

Forum:	Security Council
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Introduction

The 20th of October 2011 saw an end to a 42-year leadership in Libya. The void left by the death of Libya's then Prime Minister led to turmoil for this North African nation, a void that has led to serious political turmoil, terrorist activities, and human rights abuses. The tension ranges from social and political to religious, and the culmination of these have led to great devastation for the people of Libya. The increasing presence of the Islamic State (IS) in the country, and its battle to establish itself as a prominent power and controller of the land has led to serious consequences. This, along with the inability to form an effective government, and the constant conflict between the two major parties of this country over issues like oil reserves and plant has led to the current civil war that appears far from a peaceful end. This has also resulted in reducing Libyan oil's exportation, therefore harming the state's economy. The rise in human rights violations, whether it be carried out by the state itself, the small militias, or terrorist organizations like the IS, shows that the current problem in Libya is one that is stemmed much deeper than only politics.

Once a country developing to become one of the greatest economies in Africa, Libya fell victim to a cycle in which attempts to tackle challenges elevated the issue. Ideological clashes, multiple changes in structure, and never-ending civil wars are just a fraction of the intertwined conflicts that the fourth largest country in Africa hosts. Thus, prior to taking action on the current situation in the region, the general crisis in Libya must be reviewed and understood clearly. As history has shown, rash decisions by the international community may place Libya in further risk in the future.

Definition of Key Terms

Transitional National Council: TNC relates to the governmental forces that were assigned the job to establish a new government after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi.

Tobruk Government: They are currently the political entity in Libya that is resisting against the General National Congress. They represent the Eastern part of Libya and were once deemed the official force by the international community. The Tobruk Government is also known as the Council of Deputies (CoD)

and is most known for its House of Representatives.

Jamahiriya: This is an Arabic term that was coined by Muammar Gaddafi to describe the state he had established in 1977. It is generally translated as “state of the masses”, or “peopledom”, as Lisa Anderson put it. The term comes from the word *jumhūrīyah*, which literally means “republic”. *Jumhūr* (public) in this case was changed to its plural form: *jamahīr* – “masses”.

No-Fly Zone: A “NFZ” is an airspace through which aircrafts are not permitted fly. They are somewhat buffer zones in the sky. However, most often, established NFZs restrict a specific nation’s aircrafts from operating in the designated airspace. The establishing powers usually use this free airspace to hit ground targets in effect. In a case of trespassing by belligerent forces, enemy aircrafts may be shot down.

Libya Government of National Accord (GNA): Currently, Libya is governed by an interim government: the Government of National Accord. It was formed under the terms of the Libyan Political Agreement, and was unanimously agreed upon by the United Nations Security Council.

General National Congress (GNC): This represents the political faction in Libya that took over after the Transitional National Council, that was voted out of office, and that is now fighting against the Tobruk Government in the current Libyan Civil War. It has its own armed forces and its own government, is also referred to as the “National Salvation Government”, and is representative of the Western part of the country.

Libya Dawn: Libya Dawn is a group of hardened militia fighters that used to back the self-declared government of the General National Congress in Tripoli. It is a nationalist organization that has no external connections to other Islamist fighters. It is viewed to be more moderate than other Islamic terror organizations due to its political connections. On a diplomatic platform, it is recognized by some factions as a legitimate coalition dominated by Islamist parties such as Muslim Brotherhood. It is known to denounce other “more extremist” organizations such as al- Qaeda.

General Overview

When Libya gained its independence in 1951, it landed in the hands of a hereditary constitutional monarchy, which wasn’t really inherited at all since King Idris I was its only monarch. When substantial amount of oil reserves were discovered in 1959, income from crude oil allowed the new state to build enormous wealth. However, this abundance did not reflect adequately to the public, and factions started to form against the King who held a significant amount of the wealth in his own hands.

One of those factions was a small group of military officers lead by Muammar Gaddafi, who launched the “Al Fateh Revolution” by organizing a military intervention against King Idris. Upon its

success, in 1969, Gaddafi governed as the Revolutionary Chairman of the Libyan Arab Republic that he established. In 1977, however, Gaddafi dissolved the Republic to form the Jamahiriya, "state of the masses". Under Socialist influence, Gaddafi handed his power over to the "General People's Committees", which were local councils where political decisions were discussed. Votes from these committees would pass on to the central general committee, for which members were elected. The final vote from the central committee would develop the national verdict. Although the Jamahiriya was referred to as a direct democracy, none of the votes throughout this process were published.

