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**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION IN LIBYA BEFORE AND
AFTER 17TH FEBRUARY REVOLUTION**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	After Christ
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
BC	Before Christ
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPC	Global Product Classification
KD	Kuwait dinar
NATO	North Atlantic Ocean
NTC	National Transitional Council
PANAM	Pan American World Airways
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
UN	United Nations
US	United States

INTRODUCTION

The old name of Libya is Thumper and there was a lot of controversy in an attempt to follow the historical origins of the language and also to determine this geographical region of the land.

The first specific mention to Libya is what the geographical narrated by V. Mentoly in his book A Geographic of Libya printed in Toronto in 1903 to refer to the Libyan State which includes Tripoli and Cyrenaica. Then, Italy has taken the official name for the State of Tripoli after the announcement of Italian sovereignty on June 1924 and since that time the popularized of using Libya's name increased all over the world including Tripoli, Cyrenaica and Fezzan and followed Oases. (Morsy, 1974, p 26)

Libya has joined many regional and international organizations and gatherings including the United Nations, the African Union, the Arab Maghreb Union, and the League of Arab States, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and COMESA. So, at the first chapter we will discuss the state of Libya geographically, characteristics of the population and the history of Libya in ancient times, in the period of Muslim rule and the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, we will discuss the Italian colonization, its causes and consequences and the resistance of Libyan against the Italian occupation. Then, the independence of Libya and the period of ownership. The coupe of 1969, its impact and consequences, up to the revolution of 17 of February, 2011, and its impact on the current situation in Libya.

The second chapter mentioning the kingdom of Libya and how the royal party ruled the country at that time, and the declaration of independence of the Emirate of Cyrenaica and how Al Sanusi army fought the Italians in the battle of North Africa. The chapter is also talking about the foreign policy that Libya was applying in that time. Furthermore, it talks about the evacuation of British and American bases before the scheduled date in the treaties. Then, the internal policy after the formation of the Kingdom of

Libya. Moreover, the fall of the kingdom of Libya and the military coup led by Gaddafi on 1 of September, 1969. Also, the chapter discusses how the revolution of first of September took place, and how Gaddafi changed and merged his own policies and political movements that he made. As well as, it is mentioning the laws of Gaddafi and his third world theory, and how Gaddafi managed to destroy and depart all foreign bases out of the country, and the wars of Libya at Gaddafi era like the war of Chad and Uganda and his achievements in Africa, his theory of government, US raid in 1986, and Lockerby case in 1988. (Nur, 1999, p 29).

The third chapter is mostly talking about how the era of Gaddafi ended and the start of 17th of February revolution and its aftermath, its causes, how the people were feeling in the rule of Gaddafi, and its most famous events like when it started and when Gaddafi army lost Benghazi and then in a blink of an eye the whole east side of Libya is lost, after that comes the loss of Tripoli. Then, the international court started operating. In addition, on 20 of October, the news of the death of Gaddafi was breaking the televisions.

The situations of Libya is continuing and Libya was facing the developing of the events internally and externally after the fall of Gaddafi's regime, and who ruled Libya after Gaddafi and how many governments, and the successful extent of those governments. Furthermore, the civil war and armed conflicts that happened, at the end it talked about the current authority of Libya.

Previous studies mentioned that the Libyans are modern in politics, except for the elites who suffered from the Ottoman institutions or have grown up in the lands of the Muhajirkassar, Sham, and Tunisia, such as Bashir Al-Saadawi, Suleiman Baroni, Idris Al-Sanusi, and others. Modern political does not exist in Libya. The first political party experience prevailed when the Libyan state in the middle of the twentieth century abolished the parties, but the constitutional state then went on its own path without costing itself to educate the people politically. Even if the army turned on the constitutional state in 1969, the people did not care about defending the constitutional institutions, the coup was behind the brilliant slogans influenced by the Nasserite discourse, especially after the setback of 1967. After the coup, the Libyans lived more than forty years under the rule of the individual, during which every sense of Libyan public opinion died with patriotism and constitutionalism. (Nur, 1999, pp.46 - 47). Hence, the Libyan public opinion after the February revolution became a summit of international political bargaining, reflected these conflicts in the form of internal conflicts and wars which is a deviation and inability of the democratic institutions produced by the electoral fund. In addition to the frequent infiltrations in the state departments and the spread of

corruption as a result of the corruption of the middle administration inherited from the former regime.

The previous studies also talks about the Military conditions where the establishment of the Libyan army was completed in the late of 1950 with the completion of the formation of the Libyan Air Force and Navy. However, it did not take more than two years until the army tried the coup in 1962 which failed at the last moment. This was a bad indication of the national standard established by the army which succeeded in another attempt after seven years in 1969 in the coup and end the existence of the constitutional state to replace the absolute military rule under Gaddafi until the outbreak of the February revolution.

Gaddafi began to break up this military machine which brought him to power especially after some individuals in the army tried to coup and remove Gaddafi in 1975. Then, Gaddafi began tampering with its formations and changed its leadership without taking into account the rank or seniority until after ten years, the army was a hollow structure.

The comparison of the situation in Libya before and after the revolution of 17th February, 2011 will be the main topic of this research. The research includes the full information that shows what Libya had gone through, since the beginning of the kingdom of Libya through Gaddafi's regime until the governments that ruled Libya after the fall of the regime to the current government.

The result of the study is that there was no improvement in the economical or military sources in Libya since the beginning only in the near previous years the people of Libya had the freedom of speech, not like before in Gaddafi's era where no one was able to express anything that they think about either good or bad for the country. Thus, at the present time people are allowed to say anything they want about whom they want, they may talk about the person in a good or a bad way.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ANCIENT HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF LIBYA

1.1 Geography of Libya

Libya is a country located in North Africa. It's bordering the Mediterranean Sea from the north, Egypt from the east, Sudan from the south east, Chad and Niger from the south and Tunisia and Algeria from the west. It must be mentioned that Libya contains three historical regions which are Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and Fezzan. These regions occupy an area about 1.8 million square kilometres (700,000 square miles). Also, Libya is considered the fourth largest region in Africa and occupies the position 16 as the largest space country in the world. The total population number of Libya is six million and Libya is located between the latitudes of 19° and 34° to the north and longitudes of 9 ° and 26 ° (Alnohy, 2001, p 55)

1.1.1 The Long Coast of Libya

The Libyan coast is considered one of the longest coast in Africa by a length of 1779 km where there is a part of the Mediterranean Sea in the north of Libya is called the Libyan sea. The climate in most regions of the country is dry except some regions in the north of the country which enjoy by moderate climate which is the climate of the Mediterranean Sea and the desert covers more than the half of the country. The winds come in the form of seasonal currents of the hot, dry and sandy storms which are known in Libya as (Al-kibali). These storms are continuing from one to four days during the autumn and spring seasons. Also, the oases spread in all the parts of Libya especially in Ghadames and Al Kofra (Alnohy, 2001, p 214)

1.1.2 The Libyan Desert (Sahara)

The Libyan Desert which covers a large part of the country is one of the driest areas on the earth and in some places it may go with years without rains and even in the highlands at the south of the country, the rain is rarely and it may appear once during 5-10 years. The temperature at the Libyan Desert may rise into high degrees and may reach to 57.8 Celsius degree (136.0 Fahrenheit degrees), as happened in 1922 and considered a global record. There few number of scattered and uninhabited oases which surrounding by a wide series of mountains and plateaus in the middle of the Libyan Desert close to Egyptian- Sudanese borders. The discovery of oil in the fifties of the last century led to discover a huge amount of underground waters. The underground waters at these regions which been found refer to the pre-dates ice ages at this desert itself (Alnohy, 2001, pp.111-112)

1.1.3 The Libyan Climate

The Libyan climate is moderate in the spring and autumn seasons and so hot in the summer season and it is a combination dominated by the Mediterranean and semi-desert climate at the north-east, the desert climate at the south enjoys by cold winter and hot summer and the rain is rare while it is difficult to find the green maintain in the summer. Since the temperature does not exceed 30 Celsius degree and the winter sometimes reaches the freezing point, the snow may fall in regions.

The hot summer and desert climate prevailing the most regions of the country excluding a narrow strep extending from the Mediterranean Sea where the most important cities and some mountain peaks locate to the north and south of the country. Also, at this narrow strep the rain falls with adequate amounts which help on the growth of the plants depending on the quantity of rains. There are regions which have similar jungles to those that existed in Green Mountains areas where they contain on seasonal herbs that disappear just when the rain fall stop, an example of such areas is Aljafarah (Nur, 1999, pp. 222 - 224). The temperature increases whenever we go south and far from the sea effects and relative humidity. The temperature at these regions vary between the night and day and between the winter and summer and it is significantly high through the months of August and September especially on the Mediterranean Sea coast strip because of the humid winds come

from the sea and desert areas. The prevailing winds on the coastal strip can be divided into two parts according to the seasons where at the middle of the summer the prevailing winds are the east followed by south-east, east-west and north while at the winter season the prevailing winds are the north-west, north direction and then west and south. Also, at the southern governorates, the commercial north and north-eastern winds are prevailing throughout the year (Alnohy, 2001, p 147).

1.1.4 Population of Libya

Libya has the greatest human development index in Africa and the highest fourth GDP in the continent. This number of population are highly distributing on the coastal regions which only cover 10% of the country and especially in the provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in the Greater Tripoli and Benghazi cities. Population density at those regions exceed of 50 inhabitants / square km whereas it is less than 1 inhabitants/km in other areas. Most of the Libyan population are classified as Arab and there are other ethnicities who are mixture between the Berbers, Turks, Circassia's, Almaurickjon, Romans, and Greece. Moreover, there are other ethnic minorities including African, Tuareg and Toubou (Mekrad, 2013, p 27).

Among the neighbouring countries to Libya is Egypt with large number of population, Tunisia and African groups to the south of the Great Desert. Libya is considered a home country to a large number of illegal immigrants who resident in Libya where they amounted of more than one million person and most of them are Egyptian and African to the south of the Great Desert. Furthermore, there are few number of Italian people who resident in Libya. The official language that deployed in Libya is the Arabic language where the Libyan community speak the Arabic language in the Libya accent that vary from one region to another according to the large geographical area of the country. Also, the Libyan community use the English language in the applied study for the colleges of science in addition to its use by the foreign companies that work in the country. 97% pf the Libyan community are Muslims and 3% percent of them belong to another religions and most of them are the foreigners who work in Libya who are non-permanent residents. The Muslims in Libya are Sunnis follow Maliki School with a minority who follow the doctrine Ibadi and numbers of Sufis. Most of the Christians who are in Libya are foreigners, the

refugees' communities, African, Copts and the European community work in Libya (Makram, 2005, pp. 102 -103).

1.1.5 The Ancient History of Libya

The ancient Egyptian who live to the west of Egypt knew the Libyan where the Libyan tribe of LIBU live at the area adjacent to Egypt. The tribe has been mentioned for the first time at the Egyptian texts assign to the king Merneptah who is the nineteenth family of Pharaonic (13th century BC). The name is derived from the name of Libya and the Libyans. This name has been known by the Egyptian and called it to each of North of Africa and west of Egypt. Also, some tribes reached to a great power that enabled them to enter Egypt and configure the family dynasty which is the twenty-second family that judged Egypt two centuries (from the 10th century to the eighth century B.C.) and the founder of the family enabled of unifying Egypt and invaded Palestine. Then, the Phoenician communication started in the coasts of the north of Africa in early time where they took over the Mediterranean Sea and the trade monopolized. Also, they were crossing the sea between the beaches of Sham and Spain to bring the silver and tin.

They sailed along the western coast for a fear of rampage where their anchor ships on the Libyan coast to refuel of oil through the long travels (Break, 1988).

The Phoenician established many commercial centers and stations along the way between Damascus in the east of Spain at the west. The number of cities that created by the Phoenicians are considered few cities as compared with the commercial centers because they were traders and not invaders. The reasons behind the creation of the Phoenician to the cities in the north of Africa due to increase the number of population, the narrow agricultural lands in Sham and the conflict at their country with the Assyrians, Persians and Greeks. The influence of the Phoenician extended until the borders of Cyrenaica (Korinaaeh). The Phoenician established some important cities such as Tripoli, Lubda, and Sabratha. The Phoenician trade flourished on the western coast of Libya due to ease of reaching to the African valuable products such as gold, gems and ivory (Break, 1988).

1.1.6 Libya in the Islamic Era

Islam has been entered to Libya by the leader Amr ibn al-Aas at the seventh century and invaded the city of Cyrenaica in Libya. Then, the other cities and villages entered in succession to the Islam to replace the Christianity who was the religion of Byzantine Empire that controlling on \Libya at that time. Before the Islamic conquest, the Islam was known from a long time in Libya where some local population entered the Amazigh at the region of Awjila because of the commercial convoys between the Arabian Peninsula, the Libyan traders and African continent (Mahmud, 1997). Currently, the official religion of Libya is the Islam and the percentage of the Muslims in Libya amounted of 97% and most of them follow the Sunni doctrine. Despite that the Libyan faith by the oneness of god but the traditional culture for the original population is the Berber culture that overwhelmed the religion where we can find the persons who thought that they have amazing capabilities. Also, we can notice the shrines for those people and their graves are visited and asked for help and healing. A group of the Libyan community tried to rebel against the Byzantine Empire and resorted to Egypt to meet with the leader of the Islamic armies at that time who was Amr ibn al-Aas and also who was the judger of Egypt. When the Libyan group reached to Egypt, they announced the Islam, entered the religion of god and give the loyalty to the Muslims led by Amr ibn al-Aas on behalf of the caliph Omar bin al-Khattab (Mahmud, 1997).

