of homes and small businesses for transfer to new occupants at below-market rates.³⁰⁸ (Whether this was a redistribution to equalize wealth or an abuse of privilege is unclear.) Qadhafi's later attempt to correct income inequalities through the direct distribution of oil revenues stalled partly because members of the voting bodies, including local people's congresses, realized it would lead to the end of their government-subsidized, public-sector jobs.

Political repression, as much as corruption and economic disparity, lowered Libya's standard of living during Qadhafi's rule. Human rights abuses—imprisonment, torture, rape, killing—did not end with his death. The rebel militias, the transitional authorities, and the diverse Libyan people now face the challenges of making and maintaining a society that is free from want and fear.

Employment

Historically, oil shifted employment in Libya from agriculture to industry, and later to service work, as Qadhafi distributed oil revenues to the people through the mechanism of public sector employment. In 2004, an estimated 59% of the labor force of 1.1 million worked in services, compared to 23% in industry and 17% in agriculture.³⁰⁹ Foreign migrant workers were also attracted to industrial and agricultural work in increasingly wealthy Libya beginning in the 1960s; their numbers reached 1.5 million, or nearly 25% of the total population.³¹⁰ Libya's high birth rates and decreasing death rates gradually produced a workforce larger than the government could employ. In recent years, calls for the deportation of undocumented workers became frequent, and youth unemployment rates rose as high as 30%.^{311, 312, 313} In 2012, the transitional government started to provide more public sector employment for young people.³¹⁴



© Carsten ten Brink
Migrants wait to work

³⁰⁵ Jonathan Reingold, "The Curse of Oil Wealth," *BardPolitik* 6 (Spring 2005),

<http://bgia.bard.edu/userfiles/file/15oilwealth.pdf>

³⁰⁶ International Monetary Fund, "Libya on Recovery Path but Faces Long Rebuilding Effort," *IMF Survey Magazine*, 16 April 2012, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2012/car041612a.htm>

³⁰⁷ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³⁰⁸ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 7, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

³⁰⁸ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 6, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

³⁰⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Libya," in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³¹⁰ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 6, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

³¹¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, "Libya," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya>

³¹² *Economist*, "How to Squander a Nation's Potential," 20 August 2009,

http://www.economist.com/world/middleeast-africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14270103

³¹³ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 2, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

³¹⁴ International Monetary Fund, "Libya on Recovery Path but Faces Long Rebuilding Effort," *IMF Survey Magazine*, 16 April 2012, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2012/car041612a.htm>

Public vs. Private Sector

For several decades, Qadhafi continuously reconfigured the government in an effort to achieve Jamahiriya, his revolutionary socialist agenda. Public sector employment grew to (unsustainably) large numbers, and government staff were (increasingly) appointees averse to risk and fearful of initiative. Nationalization of industries did not end Libya's dependence on private-sector firms to turn its natural resources into monetary wealth. The growing number of multinational oil projects in Libya caused the state negotiating agent, the National Oil Corporation (NOC), to fall behind in the approval process, which delayed oil exploration and production.³¹⁵ In this environment, bribery became a means to expedite service, particularly because salaries in the public sector were extremely low.³¹⁶



© Frederique Harmsze
Private copper smiths

Postwar Libya faces challenges to rebalance the public and private sectors. Early recovery efforts, such as increasing universal subsidies and funding more public sector employment, may have to be restricted in the medium term to long term to lower-income households. International observers (as well as many Libyans) would like to see more transparency and accountability in the government's budgeting process and in the management of Libya's sovereign wealth fund (oil revenues invested by the government to yield future income for its citizens). Reforms toward developing the private sector were legislated in 2010, and await investors' trust in the new government and judicial system. The Central Bank of Libya may have to assist commercial institutions to continue lending during reconstruction.³¹⁷

Outlook

During the 2011 civil war, oil production dropped but never completely stopped, and postwar recovery was more rapid than expected. Libya's new government needs new initiatives to attract investment and to continue technological development in the oil sector. More importantly, the new government needs more equitable ways to distribute oil revenues to its citizens, and to reinvest revenues for the public good. Conversely, the new Libya's citizenry will need patience to endure the slow pace of economic reforms, and time to develop new business and technology skills needed to stabilize and diversify the economy.

³¹⁵ Tom Pfeiffer, "Slow Progress Sows Doubts on Libyan Oil Prospects," Reuters Africa, 15 May 2009, <http://af.reuters.com/article/libyaNews/idAFL18643720090515?sp=true>

³¹⁶ *Economist*, "How to Squander a Nation's Potential," 20 August 2009, http://www.economist.com/world/middleeast-africa/displaystory.cfm?story_id=14270103

³¹⁷ Ralph Chami et al., "Libya Beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities," Middle East and Central Asia Department, International Monetary Fund, 2012, 11–19, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf>

CHAPTER 3 ASSESSMENT

1. Before oil was discovered in Libya, it was one of the world's poorest countries.
True
 Oil revenues have since filled the state's coffers and subsidized healthcare and housing, but have not yet eliminated unemployment and poverty.
2. Agriculture currently contributes 25% of Libya's GDP, and domestic food production is sufficient to provide all the food that Libyans consume.
False
 Domestic production accounts for only 25% of total food consumption, and 2% of GDP. Once self-sufficient, Libya now imports most of its food.
3. Libya is modernizing its banking system to meet international operations standards.
True
 In addition to meeting international standards, Libya's banking sector will need a legal system that can enforce contracts and facilitate recovery of collateral.
4. Qadhafi's creation of public-sector jobs solved Libya's problem with unemployment.
False
 Qadhafi eliminated many private-sector jobs, and Libya's workforce grew larger than the government could employ. Private-sector job growth could reduce future unemployment.
5. Mostly covered by desert, there is little potential for tourism in Libya.
False
 Libya's beautiful Mediterranean coast, archeological and historic sites, and desert ecosystems hold tourism potential. With safety restored, nearby European and Middle Eastern tourists may return.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIETY

Introduction

The creation of a single Libyan state in 1951 consolidated the historical and cultural heritage of the unified three regions of Tripolitania, Fezzan, and Cyrenaica. At the time, Libya was largely a tribal society, administered locally by headmen and religious elites. Despite the declaration of a united kingdom, this social structure remained mostly intact under the monarchy of King Muhammad Idris as Sanusi.³¹⁸ The discovery of oil in 1959 soon brought immense wealth to a once-poor country. The transition from a subsistence economy to an oil-dependent economy brought profound social changes, including rural-to-urban migration and a weakening of the tribe as the primary source of patronage and security for the average individual.³¹⁹ The monarchy's perceived corruption and ineffectiveness—especially regarding its inequitable distribution of oil wealth—led to public discontent and, ultimately, revolution.³²⁰



© Bernd Brincken
Protesters and mourners 2011

Colonel Muammar Qadhafi and the Revolutionary Council overthrew the monarchy in 1969. Qadhafi initiated reforms designed to create a classless society in which wealth was more fairly distributed among the people. After nationalizing business and finance, Qadhafi invested oil revenues in housing, education, and healthcare for the general population.³²¹ He tried to break down traditional tribal alliances and power structures through local “people’s committees” and administrative boundaries that crossed tribal lines.³²² In a complex and often contradictory manner, Qadhafi tied his socialist policies to Islam and Arab nationalism. As the government became the main source of economic opportunity and benefits, Libya became a welfare state. At the same time, Qadhafi’s tight governmental controls, institution of Islamic laws, and discouragement of foreign influence created a conservative, closed society.³²³

The 2011 civil war emerged partly from the poverty, unemployment, and pent-up dissatisfaction that marked Qadhafi’s failures to create a truly classless society. The war permitted old tribal and ethnic divisions to resurface, which had long repressed by Qadhafi’s internal security forces. In liberation, Libyans need to find new ways to express and accept social differences, while living and working together in an integrated society.

³¹⁸ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Structure of Society: Evolutionary Changes in a Traditional Society,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³¹⁹ Mansour O. El-Kikhia, “Chapter 3: State Structures and Political Development,” in *Libya’s Qadhafi: The Politics of Contradiction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 36.

³²⁰ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 38–40.

³²¹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 66–67.

³²² LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Structure of Society: Evolutionary Changes in a Traditional Society,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³²³ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 72–75.

Ethnic Groups

The vast majority (97%) of the Libyan population is described as Arab-Berber.³²⁴ Berbers, who call themselves *Imazighan* (singular *Amazigh*), are descendants of the native tribes of North Africa, whose presence there is thought to date back at least 5,000 years.^{325, 326} Arabs first migrated to the region in the seventh century, when they spread Islam and the Arabic language throughout North Africa. Beginning in the 11th century, the large-scale immigration of Bedouins, or Arab nomads, led to the assimilation of most Berber tribes and the lasting Arabization of the region. Today, most Libyans share a predominantly Arab culture based on Sunni Islam and the Arabic language. Though the majority identify themselves as Arab, few can claim pure or even predominant Arab ancestry because of centuries of intermarriage with Berbers and/or the descendants of other peoples who occupied the region.³²⁷



© Magharebia / flickr.com
Libyan women

A small percentage of Libyans (approximately 3–5%, according to some sources) continue to identify themselves as Berbers, although they are typically of mixed ancestry.^{328, 329, 330} Their distinction from Arabs is expressed through language and culture.³³¹ In general, they speak Berber languages and live in small, tight-knit communities in which farming and pastoralism are the primary economic activities.³³² Most Libyan Berbers live in the Tripolitania region, although some live in scattered areas of Cyrenaica and Fezzan.

The Berber category is broad and tends to mask the diversity of the many tribes that it encompasses. A distinct subgroup of Berbers, the Tuareg, are indigenous desert nomads who are found throughout the greater Saharan region, including nearby Algeria and Niger. Within Libya, they are concentrated in the west (around Ghadames) and southwest (around Ghat and Murzuq). Known as a hardy, independent people, the Tuareg can be identified by their blue clothing, the dye of which stains their skin. For this reason, they are known as the “blue people.” They practice a folk version of Sunni Islam and give high social status to women, for whom the

³²⁴ Central Intelligence Agency, “Libya,” in *The World Factbook*, 26 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.html>

³²⁵ Edwin Lane, “After Gaddafi, Libya’s Amazigh Demand Recognition,” BBC News, 23 December 2011,

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16289543>

³²⁶ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

³²⁷ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, “Country Profile: Libya,” April 2005,

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

³²⁸ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, “Libyans: The Amazigh,” in *Cultures of the World: Libya* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 65.