The three year period from 1977 to 1980 saw several administrative reforms which would form the basis of the new Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. The government was divided into two sectors: the Jamahiriya sector and the revolutionary sector. The Jamahiriya sector carried out the aforementioned process through the General People's Congress, the General People's Committee, and the Basic People's Congresses which was the new name for the basic local councils. The revolutionary sector oversaw the Jamahiriya sector, and Muammar Gaddafi was the head of the revolutionary sector as the "Permanent Leader of the Revolution" (Gaddafi).

During the 1970s and 1980s, Gaddafi invaded several countries in the region, most notably Chad, in the name of anti-imperialism. Moreover, throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Gaddafi showed his support for leftist movements in Africa as a pan-Africanist. His alliance with the Eastern Bloc and close ties with the KGB led to the US bombing of Libya in 1986. Gaddafi had acquired a lot of enemies during this period, mainly due to the Libyan invasion of Chad. Yet he also acted as a big financier for international terrorist movements. He supported Palestinian terror groups and depicted the Lod Airport Massacre as an example for their future acts. In 1992, Libya was held accountable for the 1988 Lockerbie bombing, and United Nations imposed sanctions that lasted for more than a decade. Libyan foreign relations, especially with the West, took until the 2000s to return to normal.

It was right in the middle of Gaddafi's "United States of Africa" campaign that the Arab Spring hit Libya. By late February of 2011, Libya was experiencing a "full-scale revolt". During the same month, the National Transitional Council was established by the former justice minister, to administer the areas under rebel control. Gaddafi threatened to "destroy the protest movement" by assigning militants to kill defectors against the regime. His act was recognized as against international law by the UN Security Council, and the Council decided to take "all means necessary" to ensure the Libyan civilians lives. In June 2011, the International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Muammar Gaddafi, for he had organized "widespread and systematic attacks against demonstrators and civilians." Two months later, the NTC was recognized as the official governing body of Libya. The Battle of Sirte marked the end of Gaddafi's rule as he was killed on 20 October 2011 by rebel forces. Three days later, the "liberation" of Libya was celebrated.

However, the aftermath of the Libyan Civil War was extremely unprecedented; the violence on

the streets never faded away due to the growing conflict between factions of different political views wishing to take control.

After elections held in August 2012, the NTC's power was passed to a General National Congress (GNC), which barely could complete its 18-month goal of transitioning Libya to a permanent democratic constitution. Only two years later, in 2014, a new election for Council of Deputies was held, meaning a new GNC was to be formed. In the 2012 elections, members of the NTC and Jamahiriya government members were banned from running, yet there was still a 62% voter turnout. In 2014, however, voter turnout dropped to an extreme low of 18%, with Islamists winning only around 30 seats. Party lists were forbidden for the election, so all candidates ran independently. According to the results, seculars won the majority of seats, and Abdullah al-Thani remained as prime minister. The government positioned itself in the city of Tobruk. It voted to replace itself in August 2014 with the House of Representatives (Council of Deputies), which is recognized by the United Nations as the official legislative authority of Libya.

Meanwhile, Libya Dawn took over the city of Tripoli since the Islamist parties did poorly in the election. Subsequently, the Supreme Court in Tripoli annulled the 2014 election results. When the annulment wasn't internationally recognized, the Muslim Brotherhood party (the dominant party in the Libya Dawn coalition) led the establishment of a new, self-proclaimed General National Congress. This new GNC, led by Nouri Abusahmain of Muslim Brotherhood, established the National Salvation Government and appointed to it Omar al-Hassi, again of Muslim Brotherhood. This new GNC and its government were also not recognized by the international community. However, as they have control over the capital, the Islamist faction still claims to be the official government.

As Libya's government split between the factions in Tobruk and Tripoli in August 2014, the conflict of secular and Islamist ideologies triggered the Second Libyan Civil War. The rival governments remained separate until the Libyan Political Agreement of December 2015. According to this agreement, the House of Representatives continued to exist as a legislature, while the New GNC formed an advisory body, the High Council of State, for the new official Government of National Accord (GNA). The agreement was endorsed by the United Nations Security Council.