Amr ibn al-Aas decided to place a security strategy to Egypt from the western side until Cyrenaica and Tripoli. After that Amr ibn al-Aas sent Uqba bin Nafie in the year 22 AH / 642 AD to the Arab Maghreb where he conquest Zuwayla city. At the same year (22 AH / 642 AD), Amr ibn al-Aas arrived in Ojaddabah and made a reconciliation with the people and exempted the families of paying five thousand dinars which was paid to the Byzantine Empire and not that only where there are great repairs have been made until most of the people announced their Islam due to the justice, equality, honesty which existed at the Islamic armies (Mahmud, 1997).

1.1.7 Ottoman Empire in Libya

The north of Africa exposed to a series of Christian attacks that represented by Portuguese, Spaniards and Italians. The Spaniards occupied Marina Great, Oran,

Bejaia, Tripoli and Djerbaduring at the period of 1505- 1511 m. The Spaniards focused their occupation on the coastal without moving towards Africa because of the difficulties which they faced that represented by the resistance led by the local population. At the las stages of the pressure on the Muslims led the Muslims to ask the help from the Turkish sailors which motivated the Turkish Muslim mystic sea Pasha to save them. The north of Africa exposed to a series of Christian attacks that represented by the Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians and the Sovereign Order of St. which motivated the Turks with the help of the local Muslims to enforce the Spaniards to run from these regions and the Ottoman Empire recognized the small local governments gradually (ELgarif, 1995). Despite that the subordination of these small states to the Ottoman Empire was just nominal dependency, these small states have promoted the dependency to the Ottoman Empire who was the master of the international situation at that time. The marine engagements between these small stated with the Spanish invaders paved the way to the existing of ottoman center in North Africa. Indeed, the Kheireddine Barbarossa who succeeded his brother contacted the Ottoman Sultan Selim 1 and announced his affiliation, Ottoman Sultan approved and sampled with the rank of bilsbi and the title of Pasha. The Sultan sent two thousand Janissary troops and organized four thousands and more volunteers, supplies, materials and other supplies (ELgarif, 1995).

During the era of great sultan Suleiman, he recognized the attitude of the sultan Khairuddin and gave him a rank of captain on the ottoman fleet in the Mediterranean Sea and invite him to Istanbul in order to plan a marine campaigns again Spain during the era of Charles V. When the ottoman existing in Tunisia and Algeria has been promoted, it paved the way to judge the city of Tripoli after they got rid from the Hafs Rule and configured their own government but they attacked and occupied by the Spaniards. However, the leader Trghout was able to retrieve Tripoli from the Spaniards and has been assigned by the ottoman on the state of Tripoli and gave him a title of Bazubay. Then, Trghout has expanded the ottoman influence gradually to include the internal regions and he was enabled to enforce the security and stability at the area and Jaafar became the judger of Tripoli. Jaafar enabled to occupy Fezzan on 1577 (ELgarif, 1995).

The Cyrenaica and Fezzan under the influence of nominal subordination to the Ottomans in Egypt but they finally implicated to the ottoman judge in Tripoli and

thus, there was a unified map has been emerged from the Ottoman Tripolitania that consists of the state of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan. The Ottomans in Libya enabled to prove the sovereignty of the United Libyan territory and the ottoman existing stayed defies the European villages that existed in the other coast of the Mediterranean Sea for some time.

During the Ottoman period, Libya has been judged by a large number of judges. The ottoman influence in Libya started in shrinking when the family of Ahmed Pasha Alqurmanli ruled Tripoli in 1711. Alqurmanli family ruled Libya for a century and quarter of century and only the nominal loyalty to the ottoman empire has been stayed in Libya and stayed at this situation until the rule of this family has weaken which resulted in increasing the economic pressures in Libya and the country became exposing to the European ambitions.

During the Alqurmanli family era, the revolutions in Libya have been increased which motivated the ottomans to send a military campaign led by Najib Pasha to Tripoli in 1835 and arrested the last judge of the Alqurmanli family who was Ali Pasha which made the Ottomans to eliminate the judge of this family. The ottomans returned the actual sovereignty to Libya. However, the ottoman judge on Libya was not better than the judge of the Alqurmanli family. It was not stable base by many governors where the borders of the judge was extending to year or more than year in some cases. Despite that the ottomans applied in Libya the states system for example state of Tripoli, Cyrenaica and Fezzan but their influence in the region was only nominally. At that time, Libya was subjected to French threatened as the other countries especially when they occupied Algeria in 1830 and imposed the French colonialism in Tunisia in 1881. According, the Ottoman Empire decided to promote their presence in Libya increased their military presence at the area. The Libyan community stuck in the judgement of the Ottoman Empire despite of its weakness because they felt that it is Islamic state which can defense and protect them from the French who occupied chad and started their threatened to Libya (ELgarif, 1995).

1.1.8 Senussi in Libya

Mohammed bin Ali Al-Sanusi born in Mostaganem city in Algeria in 1787 and immigrated to Cyrenaica province and stayed in Cyrenaica. Furthermore, he established the white angle at the Green Mountain region and then went to Jaghub, lived and died in 1859. Mohammed bin Ali Al-Sanusi worked on advising the people into return to the Islamic rules. Nevertheless, he was aimed to make people follow his doctrine which was Sufism doctrine and his movement was religious movement despite its political appearance. However, Al-Sanusi worked seriously to establish followers to the Sufism movement in the remote oasis of the coastal region such as Fezzan and Kanem and Jaghub and others. These followers have been really distributing at the southern regions of the country. The movement aimed to teach people the religion and training on the jihad acts against the foreign occupiers (Hmida, 2009). At the same time, Al-Sanusi aimed to awaken the Islamic motivation and encourage them to face the French occupiers and others who they crave to control on north of Africa. Therefore, the need of sticking the religious relationship thought and Islamic unity, as a mean to resist the colonial aggression on the country came into use. On this basis, Al-Sanusi movement has been linked to resist the foreign invasion and thus, the first goal of Al-Sanusi movement was fighting to European colonialism on Libya (Hmida, 2009)

1.2 Italy in Libya

1.2.1 The Italian Colonization of Libya

The European countries agreed with each other in 1906 in the Green Island and the conference of the division of north of Africa. Italia agreed to take Libya from the Ottoman Empire which was at the highest of its weakness and each of France and Spain control on Marrakech. However, Italia gradually penetrating Libya. So, the Italian Catholic missionaries who supported from the governmental political power and catholically religious power opened the missionary schools, hospitals, health centres, banks and activities on the commercial business in the Libyan cities. Moreover, they created the banks and agricultural credits to supply the loans to the Libyan people in preparation to rape the civilian lands in case of inability to repay their loans (Neanaa, 1988).

Italy informed the ottoman government about their attention to occupy Libya and asked the Ottoman Empire to facilitate the occupation under the pretext of protecting their citizens from Ottoman persecution and protect the economic interest of Italy. The ottoman position under the union and progress judge was so weak in front of the Italian threaten and it just called Italy to sit at the negotiating table in order to avoid the use of power. Nevertheless, the Italian government refused this invitation for many reasons:

- a. The weakness of the Ottoman military situation in Libya.
- b. Italy is supported by European countries, except Germany and Austria.
- c. The marine and land military power of Italy.
- d. The weakness of the internal situation in Libya where the military resistance in Libya was still limited in front of the possibilities of the focused Italian attack.

1.2.2 Italian Declaration of War

Italy declared the war on the Ottoman Empire on September 1911 and it is the war that is known as the Italian-Tripoli war. The Italian marine surrounded Tripoli city for three days and then the city fell into the Italian colonists. The citizen resistance has not the enough power to defeat the Italian and turn them away. Also, the Ottoman Empire was not able to provide the required level of fighting and the two powers were unequal despite the local resistance that led by Ottoman Senusies, the Italians occupied Libya completely in 1911. During the war and as a mean of pressure on the Ottoman Empire, Italy transferred the war against the other ottoman locations. The Italian marine hit the new harbors of Beirut and occupied the island of Rhodes in the Mediterranean Sea and occupied the islands group of Dodecanese. The Italian military ships attacked Dardanelles lane and other ottoman locations. The Ottomans saw that they fell in the war which they were not ready for it. It loomed on the horizon new signs against the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. The Ottoman Empire enforced to accept the negotiations with Italy, and Britain play an important role in the negotiations that took place between the Ottoman Empire and the Italian government (Neanaa, 1988).

All the European countries gave up from the Ottoman Empire in its ordeal during this war. France issued a statement and announced its neutrality and each of Russia and Britain followed the same approach. As well as, Germany and Austria stayed beside the lines and followed the neutrality. Thus, the political and military mode of Italy was directed to face the Ottoman Empire. In front of the internal, economic and military crises faced by the Ottoman Empire, the government of Mukhtar Pasha witnessed the access of inconclusive negotiations with Italy and the ottoman minster of agriculture has been sent and given wide powers. Then, they agreed on making a reconciliation between the Ottoman Empire and the Italian government on 18 of October 1912 after sending an intermediary by the British government. This treaty was known as Lausanne O'Shea treaty. The treaty contained 11 articles where the two states pledged to stop the war between each of them and withdraw the troops from the fighting front. The treaty stated that the Ottoman Empire withdraw their troops from Tripoli and Cyrenaica and the Italian government withdraw their troops and ships from the occupied ottoman islands in Aegean Sea. The Ottoman Empire withdraw all the administrational employees from Libya. The ottoman sultan announced the full autonomy to Libya which means that the ottoman sultan has been stripped of all kinds of sovereignty over Libya (Neanaa, 1988). Conversely, Italy and according to its law announced to make Libya fully subjected to the Italian sovereignty and announced a fully amnesty in Libya to close from the community. Italy promised to preserve the speech of ottoman caliph. Also, the ottoman caliph has recognized as he is in Tripoli as a special deputy of the sultan that guaranty the judge of the country according to the Islamic sharia. The signature of Lausanne O'Shea treaty came after the occupation of France to each of Algeria and Tunisia. Also, the British occupied Egypt. Thus, the Ottoman Empire was surrounded in Africa. At the same time, the European implemented their secret agreements that aim to divide the north of Africa among them.

1.2.3 Resistance of Libya against Italy

The Italian colonialism has dominated on Libya and placed the liberals in the prisons, stolen the country resources and committed the most heinous crimes against the Libyan people in an attempt to eliminate the resistance of the Libyan

people. The Italian soldiers on 23 of October 1911 made a massacre in Tripoli and killed many children, women, young and old people. The Libyan community Muslim revolted against the Italian government because of these violations. The Ottoman Empire stayed on supporting the Libyan resistance against the Italian colonialism. The Ottoman commander Enver Pasha had visited the oasis of Jaghbub on 20 of November, 1912 and met Sheikh Ahmed Al-Sanusi, who led the Libyan resistance against the Italians. (Raslan, 1993).

Sheikh Ahmed al-Sanusi has taken the oasis of Kufra as a base and then moved to the oasis of Jaghbub where he led the resistance against the Italians and called the Libyan community to the struggle in order to expel the occupier and colonizer which motivated the enthusiasm at the Libyan hearts. The Libyan community entered the liberation battles against the Italian occupier. The Islamic youth in Egypt, Iraq and Syria progressed on Libya against the Italian occupier. These youth Muslims including Aziz Ali Masri, Tahseen al Askary, Subhi Trabelsi, Mahmoud Helmy Issa al-Baghdadi, and Ismail Trabelsi. The mujahedeen have proved their ability to resist the Italian occupation despite none of existing of equal powers between the Italian occupier and them. This resistance enforced the king of Italy to issue a decree to preserve the Islamic rituals and allowed the ottoman sultan to deliver the Friday speech at the tribune of the mosques in Libya but the mujahedeen refused to deceive these promises and continued their struggle against the colonial power (Raslan, 1993)

The jihad against the Italian occupier was not limited to the Libyan people only but distributed in all parts of the world and supported by the Muslims in each place. As well as, they are supported by the Arab presidents and governments led by the king Abdul Aziz Al-Saud and Imam of Yemen. Also, they supported by the Arab organizations and Islamic bodies. Egypt played a prominent role at this support where it is surrounding Libya from the east and it is easy to enter weapons, ammos and medical facilities across the borders to Libya in order to support the mujahedeen.

1.2.4 First World War and the Attempts of the Polarization of Libya

The Libyan fighters configured an army to resist the Italians led by mujahid Omar al-Mukhtar which is considered the first army for the Libyan resistance. The

resistance continued until the beginning of the First World War in 1914. The Italian powers could not be able to eliminate this resistance despite of using different tools and the Turks showed their readiness to help the Libyans against the Italians especially when Turkey entered at the First World War. Therefore, the position of the mujahedeen became critical because they cannot go to the war with the Ottoman Empire because it means their denial of supplies and equipment that come from Egypt and at the same time they cannot stop the war with Italy that entered the war (Sherida, 2003).

The ottomans wanted to pursue the mujahedin to be at their side at the war against Britain in order to support the steadfastness of the Turkish front at the Levant and especially Palestine. They can be a military tool on the Britain in Egypt and Mediterranean Sea by launching military attacks on the military existing in Egypt across the Libyan borders. This is what Senusi hesitated about because he appreciates that the position was not on the front line from the Turks and their supporters of the Germans and Austrians but on the side of Britain and the reconciliation countries with the strongest army. However, the feeling of Senusi in sympathy with Islamic ottoman state and his accusing by the Turks by receiving support from British government make him at the end accept the military coordination with the ottomans (Sherida, 2003).

Indeed, Senusi was right in his fear of joining the Turks against the reconciliation countries. The Turkish State was a weak state and its army is involved in a war with stronger countries. Senusi carefully knew that the Turks will not do strong thing against the Italians when they attacked Libya. When the Turkish government called Sheikh Ahmad al-Sanusi to Istanbul in 1918 on the background of German submarine to plan the pressure on Britain, it was too late. The ottomans lost Iraq, Palestine, and Levant and they were in a situation which they cannot be hypocrites. The situation of Senusi was more dangerous and it was difficult on him to fight against the Italians for the following reasons:

1. He cannot preserve in his policy on the concept of balance between the conflicting world powers.
2. He was unable to distance himself from the ottomans after emerging the signs of central states defeat.

