

**Committee: Special, Political and Decolonization Committee (GA4)**

**Issue: Post-conflict reconstruction in Libya**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Libya, located in the North of Africa, is a country that experienced intense conflict in 2011 and 2014-present, leaving it in need of a reconstruction and reorganization of its infrastructure, system and everyday life.

The conflict arguably sprung instability throughout the entire North African and Middle Eastern region which saw revolutions and uprisings against governments, leading to region-wide intrastate conflicts, also referred to as the Arab Spring. In the case of Libya, the conflict was a result of the dictatorship regime of Muammar Gaddafi, who after 41 years of governing the country, violently replied to protests, sparking nation-wide fury and separation. This conflict lasted just over 8 months and marked the first of currently two major civil wars in Libya, with this one referred to as the Libyan Revolution.

After the killing of Gaddafi in 2011, the second conflict, spanning from 2014 to present, is one sparking further insecurity and uncertainty, undoubtedly worsening the situation in the country rather than helping it develop. This second civil war consists of the rebels, who fought against Gaddafi's forces in the first conflict, who now have split in two and are fighting each other for the governance of Libya and its wealth in natural resources, particularly oil.<sup>1</sup>

After such conflicts and decades under a constant regime, Libya has been left without a clear path towards development and without functioning state but with a will to become a free and European like country. It is arguably a brownfield canvas of battle-worn cities, people and mentalities, making it particularly difficult to move forward. Costs for development are high, political stability is highly uncertain and peace is still in question.<sup>2</sup>

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1 "Life After Qaddafi — Libya: A Broken State." YouTube. YouTube, 12 Nov. 2014. Web. 15 June 2017.

2 Vice. "Front Lines of the Libyan Revolution (Documentary)." YouTube. YouTube, 27 July 2012. Web. 15 June 2017.

Seeing a development in Libya, being one of the most prominent African countries, is of utmost importance as it will not only benefit those within the country and the ones bordering it, it will also benefit the world who could find a partner in Africa. Also, stability in the region will benefit Europe's influx in migration, which has sprung great uncertainty all over the continent and has led to the increase in popularity of extremist groups.

## **DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

### **Intrastate Conflict:<sup>3</sup>**

It is the political violence between armed groups representing the government and one or more non-state groups, commonly referred to as rebel groups. Conflict usually takes place within the borders of a state but usually influence the rest of the world with conflict transpiring in neighbouring states.

### **Reconstruction:<sup>4</sup>**

"The process of building or creating something again that has been damaged or destroyed"

### **UNSMIL:<sup>5</sup>**

United Nations Support Mission in Libya

### **Development:<sup>6</sup>**

"The process in which someone or something grows or changes and becomes more advanced"

### **Civil War: <sup>7</sup>**

"A war fought by different groups of people living in the same country" This goes together with intrastate conflict but does not include influence from parties outside of the country's borders.

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3 Missworldsecurity. "Definitions: What's the Difference between Intrastate, Interstate & Extrastate???" Miss World Security. N.p., 29 Oct. 2014. Web. 19 June 2017.

4 "Reconstruction Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 June 2017.

5 "UNSMIL." UNSMIL. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 June 2017.

6 "Development Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 June 2017.

7 "Civil War Meaning in the Cambridge English Dictionary." Cambridge Dictionary. N.p., n.d. Web. 19 June 2017.

### **National Transitional Council (NTC):**

The NTC was a transitional government, ran by the rebels and supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which overthrew the Gaddafi regime during the 2011 civil war. It focused on creating a democratic and free Libya. The rebels in this case are the people that grew up under the constraint regime of Gaddafi and started growing with fury under the conditions they were living in compared to free countries. In addition, they disliked Gaddafi's lavish lifestyle and wanted to get him off power in hope that Libya could emulate Europe's freedom.

### **General National Congress (GNC):<sup>8</sup>**

The GNC was an elected government that governed Libya after the 2011 civil war, from the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 2012 to 4<sup>th</sup> of August 2014. It took over from the NTC.

### **Council of Deputies/ House of Representatives HoR:<sup>9</sup>**

It is the House of Representatives in Libya currently representing the Tobruk government. Tobruk is a city in the East of Libya and the party that governs the country is from there.

### **Dictatorship:<sup>10</sup>**

"A country, government, or the form of government in which absolute power is exercised by a dictator (Monarch with absolute control)"

## **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

### **Muammar Gaddafi's Regime**

Gaddafi, as mentioned above, was an outright dictator and apart from his unconstitutional power in his own country, he also interfered with the outside world by being a major supporter of terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda<sup>11</sup>. In addition to that, he publicly admitted to being behind the terrorist attack of Pan-Am flight 103, in Lockerbie in 1988, resulting in 270 deaths, including 189 US citizens.