Essentially, Libya's most recent state of political instability stems from the division between the warring factions of Tobruk and Tripoli, especially between August 2014 and December 2015. While the House of Representatives in Tobruk held legislative authority due to its recognition, the New GNC in Tripoli held the Supreme Courts. The rivalry only decreased both sides legitimacy, and in that sense the Libyan Political Agreement was a significant step. However, after uniting under the Government of National Accord, the factions' disinclination to work together did not fade away. It has been almost a year, and the new government has made no more efforts for maintaining stability than considering a new election for the House of Representatives.

The conflict of ideologies between the two factions caused Libya to become “a breeding ground for terrorists”, as the French Minister of Defense Jean-Yves Le Drian put it. While political settlements (or failures to do so) were the main topic, matters like domestic security were drastically overseen. In fact, offshoots of terrorist organizations such as ISIL and al-Qaeda have broadly infested the nation, causing a serious territorial issue to emerge within the country. Also, the controversial affiliation of the Tripoli faction with the terrorist group Libya Dawn is a domestic threat as much as it is an international one, since the faction is now a part of the Government of National Accord. Theoretically, regions under Libya Dawn’s control should be friendly territory for the Libyan National Army. Yet, in reality, the progression of the Second Libyan Civil War proves otherwise. On physical ground, forces that are allied on paper are seen fighting each other. Hence, the continuing war poses the amplest threat to domestic affairs.

Major Parties Involved and Their Views

Regional Forces

Tobruk Government: The House of Representatives is the legislative body of the Government of National Accord in Libya. It was established after the General National Congress (2012), the internationally recognized government of Libya at the time, voted in August 2014 to replace itself with a new Council of Deputies. The GNC was led by Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani, and composed of largely secular members. It positioned itself in Tobruk. This GNC is not to be confused with the New General National Congress, which was an unrecognized, self-claimed organization formed by the Islamist parties which had lost the 2014 election. The House of Representatives did not recognize the New GNC. The House of Representatives plans to implement the next election of its members, as the last election was postponed due to an “inability to hold elections”.

The High Council of State (Tripoli): The High Council of State, or the Supreme Council of State, is an advisory body for the provisional Government of National Accord in Libya. It was established in accordance with the Libyan Political Agreement, as “unanimously endorsed by the United Nations Security Council.” It can advise the Government of National Accord and the House of Representatives on binding executive decisions, although under certain circumstances. The members of the High Council of State were nominated by the New General National Congress in 2015 before it was disbanded. The High Council of State is a continuation of the GNC, which was dominated by the largely Islamist parties “Muslim Brotherhood” and the “Justice and Construction Party.” The members of the GNC were notoriously known to be affiliated with the terrorist group Libya Dawn.

Regional Countries

Egypt: Egypt is known for having publicly supported the efforts of military leader Khalifa Haftar, head of

the Libyan National Army or the armed force that works along the Tobruk Government. Having similarly experienced revolution, with the rise of significant Islamist radicalism forces or militias in his country, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sissi, has long supported Haftar's efforts, himself concentrated on the removal of these forces from Libya. Egypt has therefore not helped in the re-unification of both the Tobruk and GNC but rather has largely contributed to their divisions carrying out several airstrikes on enemy forces and providing the LNA military assistance.

United Arab Emirates: Much like what Egypt has been doing in order to support the Tobruk Government, the UAE has similarly provided military specifically air support, and financial aid to the country in order to prevent the growth of Islamist militant forces.

Qatar: Qatar, sees value in the rise of these ideals within Libyan society and government and has favored the GNC, much like Turkey, in an effort to both help the Libyan democracy and defend its own interests.

Algeria and Tunisia: Both of these nations, compared to Egypt's very militaristic approach, have taken on more pacifist solutions to solving this issue. Both Tunisia and Algeria have suffered the consequences of a broken Libyan government. Both located along the long western Libyan border, no longer guarded and taken care of by the government, both nations have noticed an influx in smuggling and the crossing of members of terrorist organizations into their countries. Despite receiving harms, they have both still remained active in the solving in this issue, both out of self-interest and their long lasting relationships with Libya. Tunisia therefore, in what could be considered a retort to Egypt's policy has held numerous gathering in Tunis to help prevent the use of military intervention in Libya. Algeria has similarly remained fixed on not associating itself with either side of the issue, by rather also organizing talks, specifically regarding the ratification of the LPA in order to aid the unification process. Both countries suffer from the Libyan Civil War and have much to gain to see it come to an end.