3. The Britain pressure on al-Sanusi to weaken his movement especially that Britain is allied in the war with Italy which is the colonial state that control on Libya.
4. Weak of al-Sanusi leadership in front of his alliance and his judge transferred into Mr. Mohamed Idris al-Sanusi.

1.2.5 Mr. Mohamed Idris Al-Sanusi Took Control Of Libya.

Idris al-Sanusi came to the power in the highlight of critical situations which can be summarized as follows:

- The British and Italians have tightened their siege on Libya from the west, north and east and closed the roads to Egypt and cut off the supply cord that reached to Libya under the knowledge of the Britain which confused the Libyan fighters.
- The deterioration of the economic situation in Libya because of surrounding the country and the economic siege imposed on it from one hand and the lack of rains which depended by the agriculture from another hand. In addition, most of the Libyan workers were involved in the Libyan resistance against the Italians where the agriculture has been paralyzed which resulted to the emergence of famine in the country. So, the Libyan officials must exit from this impasse and resorted to the negotiation method with Italy and Britain in order to open the way from Libya to Egypt to enhance the economic situation of Libya.

The Senusians negotiated directly with the two countries in Akrama and reached to agreement in order to open the way for Egypt to face the Libyan economic and the Libyan movement. The sovereignty of Senusi has been recognized for Cyrenaica Oasis. The Senusians recognized the Italian sovereignty on Tripoli and allowed to the whole parties to move between Cyrenaica and Tripoli in the west. The Senusians returned to their confiscated property, in addition to that it is announced that the Italians must take into consideration the applying of Islamic sharia in Libya. Also, a command has been issued to withdraw all the weapons from the tribes' men who fought the Italian powers in all parts of labs. There was a relative quietness between the Libyans, the Italians and the English following the First World War (Hamoud, 2001).

As Sanusi lived in the internal and southern regions of Cyrenaica which is small state work in the highlight of parliamentary council to manage the region

internally. The community of west Tripoli established the republic of Tripoli since 1918 and asked Italy to recognize this republic and the resistance continued against them as a temporary measure. Italy enforced to recognize this republic because they were busy with the problems of the First World War and it did not want to open new wide door of resistance. After the end of the First World War, Italy met with the leadership of the Libyan national movement in Tripoli, and Tripoli recognize the new Italian constitution that issued by the Italian king in 1919. The new constitution recognized the local administration for the Libyan in Tripoli under the Italian sovereignty. Then, they elected new parliament council in Tripoli and new governmental council participated in the local government management in Tripoli. Moreover, the Libyan resistance fighters in Tripoli and Cyrenaica under the leadership of Senusi unified in 1921 at Griav conference with the other fighters in Libya. In 1922, Senusi agreed on the results of this conference and here new stage of the Libyan and Italian conflict started and it is critical stage where Italy used the most terrible repression against the Libyan Mujahideen (Hamoud, 2001).

Mussolini is in power in Italy. Benito Mussolini founded his fascist party in Italy on 23 of March, 1919 in Milan in northern Italy, This party gradually grew until it won the majority, and Mussolini seized absolute power in 1923.

1.2.6 Omar Al-Mukhtar Leads the Libyan Jihad

Mussolini cancelled all the agreements that held by the Italian Kingdom with the Libyans and prepared a group of soldiers to eliminate the Libyan mujahedeen and enforced Senusi to go to Egypt because of the disease and left the leadership of the army to Sheikh Omar Mukhtar. Also, he left the religious leadership to his brother Sheikh Mohammed Reza Sanusi. Mussolini decided to eliminate the Libyan resistance and sent new judge to Libya and the military leader Bony Jovani and gave him absolute power to judge Libya. The new Italian high commissioner ordered the disbanding of the camps in the state of Cyrenaica and ordered his troops to occupy the headquarters of Senusi at Ajdhabiya in 1923.

Omar al-Mukhtar has led the Libyan jihad movement where he headed the community of Cyrenaica for eight years from 1923 to 1931. The general conditions were not at the mujahedeen interests for the following reasons:

- Violent military activity that led by the followers of fascist management in Libya.
- Stopped the supplies that reached to the mujahedeen especially when Italy focused its colonialism in the oasis of Gaghboub in 1925, which led to control the Egyptian borders.

The Italians were not only in Jagboub oasis but they extended their influence to another parts of Libya such as Marzouq, Gaat and Aqila and subjected each provenance to Fezzan and continued their military struggle to the east and occupied Ojla, Jallu and Kufra which led to surround the Libyan resistance in the Green Mountain. The violence of the Italian against the mujahedeen do not decreased their unbalanced fighting activity with the fighting activity of the Italians. The Italians started the negotiations with Omar Mukhtar and Mohammed Reza Sanusi and Sanusi surrendered in January 1928 and the negotiations continued with Omar Mukhtar until November 1928. The parties have not reached to an agreement and Omar Mukhtar appealed his struggle against the Italians who gradually replaced to by Marshal Badilu and General Ghuseini. General Ghuseini abled to surround the mujahedeen in the Green Mountain area and arrested Omar Mukhtar on September 1931 and executed by the Italians after unfair trail. After the execution of Omar Mukhtar in 1931 and the way of repression that suffered by the Libyans mujahedeen by the Italians powers, the struggle has been crushed until the Second World War during the era of Mussolini (Hamoud, 2001).

The Libyans suffered from the worst types of torture, detention, the air bombing and the confiscation of land by force and the mandatory military services for the Italians in Abyssinia and Western Sahara. In January 1939 which is the year of the Second World War, the Italians annexed Cyrenaica and Tripoli to Italy directly. The Libyans who live at these two regions have been given the Italian nationalism.

CHAPTER TWO

LIBYA'S INDEPENDENCE

2.1 Libya at the Royal Prince

The declaration of Cyrenaica Emirate independence announced in 1949 according to the fighting of al-Sanusi army along with the allies at the second world war in a battle at north of Africa and the defeat of the Italian fascists and German Nazis.

At the same time, the colonial administrations were managing the future of Libya, United Kingdom, Italy and France. On 10 of March 1949, the private Libyan project (Pivensa forza) that impose the Italian guardianship on Tripoli, the British guardianship on Cyrenaica and the French guardianship on Fezzan which gave the independence of Libya ten years after the approval of the trusteeship project that approved by the specialized authority in the United Nations and introduced the committee to the general assembly of the united nations for a vote upon (Ouf, 198, pp. 11 -14). However, the project failed to get on the adequate number of votes in a favor of the negotiations outcomes. United Nations General Assembly issued the decision number 289 in 21/11/1949 which states to give Libya the independence in a period that does not exceed the first of January 1952 and there is a committee has been configured to work on implementing the whole independence of Libya and transfer the power to an independent Libyan government (Khamis, 2009). In October 1950, the Constituent Assembly consists of sixty member who represent the three region in Libya and 20 poster. In 25 November of the same year, the same Constituent Assembly has been met to decide about the shape of the state. Despite the objections from the representatives of the Tripoli state on the federal system, it has been agreed to entrust the constituent committee of the assembly to draft the constitution. The committee that study the different federal systems in the world

introduced its report to the constituent assembly in September 1951 and configured a temporary regional government in Libya.

In 29 of March 1951, the constituent council announced a configuration of temporary federal Libyan government chaired by Mr. Mahmoud Al Montaser. The fully authority has been transferred to the federal government and regional governments excluding the issues of defence, foreign and financial affairs. The financial authorities transferred to the Libyan federal government in 15/12/1951. In 24 of December 1951, the federal Libyan constitution declared and Idris has been selected as king for the Libyan Kingdom. The federal system includes three states which are Tripoli, Cyrenaica and Fezzan.

After the discovery of oil in 1957, the colonial organizations started of configuring the conferences to control on the Libya's wealth. These conferences have been increased when the oil discovered with huge quantities and the first shipment of the oil exported from Libya in 1963. Therefore, the greatest oil companies created the excuses and obstacles sometimes because of the high costs of federal system in addition to the difficulty of dealing with three regional governments and thus, the oil companies insisted on the Libyan official to transform Libya to the central system and cancel the federal system after persuading the king Idris al-Sanusi.

The Libyan constitution has been modified in 26 of April 1963 and thus founded the unified Libyan state with the central system under the name of Libyan kingdom and its capital. Furthermore, Libya was the unique country in the history that changed the federal system rules to the central system and exceeded only few months until the events of January 1964 that cancelled the federal system and broke the kingdom of Senussi (Khamis, 2009).

After cancelling the federal system in 1963, six central governments have been configured in the highlight of the central system and ended with the last of these governments which is the coup of Gaddafi on the first of September easily because of the central system in the country and the dependence of the national coup which is the prevailing thought at that period. Libya was a constitutional kingdom and the king is a federal royal president and has the crown prince who succeeds him. Therefore, the king started with insignificant political power and consists of the executive branch for the prime minister's government and the council of ministers

that appointed by the king but they are responsible in front of the national committee which consists of two council the Senate and House of Representatives.

2.2 Foreign Policy in the Ownership Era

Libya stayed in the supported position to the west and it is known that it belongs to conserve the traditional conservatives at the Arab league that became a member in 1953 and at the same year, Libya held a treaty of friendship with Britain for twenty years and got military and financial assistances in exchange of constructing military bases. Libya has benefited from the lack of the growing borders disputes with its neighbours. It was one of thirty founder member for African unity organization that established in 1963 and participated in November 1964 with Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in configuring a joint advisory committee that aim to the economic collaboration between the North African Countries. However, it is strongly supports the Arab issues including the independence movements in Morocco and Algeria but the Libyan activity was not strong in the Israeli politics and turbulent between the Arab countries during the fifties and the early sixties of the Arab conflict (Khamis, 2011).

While the Arabic nationality that placed the Egyptian President Jamal Abdel Nasser and his growing slogan on effecting the youth generation to incitement against the West where the Libyan government incitement the west.

2.2.1 Evacuation of British and American Rules before the Scheduled Date in the Treaties

In fact, most of the British forces were withdrawn in 1966 but the evacuation of the foreign military institutions including the base of Wheelus continued until 1970. The war of 1967 between the Arab and Israel has emerged a strong reaction in Libya and especially in Tripoli and Benghazi where the students and the workers of oil and shipyards participated in violent demonstrations and the embassies of the United States and Britain and the offices of oil companies were hit at the these revolutions. Also, the small Jewish community exposed to attacks which led to motivate the Jewish in Libya to immigrate. These revolutions have been controlled by the military forces in spite of their few numbers and fixed the situation. Despite of

Libya was not a strong player in forming the Arab policy but its role was clear in supporting the Arabic issues in addition to its strong position in the Arab Summit in Khartoum in September 1967 with Kingdom Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. It is introduced high support of the oil income to help Egypt, Syria and Jordan which defeat Israel in July 1967 (Khamis, 2011).

Libya adopted the teamwork to increase the oil prices in the global markets despite that it continued its connection with the west. In 30 of July 1953, Libya signed with the United Kingdom agreement for military collaboration that stated to the right of Britain in establishing military bases on the borders of the Libyan Kingdom in exchange of the economic assistances where the United Kingdom on behalf of Libya pay 2.8 million dollar annually for the first five years in addition to pay 7.7 million dollar annually to achieve the balance in the general Libyan budget. In 9 of September 1954, Libya and the United States signed a treaty to establish a military base for twenty years and can be renewed in exchange of pay 5 million dollar annually for the first year and 2 million dollar annually after the first year. The most important organizations in the United States and Libya is the Wheelus Air Base near of Tripoli (Khamis, 2011).

In 1955, Libya established a complete diplomatic relationships with the Soviet Union and agreed the dependence of the ambassador in Libya on January 1955 despite of its refuse of offering the economic assistances from the Soviet Union amounted of 28 million dollar that include a grant of 3 million dollar to establish the hospitals and training the operators in the medical field in the soviet universities.

2.2.2 Internal Politics

After configuring the Libyan kingdom in 1951, the government tried to promote the feeling of nationality. This attempt was not easy in spite of its failure centred on the national property corporation. The base of the political interest in Cyrenaica realizes that the strong truth loyalty lies in the leadership such as the prince of Cyrenaica and the leader of the Sanusi family. The sympathy of Idris and his compatibility with Arab Urban Conservative Cluster and especially with the urban political elite faces strong opposition from the population and preferred non-aligned and realized the natural wealth of their country and understood that their

interest is enabled in the existing of few number of people. It started in broadcast of pessimistic stream of none-satisfaction from the corruption and bureaucratic irregularities and especially between the military officers and the damages youth from the ideology of Nasiriyah and Arab nationalism. The situation worsened when the coup occurred at the most populous part of the country cities while the king Idris was spending most of his time in his palace in Tobruk near the British military base. In June 1969, the king left the country for comfort and treatment in Greece and Turkey and left the prince Hasan as a deputy to the Senussi in Libya (Al-Azzawi, 2011).

After the independence of the Libyan kingdom, the kingdom divided into three states which are the states of Tripoli, Cyrenaica Fezzan. Each of these three states are autonomous territory by the government in addition to local council representative. Tripoli is the most populous state and the smallest region in the Libyan kingdom. Fezzan is the most populous state while the largest area in Libya occupies by the state of Cyrenaica. After the constitutional amendments of 1963, ten new states have been configured instead of the three states which are the governorates of Al Baidha, Ubari, Al Zawia, Benghazi, Sabha, Gharyan, Misurata and Tripoli. The kingdom was not able to displace the remains of the Italian occupation that reflected negatively on the situation of the Libyan community as a system that failed to achieve the integrated national sovereignty and the freedom of movement on the Arab conflicts against the invaders because of the existing of foreign military bases in the land such as the base of Haws that used against the Arabic nation in the war of June 1967 (Al-Azzawi, 2011).