³²⁹ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

³³⁰ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 28.

³³¹ Ronald Bruce St. John, “Berbers,” in *Historical Dictionary of Libya* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 35.

³³² David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

privilege of reading and writing was traditionally reserved.³³³ In contrast to most Muslim communities, Tuareg men traditionally wear veils, but women are not required to do so.³³⁴

Other ethnic groups include the Tebu (Toubou), who live in southeastern Libya (especially around the Tibesti Range), where they subsist as farmers and pastoralists. The Tebu practice a form of Islam that is heavily influenced by the Sanusi Order, an austere Muslim sect established in the Cyrenaica region during the 19th century. Also in Libya are black Africans, who are often migrant workers or the descendants of slaves. This group includes people from Mali, Chad, Sudan, and Niger.³³⁵ Finally, Libya is home to large numbers of Egyptian, Palestinian, and Tunisian immigrants, as well as small communities of Europeans, such as Italians, Greeks, and Maltese.³³⁶



© Carsten ten Brink
Berber man from Fezzan area

Languages

Arabic is the official language of Libya. It is the most widely used language in the country, a trend that the Libyan government reinforced as part of its Arab nationalist policies.³³⁷ There are three major dialects of the language in Libya: Tripolitanian Arabic, Eastern Libyan Arabic, and Southern Libyan Arabic.³³⁸ Reflecting historical allegiances, the dialect spoken in western Libya (Tripolitania) is related to that of Tunisia, while the dialect used in the east is similar to Egyptian Arabic.³³⁹ Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), a formal version of the language, is used for all official correspondence and signage. MSA is generally understood throughout the Arab world. English is widely used as a second language, and French and Italian may also be used or understood, particularly in urban areas.³⁴⁰

Berber languages—sometimes collectively named Tamazight—are spoken within Libya’s remnant Berber communities. The most widely spoken of these is Nafusi, which is the first language of most Berbers in the Jebel Nafusah region and other areas of Tripolitania, as well as portions of nearby Tunisia.



© David Stanley
Tuareg man

³³³ LaVerle Berry, “Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Ethnic Groups and Languages: Peoples of Libya: Tuareg,” in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³³⁴ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 29–30.

³³⁵ Anthony Ham, “Facts about Libya: Population and People,” in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 30–31.

³³⁶ David Levinson, “Part Two: Africa: Libya,” in *Ethnic Groups Worldwide: A Ready Reference Handbook* (Phoenix: The Oryx Press, 1998), 145–146.

³³⁷ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Libya: People: Ethnic Groups and Languages,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/46545/People>

³³⁸ M. Paul Lewis, ed., “Languages of Libya,” in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Libya

³³⁹ Anthony Ham, “Language,” in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 246.

³⁴⁰ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, “Country Profile: Libya,” April 2005, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

Nafusi has its own dialects, including Zuara and Jerbi.³⁴¹ At the other end of the spectrum, only a small group of Berbers in eastern Cyrenaica speak Awjilah. Though the men of this tribe typically speak Arabic as a second language (especially in public), the women speak only Awjilah; they therefore serve as the primary keepers of this dying language.³⁴² The Tuareg speak a Berber language known as Tamahaq or Tamashek.³⁴³ The Tebu speak their own language; its various dialects are not mutually intelligible.³⁴⁴ Overall, most Berber and other native-language speakers also speak Arabic.

Religion

Islam is the predominant religion in Libya. Arab armies introduced the religion to North Africa in the seventh century C.E.; its presence was firmly established in the region by the Bedouin tribes who began arriving in large numbers in the 11th century. The native Berbers synthesized Islam with their indigenous religious practices, which included the veneration of local saints and a belief in spirits and various superstitions.³⁴⁵ Over the centuries, practitioners of this folk version of Islam formed brotherhoods around venerated holy men, who were believed to be endowed with spiritual power, or *baraka*.³⁴⁶

After Qadhafi overthrew King Idris in 1969, he embraced Islam as an essential component of his revolutionary reforms.³⁴⁷ With the stated goal of reshaping Libyan society according to Islamic law and custom, he ordered the prohibition of alcohol, the transformation of churches into mosques, the adoption of the Islamic lunar calendar, and the closure of nightclubs and similar entertainment venues.³⁴⁸ He also called for the full institution of *shari'a*, or Islamic law, including the potential use of traditional forms of Islamic punishment, such as flogging and amputation. (These latter reforms were never fully institutionalized.)³⁴⁹



© Michael Stone
Mosque in Benghazi

³⁴¹ M. Paul Lewis, ed., "Awjilah," in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=auj

³⁴² M. Paul Lewis, ed., "Nafusi," in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=jbn

³⁴³ M. Paul Lewis, ed., "Languages of Libya," in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 16th ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2009), http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Libya

³⁴⁴ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Ethnic Groups and Languages: Peoples of Libya: Black Africans," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁴⁵ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁴⁶ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life: Saints and Brotherhoods," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁴⁷ Alison Pargeter, "Political Islam in Libya," *Terrorism Monitor* (Jamestown Foundation) 3, no. 6 (5 May 2005), http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=306

³⁴⁸ Dirk Vandewalle, "Chapter 5: The Green Book's Stateless Society, 1973–1986," in *A History of Modern Libya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 126.

³⁴⁹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 53–54.

Widely interpreted as a method of legitimizing and consolidating his authority, Qadhafi's religious reforms led to the weakening of the traditional Muslim establishment, including the *ulama*, or Islamic scholars. Qadhafi's unorthodox views, including his notion that the Quran, the holy book of Islam, could be read and interpreted by any Muslim, drew criticism from Muslim leaders.³⁵⁰ In turn, Qadhafi took steps to limit their power, including taxing their income and prohibiting them from commenting on political matters. He defended his "populist" version of Islam by claiming that his reforms captured the true spirit of Islam.³⁵¹

Accordingly, Islam is the official state religion of Libya and a major influence on society and daily life. Approximately 97% of Libyans—almost the entire Muslim population—practice the Sunni form of Islam. Small numbers of Kharijites, a small Islamic sect, are among the Berber community. Generally, Libyans adhere to the essentials of Islam by praying five times a day, giving alms to the poor, and fasting during Ramadan. Some groups, such as the Tuareg, continue to practice elements of folk Islam, while others, such as the Tebu, remain heavily influenced by the Sanusis.³⁵²

Gender Issues

Shaped by Islamic custom, Libyan society is traditionally conservative and patriarchal. Men have greater authority and freedom than women. Customary gender roles are expressed in the traditional association of men with the public sphere and women with the private, domestic sphere.³⁵³ Many women tend not to venture into public alone; instead, they socialize in private spaces with other women. Conversely, men typically socialize in public—in coffee houses, for example. Such habits accord with the Islamic custom of separating the sexes. (Bedouin and Berber women of tribes such as the Tuareg have traditionally maintained a significant public presence and a status equal to or even greater than that of men.³⁵⁴)



© Rafael Gomez
Libyan women wear hijab

In opposition to patriarchal tradition, the Qadhafi regime in 1969 issued the Constitutional Proclamation granting women equal status. Article 5 of the proclamation simply stated: "All citizens are equal before the law."³⁵⁵ Over the years, Qadhafi instituted reforms to promote gender equality and enhance the general welfare of women. These reforms included laws enforcing equal pay and extension of social security benefits to single mothers, elderly divorcees, and widows. The government set the minimum age of marriage for women at 16 and granted

³⁵⁰ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: Religious Life: Islam in Revolutionary Libya," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁵¹ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 53–55.

³⁵² Anthony Ham, "Language," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 29–30.

³⁵³ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 60–61.

³⁵⁴ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Society and Conduct," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 38–39.

³⁵⁵ International Constitutional Law Project, "Libya—Constitution," 1994–2010, http://www.servat.unibe.ch/icl/ly00000_.html

women the right to consent to marriage, to polygamy, and, in some cases, to marry without parental approval.³⁵⁶ Libyan women also received enhanced divorce and property rights.³⁵⁷

Qadhafi encouraged women to seek an education and participate in the workforce and political sphere. He also advocated women's enlistment in the military, establishing female military academies and using female bodyguards for his personal security force.^{358, 359} Many women benefited from increased opportunities in education and employment. In the 2000s, women made up 30% of the Libyan workforce, a substantial increase from 6% in the 1970s.^{360, 361}

Despite Qadhafi's much-touted reforms, males still dominate in Libyan society.³⁶² *Purdah*, the Islamic custom of secluding and veiling women, is still practiced by segments of society.³⁶³ Many women adhere to the practice of *hijab*, in which they cover their heads when in public. They may do so to avoid intimidation and harassment from males, and because social pressure to conform remains strong.³⁶⁴ Women in newly liberated Libya are concerned that men may revert to imposing polygamy, rather than seeking permission. Few women are part of the National Transitional Council, and drafts of a new election law seemed to limit the number of women's seats in a future parliament to 10%.^{365, 366, 367}

Cuisine

Reflecting North African cuisine, Libyan food exhibits Arabic and Mediterranean influences. Grains (e.g., wheat, barley, and rice) and fruits (e.g., dates, apricots, and figs) are staples, although domestic agricultural production is low. Couscous, a granular pasta made from semolina (wheat), is one of the most common dishes. Lamb and mutton—both sheep products—are the most widely consumed meats. They are often grilled in chunks as kabobs or stewed with vegetables and served with rice or couscous. Chicken and beef may also be consumed, while fish

³⁵⁶ Debra A. Miller, *Libya*, Modern Nations of the World series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 60–61.

³⁵⁷ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Society and Conduct," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 38–39.

³⁵⁸ LaVerle Berry, "Chapter 2: The Society and Its Environment: The Family, the Individual, and the Sexes: The New Society of the Revolutionary Era," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

³⁵⁹ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Society and Conduct," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 38–39.

³⁶⁰ World Bank, "Labor Participation Rate, Female (% of Female Population Ages 15+): Libya," 2012, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS/countries/1W-LY?display=graph>

³⁶¹ Rana Jawad, "Women's Lib Takes Off in Libya," BBC News, 29 April 2008, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7360541.stm>

³⁶² Alison Pargeter, "Libya" in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and Justice*, eds. Sameena Nazir and Leigh Tomppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 166.

³⁶³ William G. Dalton, "Libya: Gender Roles and Statuses," in *Countries and Their Cultures*, vol. 3, eds. Melvin Ember and Carol R. Ember (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 1300. <http://www.everyculture.com/Ja-Ma/Libya.html>

³⁶⁴ Alison Pargeter, "Libya," in *Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa: Citizenship and Justice*, eds. Sameena Nazir and Leigh Tomppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), 172–173.