Gaddafi's regime lasted just over 4 decades from his non-violent military coup in 1969, to his death in 2011, and during this time, not only did he create a controversial figure

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<sup>8</sup> "General National Congress." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 13 Mar. 2017. Web. 19 June 2017.

<sup>9</sup> "House of Representatives (Libya)." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, 14 June 2017. Web. 19 June 2017.

<sup>10</sup> "Dictatorship." Dictionary.com. Dictionary.com, n.d. Web. 21 June 2017.

<sup>11</sup> "Muammar Qaddafi and Libya's Legacy of Terrorism." PBS. Public Broadcasting Service, n.d. Web. 21 June 2017.

of himself beyond Libya's border, he also enforced a very strict and tight environment within the country, which he only exposed parts of to the rest of the world. Arguably, Libya's economy and development was kept at a stable level, but the humanitarian and political situation in the country raised many questions and concerns from the United Nations and numerous member states. This tight system was, of course, the source of the conflict which erupted in 2011.

At the beginning of his regime, he was welcomed as the one that would bring back hope to the Libyan people and was considered as a young charismatic figure that could decrease the economic advantage of foreign countries. He set off doing that by taking advantage of his country's natural wealth in oil and in that way making Libya less dependent and more self-sustained. That happening in the 1970's, it was the beginning of the Arab petrol-boom, with further Arab countries following Libya's example and extracting oil for themselves. In that aspect, Gaddafi's regime brought great development, not only in his country, but also for the entire region.

Gaddafi's regime started off strongly and, as mentioned, in a welcoming manner which benefited both Libyan's and the rest of the world. This regime went from a high status, to a low and unpopular one, back to one that countries saw as a strategic advantage and back to one that was disrespected. Over the years his regime followed more the definition of a dictatorship, finally becoming one and with the rest, as discussed, going down in history.<sup>12</sup>

Gaddafi's eccentric lifestyle and his total power over everything that went on inside Libya as well as whatever affected Libya outside its borders were the main factors that made him a dictator. For example, upon gaining power in 1969, he closed down the British and American military bases in Libya and ensured to expel any remaining Jews and almost 20,000 Italians, in which way he distanced himself between the rest of the world. He also publically denounced capitalism.<sup>13</sup>

## **Conflicts**

In late 2010, Tunisia, a neighbouring country to Libya, saw the first revolution of the modern Arab world, which eventually led to the series of revolutions known today. Due to Gaddafi's tight system and his tendency to put his country's interest above the others, like

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<sup>12</sup> Asser, Martin. "The Muammar Gaddafi Story." BBC News. BBC, 21 Oct. 2011. Web. 22 June 2017.

<sup>13</sup> Muammar Al-Qaddafi." Biography.com. A&E Networks Television, 28 Apr. 2017. Web. 16 July 2017.

the majority of the Arab countries that saw revolutions, Libya was one of the least expected countries to see a revolution of this sort. Gaddafi funded infrastructure projects and maintained a high level of development in his country, which arguably served Libyans and their interests well. That said, with instability growing in the region and the overthrowing of Egypt's and Tunisia's leaders, Libya's also saw the opportunity to revolt, something that did not go down well for Gaddafi, who in turn, as mentioned in the introduction, replied with violence, hence sparking the first civil war in Libya. Gaddafi fought with his forces and occupied the majority of the West of Libya (including the capital Tripoli), while the rebels fought, controlling the East and Misrata (a coastal city in the West about 100km from the capital). The rebels famously fought for either freedom or death and their wish was to take over, not only parts of the country, but also take Tripoli and kill Gaddafi. The violence in Libya escalated quickly into a full-scale war and by providing supplies from Benghazi (second largest city in Libya after Tripoli) to Misrata, the rebels were able to take over Tripoli and kill Gaddafi, marking the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> civil war. During this time, the rebels were fighting under the NTC which when the war ended passed on power to the GNC. Without the NTC, NATO's help and the United Nation's resolution for the protection of the civilians though, the rebels would arguably get overwhelmed and get beaten by Gaddafi's forces.