2.2.3 Libya in Gaddafi's Era

In first of September 1969 there is a military coup happened and its name was "First September Revolution". It is announced the "Libyan Arab Republic" where they had full control on all the country affairs. When the revolution owned, Muammar Gaddafi declared the first speech and continued the victories and steps. Also, he get rid of the rest of the Italians and returned back the Libyan community fortune and this what have been achieved at 7 of October 1970. As well as, they clean the Libyan areas from the mines which impede the developments aspirations

because of the lack of existing maps for the locations when they ensured this right at the United Nations and its specialist organizations, the summits decisions and the Arab, African and Asian ministers of the foreign affairs. Therefore, the Libyan revolution placed new rule in the international relations and the colonists had to pay for the regressions no matter how long and the victims of their crimes do not be subject to statute of limitations (Obeid, 2012).

It is interesting that this revolution focused firstly on returning the fortune of the Libyan community and use it in the developments projects such as compensation for deprivation of the convents imposed extinct. The confrontation started practically with the nationalization of oil companies and monopolies such Shell and Oasis Bunker Hunt and Mobil Oil and other American and British companies. The Libyan negotiator that refused to accept an increase in the prices but he insisted on nationalize of radical solution and then the success in managing these companies. The Libyan revolution has been supported by late leader Jamal Abdel Nasser after studying its directions and also it is supported by Syria, Iraq, Sudan and Algeria (Obeid, 2012).

2.2.4 September Revolution Took Place

When the revolution happened, the king Idris al-Sanusi was outside of Libya. So, everything has been done quietly without difficulties and real resistance. The main reason of the revolution is to resist the corruption and adhering the values, principles, unity and receive the support. The organizing of the work and the creation of the institutions have been done within one month after the revolution. After a period of time, the government and the revolution council have been configured form the general intelligence, the ministries replaced later and the names of public secretariats such as those who manage the country and they are not from the traditional government. The revolution is taken to Benghazi city who was named the city of the first statement based on announcing the constitution from that city (Obeid, 2012).

Jamal Abdel Nasser observed the situation in Libya with interest in order to preserve it. Gaddafi accepted the suggestion of Jamal Abdel Nasser about the previous king to stay in Cairo. Thus, he will not be subjected to the American

influence in Greece. The revolution leadership council has all the powers and distributing within the specialists with the help of the Egyptian experiment.

2.2.5 Emerged of Political Movements.

Some army commanders tried in a general revolution to carry out military coups in November 1969 and in January 1970. The coup has been failed by catching the organizers. Also, the revolution was hit later and the coup attempts failed. These coup attempts happened because of the breadth of Libya, the low number of population, low level of education and poor means of communication in the political action in Libya are distracted and scattered between regions and within the same region. The goal of these parties seem to access to power or to achieve some personal, regional or tribal interests. Thus, these movements splintered and disappeared in a short time on the state blockade and disposal time. The ideological content of the political movements which lived commensurate with intellectual and popular depth but remained captive for closed circuit due to the low level of public awareness of its importance because of ignorance and illiteracy that rampant in the Libyan people. For these reasons, a small number of political movements have been emerged:

- Association of Omar Mukhtar was founded in Egypt in 31 of January 1942 by a number of Libyans in the Diaspora political activists. Then, its foundation has been renewed in Benghazi on 4 of April 1943. Association of Omar Mukhtar was able to control over the political and cultural movements in Benghazi and Derna cities and emerged between its members the finest men of the Libyan state and continued its activity until a decree was issued to dissolve the movements and the political parties.
- PF Alberquaouih front was established at the meeting of Saada tribes' leaders in 1946. Its stated purpose is to pull the rug from the youth generation and educated in Omar Mukhtar Association, who was insisting on the independence and unity of Libya completely. It was resolved when the Prince Idris called for the abolition of all parties in 1947.
- The Libyan Youth League has founded this association under the guidance of moderates Prince to attract the young people from Omar al-Mukhtar Association

and the most prominent leaders of them was Mr. Saleh Buisier. However, this association failed in its mission and its role ended with the prince's decision to dissolve the parties,

- National Democratic Party has been founded in Tripoli by Mr. Ahmad Faqih Hassan in 1944 as an organized series and recognized in 1946. The main goal of this party is the independence of Libyan uniform and then putted under the tutelage of Egypt. The dispute on the subject of custody broke out to the defection of Ahmed Hassan al-Faqih and Mustafa Mazran to take over the presidency of the National Party. Mustafa was one of the Tripolitan prestigious families.
- National United Front Party has been founded officially on 10 May 1946. Salem was assigned to its leadership. This party included a number of Tripoli notables and some nearby regions such as Tarhuna and Zuwarah. The party called on the Libyan independence under the leadership of Idris al-Sanusi and his activity in this regard.
- National Bloc Party went out of existence with the defection of Ahmed Hassan al-Faqih from the National Democratic Party where he and his brother al-Faqih Hassan founded this party in 1946 and the tendencies of this party was to the republic. Therefore, the leadership of Idris al-Sanusi has been rejected

After the election law which was approved by the Constituent Assembly, determined on 19 of February 1952 as the date of public polls in the first parliamentary elections after independence. The political parties and organizations took on seeking to gain the support of voters. The elections were held in a raucous atmosphere and yielded results declared the overwhelmingly victory of the government front that bothered the political observers. The state agencies have intervened in the elections in order to achieve a majority and changed some of the tribal elders loyal to the national movements and those who came forged in the election at some regions. So, the king Idris al-Sanusi issued orders after a short period of the dependence to dissolve the parties (Obeid, 2012).

2.2.6 Governance

On 15 of April 1973 in the famous occasion of Prophet Mohammad's speech of Zuwarah in which Gaddafi announced the "Cultural Revolution". Declaring war on the classic state "with reactionary style," and marking "the era of freedom from all legal restrictions" and even the suspension of laws, clearing the country by those he called "sick political enemies of the revolution", and the declaration era of popular, cultural and administrative revolution.

After one year, the political and administrative functions have been abolished officially with keeping the titles of head of state and chief of staff. After a short period, Gaddafi issued first version of "The Green Book" never issued the "Third Universal Theory".

Zuwarah included a speech on the five points which are in fact the abolition of the state that represented by:

- Disable all in force Laws.
- Eliminate partisans and the enemies of the revolution.
- Announcement of the Cultural Revolution.
- Announcement of administrative revolution and eliminate bureaucracy.
- Announcement of the popular revolution.

At the following period hundreds of university graduates, writers' intellectuals, journalists and intellectuals are put in the prison for just show opposition to Gaddafi's opinions. Colonel Gaddafi claims behind this revolution "the establishment of the grassroots government based on direct popular democracy ". It is a concept which through he has taken "Libyan Arab Jamahiriya" in later time.

A year later, Colonel Gaddafi abandoned the political and administrative tasks while retaining leadership of the country and the army. Colonel Gaddafi's political philosophy was summed up in the "Green Book," which is the first volume of it was published in 1976, which later became in three volumes. That stage has seen shifted towards the abolition of governmental institutions and traditional forms of law and bureaucratic to be replaced by the direct power of the people.

The text of the declaration of the people's authority is "direct people's power is the basis of the political system in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya". Power of the people

and no authority for others. People exercised the power through the people's congresses and committees, trade unions associations, professional associations, the General People's Congress and the law determines the work system.

After the year of 1977, Gaddafi announced what he called "the power the people and the first collective generator in history", as a concept for the first political system after the republic and gave Muammar Gaddafi officially by the Presidency of the Revolutionary Command Council. Gaddafi became a leader of the revolution and the official name of Libya became "Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya", and Gaddafi only turn inflammatory and rationalization which he has done. Although the coercive guidance and opinions introduced and applied. (Obeid, 2012).

2.3 Gaddafi's Laws

2.3.1 Gaddafi's Third Universal Theory

In addition to Gaddafi's "Third Universal Theory" in the "Green Book", in 1977, there is a new small book has been issued which consists of three chapters explained what the meaning of the people's power and how it can be applied as a final solution to the concept of democracy. as presented and explained the final solutions to social and economic problems. The Green Book considered the framework and the political approach in Libya and the crime and how to prevent. In the event of the Popular Conferences and People's Committees, trade unions, associations and professional associations ((GPC)) at their special sessions in Sabha between 28 of February and 2 of March 1977, it announced the establishment of the people's authority which is:

- The official name of Libya « Popular Libyan Arab Jamahiriya», and then added to «Great».
- Holy Quran is the law of society.
- People power is the direct basis of the political system. The authority is exercised by the people through the people's congresses up to the General People's Congress.

- Defending the Homeland is the responsibility of every citizen and citizens on must exercise the military training and prepare the necessary frameworks for it.

In March 1979, revolutionary committees were created that formed a new details in the evolution of the Libyan political system according to its large impact on the Libyan society. The function of this revolutionary committees from the official point of view in urging the community to participate in the meetings of the People's Congresses and the rest of the revolutionary activities and draw the attention of Basic People's Congresses on how to improve the quality of decisions and the discovery of individuals and groups of counter-revolutionary. However, it was subject of ridicule and concern from the Libyans because of the corruption and accusing them to appoint regime opponents.

2.3.2 Foreign Policy in Gaddafi's Era.

The central leadership of the Libyan revolution especially Gaddafi focused on the Arab unity and did not leave an opportunity or occasion but held the unit with the Arab country agreements and the most important of these agreements: the Charter of Tripoli between Libya, Egypt and Sudan on 06.06.1970 for the establishment of a union between the three countries and then to agree on the Federation of three Arab republics between Libya, Egypt and Syria in 17 of April 1971 which is remained in place between the three countries until Sadat's visit to Jerusalem and walking in the way of conciliation solo with the Israel.

The Arab Maghreb Union countries between Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania on 12/17/1989 which is disabled for a long time, because of the political and border disputes. Gaddafi said that he does not despair of achieving Arab unity, it was about his efforts toward African Unity and had an important role in signing of the Charter of the African Union in 2002.

2.3.3 Previous Foreign Bases

Britain had air and sea military bases in Libya and there was a United States air base of navigation (Wales). The countries contacted the leadership of the revolution about the bases. The US government announced its recognition of the

revolution in exchange of retaining its bases in Libya according to the previous agreements and the continuation of cooperation between the two countries. Britain made a similar request but the Revolutionary Leadership asked for the evacuation of the bases. It was agreed that there are no real obstacles or military resistance. The British base has been evacuated on 30 of March 1970 and US evacuated their base on 5 May of the same year and thus Libya liberated from the colonial bases.

2.4 Wars and Conflicts

2.4.1 Chad War

The dispute between Libya and Chad on Ouzo border area and the successive wars between the two parties then Chad restored in 1994. The other problem is the issue of the US raid on Libya, targeting Gaddafi's house in Tripoli on 15 of April 1986 by a command from the US President Reagan and the reason is the position of the revolution anti-American imperialism as a danger on the Arabs and the world.

2.4.2 Uganda War

On 15 of May 1973, Libya sent 3000 soldier to the military to protect Uganda from Idi Amin who is expelled from the ruling Ugandan rebels to the exile has been armed by Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere. He was forced to leave the country and flee to Libya which was soon expelled him in late 1973.

2.4.3 Front Steadfastness and Challenge

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat announced on 9 of November 1977 in front of his country that the parliament is ready to go to Israel. Sadat visited Israel on 19 of November 1977. Gaddafi has called before Sadat's visit to Jerusalem for the establishment of an Arab front against the Israeli plans in the region which is the front which renamed later (repe) front that included all of Libya, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, the PLO, republic of Yemen and the popular democracy. Steadfastness and Confrontation Front is the first summit in Tripoli that held in the period between the second and the fifth of December 1977. The summit decided to

freeze the diplomatic relations with Egypt. The decision was able to convert Muammar Gaddafi Steadfastness and Confrontation Front into a political entity that aims to track down and isolate Egypt from the Arab world. Steadfastness and Confrontation managed to obtain the approval of the members of the Arab League that call to expel Egypt from the Arab league and move Arab league headquarters from Cairo to Tunisia. The subsequent Arab summit held in Baghdad in 1978. It is the summit, which has rejected Sadat's approach and considered the Camp David as the process of surrender by the Egyptian regime to the Zionist enemy and a blow to the solidarity of the Arab and the Palestinian struggle. However, the front did not last long because soon after the Islamic revolution has broken out and the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein decided to wage a war on Iran. Gaddafi declined the war against Iran. (al-Samarrai, 1990).

2.4.4 Trend toward Africa

African countries have played an important role in softening the US and Britain's position in the accepting conditions of Jamahiriya on Lockerbie case and by taking such a decision in Ouagadougou summit for Heads of State and Governments of the African Unity Organizations to break the embargo imposed by the UN Security Council on Libya. The two countries did not respond to the conditions of Jamahiriya.

Perhaps this is what support the orientations of Muammar Gaddafi towards Africa especially as the international situation has witnessed many of the developments that is pushing for the unification of the continent. In 1989 the Community of Sahel-Saharan States founded which includes 23 countries in its membership countries. After that Muammar Gaddafi spent efforts to develop Organization of African unity and transformed into the African Union which it has already succeeded in Sirte summit of African leaders that held in 9 of September 1999. This summit is declared the famous Sirte declaration. As well as, doors of Libya are opened on Africa broadly as never before. Currently, the US seeks at the same regard in Africa and sponsored peace talks in Darfur. (Al-Samarrai, 1990).

2.4.5 Gaddafi's Theory of Government

Muammar Gaddafi gave a political theory of governance based on the power of the people through direct democracy by people's congresses as an instrument of legislation; and the popular committees, as a tool for implementation. The Green Book in the seventies of the twentieth century covered a theory of put the socialism as never seen before. Also, the opinion of Gaddafi in the Middle East problem, he wrote in the white paper "Isratine," which cited the views and perceptions of Arabs, Jews, politicians from the West, the international projects indents and support the solution proposed in the White Paper, the establishment of a single state integrated to the Palestinians and the Jews (Isratine), and in accordance with the vision of the problem roots and its causes and dimensions.