³⁶⁵ Bloomberg, "Gender Discrimination Persists in Libya," 1 October 2011,

<http://gulfnews.com/news/region/libya/gender-discrimination-persists-in-libya-1.882641>

³⁶⁶ Souad Mekhennet, "For Women in Libya, a Long Road to Rights," *New York Times*, 22 November 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/world/middleeast/23iht-letter23.html?pagewanted=all>

³⁶⁷ Magharebia, "Libya Election Bill Draws Criticism," 1 March 2012,

http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2012/01/03/newsbrief-04

is mainly limited to coastal areas.³⁶⁸ Pork is strictly avoided in accordance with Islamic custom. *Kesrah*, an unleavened bread, is a typical accompaniment to meals.³⁶⁹

Common Libyan dishes include *sharba libiya*, a spicy lamb and tomato soup, and *mouloqiyah*, an assortment of steamed vegetables.³⁷⁰ Another popular dish, *bazeen*, consists of a mound of dough served with a tomato-based sauce, meat, potatoes, and perhaps eggs.³⁷¹ A common sweet dish is *basbousa*, which is a semolina-almond cake that may be served with yogurt.³⁷² *Asida*, a serving of dough topped with butter and syrup or honey, is another popular dessert. Sweet mint tea and black coffee are the most common beverages. The consumption of alcohol is prohibited by Libyan and Islamic law.³⁷³ Libyans generally eat at home rather than in restaurants. Since Libya imports over 75% of its food, foreign food items are available in markets.



© sdee / flickr.com
Libyan soup

Traditional Dress

Islamic custom has historically determined the traditional dress for Libyans, which is generally conservative. For men, traditional garb includes a long white robe worn over a shirt and pants. Headgear, such as a white turban or a black or white brimless cap, may also be worn. Traditional women's clothing consists of long, flowing dresses richly accessorized with necklaces and other jewelry. Headscarves are customary. Married women may wear black as a symbol of their marital status. Some women may wear expansive robes covering their entire body.



© Rafael Gomez
Libyan woman wearing black

Although traditional dress is still worn (particularly in rural areas), modern styles and brands of clothing are increasingly common in cities.³⁷⁴ Urban men may wear a suit and tie, or jeans with long- or short-sleeve shirts. Young women may wear Western-style blouses and skirts, as well as a customary head covering. Girls wear colorful dresses or skirts, usually with dark pants underneath. Urban dwellers may wear traditional clothing on special occasions.^{375, 376}

³⁶⁸ Debra A. Miller, *Libya Modern Nations of the World* series (San Diego: Lucent Books, 2005), 62–63.

³⁶⁹ Francesca Di Piazza, “Cultural Life: Food,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 56.

³⁷⁰ Libyana, “Libyan Food: Sharba Libiya,” 2003, <http://www.libyana.org/food/sharba.htm>

³⁷¹ Libtra Tours, “More about Traditional Libyan Cuisine,” n.d., <http://libtratours.com/Zuwayla.htm>

³⁷² Libyana, “Libyan Food: Basboosa,” 2003, <http://www.libyana.org/food/basboosa.htm>

³⁷³ Francesca Di Piazza, “Cultural Life: Food,” in *Libya in Pictures* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publishing Group, 2006), 56.

³⁷⁴ Luis Martinez, “11 September 2001: The ‘Conversion’ of the Regime,” in *The Libyan Paradox* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2007), 77–79.

³⁷⁵ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, “Libyans: What to Wear?” in *Libya, Cultures of the World* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 69.

³⁷⁶ Saleyha Ahsan, “Love and the Libyan Revolution,” *Latitude News*, 8 February 2012, <http://www.latitudenews.com/story/love-and-the-libyan-revolution/>

The Arts

Dance and Music

Traditional dance and music performances are held at wedding ceremonies and cultural festivals. Traditional musical instruments include the *gheeta*, which is like an oboe or clarinet, and the *nay*, a flute. These are often accompanied by a *tende*, a drum made from skin stretched over a mortar, and a *zakra*, a bagpipe-like instrument made of reed and goatskin.³⁷⁷ Together, these instruments are used to play *mriskaawi*, one of the most well-known forms of traditional Libyan music.³⁷⁸

Such performances are frequently accompanied by lively dance routines influenced by Berber or, specifically, Tuareg traditions. In one traditional dance performed by the Tuareg, women play the *tende* and sing folk songs while men circle them on camels. Though modernized versions of *mriskaawi* exist, the contemporary Libyan music scene is dominated by pop music, primarily from Egypt.³⁷⁹



© Mario Inoportuno
Traditional music band

Sports and Recreation

Soccer, known throughout the world as football, is the most popular sport in Libya. The country has a series of professional and semi-professional leagues headed by the top-flight Libyan Premier League. The major urban centers of Tripoli and Benghazi host most of the teams. Libya's national team is known as the Greens. The team's high point in international play came in the 1982 African Cup of Nations, which Libya hosted. The Greens lost the final in a penalty kick shootout to Ghana.³⁸⁰ During the period of UN sanctions, the national team was prohibited from international competition. Upon the suspension of sanctions in 1999, Libya's team reemerged on the international scene with one of Qadhafi's sons, Al-Saadi Qadhafi, playing as the team captain.³⁸¹ In 2012, the team achieved its highest world ranking to date, just missing the year's African Cup of Nations quarterfinals.³⁸²



© Ben Taher
Tripoli soccer stadium

Reflecting traditional Libyan culture, horse and camel racing are popular. (The ancient Garamantes of Fezzan are said to have introduced chariot racing to the Greeks and Romans.³⁸³)

³⁷⁷ Richard Bangs, "First into Libya," Slate, 11 June 2004, <http://www.slate.com/id/2101814/>

³⁷⁸ Musee d'Ethnographie de Geneve, "Le Fonds Brailoiu [Libyan music, MP3 samples]," 2011, http://www.ville-ge.ch/meg/musinfo_ph.php?what=pays=Libyenne.%20Jamahiriya%20arabe&debut=0&bool=AND

³⁷⁹ Anthony Ham, "Facts about Libya: Arts," in *Libya*, 1st ed. (Oakland, CA: Lonely Planet Publications, 2002), 33–35.

³⁸⁰ FIFA.com, "Libya's Sights on 2014," 22 June 2009, <http://www.fifa.com/worldfootball/ranking/news/newsid=1074831.html>

³⁸¹ David Goldblatt, "Chapter 20: Small Mercies: Football in Africa after the Cold War, 1990–2006," in *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Soccer* (NY: Riverhead Books, 2006), 890–892.

³⁸² FIFA.com, "Libya: Ranking History," 2012, <http://www.fifa.com/associations/association=lby/ranking/gender=m/index.html>

³⁸³ Peter Malcolm and Elie Losleben, "Leisure: Horses," in *Libya, Cultures of the World* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2004), 111.

Libyans also enjoy automobile racing, a legacy of the Italian colonial era when Libya was home to the Tripoli Grand Prix.³⁸⁴ Swimming and other water sports are popular along the Mediterranean shore.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Claudio G. Segre, “Chapter 13: Governor General of Libya: Builder and Colonizer,” in *Italo Balbo: A Fascist Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 304–306.

³⁸⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, “Libya: Cultural Life: Sports and Recreation,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/339574/Libya/279578/Sports-and-recreation>

CHAPTER 4 ASSESSMENT

1. Most Libyans are of pure Arab descent.
False
 Most Libyans are of mixed Arab-Berber descent. The majority of Libyans identify themselves culturally as Arab.

2. Speaking a Tamazight language is a way to express one's cultural identity as a Berber.
True
 Libya's remnant Berber communities speak varieties of Tamazight, a collective name for Berber languages including Nafusi, Awjilah, and Tamashek. Most Tamazight speakers also speak Arabic.

3. The Qadhafi regime accorded equal status to men and women.
True
 Qadhafi encouraged women to seek an education, participate in the workforce and political sphere, and enlist in the military.

4. Islamic and patriarchal customs encourage Libyan women to wear the *hijab* head covering in public.
True
 Although not yet mandated by law in Libya, conservative dress may help women avoid harassment from males.

5. The majority of Libyans practice the Sanusi form of Islam.
False
 Most Libyans practice Sunni Islam. The Islamic Sanusi Order, which was influential in Cyrenaica, led resistance against Italian colonization and gave Libya its first (and only) king.

CHAPTER 5: SECURITY

Introduction

For Libya and its neighbors, “national security” was long the concern of foreign occupiers. In the era of independent states, Libya sought security by aligning with its neighbors through organizations such as the Arab Maghreb Union, the Community of Sahel and Saharan States (CEN-SAD), and the African Union.^{386, 387, 388, 389} Decades of Qadhafi’s support for violent anti-imperialism yielded in the 21st century to attempts at reconciliation with the international community by ceasing his program for weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Nevertheless, oil-rich Libya continued to convert petroleum resources into the procurement of new weapons systems.



Libya learned the limits of its security apparatus during the Arab Spring of 2011, which also brought violent change to Tunisia and Egypt. Analysts are still debating the reasons for foreign intervention in Libya’s internal struggle and assessing the consequences.³⁹⁰ In 2012, unrest is spreading east across the Sahel (the desert-to-grasslands region at the southern edge of the Sahara) and west from the newly split states of Sudan and Southern Sudan. Old threats of tribal and ethnic conflict are joined by new threats of religious extremism and transnational terrorism, all the more because Qadhafi and other authoritarian regimes are no longer in place to suppress opposition. Libya’s security, region-wide stability, and global economic and political strategies are in flux.

U.S.–Libyan Relations

At the turn of the 19th century, the United States was one of many countries paying tribute to the Ottomans for “protection” against piracy in Mediterranean waters. In 1800, U.S. President Thomas Jefferson sent the young United States Marine Corps and Navy to “the shores of Tripoli” to put a stop to escalating American payments.^{391, 392} The U.S. military returned to Libya during the Allied North African campaigns of World War II, and the Air Force took over

³⁸⁶ Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa, “External Affairs, Libya,” 8 February 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=dec6f765af398b50d351d33987a5e6c7

³⁸⁷ Arab Maghreb Union, n.d., <http://www.maghrebarabe.org/en/index.cfm>; African Union, “Profile: Arab Maghreb Union (AMU),” n.d., <http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/recs/AMUOverview.pdf>

³⁸⁸ African Union, “Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD),” n.d., http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/recs/cen_sad.htm

³⁸⁹ African Union, n.d., <http://www.au.int/en/>

³⁹⁰ Jonathan Beale, “Counting the Cost of NATO’s Mission in Libya,” BBC News, 31 October 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-15528984>

³⁹¹ Stuart Murray, “Fighting Pirates on the Hostile Shores of Tripoli,” in *Atlas of American Military History* (Infobase Publishing, 2005), 46–47.