Western States

Italy: Italy has been a large supporter of efforts to unify both parties and thus the GNA. It has hosted one conference in particular in Rome to mediate talks on the LPA, in order to help improve the country's political landscape and in turn protect its own interests. Italy in fact is largely impacted by the Libyan Civil War, with many migrants, be them from Libya or elsewhere, leaving the country through its shores to come onto the Italian coastline. This has caused a significant drain on Italian affairs and has pushed them to seek unification.

Turkey: Turkey has openly expressed its devotion to the cause of the GNC, supporting its Islamist agenda, similar to the one carried out at home.

Russian Federation: Russia also holds a stake in this matter. Wishing to expand its influence (whether

military or economic) into the Mediterranean Region, the Russian Federation has seen much value in supporting the cause for unification, in an attempt to be able to cooperate with a stable Libya. It also has a history of trading well with the Gaddafi regime, but has yet to undertake any serious measures in the region.

USA: The United States, under the Obama Administration, has communicated its support to the GNA as well. This said, the situation in Libya proved to be rather sensitive due to the attacks on an American Consulate in the city of Benghazi in 2012, causing the death of several US government workers. This disincentivized the US to pursue much involvement in that matter, not-including of course its efforts towards terrorist activities in the country. Even before the rise of IS, but especially during the rise of IS, the United States played a significant role in the gathering of intelligence and conducting attacks on Islamist strongholds in order to counter terrorism in the region. This said, the US still remained active in mediating many of the discussions and working within the UN to find solutions to the problem.

France: France has long been a supporter of the GNA and any effort for unification. President Macron himself organized a set of discussions between the leaders of the Tobruk Government and GNC in order to reach a consensus. This said, it is speculated that France has been providing military assistance to the LNA and thus contradicting its supposed neutral agenda.

Timeline of Events

1951	Libya declares independence from Italy, it is now ruled by King Muhammed Idris.
1 September 1969	Colonel Muammar Gaddafi acquires power in Libya by orchestrating a coup d'état.
April 1977	Founding of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamihiriya
15 February 2011	The start of the first Libyan Civil War, fought between those supporting Gaddafi and those seeking to overthrow his government
26 February 2011	Resolution that imposes sanctions and an arms embargo passes
17 March 2011	Resolution that establishes the No-Fly Zone
27 October 2011	Resolution to deploy UNSMIL in Libya

20 October 2011	Death of Gaddafi, the end of the first Libyan Civil War
August 2012	NTC passes its power to the General National Congress.
June 2014-present	Second Libyan Civil War
January 2015	UN-brokered peace talks commence.
23 December 2015	Resolution passes that agrees on the implementation of the Libyan Political Agreement.

Relevant UN Documents

Admittance of Libya into the UN, 14 December 1955 (**S/RES/109**)

Resolution to impose Sanctions and an Arms Embargo, 26 February 2011 (**S/RES/1973**)

Resolution to implement a no-fly zone, 17 March 2011 (**S/RES/1973**)

Resolution to deploy the UNSMIL, 16 September 2011 (**S/RES/2009**)

Resolution to lift the no-fly zone, 27 October 2011 (**S/RES/2016**)

Resolution to combat terrorist activity in Libya, 27 March 2015 (**S/RES/2214**)

Resolution to implement the Libyan Political Agreement, 23 December 2015 (**S/RES/2259**)

Resolution to extend UNSMIL to 15 September 2018, 14 September 2017 (**S/RES/2376**)

Resolution on the authorization for the inspection of high coast vessels, 5 October 2017 (**S/RES/2380**)

Evaluation of Previous Attempts to Resolve the Issue

During the Libyan Civil War in 2011, the main approach to tackle the crisis was by third- (or more) party meddling. Following the ratification of UN SC Resolution 1973, a “multi-state NATO coalition” took physical action targeting Gaddafi’s civilian-antagonizing militiamen. In addition to the established no-fly zone, a naval blockade was formed. The coalition grew to 19 states which “enforced the no-fly zone/naval

blockade and/or provided logistical ground support” (“Security Council”). Gaddafi forces’ response was extremely impotent; not a single NATO plane was shot down. The following NATO airstrikes proved effective, essentially compromising Muammar Gaddafi. Following his capture and murder by local rebel forces, the war came to an end. However, the crisis was nowhere close to finalization. Although it had halted on an international level, physical combat still existed domestically due to the subsequent political instability of the NTC and a recently elevated conflict of ideologies. All of this eventually led to a second civil war, establishing the attempt rather redundant and unsuccessful.