Colonel Gaddafi entered a new style of governance and it was according to his opinion does not concern Libya and Arabs or Muslims alone but it is a new world order based on a comprehensive theory espoused and saw a solution to the problems of the whole world. It was named "Third Universal Theory" as the first theory concerning capitalism, the second theory concerning communism and socialism, while the third theory is based on Islam and human progress, the foundations of the new society to break free of the old tools of governance. He codified this theory in the "green book. (Al-Samarrai, 1990).

2.4.6 Unitary Experiences in the Era of Gaddafi

- Charter of Tripoli Union in 27 of December 1969 between Egypt, Sudan and Libya.
- Federation of Arab Republics in 17 of April 1971 as the core to achieve universal unity Between Syria, Egypt and Libya, in the reign of Anwar Sadat, Hafez al-Assad and Muammar Gaddafi. At that time, it has been raised many objections to Anwar Sadat for its entry in the Union and accused him of diluting the Egyptian political decision and independence to engage in such a union.
- Fusion unity between Libya and Egypt in 1972.
- Islamic Arab Republic on 12 of April 1974 between Gaddafi's Libya, Tunisia and knew Oburguibh statement of Djerba.

- Hissy Messaoud union statement between Libya and Algeria 28 of December 1975.
- Unity fusion between Libya and Syria in 1982.
- Arab-African Union on 18 of August 1984 between Libya and Morocco which is known as a Statement of the Union Unity.
- AMU.
- Community of Sahel-Saharan States.
- The African Union.

2.4.7 US Raid In 1986

The us administration accused Libya of bombing La Belle disco in Berlin at the evening of 15 of April 1986 that resulting of implementing an air raid on Tripoli and Benghazi by around a hundred US airliner. US raid targeted the military bases, the headquarters of Libyan intelligence and the headquarters of Colonel Gaddafi in Bab Azizia camp in Tripoli. This raids caused in killing about 37 person including civilians. Also, the bombing caused the death of the Libyan president daughter (Hana) in Bab Azizia in addition to about 170 injured civilians.

2.4.8 Lockerbie Case

On Wednesday 21 of December 1988, the Boeing 747 belongs PANAM Company exploded while flying over the Scottish village of Lockerbie. They accused Libya as the responsible for that blast. A decision of the Security Council on 31 of March 1992 with the number 748 including a majority of 10 votes in an Arab country with 5 abstentions requires on Libya to respond to the request of the two countries and threatens to impose sanctions, including the ones fly and forth.

On 10 of June 1998, African nations decided at its summit which was held in Ouagadougou the capital of Burkina Faso decided to break the embargo imposed on Libya.

Britain and the United States accepted in 24 of August 1998 the trial of the Libyans in a third country which is the Zeiss Camp in Netherlands as requested by Libya. The court convicted a citizen (Abdel Basset al-Megrahi) based on

circumstantial evidence and acquitted the other (Fahima Amin). Libya officially accepted civil responsibility without criminal responsibility for their employees. So, the government acknowledged responsibility for his behaviour and paid a compensation amounted of two billion and seven hundred million dollars to the families of the victims. The repercussions of the case still raised until this day especially after the testimony of the primary witness in this case Ulrich Umbert that sparked the file of Lockerbie again and make many analysts, politicians, leaders and even the families of the victims to rethink, analyse and study of this issue. (Adham, 2014).

Libya since the start reclining on strong legal grounds and all of which have been pouring in favour of Libya. When Libya objected on delivery of two of its citizens was emanating from all international laws and norms prohibit be recognized in this way despite that Libya stuck as provided in the Montreal Convention of such cases. Therefore, the first decision issued by the Security Council which bears the number (731) is a violation for the most basic of national sovereignty requirements and bear the Libyan people for the effects of the embargo for more than ten years was a natural result of his belief in the justice of their cause and their demands. The Security Council boosted the Libyan situation by the witness of Ulrich Umbert in the recognition by lying and the falsification of the truth. (Adham, 2014).

2.4.9 Weapons of Mass Distruction

After nine months of secret negotiations with the United States and Britain, Libya confirmed in a surprise move the abandonment of any program of mass destruction weapons.

On the basis of the talks held by Libya and the United States, the United Kingdom which are the two permanent members of the UN Security Council responsible for ensuring international peace and security have decided to get rid of these substances, equipment and programs and to be completely free of internationally prohibited weapons. (Adham, 2014).

CHAPTER THREE

FEBRUARY REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

3.1 17 of February Revolution

The Revolution of 17 of February came after popular protests in some Libyan cities against Colonel Muammar Gaddafi's regime. The protests have been broken spark on Thursday, 17th of February in 2011 in the form of a popular uprising included some Libyan cities. These protests have been affected by the tidal wave of protests in the Arab world in early 2011 and in particular, the Tunisian revolution which toppled Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and the Egyptian 25 of January Revolution which toppled Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

This revolution led by the young Libyans who have called for political, economic and social reforms. The revolution was initially a peaceful demonstrations and protests but with the development of events and the establishment of the battalions of Muammar Gaddafi's use of heavy firearms to quell the protests, the protests turned into armed rebellion seeking to oust Muammar Gaddafi who decided to fight until the last minute. After completing his opponents the control on the east of Libya, it is announced the establishment of the Transitional National Council. Reasons for 17 of February 2011 revolution are divided into direct causes and indirect causes. (Adham, 2014).

3.1.1 Direct Causes

1. The outbreak of the popular revolution in Tunisia on 18 of December 2010 to protest against the social, economic and political conditions and bad in solidarity with Mohamed Bouazizi, who set fire to himself. This revolution has been able in less than a month (in 01/14/2011 m) the overthrow of the regime in Tunisian

2. Outbreak of 25 of January revolution in Egypt which was affected by the Tunisian popular revolution. This revolution has been able on 02/11/2011 to drop one of strongest Arab regimes which was the Mubarak regime during the 18 days of the eruption. The success of these revolutions showed that the strength of the Arab people lies in a demonstration and out into the street and that the army is supporting the strength of people and not a tool that used by the regime to suppress the people. As well as, these revolution lit the hope of the Arab people for their ability to change the existing systems and realize their aspirations.
3. Lawyer Fathi Terbil who arrested for 39-year-old. He was defencing in the case of the massacre of Abu Salim prison before days of the revolution outbreak. His arrest was the spark of the protests. Then, he released on the first day of the outbreak of protests (02/15/2011) and became a member of the Revolution Council in Benghazi.

3.1.2 Indirect Causes

Analyses that was reported by some British newspapers indicate that the Libyans are fed up with the rampant corruption across the country and fed up from the fear and violation of human rights and economic reform only is not enough.

1. **Demands for broad political reforms:** these political reforms include the drafting of a new constitution for the country to ensure the active participation of the people and put an end to the violation of people's civil rights, freedom to form political parties and the launch of the freedom of opinion and speech.
2. **Libyan leader who cling to power and asked to step down:** Colonel Muammar Gaddafi is the oldest Arab ruler has come to the judge in a military coup on September 1969.
3. **Human rights violations:** In the nineties Libya witnessed the emergence of militant Islamic groups especially in the cities of Benghazi and Derna occurred. These groups occurred because of the repression and torture by the security services and the governmental officials and massacre against opponents. Freedom of expression was restricted to a large extent.
4. **Demands for economic reforms:** Despite that Libya annually reaps tens of billions of dollars from the export of oil (Libya's production of oil, which reach

1.6 million barrels per day), which made its strategic from the foreign exchange reserves exceed 100 billion dollars but many Libyans complain about the deterioration of their living conditions. Thus, they organized a demonstration in Al Baida city which is the first action of its kind in Libya on the living conditions on 14 of January. The estimates refer that the unemployment rate may reach 15%, while the poverty reached a significant level.

5. Massacre in Abu Salim Prison: On 29 of June 1996, the Special Forces broke Abu Salim prison and opened fire on the prisoners to isolate detainees belonging to Islamic groups and killed about 1,200 prisoners. This case which people were not allowed to talk about it in Libya until 2009 when Gaddafi's son Saif al-Islam said that the police officials and Abu Salim prison would be brought to trial because of the incident.

Since then the families of the victims in Benghazi started protesting weekly and demonstrating every Saturday and ask for justice and independent investigation into the case and to achieve their demands. However, they exposed many times to defence. Lawyer Fathi Treble took over the defence in this case.

3.1.3 Events of the Revolution

On 14 of February 2011, the statement 213 which is personal representative of a group of factions, political forces, organizations and human rights bodies are demanding the ouster of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and stressing the right of the Libyan people to express their opinion about peaceful demonstrations without any harassment or threats by the regime. On 15 of February 2011 Benghazi and Al baida in the "Day of Rage" were called through the social networking site after police violently break up a sit-in and was carried out against Benghazi which is the second-largest city in Libya that turned into a stronghold of the opposition demanding the release of 110 political prisoners.

After that on 16 of February 2011, bloody clashes was launched which security forces and mercenaries fired bullets at protesters in the cities of Benghazi and Ajdabiya. Security forces suppress new protests against the demonstrators in the Libyan cities and most of them are died. The Libyan regime was using foreign mercenaries in killings and attacking civilians. The confrontations extended in new

cities across the country and Libyan officials have resigned in protest at the face of peaceful protests with repression and violence. Later, the demonstrations extended to new several cities and access to Tripoli. On 17-18-19 of February 2011, Human Rights Watch asserts that the number of death from the protestors reached to hundred person (Shaman, 2014).

In late days of February 2011, protesters controlled the city of Benghazi. Saif al-Islam Gaddafi's son appears on state television to warn that the country will move toward civil war. Most of the minister in the Libyan government have resigned because of the suppression of the government or the protestors including Minister of Justice Mustafa Abdul Jalil, Minister of State for Immigration and Immigrants Ali and delegates of Libya in the United Nations and the Arab League ambassadors in all of Britain, China, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Poland. Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi appears on the official television to refute the hesitant rumours about leaving the country to Venezuela. Interior Minister Maj. Gen. Abdul Fattah Younis al-Obeidi announced his resignation and support for the rebels. Gaddafi accused Al-Qaeda as the reason behind the demonstrations that extend from Benghazi to the east of the Libyan cities like Tobruk, Al Baida, Derna and Ajdabiya,. United Nations talked about the deaths of nearly a thousand people in the clashes in Libya and US President Barack Obama signed an order to freeze the assets of Muammar Gaddafi. UN Security Council imposed sanctions on the Libyan regime including a ban on arms sales to Libya and the freezing of assets and travel ban for a number of pillars of the regime. The rebels announced the formation of the Transitional National Council and take over the resigning minister of Justice Minister Mustafa Abdel Jalil his presidency. The European Union bans the sale of arms and ammunition to Libya and freezes the assets of Gaddafi and five members of his family. General Assembly of the United Nations adopts a decision to expel Libya from the Human Rights Council that consists of 47 members. NATO forces sorted on the Libyan air space to control Libyan airspace and start the operations. (Shaman, 2014).

On 10 of March 2011 France recognized the National Transitional Council as the sole legitimate representative of the Libyan people. The Libyan regime cut off ties with Paris and on 17 of March 2011, UN Security Council adopts a resolution to establish a no-fly zone over Libya and to take all necessary measures to protect the

Libyan civilians. This decision is abstained by China, Russia, India, Brazil and Germany. After that on 19 of March 2011, the start of the military operation "Odyssey Dawn" against the Libyan regime with the participation of France, Britain and the United States which aims to prevent the Libyan regime from using force against civilians.

On 20 of March to 30 2011, Muammar Gaddafi said on Libyan television that the UN Charter provides the right of Libya is to defend on itself and that it will open the arms to arm the Libyan people. NATO agreed to take command of military operations to support the no-fly zone in Libyan airspace. Qatar announced its recognition of the National Transitional Council to be the second country after France and the first Arab country to recognize the council. Foreign Minister Moussa Koussa in the Gaddafi regime travelled to Britain where he announced his resignation.

On April 2011, Gaddafi calls in a letter to US President Barack Obama to put an end to the military campaign against Libya and said that the rebels are members of al-Qaeda. Gaddafi declared the acceptance of the African mediation plan in the Libyan crisis and the rebels rejected it because it does not expressly provide the departure of Gaddafi and his family from power. Gaddafi urges NATO to end its attacks and the start of negotiations accusing it of killing the Libyan civilians and the destruction of the infrastructure of Libya. Libyan regime announced the death of Saif al-Arab who is the son of the Libyan leader in a raid by NATO on a house in Tripoli. (Shaman, 2014).

On 11 to 22 of May 2011, the rebels controlled the city of Misrata, which besieged by Gaddafi's battalions. EU announced opening an office in the city of Benghazi under the control of the Libyan National Transitional Council. On June 2011, NATO Announced Extension of its operations in Libya for a period of ninety new days and the oil minister in Gaddafi's government, Shokri Ghanem, announced his resignation. US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said that the days of Gaddafi's regime are numbered and that they should prepare for a post-Gaddafi. South African President Jacob Zuma said that NATO misused the UN resolution on the protection of Libyan civilians to run on changing the regime, political assassinations and military occupation of Libya.

3.1.4 The International Criminal Court Starts Operating

The International Criminal Court issued an arrest warrant for Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi and his son Saif al-Islam Gaddafi and intelligence chief Abdullah al-Senussi on their charges of crimes against humanity.

On 14 to 30 of July, 2011, Gaddafi calls on his supporters in a televised speech to crawl around the city of Benghazi "to release it". He reaffirmed that he will not leave Libya at all. The United States and Britain recognized the National Transitional Council legitimate authority in Libya. Libyan Transitional Council announces the death of the commander of rebel forces who is the Major General Abdul Fatah Younis and two of his companions near Benghazi in mysterious circumstances.