³⁹² United States Marine Corps History Division, “Brief History of the United States Marine Corps,” July 2006, http://www.tecom.usmc.mil/HD/Customes_Traditions/Brief_History_USMC.htm

an airbase near Tripoli.³⁹³ In 1959, U.S.-based Esso (now a subsidiary of Exxon Mobil) struck oil at Zelten, south of the Gulf of Sidra, and many other companies followed.^{394, 395} Thus, the United States had military and economic interests in the newly independent United Kingdom of Libya under King Idris, which was perceived as a “Western dependency.”³⁹⁶

When Qadhafi took power in 1969, he opposed any American (and Soviet) projection of power and advocated Arab nationalism.³⁹⁷ He closed foreign military bases (British as well as American), and supported Palestine against U.S.-backed Israel.³⁹⁸ He nationalized the Libyan oil industry after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, contributing to the subsequent “oil shocks” felt in the U.S. and around the world.³⁹⁹ Qadhafi supported anti-imperialist, anti-American terrorist actions at home and abroad that provoked increasingly strong reactions from the U.S. and the international community, and that culminated in the Lockerbie bombing and its repercussions.



© US Army Africa
U.S. Army in Tripoli 2010

By the 2000s, Qadhafi reportedly feared becoming a second Iraq, and worked to end the international sanctions against Libya.⁴⁰⁰ In 2006 the U.S. removed Libya from its list of state sponsors of terrorism and reestablished diplomatic relations, and in early 2008 reopened the U.S. embassy in Tripoli.^{401, 402} Qadhafi (and others of the Arab Maghreb Union) was not pleased with the 2007 creation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM), a new military organization to promote “a stable and secure African environment in support of U.S. foreign policy.”^{403, 404} Nevertheless, Libya and the U.S. signed a defense cooperation memorandum of

³⁹³ Walter J. Boyne, “The Years of Wheelus,” *Air Force*, January 2008, <http://www.airforce-magazine.com/MagazineArchive/Pages/2008/January%202008/0108wheelus.aspx>

³⁹⁴ Daniel Yergin, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power* (New York: Free Press [Simon and Schuster], 2008), 509–511.

³⁹⁵ Francisco R. Parra, *Oil Politics: A Modern History of Petroleum* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 75–76.

³⁹⁶ Ronald Bruce St. John, *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 2–3.

³⁹⁷ Ronald Bruce St. John, *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 95–97.

³⁹⁸ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: Libya,” 9 March 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

³⁹⁹ Ronald Bruce St. John, *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 5. http://books.google.com/books?id=keKMDgLpaf0C&pg=PA87&source=gbv_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q=oil&f=false

⁴⁰⁰ Nuclear Threat Initiative, “Libya Profile: Nuclear Overview,” December 2011, <http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/libya/>

⁴⁰¹ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, “Background Note: Libya,” 9 March 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

⁴⁰² Elisabeth Bumiller, “With Libya Ties Strained, U.S. Has Limited Options,” *New York Times*, 24 August 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/25/world/africa/25libya.html?_r=2&ref=africa

⁴⁰³ United States Africa Command, “About United States Africa Command,” May 2008, <http://www.africom.mil/AboutAFRICOM.asp>

⁴⁰⁴ Members of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) include: Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia.

understanding in January 2009, as well as a trade investment framework agreement in May 2010.^{405, 406}

U.S. support for the 2011 uprising in Libya was swift and strong. Economic sanctions began in February with the freezing of over USD 30 billion of Libyan government assets. NATO-led military airstrikes began in March.⁴⁰⁷ A U.S. special envoy to the Libyan opposition established a diplomatic presence in Benghazi in April, and the U.S. recognized the National Transitional Council (NTC) as the legitimate government of Libya in July.⁴⁰⁸ However, in September 2012 a mob stormed the U.S. consulate in Benghazi and killed four American personnel, including Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens.⁴⁰⁹

Relations with Neighboring Countries

For much of the post-colonial era, Libya fared better than its neighbors. According to the United Nation's 2011 Human Development Indicators, Libyans had the highest incomes, longest life spans, and most education in the neighborhood.⁴¹⁰ Libya ranked as the region's most stable country on the 2011 "Failed States Index" (while sub-Saharan neighbors Chad, Sudan, and Niger ranked among the world's worst failures.⁴¹¹) Qadhafi's departure may decrease Libya's regional influence (some say interference) in the short term, particularly while Libya's oil revenues (which were interrupted by the civil war) are directed toward domestic recovery. But Libya's oil wealth and its location—on routes for oil and gas, for migrant workers and refugees, and for smuggling everything from consumer goods to terrorist weapons—will likely return it to regional importance in the long term.⁴¹² In 2012, Libya hosted a border security summit for its neighbors and the wider region, which yielded the Tripoli plan for "specialized training in border security and development of laws and advanced technologies to better control frontiers."^{413, 414}

⁴⁰⁵ U.S. Africom Public Affairs, "Libyan Delegation Makes Historic Visit to Africa Command," 28 September 2009, <http://www.aficom.mil/getArticle.asp?art=3486>

⁴⁰⁶ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Libya," 9 March 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

⁴⁰⁷ Chris Lawrence, "U.S. Fires on Libyan Air Defense Targets," CNN, 19 March 2011, http://articles.cnn.com/2011-03-19/world/libya.us.missiles_1_military-action-libyan-people-pentagon-official?_s=PM:WORLD

⁴⁰⁸ Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, "Background Note: Libya," 9 March 2012, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>

⁴⁰⁹ Sarah Aarthur, "4 hours of fire and chaos: How the Benghazi attack unfolded," CNN, 13 September 2012, <http://www.cnn.com/2012/09/12/world/africa/libya-consulate-attack-scene/index.html?iref=allsearch>

⁴¹⁰ UN Development Programme, "Human Development Reports: Indices and Data," 2011, <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics>

⁴¹¹ Fund for Peace, "Failed States Index 2011 Interactive Grid," 2012, <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/?q=fsi-grid2011>

⁴¹² Jane's, "Security, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 8 February 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafsu&ed=nafsu29&docid=a03796810c5c7b222c0f17b314112fe9

⁴¹³ Walid Ramzi and Essam Mohamed, "Libya Neighbours Approve Border Security Plan," *Magharebia*, 13 March 2012, http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/features/2012/03/13/feature-01

⁴¹⁴ *Irish Times*, "African Countries Agree Borders Plan," 12 March 2012, <http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/breaking/2012/0312/breaking40.html>

Egypt

Egypt's ancient civilizations may have set it apart from the rest of North Africa in Western imaginations, but its more recent history shares much with Libya: Arabization and Islamization culminating in Ottoman rule, then Western European colonization until after World War II. Like Libya, Egypt possesses significant proven oil and natural gas reserves, but has only a small amount of arable land. Egypt's much larger population—83.6 million compared to Libya's 6.7 million—intensifies many problems found in both countries, from water and power supplies to drug trafficking and illegal aliens. It also magnified the socioeconomic deprivation, corruption, and political repression that motivated the Arab Spring protests throughout northern Africa.⁴¹⁵



© Shfmadgy / wikimedia
Founder of Muslim Brotherhood

Egypt's postwar path to independence, led by Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser, was an inspiration to Qadhafi (and Qadhafi later failed twice to merge Libya with Egypt into a pan-Arab state).⁴¹⁶ Nasser helped found the Non-Aligned Movement (an organization of countries that sought to remain unaffiliated with the major powers during the Cold War), nationalized the Suez Canal, and fostered Arab opposition to Israel.^{417, 418, 419} When Nasser's successor Anwar Sadat signed a peace treaty with Israel, Arab nationalists such as Qadhafi were outraged. Libyan protests led to a 4-day war in July 1977 that severed relations with Egypt for the next 12 years.⁴²⁰ In 1989, Qadhafi met with Egypt's leader Hosni Mubarak and other regional leaders in an effort to rebuild Arab unity.⁴²¹ But Egypt (like the rest of the Arab world) soon complied with the international economic sanctions against Libya. Qadhafi retaliated by making border crossings more difficult, imposing customs duties on Egyptian goods, and (allegedly) preventing Egyptian migrant workers in Libya from sending remittances home.⁴²² Strategically, Egypt became part of a North African joint military force affiliated with the Council of Peace and Security of the African Union in 2005.⁴²³ In 2011, Qadhafi supported the doomed Mubarak, and later chastised the people who brought about Egypt's 2011 revolution.⁴²⁴

⁴¹⁵ Jane's, "Security, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 8 February 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=a03796810c5c7b222c0f17b314112fe9

⁴¹⁶ Clyde R. Mark, "Libya," Congressional Research Service, 2 May 2005, 10, <https://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/47065.pdf>

⁴¹⁷ Trudy J. Kuehner, "The U.S. and Egypt Since the Suez Crisis (presentation by Steven A. Cook)," *Footnotes* (Wachman Center, Foreign Policy Research Institute) 14, no. 23 (July 2009), <http://www.fpri.org/footnotes/1423.200907.kuehner.usegyptsincesuez.html>

⁴¹⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, "Suez Canal," 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/571673/Suez-Canal/37107/History?anchor=ref418244>

⁴¹⁹ Thomson Gale, "Gamal Abdel Nasser," *Encyclopedia of World Biography* (Thomson Gale, 2005–2006), <http://www.bookrags.com/biography/gamal-abdel-nasser/>

⁴²⁰ The rift between Libya and Egypt outlasted Sadat, who was assassinated in late 1981.

⁴²¹ Associated Press, "Egyptian and Syrian Leaders Meet With Qadhafi in Libya," *New York Times*, 25 March 1990, <http://www.nytimes.com/1990/03/25/world/egyptian-and-syrian-leaders-meet-with-Qadhafi-in-libya.html>

⁴²² Yehudit Ronen, "Disillusionment with Arab Solidarity—Political Pragmatism in Libya's Relations with Egypt: 1992–99," *Review of International Affairs* 1, no. 1 (Autumn 2001), http://www.tau.ac.il/dayancenter/articles/Disillusionment_ronen.pdf

⁴²³ Jane's, "Armed Forces, Libya: Doctrine and Strategy," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 25 January 2012.