In early 2015, the United Nations has brokered peace talks between the warring factions in what seemed to be part of a “last-ditch effort to solve an increasingly intractable conflict” (Westcott). The goal behind this attempt was to form a unity government and stop the fighting between Islamist and largely secular political groups; easier said than done. Since December 2014, the UN has been trying to establish a dialogue between the two sides. But only one side, the al-Thani government, has officially embraced the peace talks, and many critical parties refused to attend the first round. For months, al-Hassi has said that Libya needs new elections and that al-Thani’s parliament has lost legitimacy. But experts say al-Hassi opposed peace talks because they could weaken his government (Westcott). Naturally, when al-Thani stepped down from his position as prime minister in 2015, UN’s international meddling, as a diplomatic attempt for solution, proved to be futile.

Possible Solutions

Like any other major global conflict, the crisis in Libya can be addressed in two ways: band-aid fixes, and essence-aimed solutions. It is fundamental to realize that a good balance of the two options is necessary in reaching the most efficient outcome. Characteristically, band-aid fixes alone do not lead to resolution; they are quick options to catalyze the process of genuine solution methods. On the other hand, essence-aimed solutions are actual attempts to cease the conflict completely which are generally harder and broader in practice. The most promising outcomes are principally based on solid and relatively longer term solutions, and are aided with short term fixes.

For example, since the Libyan citizens’ lives are of first and foremost importance, unbiased security forces could be sent in to draw the line between ideological conflicts and their physical impacts on innocent lives. The international endorsement would render these security forces competent. This would be a factor in decreasing violence in the streets, and act as a patch. Meanwhile, the United Nations could dedicate a new or existing body to the Libyan conflict and concentrate in ensuring sustained stability.

Also, with absolutely no interference with diplomatic matters, the Libyan National Army could be aided with extensive military power in order to wipe terrorist groups as much as possible from the nation.

The cease of the current civil war in Libya would create a friendly atmosphere for the establishment of sustained political stability and subsequent national development. However, it needs to be ensured that the terms and consequences of ceasefire are well-intentioned so that further conflict does not emerge, as did with the first Libyan Civil War in 2011.

The Libyan Political Agreement

While all the resolutions above provided what one may consider to be rather short-term solutions to the Libyan conflict, one that truly stood out among all of them was UN Resolution 2259 proposing the implementation of the “Libyan Political Agreement” (LPA). While there have been numerous attempts to solve the current political tensions within the country, specifically between the two biggest players- the Council of Deputies (Tobruk Government) and the GNC- in this affair, this solution really stands as what many believe to be the best current way to consolidate power into one government, and thus avoid the current power struggle in the country. This agreement, brokered by the UN, proposed the following plan to creating a unified governmental entity in the country. A “Presidency Council” led by Fayeze al-Sarraj a former member of the House of Representatives, thus from the Tobruk side of the conflict, would be charged with forming a government bringing together members from both sides, known as the Government of National Accord, as well as a body made up of members of the GNC party to consult in government matters. This consultative body would be known as the “State Council”. Complications start to arise as the LPA calls for the Tobruk House of Representatives (HoR) to act as the remaining legislative branch of the Libyan government and is also tasked with confirming the unified government proposed by the Presidency Council. So far, the HoR has rejected both propositions leaving the Libyan people without a real governmental structure. The diagram below, created by the European Council for Foreign Relations, gives a good look into the proposed composition for the Libyan Government by the LPA and makes the dynamics between each branch clearer. The proposed government by the LPA itself has been criticized by many, specifically in Libya, for its lack of partiality, the increased military power it gives to its leaders, and essentially is a flawed process.

Notes from the Chair

For this issue, learning from past actions and mistakes is crucial. Though, like any other conflict, there isn't a single solution to this critical and complicated matter, some things need to be kept in mind to reach a lasting solution. It is very important to work towards minimizing influence and actions from outside forces, as it disables the Libyan groups from acting independently. The creation of an unified government is very important, and that would mean equal representation from all parties and sides. These are all details that the delegates should remember as a real solution would be a long term one that would stand the test of time. It shouldn't be like 2011, where after a small period of peace, a second war started.

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