Then, at the upcoming month August 2011, chairman of the Libyan Transitional Council, Mustafa Abdel Jalil announced the dissolution of the Executive Office of the Council which consist of 14 members. Libyan rebels controlled AlZawia which is in the west of Tripoli on the road to Tunisia to cut another ways of the Libyan regime with the outside world. A new letter to Gaddafi broadcast on Libyan state television calling on Libyans to resist the advance of the rebels and promised NATO in defeat. The rebels ruled the ring on Tripoli which is the Libyan capital through the control of most major roads leading to it.

3.1.5 Control of Tripoli and the Death of Gaddafi

Libyan rebels walk in some neighbourhoods of the capital Tripoli which saw a popular uprising in a number of neighbourhoods like Vshlom and Tajura. Rebels entered the capital Tripoli and controlled most of its neighbourhoods. Gaddafi declared three speeches in less than 24 hours calling the Libyan community to resists against the rebels. The head of the Transitional Council Mustafa Abdul Jalil confirms the arrest of Saif al-Islam, son of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. On 1 of September 2011, Gaddafi declared an audio message aired on Al-Iraqiya channel from Syria in the 42 anniversary of his ascension to power which urged Libyans to continue the fight. On 20 of October, 2011, News reported that Gaddafi was killed in the fighting in Sirte. (Shaman, 2014).

3.1.6 Libya After the Death of Gaddafi's

Since the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime until today Libya is a state of chaos that is unmatched in the modern history of Libya due to the ongoing fighting between numbers of armed militias that participated in the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime. Also, the chaos was exacerbated when the country had two separated governments one in the west and another in the east and all of them claim to be the legitimate government of Libya. In addition to the two governments, there is the Parliament and other official institutions. This situation which has reached Libya after nearly five years of the fall of dictator Muammar Gaddafi's regime in 2011, resulted in the classification of Libya to be as a “failed state” and this is not only a threat to Libya and its people but also on its neighbours and the entire world especially in a globalization era in which the interests and international relations are intertwined with each other. (Shaman, 2014).

The main problem in Libya in the struggle for power because of when the militias toppled the former regime, they found an opportunity in the absence of a strong central authority in order to achieve narrow interests. This situation has led to a threat to the unity of Libya because some of the militias in the east of Libya asked the autonomy which can be a prelude to the fragmentation of the country at this critical situation of the Libyan modern history. Not only at this point but tribal partisanship reappeared again after seizing their role during Gaddafi's rule and the situation was exacerbated when oil regions were attacked which are the only thing that the depended by the economy of the country. The emergence of terrorist groups and the spread of terrorist acts in different parts of Libya represent one of the most prominent of these harbingers of stifling crisis in Libya since the fall of the regime.

3.1.7 Development of the Events after the fall of the Regime

Libyans were hoping for their revolution to get out of the repression and deprivation status which they have suffered since the arrival of Muammar Gaddafi to power on the back of a tank. However, those hopes quickly evaporated with the passage of time as a result of a power struggle between armed groups that fought side by side for the overthrow of the former regime. This has resulted in a status of conflict, political instability and the status of government instability where the

transitional government has been changed five times during two years due to the conflict over power and the lack of security in the country.

In addition to the complexity of the Libyan crisis, the tribal partisanship emerged again such as the Libyan Bedouin community where the tribe plays a strong role especially in the absence of a strong central authority. Thus, many political analysis hope to seize the power of the tribe in Libya and accordingly the future still weak and depends significantly of the power of the central government (Obeid, 2012).

It is worth mentioning that the role of the tribes was strong during the monarchy but Gaddafi has vowed since his arrival in 1969 to eliminate tribalism and succeeded during the first ten years of his rule to curtail the role of the tribe. Nevertheless, he soon turned to the tribe again for use in the struggle with guys in his path while he worked to get rid of them one by one. The security situation has become unstable in Libya and it is a source of concern for Arab countries and the West alike. This concern has expressed in many occasions during the conference of Rome for the Friends of Libya which was held in March 2014 in order to provide necessary assistance for the transitional authority. The participants at the conference expressed their readiness to help Libya but «the proliferation of uncontrolled weapons» as described by the Italian Foreign Minister Federica and he said that the weapons create difficulties and hinders the efforts of international partners.

It seemed from Western positions that the West is no longer enthusiastic to intervene as it did in 2011 when they helped significantly to the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime. For example, French defence believes that the south of Libya has become a stronghold for terrorists but not in favour of intervention in Libya because it is independent country. The French minister believes that a strike without a political solution will not lead to a result. Libya has entered a situation of civil war as a result of the intensification of the fighting between the combatants since the beginning of the year 2014 especially between the conflict parties and the two main groups and militias of the Islamic extremist on one hand and those allied with the Libyan Parliament, (Major General Khalifa Haftar) from another hand. Political and security situation grew complicated after what happened on 25 of June 2013 when the Amazigh Islamists were elected Nuri Ali Abu Sahmeen as a president of the National Conference of the Libyan General successor to Mohammed Magariaf who

resigned after the approval of the conference on the political isolation law. This decision prohibits both attaches great position in the era of the Gaddafi regime to work in the government. It is similar to the law adopted in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime.

This law prohibits everyone who took a position in the Gaddafi era (1969 - 2011) to work in the new Libyan state apparatus. It is said that the law passed under pressure where armed militias surrounded the General National Congress and called for adoption. The first victims of this law Mohammed Al Mogariaf, the former head of General National Congress who served as ambassador to Libya in the early eighties. General National Congress which is internationally recognized when decided to repeal this law passed by Parliament in 2013 (which chose Tripoli as a base for it), the General National Congress on 2 of February 2015 voted on a decision to suspend the work of isolation or political exclusion law until the adoption of a permanent constitution for the country. The US administration has expressed its remorse for not having a plan to fill the political vacuum that follow the military intervention in Libya in early 2011 and the overthrow of former Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi. The United States and its allies in NATO were able to do more to fill the void in order to prevent the political vacuum in Libya (Obeid, 2012).

Currently, there are five parties exist in Libya which are the liberals Transitional Council, local councils, the Alliance for 17 of February Revolution, Islamists with their various movements and finally, the men and public. Stopping those anticipated disturbances when they occur depend on to a very large extent on the ability of the Transitional Council to act wisely and stay away from the logic of revenge and prejudice in dealing with Gaddafi supporters who will stay attending the Libyan society in one way or another. Also, it must be a quick action to disseminate the spirit of the rule of law and apply it on everyone. As well as, the government must prevent any phenomena of militarization or the growth of armed groups poured for a party or to the benefit of the intellectual or political direction of any authority. Moreover, demilitarization of civilians, Transitional Governing Council is required to maintain a balance between the leadership of national and international political process and the ability to overall direction within the country and take into consideration the tribalism in Libya and absorbed the tribe into the new system to

address the imbalances resulting from rounding exclusion followed by Gaddafi to keep the authority's policies. (Obeid, 2012).

3.1.8 Successive Governments After the Fall of the Gaddafi Regime

The entry of the government of national reconciliation members to the Libyan capital Tripoli (headed by Faye OS) making it the tenth government after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in 2011. It has alternated on Libya after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime a number of governments since the establishment of the National Transitional Council in February 2011 and continued until August 2012 when the NTC was established which is the legislative authority owner in Libya and lasted in August 2012. Mustafa Abdul Jalil who was the minister of justice in the Gaddafi regime took over the presidency of the National Council on 5 of March 2011. The government of Mahmoud Jibril has been formed on 23 of March 2011 who resigned after the criticism against him have been increased. Followed by Ali Tarhouni assigned to form a government on 23 of October 2011 and lasted until 24 of November 2011.

Followed by a choice of Rahim nutria for the formation of a transitional government on 24 of November 2011 and continued until 8 of August 2012 and looked to the government as the first Libyan government after the fall of Gaddafi and the fact that the Cape transitional Parliament which is General National Congress that included 200 members according to the roadmap set out by the Transitional Council. (Adham, 2014).

The National Congress elected a new prime minister who is Mustafa Abu Shakur but soon he failed to form an interim government. The conference elected Zidane (November 2012 - March 2014) who was able to form a national unity government included 27 ministries. In March 2014, the National Congress withhold confidence from Zidane and instructed the Minister of Defence then Abdullah al-Thani to conduct the prime minister duties while choosing a new prime minister. While he was serving as a head of the interim government, the National Congress decided to elect a new prime minister and Ahmed Maitek has chosen as prime minister. However, Ahmed Maitek resigned on 9 of June 2014 in less than a month after assuming the post for a temporary period.

After the holding of new parliamentary elections and the formal end of the mandate of the National Convention, the differences have been raised between several factions after the victory of the national trend and the liberal majority. The elected parliament was elected to the city of Tobruk, and Al-Thani was elected as prime minister. Al-Thani has been in power since March 2014 and given the confidence of parliament by the head of the Accord government Faris al-Sarraj. In the midst of fragile UN-led peace talks, the political and security crisis Libya deepened as two governments compete for legitimacy, control vital institutions and gain international support. Although, some factions signed a political agreement in December, there are no signs of an end to these crises. As the armed clashes continue, the country has experienced a humanitarian crisis with an estimated 400,000 internally displaced persons and increasingly disrupted for the basic services such as electricity and fuel supplies. (Adham, 2014).

The forces involved in the conflict continued to be unpunished for acts such as arbitrary arrest, torture, extrajudicial killings, indiscriminate attacks, abductions and disappearances, and forced displacement of people from their homes. The local criminal justice system has collapsed in most parts of the country which exacerbating the human rights crisis. Armed groups that have declared allegiance to the radical Islamic state (also known as "Da'ash") have continued to commit gross violations of human rights including unlawful killings and summary executions and have succeeded in expanding and gaining control of towns in the centre of the country including Sirte. The massive collapse of law and systems have enabled tens of thousands of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers to pass through Libya to Europe. In Libya, they were subjected to violence, ill-treatment and forced labour. Also, there are at least 3,100 people died though their trying to cross the Mediterranean in frigid boats provided by criminal smugglers. From 1 of January to the end of November 2015, more than 143500 people arrived to Italy via boats from North Africa and mostly from Libya. (Adham, 2014).

3.1.9 Armed Conflicts and War Crimes

Armed conflicts continued their rage in the east, west and south. In Benghazi, forces loyal to the internationally recognized government clashed with a coalition of

Islamist militias including a supporter of "Ansar al-Sharia", and some civilians remained trapped in combat zones. In the west, allied forces with the unilaterally declared government in Tripoli have continued to clash with opposition groups that found in the West Coast. In the south, intermittent clashes erupted between Tabu and Tuareg militias. The warring factions indiscriminately bombed civilian areas, arbitrarily detained, tortured and looted people and burned civilian property during attacks in some cases amounted to war crimes. As well as, some forces used cluster munitions and anti-personnel landmines which are internationally prohibited.

3.2 Current Authority

3.2.1 Authority in Libya Now

Currently, the power in Libya is very fragile and the government cannot control the security situation in the country against the militarization of armed militias. Now anyone can commit any crime without fear of punishment. Salah al-Akouri, a Libyan doctor, commented on this situation: The chaos exhausted the Libyans and tribal and ideological conflicts were worse than the security grip of the previous government. He pointed out that many Libyans now have mercy on the days of Muammar because of the terrible situation that Libya has become after Gaddafi. On the other hand, Professor Mohammed Al-Kawash openly accused the major powers and international institutions that they were not at the level of the promises they made to help Libya to become a successful country ruled by justice and democracy but left it to face a dreadful fate. He believes that what the West is doing is issuing statements and rhetoric that do not advance or delay. The reality in Libya needs a decisive intervention to stop the bloodshed and to provide security for the Libyan citizen who got rid of a fire spot to find himself in the midst of hell (Zardomy, 2012).

3.2.2 Themes of Suffering by Libya

The suffering of Libya is based on four axes: the security issue, the internal situation, the regional situation and the social harmony. The last axis is a very important axis due to the state of disintegration and rupture experienced by Libya at

the present time. All national reconciliation efforts in Libya have failed over the past few years, such as the earlier National Reconciliation Conference which does not witness any progress in the national dialogue arena towards unification because the interlocutors adopted a narrow tendencies that led to further dissonance and sabotage. As for the security file, there is nothing good and the kidnapping of Zidane was just evidence of the deterioration in the security situation in Libya. If the prime minister is not safe, what can a Libyan citizen or foreign visitor feel during his life in the country? In a serious statement issued by the Libyan Foreign Minister, he said that there are sixteen thousand people in Libya carrying arms and demonstrating that they are rebels. A large part of these weapons were delivered by NATO to the Libyan rebels during the revolution to help them get rid of Muammar Gaddafi's regime.

The third axis is related to the internal situation in Libya. Tribalism and the very complex structure of the Libyan people which was absent during Gaddafi's rule have come to the forefront of the political scene because the members of the National Congress in Libya do not have the necessary expertise or capacities to lead a country like Libya. Many of the actors on the political scene in Libya today belong to terrorist organizations or corrupted people who only care about their personal gain regardless of the country's interests.

The fourth and final axis is based on the regional situation of Libya which was severely affected after the fall of the state in 2011. Libya is no longer an active country among the Middle East and African countries as it was before that. Therefore, Libya has lost its attention at the international level.

3.2.3 The Political Process

The United Nations sponsored dialogue sought for a year to reach agreement to form a national unity government and end the fighting. In December, some factions signed a political agreement in the Moroccan city of Skhirat and appointed prime ministers and a presidential council with plans to form a government of national unity. The UN Security Council passed a resolution recognizing this new body as the only legitimate Libyan government. However, by December, the new body was operating from Tunisia because of opposition to the deal by major Libyan

factions. In November, Martin Kobler was appointed chief UN negotiator and special representative of the UN Secretary-General in Libya. The east appointed members to participate at this dialogue including members of the internationally recognized government, the House of Representatives, the "Libyan National Army" and its militias. Also, the west participated at this dialogue by many members including members of the "Government of National Unity" in Tripoli and a group of armed militias of the "Dawn of Libya alliance.