Egypt now faces power struggles between the Islamist political parties headed by the Muslim Brotherhood and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces. These struggles could spread across national boundaries, and/or undermine Arab-Israeli peace.⁴²⁵ Libya's new government reportedly suspects there is loyalty to Qadhafi among some Egyptians (including the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces), and in 2012 tightened visa requirements for Egyptian migrant workers.^{426, 427}

Sudan

Sudan's recent split into two warring nations was partly caused by the same tensions that exist between Libya and Sudan. Upon Sudan's independence from Britain and Egypt in 1956, a minority Arab Muslim government in the north alienated the African, largely Christian population in the south. Civil war (begun in 1955) abated 3 years after a 1969 coup. Like Libya's Qadhafi, Sudan's coup leader Jaafar Muhammad al-Nimeiri admired Nasser and led a Free Officer movement that had trained in Egypt. But Qadhafi and Nimeiri never established a close rapport. In the 1980s, Qadhafi supported Sudanese rebels (and Nimeiri became a U.S. ally).^{428, 429} Libyan raids into Sudan occurred in response to Sudan's support of counterrevolutionary forces in Libya, and Libya alleged that radio transmitters in the Sudan's northwest were broadcasting anti-Qadhafi propaganda into Libya. When Nimeiri imposed *shari'a* law throughout Sudan in 1983, civil war recurred and continued for decades, including the tragedy of Darfur. Libya (and Chad) became the destination of mass emigrations of Sudanese.



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Sudan President al-Bashir

In the early 21st century, Sudanese and Libyan officials signed an agreement to improve relations while working toward peace and unity in Sudan.⁴³⁰ Qadhafi moved from the role of aggressor to that of mediator, helping to negotiate a 2006 Darfur peace agreement and protesting the International Criminal Court's arrest warrant against Sudan's President al-Bashir.^{431, 432} But in 2011, the Sudanese army reportedly assisted anti-Qadhafi forces in southern Libya, in

https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=94ad5af6646831ad04bf43f2da33d834

⁴²⁴ Reuters Africa, "Gaddafi Criticises Egyptian, Tunisian Revolutions," 24 July 2011,

<http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE76N01D20110724>

⁴²⁵ Christopher M. Blanchard et al., "Change in the Middle East: Implications for U.S. Policy," Congressional Research Service, 7 March 2012, 5–6, 11, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42393.pdf>

⁴²⁶ Borzou Daragahi, "Libya Bars Egypt Workers in Revolt Reprisal," 4 March 2012,

<http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/cc5d8692-66be-11e1-863c-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1sQBkm05S>

⁴²⁷ Oxberry Risk Strategies, "Insight Libya: Libya Security & Political Risk Update," March 2012,

<http://www.lbbc.org.uk/preston/ORS%20Insight%20Libya%20March%202012.pdf>

⁴²⁸ David H. Shinn, "Situation Report: Sudan and Her Neighbors" (paper, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa, 7 March 2003), <http://www.issafrica.org/AF/current/Sudan03.html>

⁴²⁹ Skye Wheeler, "Sudan's Former President Nimeiri Dies," Reuters, 30 May 2009,

<http://www.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE54T1BS20090530>

⁴³⁰ Yehudit Ronen, "Between Africanism and Arabism: Libya's Involvement in Sudan," *Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–14.

⁴³¹ David H. Shinn, "Situation Report: Sudan and Her Neighbors" (paper, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, South Africa, 7 March 2003), <http://www.issafrica.org/AF/current/Sudan03.html>

⁴³² Jane's, "Sudan: External Affairs," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 25 November 2010.

response to Qadhafi's harboring of a prominent Sudanese rebel leader.^{433, 434, 435, 436} At the same time, Sudanese were among the sub-Saharan Africans who fled maltreatment by Libyan rebels.^{437, 438, 439} In 2012, rebel activity in the west could resurge, through the malign neglect of a Sudanese government focused on the growing conflict with South Sudan. The direction that Sudan-Libya relations will take remains to be seen.

Chad

Chad is among the world's poorest and most strife-ridden nations, and Libya under Qadhafi caused a significant amount of that strife. After independence from France in 1960, Chad endured more than three decades of civil war. During this time, Qadhafi fought for the Aouzou strip, a large stretch of territory along the Libya–Chad border that contained both traditional homelands of southern Libyan tribes and deposits of valuable minerals, including uranium.⁴⁴⁰ Fighting peaked in the 1980s when Libya became one of the few countries that have deployed chemical weapons in a conflict.⁴⁴¹ Chad finally defeated Libya, and the two countries signed an Algerian-brokered peace agreement in 1989.^{442, 443} Libya continued to occupy the Aouzou strip until 1994, when it officially withdrew after the International Court of Justice (ICJ) awarded Chad sovereignty over the strip.^{444, 445}



© EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection
Chad migrant fled Libya

⁴³³ Damien McElroy, "Sudanese Army Seizes Southern Libyan Town," *Telegraph* (UK), 1 July 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/libya/8611199/Sudanese-army-seizes-southern-Libyan-town.html>.

⁴³⁴ *Sudan Tribune* (Paris), "Libya's New Masters are Thankful for Sudan's Military Support," 28 August 2011, <http://www.sudantribune.com/Libya-s-new-masters-are-thankful,39985>

⁴³⁵ Simon Allison, "Darfur Rebel Leader Returns Home from Libya, Spoiling for a Fight," *Daily Maverick* (South Africa), 13 September 2011, <http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2011-09-13-darfur-rebel-leader-returns-home-from-libya-spoiling-for-a-fight>

⁴³⁶ *Sudan Tribune* (Paris), "North Darfur Governor Confirms Return of JEM Leader to Sudan," 16 September 2011, <http://www.sudantribune.com/North-Darfur-governor-confirms,40165>

⁴³⁷ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, "Sub-Saharan Africans Fleeing Libya Report Serious Intimidation, Violence," 8 March 2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/4d7658719.html>

⁴³⁸ BBC News, "Libya Conflict: Black African Migrants Caught in Backlash," 18 September 2011, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14965062>

⁴³⁹ Agence France-Presse, "UN Rights Probe Concerned about Black Africans in Libya," 19 September 2011,

⁴⁴⁰ Rita M. Byrnes, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Foreign Relations: Relations with Libya," in *Chad: A Country Study*, 2nd ed., ed. Thomas Collelo (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1990), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/tdtoc.html>

⁴⁴¹ Nuclear Threat Initiative, "Libya Profile: Nuclear Overview," December 2011, <http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/libya/>

⁴⁴² Jean R. Tartter, "Chapter 5: National Security: International Military Concerns and Objectives: Performance in Combat: Invasion of Chad," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁴⁴³ Shawky S. Zeidan, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Foreign Relations: Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa: Chad," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁴⁴⁴ Roger Cohen, "Chad Wins World Court Decision in Territorial Dispute with Libya," *New York Times*, 4 February 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/02/04/world/chad-wins-world-court-decision-in-territorial-dispute-with-libya.html>

Amid ongoing social unrest, Chad produced a constitution in 1996, and elections later brought an ethnic-minority-led government to power. Since 1990, President Idriss Deby has held onto power through several questionable elections and his unilateral removal of constitutionally mandated term limits in 2005—he was re-elected without incident in 2011.⁴⁴⁶ Qadhafi cooperated with the Deby government to clear landmines from the border and hosted peace negotiations among Chadian rebel groups.⁴⁴⁷ Deby supported Qadhafi in the early days of 2011, and some Chadian soldiers fought alongside Qadhafi's troops. When Chad's more important ally France aligned with NATO and the rebels, however, Deby gradually reversed course and Chad recognized the NTC after the fall of Tripoli in August. Like other Africans in Libya, Chadian migrant workers were suspected of collaboration with Qadhafi, and suffered abuses at the hands of rebels. Deby claimed that 100,000 Chadian emigrants had fled home from Libya by September.⁴⁴⁸

Niger

Like Chad and Sudan, Niger is a very poor and politically unstable country. After gaining independence from France in 1960, Niger was under military rule until 1991, when elections led to the establishment of a democratic government in 1993. Three coups later, Mahamadou Issoufou was elected to a 5-year presidential term in 2011, and may legally run for one additional term. Drought periodically worsens Niger's deep poverty, and poverty prevents the country from developing its main resource, uranium.⁴⁴⁹ Niger participates in regional security activities. In 2012, the European Union foreign ministers approved a training mission to improve international law enforcement against terrorism and organized crime, with an operational focus in Niger.⁴⁵⁰



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Tuareg rebel

The Nigerien Justice Movement (MNJ), a Tuareg-led separatist group, has attacked government military targets in the northern region of the country since 2007. Qadhafi, who was known for recruiting Tuaregs into the Libyan army, sponsored peace talks between the Niger government and Tuareg rebels in 2009.^{451, 452} In 2011, Tuareg leaders in Niger (and Mali) urged Tuareg

⁴⁴⁵ Clyde R. Mark, "Libya," Congressional Research Service, 2 May 2005, 10,

<https://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/47065.pdf>

⁴⁴⁶ Central Intelligence Agency, "Chad," in *The World Factbook*, 11 April 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cd.html>

⁴⁴⁷ BBC News, "Libya Seals Peace Deal for Chad," 26 October 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7063093.stm>

⁴⁴⁸ International Crisis Group, "Africa without Qaddafi: The Case of Chad (Africa Report No. 180)," 21 October

2011, 5–14, <http://www.crisisgroup.org/~media/Files/africa/central-africa/chad/180%20LAfrique%20sans%20Kadhafi%20-%20le%20cas%20du%20Tchad%20ENGLISH.pdf>

⁴⁴⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Niger," in *The World Factbook*, 11 April 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ng.html>

⁴⁵⁰ Council of the European Union, "Council Conclusions on Sahel (3157th Foreign Affairs Council Meeting, Brussels)," 22–23 March 2012,

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/129222.pdf

⁴⁵¹ Abdoulaye Massalatchi, "AU Head Gaddafi Tells Tuareg Rebels to Disarm," Reuters, 15 March 2009,

<http://uk.reuters.com/article/2009/03/15/idUKLF38743.CH..2420>

⁴⁵² Peter Gwin, "Former Qaddafi Mercenaries Describe Fighting in Libyan War," *Atlantic*, 31 August 2011,

<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/08/former-qaddafi-mercenaries-describe-fighting-in-libyan-war/244356/>

migrant workers and soldiers in Libya to transfer their support to the (newly recognized) NTC.⁴⁵³ In 2012, Niger arrested Aghali Alambo, a Tuareg rebel leader linked to both Qadhafi and al-Qaeda.⁴⁵⁴ But Niger also granted asylum to Qadhafi's son Saadi. In February 2012, the NTC renewed a request for his extradition.^{455, 456}

Algeria

Algeria gained independence from France in 1962. Since that time, the National Liberation Front (FLN) has been Algeria's dominant political party.⁴⁵⁷ Algeria's early socialist bent and activist foreign policy gave way to political and economic liberalization in the 1980s. Like Libya, Algeria is a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and both countries weathered the 2008 global financial crisis better than most of their neighbors. Both countries also invested heavily in modernizing their security forces in recent years.