The second Libyan civil war, which is officially still ongoing, is a conflict between the GNC which was democratically overthrown by the Tobruk government (current Libyan government, HoR) in 2014. The GNC and HoR share the Libyan land much like Gaddafi's forces and the rebels did in the first civil war respectively but the reasons for conflict were different. The GNC originally accepted the results of the 2014 elections, which took it off power, but due to disagreements in some amendments proposed by the winning party that saw a change in the shape of HoR elections and the transition of power, the GNC changed its opinion on the win, did not concede to the outcome and therefore the HoR decided to establish a parliament in Tobruk rather than Tripoli, hence creating a separation in the country and leading to conflict.<sup>14</sup> The UN has committed itself to imposing ceasefire agreements in 2015 and 2016 between the two groups, of which the GNC "rebranded" into Government of National Accord (GNA) in the first quarter of 2016. Conflicts and violence in this second civil war are of a lower degree but instability due to not agreed terms between the two groups means that Libya faces further uncertainty and in need to reconstruct itself economically, infrastructure-wise and socially in order to develop.

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<sup>14</sup> "Libyan Civil War (2014–present)." *Wikipedia*. Wikimedia Foundation, 22 June 2017. Web. 22 June 2017.

## **MAJOR COUNTRIES AND ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED**

### **NATO**

NATO has had a significant role in both of Libya's civil wars with the first notable involvement being in the supporting of the NTC and the United Nation's efforts in protecting the civilians through the Security Council's passing of the 2011, Resolution 1973, which effectively highlighted the importance of acting on the matter as well as supporting the NTC militarily and strategically by imposing a no-fly zone, as discussed later.

The NATO, apart from helping the rebels in the first through the NTC, also had some vital involvements, in co-operation with the United Nations in order to guide Libya towards development.

The important strategic move conducted by the NATO to impose a no-fly zone over Gaddafi's side during the civil war in 2011, allowed the rebels more leverage and gave them a better chance at winning the war, which in the end did. In addition to this, NATO has kept close contact with resolutions concerning the matter and has worked closely with the United Nations in order to implement their ideas through the resolutions passed in the Security Council.

### **UNSMIL**

As a result of the instability and the conflicts in the country, the United Nations created UNSMIL (United Nations Support Mission in Libya) in 2011 in order to help the political situation and post-conflict reconstruction in Libya, as the civil war was coming to an end. Its mandate is set to last until September of 2017 and has been an influential council, whose efforts have been commended by the Security Council which has voted the extension of the mission's mandate to the above date. The UNSMIL is separated into 6 divisions working towards solving independent problems within the region such as the Political Affairs Division (PAD) continuation of the transition of Libya towards democracy. Generally speaking, the UNSMIL is working closely with the Security Council and has significant ties to the Political Committee due to its targets in altering political activities towards a development-focused approach by all.

### **Joint Communique:**

The Joint Communique is a quartet of groups/ organisations (European Union (EU), African Union (AU), League of Arab States (LAS), United Nations (UN)) that started a series of meetings in 2017 in order to assess the situation in Libya and condemn various acts deemed improper and in risk of destabilizing the political situation in the region. In addition to that,

the joint communique, which is a product of UNSMIL, aims to focus on the development and reconstruction in Libya in a way that all the countries which could be directly affected by the conflict, can have a say and help direct Libya towards stability. By that, it is suggested that European, Arab and African countries can propose possible solutions to improve the situation in Libya and then include opinions from the rest of the world through the United Nations.

The Joint Communique is a vital asset to have in the current political situation in Libya given the circumstances. In addition to this, it is an opportunity to use the progress and the discussions made in these meetings in order to come closer to a conclusion of the conflict and begin reconstruction. The ways in which this can happen will be discussed later on but here is a document concerning the Joint Communique as uploaded by the UNSMIL.

[JOINT COMMUNIQUE](#)

**TIMELINE OF EVENTS**

Date	Description of Event
1 September 1969	Muammar Gaddafi Goes to power
17 December 2010	Beginning of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, later destabilizing the entire North-African region. In this, Gaddafi expressed his support towards the Tunisian President, whose people were revolting against him. It has to be noted that the protests in Tunisia and Egypt, also referred to as the Arab Spring, had strong relations to Islamist movements and religious differences.
15-17 February 2011	Officially the beginning of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Libyan Civil war on the 15 <sup>th</sup> of February. On the 17 <sup>th</sup> of February, major protests against Muammar Gaddafi sprang in Libya, with people showing their dislike towards Gaddafi's regime. Unlike Egypt and Tunisia, the protest was caused mainly by the people's distaste in Gaddafi's political direction and values.