The talks were based on a power-sharing agreement that would retain the House of Representatives as the main legislative authority together with State Consultative Council composed of members of the General National Congress. In practice, the competing authorities continued to run parallel institutions in Al-Bayda and Tripoli which led to creating two separate administrations. The first one is the establishment of the National Oil Company, Investment Authority and National Bank. In May, Abdullah al-Thani who is the head of the internationally recognized government, said that he had survived from an assassination attempt in eastern Libya. In October, the House of Representatives which is the legislative body of the internationally recognized government voted to extend its term of office which was legally terminated on 21 of October without new elections and left a probable constitutional vacuum (Zardomy, 2012).

3.2.4 Constitution and Legislation

Until now, Libya does not have a permanent constitution. The Constitution Drafting Committee, elected in February 2014 and hampered by the political fighting and the boycott of Amazigh community's. This committee published its first draft in September 2015. However, some political groups called for the re-adoption of the 1951 constitution. The House of Representatives failed to amend the Anti-Terrorism Act that adopted in September 2014. Although, it contains several provisions that may be used to limit freedom of expression and the right of peaceful assembly and movement. The law imposes harsh penalties on vaguely defined acts such as the "threat of national unity", which includes a broad definition of "terrorist acts". It provides a life imprisonment for the establishment or leadership of a "terrorist

organization" and 10 years' imprisonment with hard labour for "Terrorist organization ", without the need for any evidence of violence.

In July, the House of Representatives passed a general amnesty law. This law stipulating that those involved in crimes of terrorism, rape, torture, corruption and race-based killings would not benefit from it. However, the law failed to exclude amnesty for other serious human rights crimes such as forced displacement, enforced disappearances and unlawful killings. The economic and fiscal deficit in Libya in 2016 is expected to continue and hit the budget deficit to about 60 percent of GDP, the current account deficit is amounted of 70 percent of GDP as mentioned by the Middle East and North Africa Economic Observatory (MENA) in spring 2016 report. The growth is expected to return to recovery in the next few years where the oil production reaches full capacity to reach 46 percent in 2017 and 15 percent in 2018. The political conflict has severely damaged the economy which has been stagnating for the third consecutive year in 2015. Political conflict, poor security conditions and the blockade of oil infrastructure continue to weaken the supply side of the economy which contracted by 10 percent in 2015. Crude oil production fell to its lowest level of about 0.4 million barrels per day or a quarter of the country's production capacity. Non-oil sectors continued to be weak due to imbalances in domestic and foreign supply chains and lack of funding. Inflation accelerated to 9.2 percent in 2015 mainly due to increase in food prices to about 13.7 percent. The lack of funding for imports (especially subsidized foods) has led to a shortage of commodities and a widening black market. Flour prices jumped four times and the continuing of political stalemate has seriously hurt global oil prices. State budget revenues from the oil sector fell to five levels after the revolution but spending remained high. The share of the public sector wage bill for public sector employees reached a record level of 59.7 percent mainly due to new appointments of public officials. At the same time, investments were insufficient to provide adequate public services in the areas of health, education, electricity, drinking water supply and sanitation. However, there were savings in expenditure on subsidies which fell by 23.6 percent because of the stronger control over subsidized supply chains and lower import prices. Overall, the budget deficit increased from 43 percent of GDP in 2014 to 75 percent of the total in 2015. The deficit was largely financed by the governmental deposits at the Libyan Central Bank.

The balance of payments situation deteriorated in 2015. Moreover, oil exports fell to 0.3 million barrels per day. It is estimated that oil export revenues have reached to less than 15 percent of its level in 2012. To finance this shortfall, the net foreign exchange reserves are being depleted rapidly. These reserves have fallen by half from \$ 107.6 billion in 2013 to an estimated \$ 56.8 billion by the end of 2015. The official exchange rate of the Libyan dinar against the dollar continued to fall with another fall of over 9 percent in 2015. In the parallel market, the dinar depreciated nearly 160 percent due to restrictions on foreign exchange transactions by the Libyan central bank. The improvement in economic prospects depends heavily on the approval by the House of Representatives of the National Reconciliation Government formed under the auspices of the United Nations. Economic and social prospects predict that the National Reconciliation Government will begin to rule the country by restoring security and launching programs to rebuild economic and social infrastructure. In this context, oil production is expected to improve to about 1 million per day by the end of 2017. On this basis, gross domestic product is projected to increase by 22 percent. However, the old fiscal and current account balances will continue in 2017. Oil export revenues will not be sufficient to cover budgeted expenditures and consumption driven imports. On this basis, gross domestic product is projected to increase by 22 percent. This will keep the budget deficit at about 60 percent of GDP and current account deficit at 70 percent of the total. When oil production reaches full capacity, growth is expected to recover by 46 percent in 2017 and 15 percent in 2018 before stabilizing at between 5 and 5.5 percent thereafter. The fiscal and current account balances will improve considerably and the public budget is expected to record surpluses from 2018 onwards. As well as, the current account balance deficit will gradually fall below 0.5 percent of GDP in 2019. Foreign exchange reserves will average about \$ 22 billion in the 2017- 2019 period which is equivalent to 8.2 months of import costs.

Table 3. 1The Libyan economic indicators during the last four years (Source: Kawi, 2016)

BASIC ECONOMIC INDICATORS		2014	2015	2016	2017
REAL GDP GROWTH		-24.0	-10.2	22.2	46.2
INFLATION RATE		2.4	9.2	3.5	3.0
THE BALANCE OF FINANCES OF GDP	PUBLIC OF	-43.3	-75.3	-59.9	-10.1
CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE OF GDP		-54.8	-75.6	-69.0	-14.7

Unprecedentedly, the rate of inflation in Libya jumped during the first half of this year to reach 24% compared to 9.8% at the end of last year which configures a critical economic situation. The result of the political division and security deterioration, the inflation rate remained at reasonable levels during 2012, 2013 and 2014 which did not exceed 6.1%, 2.6% and 2.4%, respectively but by the end of 2015 it rose to 9.8% to reach an upward curve in the first six months of the year. In January, inflation reached to 21.1% and reached to 21.6% at the end of February up from 25% in March to 23.8% in April and 24.6% in May (Kawi, 2016).

The central bank's report on the indices of consumer price and inflation showed that during the 2011 revolution, the inflation rate jumped dramatically over 12 months as a result of the political and security events in the country. The rate reached 26.6% at the end of December compared with 4.3%. The average rate during the same year (2011) was about 15.9%. After the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime, the rate in 2012 fell to 6.1% before falling again to 6.2% in 2013. Then, it achieved the lowest rate in 2014 by 2.4% before rising again in 2015 when inflation hit 9.8%. On the other hand, the central bank's report on the performance of commercial banks over the past six years revealed a 9.2% increase in total banking assets, 34% in loans

and the total deposits in the commercial banks to 24% during the period from 2010 to 2016.

3.2.5 Property Rights

During the same period, total capital witnessed a slight move from about 3.351 billion dinar in 2010 to about 3.611 billion Libyan dinar in April 2016 and reached a high level about 3.620 billion Libyan dinar in 2015. In comparison with that, the reserves witnessed a slight move as well, reaching to 1.166 billion Libyan dinar in 2010 before declining during the revolution year to 1.012 billion Libyan dinar. While it rose again to 1.479 billion Libyan dinars in the first quarter of this year (2017). Total property rights jumped to 5.0920 billion Libyan dinars in April 2016, compared to 4.517 billion Libyan dinars in 2010, when the rise began since 2012 and reached to 4.653 billion Libyan dinars.

3.2.6 Loans Granted

Total bank loans increased by 34% over the past six years from 13.044 billion Libyan dinar in 2010 to KD 19.845 billion Libyan dinar at the end of the first quarter of 2016. Total loans fell to the lowest level at the revolution year when it reached to 12.786 billion Libyan dinars before re-rising in 2015. A big jump when it reached to 15.899 billion Libyan dinars. The highest rise was in 2015 when the total loans reached to 20.212 billion Libyan dinars.

Table 3. 2Total loans granted during the last six years (Source: Kawi, 2016)

2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
13,000	16,000	18,000	20,000	20,500	19,800
billion	billion	billion	billion	billion	billion
dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars	dollars

Compared with the same period in 2015, total loans increased by 0.1% from 19.97 billion Libyan dinar at the end of the first quarter of 2015 to 19.98 million Libyan dinar in the same period of 2016. Loans and credit facilities granted to total deposits about 27.7%. The balance of loans granted to the private sector at the end of the first quarter of 2016 amounted to 14.1 billion Libyan dinar and 70.5% of total

loans and credit facilities. The balance of loans granted to the public sector amounted to the remaining of 29.5% and a value of 5.9 billion Libyan dinars. The ratio of provision for doubtful debts to total loans, advances and credit facilities were 14% at the end of the first quarter of 2016 compared to 13.4% during the same period of 2015(Kawi, 2017).

3.2.7 Banking Assets

The total assets of commercial banks increased by 29% during the past six years, from 65.35 billion Libyan dinars in 2010 to about 92.12 billion Libyan dinars by the end of April 2016. The bank assets achieved the highest rate in 2013, when it reached about 98.37 billion Libyan dinars, after slightly increased at the year of the revolution to about 70.93 billion Libyan dinars to rise in 2012 to 84.42 billion Libyan dinars.

Table 3. 3the assets of the commercial banks during the last six years (Source: Kawi, 2017)

2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
70,930 billion dollars	84,420 billion dollars	98,375 billion dollars	96,000 billion dollars	90,000 billion dollars	92,124 billion dollars

3.3 Political Issues and Conflicts

3.3.1 Political Status

Currently, Libya has two governments. The first one backed by the international community based in Tripoli and followed by the Libyan Presidential Council which supports the forces that freed Sirte. The other based in the east and not recognized by the international community but supported by large forces led by the general Khalifa Hafter. UN led fragile peace talks and have failed so far and Libya's political and security crisis has deepened as two governments compete for legitimacy, control vital institutions and gain international support. Despite the signing by some factions of the Skhirat agreement, the armed clashes are continued in the country and Libya has experienced a humanitarian crisis with an estimated 400,000 internally displaced persons and an increasing disruption of basic services

such as electricity and fuel supplies. While some parts of the country are witnessing tribal clashes as was the case between the tribes of Qadhafi and Atfal Sulaiman in Sabha. In addition, in the capital itself, the security battalions support the National Reconciliation Government headed by Fayeze al-Sarraj, while other factions oppose it. The National Salvation Government headed by Khalifa al-Ghuwail recently confirmed that it is going to work in Tripoli. Tripoli has witnessed a security tension since killing a member in the House of Fatwa in Tripoli who is the Sheikh Nader al-Omran (Kawi, 2017).

3.3.2 Crescent Petroleum

One of the highlights of the year 2016, the success of the Libyan forces of the Tobruk parliament in the control of the strategic oil Crescent which is a serious blow to the Government of National Reconciliation. This control has erupted clashes between the two sides. Indeed, there are movements on the field and military forces loyal to the government of reconciliation led by Libyan Defence Minister Mahdi Barghouthi to restore the Crescent oil. Mahdi Barghouthi is the person who managed the Libyan army forces led by Field Marshal Haftar, Al-Barghouthi. The Minister of Defence of the Al-Wefaq Government visited Al-Jafra area to draw up plans for an attack on the Crescent oil area and "putting the army forces close to Al-Jafra ready to deal with any emergency there. There is no doubt that all the Libyan parties are well aware that those who control these oil sources will control the entire economy of Libya.

3.3.3 Sirte

In Sirte, the Libyan forces loyal to the Government of National Reconciliation took control of the city on the Libyan coast in a strong blow to the organization of Daesh. Daesh fought for months to maintain the city. The fighting led by the forces of the "Al-Banyan Al-Mrsous" to restore the city which occupied by Daesh and tried to expand outside of that city and killed about 700 people and injuring three thousand others among government forces. Also, the forces killed unknown number of fighters of the organization. Since the end of October, government forces have besieged Daesh agents in a small area of the city. The

United States launched a bombing campaign in August at the request of the Government of Reconciliation to help its forces regain control of the city and launched targeted raids targeting the organization's leaders. Presidency of the Council of National Accord and the government is considering a proposal to form a force to combat terrorism from its core architecture of Al-mrsous fighters.

3.3.4 Benghazi

In Benghazi, the Libyan army took control of one of the most important strongholds of the militants in the coastal city of Benghazi that locates to the east of Libya. The Libyan army took control of the district of Al-Lithi which formed alongside the Sabri strongholds of the armed organizations in Benghazi, and took control of the Hawari and the port of Maraisa south of the city. At the end of this year, the city witnessed clashes between pro-parliamentary army forces in Tobruk and armed groups belonging to the Benghazi Shura Council in the Qawarsheh area west of Benghazi. The military control was completed in the new positions of the Qawarsheh area.

3.3.5 Arab Role

While several Arab countries have made efforts to establish peace in Libya, the Arab League has appointed its own envoy to Libya, where the Special Envoy of the League of Arab States to Libya is Salah al-Din al-Jamali confirming on the importance of the Arab role in the Libyan file. He said that his appointment as a special envoy to Libya means that the Arab League has realized the importance of moving on the level of this file and activating its role in this delicate stage in Libya and the rest of the Arab countries especially the neighbouring countries to Libya.