Algeria's post-colonial relations with Libya have been amicable more often than not. Qadhafi's push to create political and economic unity in the region even came to an affirmative vote in Algeria in 1987, though the FLN later backed away from the process, unwilling to compromise its sovereignty. A temporary strain in relations in the 1980s stemmed from Libya's short-lived support of Morocco in its Western Sahara dispute with a secessionist group recognized by Algeria.⁴⁵⁸ In 1989, Algeria joined with Libya in the Union of the Arab Maghreb (Union du Maghreb Arabe—UMA).⁴⁵⁹



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Coast of Algiers

Shortly thereafter, an Algerian opposition group, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), won broad support in national election primaries.⁴⁶⁰ The Algerian government's subsequent crackdown on the extremist FIS spurred 6 years of bloody conflict. The FIS, which had been tied to the Libyan government, sought Libya's help in mediating the crisis in 1997, which sparked tensions

⁴⁵³ Scott Stearns, "Tuareg Leaders in Niger and Mali Urge Tuareg in Libya to Work with NTC," Voice of America, 5 September 2011, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/Tuareg-Leaders-in-Niger-and-Mali-Urge-Tuareg-in-Libya-to-Work-With-NTC-129253488.html>

⁴⁵⁴ Reuters, "Niger Arrests Ex-Rebel Chief on Suspected Qaeda Link," March 21, 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE82K03N20120321>

⁴⁵⁵ David Smith, "Niger Grants Asylum to Saadi Gaddafi," *Guardian*, November 11, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/11/saadi-gaddafi-asylum-niger>

⁴⁵⁶ Magharebia, "Libya Asks Niger to Extradite Kadhafi Son," 12 February 2012, http://magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2012/02/12/newsbrief-01

⁴⁵⁷ Algeria's official language changed from French to Arabic in 1976; thus various French terms and names persist, such as "Front de Libération Nationale" (FLN).

⁴⁵⁸ John P. Entelis and Lisa Arone, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Foreign Policy: Africa: The Maghrib," in *Algeria: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/dztoc.html>

⁴⁵⁹ Largely dormant in recent years, the UMA, a treaty between Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia, was signed in 1989 to establish an economic union following the example of the European Union. John P. Entelis and Lisa Arone, "Chapter 4: Government and Politics: Foreign Policy: Africa: The Maghrib," in *Algeria: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1994), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/dztoc.html>

⁴⁶⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Algeria," in *The World Factbook*, 12 April 2012, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ag.html>

between the two nations.⁴⁶¹ Nevertheless, Algeria supported lifting the UN sanctions against Libya, a stance that helped improve relations between the two countries.⁴⁶²

During 2011, news outlets reported Algerian popular support for the Libyan rebels and Algerian government, military, financial, and logistical support for Qadhafi.^{463, 464, 465, 466} Algeria received the family of Qadhafi “on humanitarian grounds” in August, deflecting NTC requests for extradition.^{467, 468, 469} In early 2012 Algeria reported a discovered cache of shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles (MANPADS), presumably smuggled from Libya. Algeria also fears the infiltration of al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) across uncontrolled Libyan borders.⁴⁷⁰

Tunisia

Independent from France since 1956, Tunisia is unique in the region in its small geographic size, large middle class, and long history of women’s rights.⁴⁷¹ Tunisia was a one-party state for 31 years under its first president, who was toppled in a bloodless coup in 1987 and replaced by Zine el Abidine Ben Ali.⁴⁷² Corruption, unemployment, poverty, and finally high food prices fueled a popular protest, sparked by the self-immolation of a fruit vendor, in late 2010. Ben Ali dismissed the government and fled the country in January 2011.^{473, 474}



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Refugees flee Libya to Tunisia

⁴⁶¹ Phillip C. Naylor, “Libya,” in *Historical Dictionary of Algeria*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 323–325.

⁴⁶² Europa Publications, “Libya,” in *The Middle East and North Africa 2003*, 49th ed. (London: Europa Publications, 2003), 771–772.

⁴⁶³ Hassan Masiky, “Times of London: Algeria Helping Gaddafi,” MoroccoBoard News Service, 10 March 2011,

<http://www.moroccoboard.com/viewpoint/68-hassan-massiki/5139-where-does-algeria-stand-on-the-libyan-conflict>

⁴⁶⁴ World Tribune, “Sources: Gadhafi Paying Polisario Mercenaries \$10,000 Each to Fight for Him,” 20 May 2011,

http://www.worldtribune.com/worldtribune/WTARC/2011/me_libya0607_05_20.html

⁴⁶⁵ Varun Vira and Anthony H. Cordesman, “The Libyan Uprising: An Uncertain Trajectory,” Center for Strategic and International Studies, July 2011, 26, http://csis.org/files/publication/110620_libya.pdf

⁴⁶⁶ Jonathan Clayton, “Convoy of Tuareg Tribesmen Arrive to Defend Libya Dictator,” *Times* (UK), 8 March 2011, 16.

⁴⁶⁷ Julia Borger, Martin Chulov, and Richard Norton-Taylor, “Diplomatic Standoff After Gaddafi’s Family Make a Break for the Border,” *Guardian*, 30 August 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/aug/30/muammar-gaddafi-family-armoured-limousines>

⁴⁶⁸ North Africa United, “Algeria Refuses to Extradite the Gaddafi Family,” 29 February 2012, http://www.northafricaunited.com/Algeria-refuses-to-extradite-the-Gaddafi-family_a872.html

⁴⁶⁹ Taha Zargoun, “Algeria Promises Libya It Will Rein in Gaddafi Family,” Reuters, 5 March 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/05/us-libya-algeria-visit-idUSTRE8241H620120305>

⁴⁷⁰ Christopher M. Blanchard, “Libya: Transition and U.S. Policy,” Congressional Research Service, 12 March 2012, 14, 20, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33142.pdf>

⁴⁷¹ Alexis Arieff, “Political Transition in Tunisia,” Congressional Research Service, December 16, 2011 <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21666.pdf>

⁴⁷² Central Intelligence Agency, “Tunisia,” in *The World Factbook*, 6 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ts.html>

⁴⁷³ Clark McCauley, “Humiliation and Martyrdom in the Jasmine Revolution,” *Psychology Today*, 3 April 2011, <http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/friction/201104/humiliation-and-martyrdom-in-the-jasmine-revolution>

⁴⁷⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, “Mohamed Bouazizi,” 2012, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1753077/Mohamed-Bouazizi>

Since then, a national unity government formed, a Constituent Assembly was elected, and work is underway on a new constitution and further legislative and presidential elections.⁴⁷⁵ Many Tunisians are now wary of Islamist political groups (such as the main Islamist party, Al Nahda), fearing the future imposition of repressive laws.⁴⁷⁶

Since Tunisia annulled an agreement to form a union with Libya in 1974, the country has maintained a largely non-aligned stance. Nonetheless, Qadhafi consistently attempted to incorporate Tunisia into his vision of a united Africa. Libya invaded a Tunisian mining town in 1980, and an unsettled maritime boundary along the oil-rich continental shelf has occasionally caused tensions between the two nations.⁴⁷⁷ The Tunisian government abided by the 1990s UN sanctions against Libya, but supported lifting the embargo.⁴⁷⁸ In 2011, Tunisia's new government did not send troops for NATO in Libya, but froze Qadhafi family assets, and recognized Libya's new government in August. Refugees and migrant workers fled Libya for Tunisia by the tens of thousands, straining border crossing operations and humanitarian aid resources. Now, Islamist terrorist infiltration across weak borders is an even greater concern. (The AQIM claimed responsibility for kidnapping Austrian tourists in Tunisia in 2008.)⁴⁷⁹

Europe

Italy remains Libya's most important European neighbor, close enough for oil companies to ship their products cheaply, and for refugees to make sea crossings. The 516-km (321-mi) "Green Stream" pipeline carries natural gas between Melita, Libya and Gela, Sicily. A 2003 agreement to jointly patrol the Mediterranean for human trafficking has been strained by Libya's political unrest and Italy's economic woes.⁴⁸⁰ In 2011, tens of thousands of people fled Libya (and other African conflicts) by boat. A record 1,500 died crossing the sea, and others overwhelmed the small Italian island of Lampedusa.^{481, 482, 483, 484} (In 2008, Italy apologized to Libya for colonial actions.⁴⁸⁵)



© Jeffrey Sciberras
Italian island Lampedusa

⁴⁷⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "Tunisia," in *The World Factbook*, 6 March 2012,

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ts.html>

⁴⁷⁶ Christopher M. Blanchard et al., "Change in the Middle East: Implications for U.S. Policy," 7 March 2012, 11–12, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42393.pdf>

⁴⁷⁷ Saul Bernard, "Chapter 12: The Middle East Shatterbelt: Geopolitical Features," in *Geopolitics: The Geography of International Relations*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 197, 375.