5 March 2011	Founding of the NTC with the support of the NATO
1 September 2011	The rebels with the NTC seized the capital city of Libya, Tripoli
20 October 2011	With the rebels coming closer to victory, they went in search for Gaddafi, who had been in hiding and constant movement, finally finding him and killing him on the 20 <sup>th</sup> of October that year.
23 October 2011	The end of the 1 <sup>st</sup> Civil War
8 August 2012	The GNC goes to power
16 May 2014	Officially the beginning of the second Civil War due to increasing political instability in the country and difficult to conduct electoral processes.
4 August 2014	The Tobruk government is democratically elected and goes to power marking the beginning of the first separation of the country since the civil war.
23 May 2017	First meeting of the Joint Communiqué

## UN INVOLVEMENT: RELEVANT RESOLUTIONS, TREATIES AND EVENTS

### UNSMIL

As mentioned, the United Nations Support Mission in Libya was specially created in 2011 in order to combat conflicts and ensure that Libya is working towards the right direction in how it approaches developments. That said, although its mandate aims to ensure peace and development, it has been difficult to ensure these due to the complexity of the political situation. With its mandate ending in September of 2017, it might be worth reconsidering and possibly extending it.

### Resolutions:

#### Resolution 1973 (2011) Security Council:

This resolution introduced many important changes which, in the end, resulted into the end of the war and the win by the rebels. It focused on protecting the civilians through a demand of a ceasefire and reminding the League of Arab States of its pledge for peace. It also introduced the no-fly zone which helped the NTC strategically. It also focused on enforcing an arms embargo and an asset freeze in an attempt to cut Gaddafi's resources and

weaken his side. Furthermore, it investigated and removed power from various people and organisations that fueled the conflict by imposing travel bans and asset freezes.

### **Resolution 2016 (2011) Security Council (Post-1<sup>st</sup> Civil War)**

This resolution is largely complementary to the 1973 one as it states that as a result of the end of the conflict, the no-fly zone and protecting the civilian clauses from the 1973 resolution were to be terminated by the end of October 2011.

### **PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE ISSUE**

In the case of Libya, it must be noted that the sequence in which the events have taken place do not specifically show a pattern of repetition but rather progression, meaning that out of solving a problem, others arise. The general pattern shows though, that the Libyan people want freedom and development and therefore through the two resolutions above, the intention of enforcing ceasefire and freedom are the two most key features of attempts to solving the issue. The countries and Organisations mentioned above in some form have all contributed in solving the issue. Arguably, as it will be discussed later on, there are some very important things that could be done in order to conclude the conflict and begin development but just have not been enforced yet.

### **POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS**

- **Education:**

In all problems, critical thinking and proper education can lead the way to overcoming difficulties and solving issues from their core. In the case of Libya, proper education has not been readily available for everyone and during a dictatorship, what is taught can be questionable. Children born in Libya from the death of Muammar Gaddafi were/are the first in many generations to be born in a more democratic country. This has to be used as a driver towards more free thinking and education. Through this, children are brought up more aware and through understanding the world around them, they will be able to overcome difficulties and help the country develop.

- **Ceasefire and Disarmament**

Before the country can move forward, a permanent ceasefire and disarmament is crucial in ensuring the country can unite and develop. It is important to understand the situation and the wants of the two side in the civil war in order to negotiate and resolve differences. One way to do this would be to look at the problem in a bigger picture and

instead finding applicable solutions that could reduce instability in the entire North African region, and then focus on developing the region as a whole.

Although two different sides may come up in the debate because different countries support different sides, both alliances should remember to consider the demands of both sides and find a middle zone. Otherwise the opposing alliance will simply down vote their solutions and no solution will be reached; a lose-lose for everyone

- **Building of Infrastructure**

Africa is a continent with great natural wealth and it is important to explore possible industries which would in turn bring development and employment. Employment is very important, especially for those that have been involved with wars for years, as it fulfills a great social need for humans. This means that if people work, then they find motivation and self-fulfillment, which is very important for the attitude of a country and the direction it will take. Should Libya explore its natural resources and find ways to create mini-industries through the multiplier effect, then it will be able to develop its infrastructure, economy and society. The multiplier effect is a common way to describe the introduction or the investment in industries in an area through which an economy of that area can develop as employment and circulation of wealth increases.

- **Democratic Elections and Stable Government**

This is not only a very important thing for ensuring stability in the country, it is also vital for Libya's international relations. Signs of stability and progress are reassuring for all the countries that have been involved in the issue and this will start to mend broken diplomatic relations between Libya and its allies. In addition, a stable government can ensure that education and infrastructure can be provided for development. Should this happen, it could be beneficial to both Libya and the region if the UN could, in some way, monitor the situation of the country so as to ensure that it is working towards the right direction.

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