⁴⁷⁸ BBC News, "Push to Lift Libya Sanctions," 29 December 2000, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/1092421.stm

⁴⁷⁹ Alexis Arieff, "Political Transition in Tunisia," Congressional Research Service, 16 December 2011, 10–19, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21666.pdf>

⁴⁸⁰ Jane's, "Security, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 8 February 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=a03796810c5c7b222c0f17b314112fe9

⁴⁸¹ Martin Chulov and Simon Tisdall, "Libyan Regime Accused of Exploiting Boat People," *Guardian* (UK), 11 May 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/11/libya-accused-of-exploiting-humanitarian-crisis>

⁴⁸² Laura Smith-Spark, "NATO Shares Blame over Libya Migrant Boat Deaths," 29 March 2012, http://articles.cnn.com/2012-03-29/africa/world_africa_libya-boat-deaths_1_lampedusa-boat-vessels?s=PM:AFRICA

France and Libya also have significant economic and security ties. In 2010 they agreed to partner on nuclear power, and in 2012, to boost defense cooperation.^{486, 487, 488}

Police (Internal Security)

Historically, police (*shurtah*) in Libya (and across the Muslim world) focused on preventing internal opposition and putting down protests, as well as dealing with crime (and, on occasion, taking new territory).⁴⁸⁹ Independent Libya's first ruler, King Idris, supported regional police forces to offset anti-royal factions in the military. Police outnumbered regular army 2-to-1 at the time of the 1969 coup (but did not prevent the king's overthrow).⁴⁹⁰ Qadhafi unified the regional forces under a Ministry of the Interior. Over the years he modified their job to include prison administration, passport control, counter-espionage, and (in 2004) combating terrorism. He created many other forces for his protection and his family's safety and employment, including his 40-member, all-female personal bodyguard, and a national security commission headed by one of his sons.⁴⁹¹ Qadhafi's internal security operations were reportedly modeled on Egyptian practice and developed with Egyptian and former East German assistance. Responsibility for dealing with suspicious conduct extended beyond security forces to include the revolutionary committees and people's congresses.^{492, 493}



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Chad migrant fled Libya

⁴⁸³ Tineke Strik, "Lives Lost in the Mediterranean Sea: Who is Responsible?" report, Committee on Migration, Refugees and Displaced Persons, Parliamentary Assembly, Council of Europe, 29 March 2012, http://assembly.coe.int/CommitteeDocs/2012/20120329_mig_RPT.EN.pdf

⁴⁸⁴ Agence France-Presse, "Italy Rescues Hundreds of Migrants off Lampedusa, Five Dead," 17 March 2012, <http://reliefweb.int/node/483603>

⁴⁸⁵ Jane's, "Security, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 8 February 2012. https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=a03796810c5c7b222c0f17b314112fe9

⁴⁸⁶ *Magharebia*, "Libya, France ink partnership deal," 24 October 2010, http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2010/10/24/newsbrief-05

⁴⁸⁷ Oliver Holmes, "French Warships in Libya to Train Navy, Demine Oil Ports," Reuters, 31 January 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/31/us-libya-france-idUSTRE80U1PR20120131>

⁴⁸⁸ Pierre Tran, "France to Renovate Libyan F1s, Provide Training," Defense News, 1 March 2012, <http://www.defensenews.com/article/20120301/DEFREG01/303010002/France-Renovate-Libyan-F1s-Provide-Training>

⁴⁸⁹ Jean R. Tartter, "Chapter 5: National Security: Public Order and Internal Security," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁴⁹⁰ Jean R. Tartter, "Chapter 5: National Security: Origins of the Modern Armed Forces," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

⁴⁹¹ Jane's, "Security and Foreign Forces, Libya," in *Security Assessment—North Africa*, 17 November 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=84105ee4286b7a2d5a38108d4ae222ff

⁴⁹² Jane's, "Security, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 8 February 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=a03796810c5c7b222c0f17b314112fe9

⁴⁹³ Jean R. Tartter, "Chapter 5: National Security: State of Internal Security," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

Local police forces were among the first armed response to the 2011 protests that led to Qadhafi's downfall. Many police soon fled, remained neutral, or joined the protestors; some turned to local crime-fighting tasks.⁴⁹⁴ The UN has acknowledged the interim security that revolutionary brigades provided, and now backs the NTC's call for militia members to (re)join the police and military.^{495, 496} Turkey and Jordan will be advisors and trainers for the new Libyan police.^{497, 498, 499}

Military

Libya's army traces its history to the Sanusi Army, or Libyan Arab Force, that fought with the British in World War II. The navy began with British help, and the air force with American aid, in the early 1960s. Under Qadhafi, the military quickly tripled in size (from 6,500 to 22,000), in part by absorbing the former kingdom's security forces (including the British-trained Cyrenaica Defense Force and the helicopter-equipped National Security Force). A new People's Militia grew to 40,000 active reserves assigned to protect public buildings, and to patrol rural and desert areas.⁵⁰⁰ Qadhafi's military purchases from the Soviet Union grew to such large quantities that by the mid-1980s there were not enough Libyan soldiers to staff or operate all the equipment and arms, even though conscription had increased the forces to over 90,000.^{501, 502, 503, 504} Males and females were subject to conscription at age 17 for a service obligation of 3 to 4 years. By 2004,



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Free Libya forces on tank

⁴⁹⁴ Reuters, "In Rebel-Held Libya, Police Have New Priority: Fighting Crime," *National* (Abu Dhabi Media), 6 May 2011, <http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/africa/in-rebel-held-libya-police-have-new-priority-fighting-crime>

⁴⁹⁵ Ian Martin, Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, "Speech at Benghazi University," 10 April 2012, <http://unsmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3543&ctl=Details&mid=6187&ItemID=167811&language=en-US>

⁴⁹⁶ Mahmoud Habboush, "Slow Start for Libya Drive to Disband Militias," Reuters Africa, 16 January 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/topNews/idAFJOE80F01A20120116>

⁴⁹⁷ Ian Martin, "Speech at Benghazi University," United Nations Support Mission in Libya, 10 April 2012, <http://unsmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3543&ctl=Details&mid=6187&ItemID=167811&language=en-US>

⁴⁹⁸ *Magharebia*, "Turkey to Train Libya Police," 17 January 2012, http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/newsbriefs/general/2012/01/17/newsbrief-07

⁴⁹⁹ Associated Press, "Libya Sending Ex-Rebels Abroad for Police Training," *Times-Standard* (Eureka, CA), 19 March 2012, http://www.times-standard.com/ci_20207152/libya-sending-ex-rebels-abroad-police-training

⁵⁰⁰ Jane's, "Security and Foreign Forces, Libya," in *Security Assessment—North Africa*, 17 November 2011, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafrsu&ed=nafrsu29&docid=84105ee4286b7a2d5a38108d4ae222ff

⁵⁰¹ Stratfor, "Libya: A Russian Port Call and the West," 1 October 2008, http://www.stratfor.com/analysis/20081001_libya_russian_port_call_and_west

⁵⁰² RIA Novosti, "Russia Set to Modernize Libya's Soviet-Era Tanks," *DefenceTalk*, 18 August 2009, <http://www.defencetalk.com/russia-set-to-modernize-libyas-soviet-era-tanks-21213/>

⁵⁰³ Anthony H. Cordesman and Aram Nerguizian, "Chapter 4: The Military Forces of Libya," in *The North African Military Balance: Force Developments in the Maghreb* (Washington, DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2009), 60.

⁵⁰⁴ Jean R. Tartter, "Chapter 5: National Security: Origins of the Modern Armed Forces," in *Libya: A Country Study*, ed. Helen Chapin Metz (Washington, DC: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987), <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>

conscripts composed roughly half the total armed forces.⁵⁰⁵ Libya's military was "largely untested" since the late 1980s, and was believed to have "deteriorated significantly from an already low level" displayed in the conflicts with Chad. Qadhafi could not prevent coup attempts, but responded with purges of existing military units and the creation of new ones.

In 2011, many individuals of all ranks and whole units joined the rebels, calling themselves "Free Libya" forces, and often bringing with them equipment, weapons, and ordnance.⁵⁰⁶ In early 2012, eastern Libyans protested the NTC selection of a new army chief, who nevertheless has overseen the integration of some 5,000 militia members into the new army (and police), and the deployment of forces to the unsettled south and west.^{507, 508, 509} Libya faces two challenges around its weaponry: the upgrade of its official armaments and the recapture of items that disappeared into unofficial hands. Libya is under pressure from arms-dealing nations (and irregular arms dealers) to spend its recovering oil revenues on new military goods and technologies.^{510, 511, 512, 513} The United States is working with Libya to contain the spread of portable missiles (MANPADS) to insurgents and terrorists.^{514, 515, 516}

Issues Affecting Stability

Internal Conflict and Control

Without the enemy of Qadhafi to unite against, Libya's diverse regions and divergent political groups threaten to undermine a new national unity. The country's defense structure must be rebuilt as soon as possible, and it must incorporate (or



© J. Weeks / Voice of America
Tripoli rebel checkpoint 2011

⁵⁰⁵ Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, "Country Profile: Libya," April 2005, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Libya.pdf>

⁵⁰⁶ Jane's, "Armed Forces, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 25 January 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafsu&ed=nafsu29&docid=94ad5af6646831ad04bf43f2da33d834

⁵⁰⁷ Asmaa Elourfi, "Libyans Divided on New Army Chief," *Magharebia*, 10 January 2012,

http://www.magharebia.com/cocoon/awi/xhtml1/en_GB/features/awi/features/2012/01/10/feature-02

⁵⁰⁸ Libya Herald, "The New Libyan Army Expands, Slowly," 19 April 2012, <http://www.libyaherald.com/the-new-libyan-army-expands-slowly/>

⁵⁰⁹ Marie-Louise Gumuchian, "Warring Militias in West Libya Vow No Let-Up in Fight," Reuters Africa, 4 April 2012, <http://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFBRE83313E20120404?sp=true>

⁵¹⁰ *Guardian* (UK), "EU Arms Exports to Libya: Who Armed Gaddafi?" 2 March 2011,

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/mar/01/eu-arms-exports-libya>

⁵¹¹ Elaine Sciolino, *New York Times*, "France, Libya Sign Agreements on Arms, Reactor," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 December 2007, <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2007/12/11/MNHFTRJNU.DTL>

⁵¹² Tom Pfeiffer, "Megrahi Release Puts Anglo-Libyan Trade Ties Back on Track," *Irish Examiner*, 21 August 2009, <http://www.irishexaminer.com/business/megrahi-release-puts-anglo-libyan-trade-ties-back-on-track-99136.html>

⁵¹³ Jane's, "Armed Forces, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 25 January 2012.

https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafsu&ed=nafsu29&docid=94ad5af6646831ad04bf43f2da33d834

⁵¹⁴ Andrew J. Shapiro, "Addressing the Challenge of MANPADS Proliferation," Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2 February 2012, <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rm/183097.htm>

⁵¹⁵ Christopher M. Blanchard et al., "Change in the Middle East: Implications for U.S. Policy," 7 March 2012, 11, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R42393.pdf>

⁵¹⁶ Jim Michaels, "U.S. Official: Missiles Give Libyan Militias 'Leverage,'" *USA Today*, 5 March 2012, <http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/story/2012-03-01/libyan-militias-missiles/53368750/1>

dismantle) the many well-armed militias claiming authority over different parts of the country.^{517, 518} Elections must be held in ways that yield uncontested results. The Fact-Finding and Reconciliation Commission, along with revamped judicial institutions, will have to seek acknowledgment of human rights violations and to satisfy competing demands for justice.⁵¹⁹

Nearby Unrest

To the east, Libya can be drawn into Middle Eastern conflicts. Egypt's commitment to maintain Arab-Israeli peace is uncertain, and Syrian refugees are fleeing to Libyan cities. To the south, Libya is responsible for controlling residents who may not acknowledge state sovereignty and who have long-standing grievances against groups in Sudan, Chad, and Niger. To the west, Libya faces the consequences of Qadhafi-era involvement with Sahelian militant groups. To the north, economic problems in Italy and the EU could decrease Libyan oil revenues, and increase discrimination against emigrants from North Africa.



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Syrian protestors Feb 2012

Terrorism (and Organized Crime)

Qadhafi tried to stop Islamist militants within Libya. Many exiled or imprisoned members of the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG), which appeared in 1990, renounced a 2007 affiliation with al-Qaeda in hopes of reconciliation or freedom, although a few continued to call for Qadhafi's overthrow from Afghanistan.^{520, 521} (The LIFG remained on the U.S. and U.K. lists of terrorist organizations as of November 2011.^{522, 523}) In 2011, former LIFG members started a new group, the Islamic Movement for Change, in support of Qadhafi's removal. Leader Abdel-Hakim Belhaj (a.k.a. Abu Abdullah as-Sadiq) took part in the August attack on Qadhafi's compound and afterward became commander of Tripoli's rebel military council. (In 2012, Belhaj sued Britain (in the person of a



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MANPAD used by terrorists

⁵¹⁷ Jane's, "Armed Forces, Libya," in *Sentinel Security Assessment—North Africa*, 25 January 2012, https://www.intelink.gov/Reference/janes/display.html?type=S&nav=C_12&sn=nafsu&ed=nafsu29&docid=94ad5af6646831ad04bf43f2da33d834

⁵¹⁸ Reuters, "Hundreds of Libyans Protest Against Militias," *Guardian* (UK), 6 April 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/apr/07/hundreds-libyans-protest-against-militias>

⁵¹⁹ Ian Martin, "Speech at Benghazi University," United Nations Support Mission in Libya, 10 April 2012, <http://unsmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3543&ctl=Details&mid=6187&ItemID=167811&language=en-US>

⁵²⁰ Ian Black, "The Libyan Islamic Fighting Group—from al-Qaida to the Arab Spring," *Guardian* (UK), 5 September 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/sep/05/libyan-islamic-fighting-group-leaders>

⁵²¹ International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research, "Combating Terrorism in Libya through Dialogue and Reintegration (ICPVTR Visit to Libya, Singapore)," S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, March 2010, http://www.rsis.edu.sg/publications/conference_reports/RSIS_Libya.pdf

⁵²² National Counterterrorism Center, "Foreign Terrorist Organizations," 27 December 2011, <http://www.nctc.gov/site/other/fto.html>

⁵²³ Home Office, United Kingdom, "Proscribed Terrorist Groups," 11 November 2011, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/counter-terrorism/proscribed-terror-groups/proscribed-groups?view=Binary>

former Foreign Secretary) for permitting his 2004 extradition from England to Libya, where he was tortured and imprisoned for several years.^{524, 525)}

The new Libyan government faces difficulties in overcoming the legacy of decades of Qadhafi-sponsored terrorism. For example, the NTC discovered undeclared chemical weapons and nuclear waste in late 2011 (and committed to destroying the chemicals in 2012).^{526, 527} Beyond Libya's borders, neighbors harbor potentially destabilizing militant groups, many affiliated with AQIM.

Water Security

Libya's relatively small population casts the problem of water as one of location rather than amount. The Great Man-Made River (GMR) project supplies water from southern underground aquifers to northern cities.⁵²⁸ Management of the shrinking, non-renewable aquifer supply is a source of potential conflict with neighbors Chad, Egypt, and Sudan.^{529, 530} The 2011 civil war damaged parts of the GMR project in Libya, highlighting the need for other water resources to meet the northern region's water demands.^{531, 532, 533} Deals with France in 2007 and with Ukraine and Canada in 2009 to build a water-desalination plant powered by nuclear energy renewed international concerns about Libya's possession of nuclear capabilities.^{534, 535, 536}



© gordontour / flickr.com
Pipes for GMR

⁵²⁴ Jill Lawless, "Ex-Libyan Rebel in Legal Bid against UK Politician," Associated Press, 18 April 2012.

⁵²⁵ Carol Zall, "UK & US Implicated in Rendition of Libyans," PRI's The World, 13 April 2012,

<http://www.theworld.org/2012/04/uk-us-implicated-in-rendition-of-libyans/>

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⁵²⁷ AsiaNews, "Gaddafi's Nuclear Weapons are a Canard," 31 October 2011, <http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Gaddafi%E2%80%99s-nuclear-weapons-are-a-canard-23059.html>

⁵²⁸ *Economist*, "Plumbing the Sahara (Graphic Detail)," 11 March 2011, http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/03/libyas_water_supply

⁵²⁹ International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), "Water Resources Programme: Nubian Aquifer Project: Background: Irrational Use," 15 March 2010, http://www-naweb.iaea.org/naweb/ih/IHS_projects_nubian_irrational.html

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⁵³¹ Missy Ryan, "Libya Wants More Talks as NATO Strikes Hit Capital," Reuters, 23 July 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/23/us-libya-idUSTRE76H06X20110723>

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⁵³⁵ SMD/AP/Reuters, "France to Build Nuclear Reactor in Libya," *Spiegel Online International*, 26 July 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/0,1518,496711,00.html>

⁵³⁶ Nuclear Threat Initiative, "Libya: Facilities," December 2011, <http://www.nti.org/country-profiles/libya/facilities/>

Outlook

Pessimists look at Libya and see rival militias, resurgent regional feuds, and reported incidents of vengeance and torture that threaten its future as a democratic nation-state. Optimists see a democratic spirit that made the events of 2011 a true revolution, and that bodes well for Libya's ability to make new institutions and reconcile old wrongs.^{537, 538} More conflict seems certain in Libya's future. It is to be hoped that the new state apparatus will find better means than fear and force to create national unity and international cooperation.

⁵³⁷ Ian Martin, "Speech at Benghazi University," United Nations Support Mission in Libya, 10 April 2012, <http://unsmil.unmissions.org/Default.aspx?tabid=3543&ctl=Details&mid=6187&ItemID=167811&language=en-US>

⁵³⁸ Voice of America, "Libyans Mark First Anniversary of Revolution," 17 February 2012, <http://www.voanews.com/english/news/africa/Libyans-Mark-First-Anniversary-of-Revolution-139503458.html>

CHAPTER 5 ASSESSMENT

1. Libya is relatively well-off and stable compared to its neighbors.
True
Libya's large oil revenues for a small population gave its past rulers funds to buy military items and attempt regional influence.
2. Libya remained on the U.S. State Department's list of state sponsors of terrorism until the fall of Qadhafi in 2011.
False
Libya was removed from the list in 2006, after Qadhafi renounced Libya's programs for weapons of mass destruction. Al-Qaeda then declared Libya an enemy of Islam.
3. Algeria fully supported the Libyan overthrow of Qadhafi.
False
Despite popular Algerian support for the rebels, the Algerian government provided support for Qadhafi and accepted members of his family into exile on humanitarian grounds.
4. Egypt and Libya share water resources, power supplies, and border security problems.
True
Conflicts could arise over the use of the Sahara aquifers and the illegal trade of drugs, humans, arms, and consumer goods across boundaries.
5. Sahelian Tuaregs took both sides in the Libyan civil war.
True
Qadhafi recruited some Tuaregs into the Libyan army, but others in Niger and Mali supported the National Transitional Council (NTC).

FINAL ASSESSMENT

1. Libya's population is distributed evenly throughout the country.
True / False
2. Libya has the longest Mediterranean coastline of any African country.
True / False
3. The geographical region of Cyrenaica is home to the ancient Greek city of Cyrene.
True / False
4. Supported by a strong transitional national government, Libya's cities experienced a peaceful recovery from the 2011 civil war.
True / False
5. Most of Libya's agricultural production occurs along the northern coastline.
True / False
6. Arab Berbers arrived in Libya in the 11th century.
True / False
7. The period of Ottoman rule in Libya was characterized by the *Pax Turkana*, over 300 years of peace and prosperity.
True / False
8. The *Sanusiyyah* is a Muslim brotherhood named after an ancestor of the first king of the United Kingdom of Libya.
True / False
9. Qadhafi became the hereditary second king of the United Kingdom of Libya in 1969.
True / False
10. The fall of Qadhafi's regime left large amounts of weaponry unaccounted for.
True / False
11. Qadhafi's nationalization of oil companies in Libya eliminated foreign participation in the industry.
True / False
12. China is the largest consumer of Libyan oil exports.
True / False
13. Since 2011's Arab Spring, Libya is working with other Maghreb countries (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania) to improve regional trade.
True / False

14. .Libya reports the highest per capita income in North Africa.
True / False
15. Human rights abuses in Libya ended with Qadhafi's death and the country's liberation.
True / False
16. Berbers are black Africans who migrated to Libya from the east in the seventh century.
True / False
17. Qadhafi's religious reforms led to the strengthening of the traditional Muslim establishment.
True / False
18. In metropolitan Tripoli, Libyans often enjoy wine with their meals.
True / False
19. Women make up about half the Libyan workforce.
True / False
20. Oil transformed Libya from a tribal society to a welfare state.
True / False
21. Sudanese and Chadian rebels in Libya's southern deserts started the civil war in 2011.
True / False
22. Libya is retraining rebel militia members to serve in the new government's police and military forces.
True / False
23. Because Qadhafi sponsored terrorism worldwide, Islamic militants supported him in the 2011 civil war.
True / False
24. Libya has a small population partly because large numbers of Libyan migrant workers move to neighboring countries.
True / False
25. Despite massive purchases of Soviet military equipment, post-revolution Libya is poorly armed.
True / False

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