3.3.6 Government of Salvation

Which emerged from the Libyan General National Congress in August 2014. It is located in Tripoli and is headed by Khalifa al-Ghuwail. Since the inception of this government, it has not received international recognition. The Salvation Government took control of large parts of western and southern Libya at the end of

2014 and the beginning of 2016. It did not deny its support for the Revolutionary Shura Council in Benghazi (it is a coalition of rebel brigades that overthrew Gaddafi and formed shields under the Libyan army). On 5 of April 2016, the Government of Salvation announced the departure of the authority and allowed the Government of National Reconciliation headed by Al-Seraj to take over the government in less than a week after its entry into the country. However, members of the General National Congress and the Government of Salvation took control of the headquarters of the Supreme Council of the State in Tripoli on October 2016 in cooperation with the Presidential Security Service in charge of protecting the presidential compound.

The Government of Salvation returned to the political front where Al-Ghawalil called in a statement from inside the headquarters of the presidential hospitality palaces in Tripoli to stop the work of the National Reconciliation Government. The statement said that "all those who have been assigned by the Presidential Council of the Government of Al-Wefaq are suspended from the exercise of any activities or tasks, and that they will be referred to the judiciary for the impersonation of the attributes which are not authorized by them." In the midst of these developments, the Government of Salvation called for the formation of a national unity government with the government of Abdullah al-Thani in Tobruk, within the framework of a Libyan dialogue and without foreign mediation (Daragahi, 2015).

3.3.7 Government of Tobruk

The interim government emerged from the dissolved Tobruk parliament in September 2014. It is located in the eastern city of El-Baida and headed by Abdallah Al-Thani. Since the outbreak of armed conflict between numbers of Libyan parties, Tobruk parliament tasked Haftar to form a government parallel to the Tripoli government. Haftar has chosen to meet with Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi in a bid to coordinate security and military. The government of Tobruk won the support of Haftar who announced in mid-May 2014, the start of the "Karama" operation in Benghazi in the east of the country to rid Libya of "terrorists and infidels." In early June of that year he welcomed Egyptian military intervention in Libya. The government of Al-Thani received support from 21 governments and organizations at a conference held in Madrid in September 2014 about Libya. The

government representatives called on its participants to cooperate with their government and not to recognize any parallel government in reference to the government of the rescue which was headed by Omar Al-Hassi in Tripoli and supported by the forces of dawn Libya. In November 2014, the Supreme Court of Libya delegitimized the House of Representatives held in Tobruk in the east of the country and the resulting decisions and institutions including the government of bending. Despite that the government of the fold supported the government of reconciliation formed under the Skhirat agreement and gave it confidence in the majority after the vote of 100 deputies from the House of Representatives held in Tobruk. The Benevolent Government agreed with the Salvation Government in October 2016 to form a government of national unity.

The European Union has imposed sanctions on three Libyan officials for obstructing the work of the Reconciliation Government. The three officials are the Speaker of the Parliament Akila Saleh in Tabruk, the President of the Libyan National Congress General Nuri Abu Shareem and the head of the rescue government al-Gawail. The sanctions are prohibiting to travel and their assets are freeze in EU countries. The president of the Libyan National Reconciliation Government, Faiz Sarraj, said that he discussed the issue of terrorism with French Prime Minister Bernard Kazanov while Kazanov called on the international community to do more to support the political solution in Libya. Al-Sarraj said after a meeting between the two parties in Tunisia that the agreement between Paris and Tripoli to activate all agreements including the return of the French diplomatic mission in Libya, and he reiterated that "the solution must be political in Libya," and said "we appreciate the role of France and its support in the fight against terrorism, and practical steps to train the Libyan presidential guard forces." For his part, Kazanov urged the international community to do more to support the political solution in Libya and push all Libyan parties to dialogue on the basis of the agreement of Skhirat. He stressed that his country takes this opportunity and calls on the various Libyan parties and the international community to redouble efforts to find a solution to the crisis in Libya. As well as, he said that the solution in Libya must be political and there is no room for a military solution and stressing France's keenness to support security and stability in Libya. In the same context, he praised the role of the Government of Reconciliation and the successes achieved by the Libyans in their

war on terrorism especially in the cities of Sirte and Benghazi. The National Reconciliation Government is the only legitimate authority in Libya which has the power to decide the oil policy of the country. Kazanov said that he called on the Libyan authorities to do more to stop the influx of irregular migrants into Europe (Mahdi, 2016).

3.4 The Libyan Crisis

3.4.1 Libyan Civil War

The roots of the crisis lies in the situation that prevailed in the country after the revolution in 2011 and highlighted the characteristics of the existence of several armed groups outside the control of the government. The conflict is often between the internationally recognized governments of the democratically elected House of Representatives in 2014 which is temporarily based in the city of Tobruk. It is known officially as the "Libyan Interim Government" based in the eastern city of Al-Bayda. Also, an Islamic government to compete with them founded by the General National Congress and its headquarters in Tripoli city. The internationally recognized government of the House of Representatives has the allegiance of the Libyan army under the leadership of Khalifa Haftar who is supported by Egypt and the United Arab Emirates. The Islamic government of the General National Congress is also called the "Salvation Government" and it is led by the Muslim Brotherhood and is supported by a coalition of Islamic organizations known as "Dawn of Libya" and supported by Qatar, Sudan and Turkey.

In addition to these governments, there are also other smaller rival groups such as the Benghazi Revolutionary Shura Council which is led by Ansar al-Sharia group. It is received material and military support from the General National Congress, the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham in some Libyan regions. As well as, Tuareg militias in Gatt, Which controls desert areas in the southwest of the country. Moreover, the local forces in Misurata area which controls the towns of Bani Walid and Tawargha. Belligerents are coalitions of armed groups that change the side with which they sometimes fought at the beginning of 2014. Libya ruled by the National Congress after the 2012 elections. Since then, the Islamist parties have controlled the council and boycotting the majority of the centre-right and liberal. Nouri Abu-

Sahmain was elected as a president. According to some, Abu-Sahmain used his powers to suppress discussions and inquiries within the Conference. In December 2013, the National Congress voted to impose the Islamic Law and decided to extend its 18-month term for another year until the end of 2014 amid popular rejection.

On 14 of February, 2014, in a coup attempt from General Khalifa Haftar who served in the army under the former regime. Haftar called for the dissolution of the General National Congress and the formation of an interim government to supervise new legislative elections. In May 2014, ground and air forces loyal to General Haftar launched an air and ground operation called Karama Operation against armed Islamic groups in the city of Benghazi and against the General National Congress in the Tripoli city. In June, the National General Conference called for holding new elections for the House of Representatives defeating the Islamists in the elections but they rejected the results of the elections which saw the participation rate is 45%.

The conflict escalated on 13 of July, 2014, when the Islamists in Tripoli together with Misurata militias, launched an operation called "Dawn of Libya" to seize the Tripoli International Airport. It was captured by the Zintan militia on 23 of August leaving damage to the airport facilities and aircraft. Shortly thereafter, former members of the General National Congress, who rejected the June elections and their results, convened the new National Congress and voted for themselves as an alternative to the newly elected House of Representatives. They took Tripoli as their political capital. Nuri Abu-Sahmain was appointed as Prime Minister and with the control of the Islamic militias backed by the General National Congress on the city of Benghazi and its attack on Libyan army camps in the city, which was supposed to be the seat of the House of Representatives elected. As a result, the majority in the House of Representatives moved to Tobruk in the Far East and allied with the general forces of Haftar who was nominated as the commander of the Libyan army. On 6 of November, the Supreme Court of Tripoli controlled by the new National Congress announced the dissolution of the House of Representatives. The House rejected the ruling, which was issued "under threat". On 16 of January 2015, the Karama and Dawn factions agreed to a "ceasefire". Currently, the country is led by two separate governments. The National Congress controlling the forces loyal to the Dawn of Libya on the city of Tripoli and the areas of Misurata, Zawiya and the west of the country. While the international community recognizes the interim Libyan

government headed by Abdullah Al-Thani in the White City and the House of Representatives in Tobruk. Whereas, the city of Benghazi is still witnessing an armed conflict between the forces loyal to the team Khalifa Khalaf and radical Islamists.

In recent months there have been many political developments. A controversial UN-brokered ceasefire was reached in December 2015 and 31 of March, 2016. The leaders of the forthcoming United Nations-backed coalition government arrived at the naval base at Abu Sitta in Tripoli but they did not take over the government headquarters in the city or any other government headquarters. On 11 of April, 2016, US President Barack Obama admitted that his "worst mistake" was his lack of preparation for the post-Gaddafi era in Libya. At the beginning of 2014, Libya was governed by the General National Congress (which had been elected by popular vote for a year and a half earlier). Accusing the National Congress of supporting and directing government funds to armed Islamic groups and allowing others to carry out assassinations and kidnappings. Also, the voting was passed on the announcement of the application of Sharia and the establishment of a "special committee" to review all existing laws to ensure their compatibility with Islamic law. As well as, they imposed the separation between the sexes and the imposition of headscarves in Libyan universities. As well as, it is refused to hold new elections when its electoral mandate ended in January 2014 even after Khalifa Haftar launched a military attack against it (Al-Maghiri, 2015).

3.4.2 Extended Mandate

At the end, the National General Congress voted to step down of its electoral mandate in January 2014. Also, from one side, it voted on 23 of December, 2013 to extend its authority for at least a year. This step is caused widespread anxiety and the outbreak of protests in Libya and the East. The residents of the city of Shehata along with protesters in both the White House and the large demonstrations rejected the plan to extend the congress and demanded the resignation of the congress. This is followed by the peaceful transfer of power to the Sharia Commission. Moreover, they protested on the lack of security and safety accusing officials of the General National Congress of not building the army and the police. The Martyrs Square in

Tripoli and Tibesti Hotel in Benghazi also witnessed demonstrations calling for the freezing of political parties and the establishment of a military council.

3.4.3 Election of Parliament

First of May, 2014, and one week after the announcement of "Karama Operation" by Khalifa Haftar ", the General National Congress announced the appointment of a new body for the election procedure and it was set on 25 of June, 2014 as a date for elections to the new House of Representatives. This new House of Representatives did not receive power from the National General Conference and took from Tobruk in the east of the country based on the pretext of insecurity in Tripoli and Benghazi and the control of Islamic militias.

3.4.3 War Effects

As of February 2015, the damage and chaos of the war was so great that resulted in a frequent power outage, a sharp decline in commercial and industrial activity and an oil loss of about 90%. More than 3,000 people died in the fighting and some sources claim that as a result of fighting and clashes, nearly one-third of the country's population fled to Tunisia and Egypt as refugees.

August 2016, which included a report by the Euro-Mediterranean Observatory for Human Rights stated that the first source of the spread of violence in the country is the chaos of weapons among civilians. Where it has weakened the chances of a peaceful solution to get out of this crisis. Because of these armed hostilities, about 350,000 people were internally displaced while 270,000 immigrated to Europe in the same period. More than 1.3 million people are affected from food insecure and 2.5 million people in need of humanitarian assistance. Moreover, the report stated that Sixty percent of health centres were disabled and 9 percent were illiterate. It pointed out that 95% of the displaced had fled because of the armed conflict. . It recommended at the end of his report to put an end to the spread of weapons among civilians. United Nations organizations, missions and the Security Council have called for the prosecution of perpetrators of armed violations and summonses.

3.4.4 Time Frame of Conflict

On 8 of June, at least 31 people were killed and 100 wounded during the clashes in Benghazi between demonstrators and a militia operating with the approval of the Ministry of Defence. Most of the dead were civilians and one militia member with reports that only five soldiers and one militia member were killed. In the early hours of the morning of 15 of June, hundreds of the civilian policemen attacked several security installations around the city. At one point, members of the 1st Infantry Division were forced to abandon parts of their base when they attacked the main gate and burned parts of the building. At least six Libyan soldiers were killed in the attack, four of them with sniper fire and two with stabs. All the dead were members of the elite Libyan army unit known as the Thunderbolt and eleven people were injured during the attacks including many attackers. Clashes were reported near the road leading to the airport which closed it. Government reinforcements were reportedly dispatched from Tripoli. The head of the anti-crime agency in Benghazi suggested that Gaddafi's elements were in fact behind the attacks. Lieutenant-General Sulaiman Bouchah announced in Benghazi radio that two members of the subversion group were arrested. He claimed that this group is professional and its mission is to provoke dissension and unrest and it is believed to be behind a number of other attacks in Benghazi. Members of this group are also believed to be supporters of the former regime.

On 19 of June, a huge explosion occurred in the morning which completely destroyed the police station in the gardens district of Benghazi but it did not caused any casualties. The voice of the blast which occurred around 2:30 am was said to have been so loud that it was heard in most areas of Benghazi. It was believed that there were no injuries inside the police station because it had been closed after a previous attack that happened in May. Samir al-Lamami, a resident of the park area who witnessed the explosion told the Libyan Herald that "the explosion led to the complete destruction of the police station to the point of settling it on the ground." Also, he speculated that "there may have been more than one bomb placed at the police station because the blast was so powerful that it completely destroyed the police station".

In July, a car bomb exploded at a checkpoint guarded by special military forces and wounded at least four soldiers and three civilians. On 26 of July, critic

Abdul Salam al-Massmari was killed by the Muslim Brotherhood when he was leaving a mosque after Friday prayers during Ramadan. Then, the demonstrators attacked the property of the Muslim Brotherhood in both Benghazi and Tripoli. Two days later, the buildings used by the judiciary were bombed and clashes broke out between an unnamed militia and special military forces. On 29 of July, an unidentified militia also attacked the headquarters of the Al Watan party in Tripoli which led by Abdel Hakim Belhadj. Jamal Ashour head of the party's political bureau said "They broke the windows, broke the door locks to open them and threw Molotov cocktails inside". At the same day, a car bomb exploded in Benghazi and a marine colonel was wounded in what was said to be an "attempt to assassinate him". Prime Minister Ali Zidane also said he would reshuffle his government soon". Today we have chosen a figure for the Ministry of Defence and tomorrow we will submit a list of ministers to the National (Buwena, 2016).

3.5 Start of Al-Karama Operation

3.5.1 The Battle

The fighting began for the first time on the early morning of Friday, 16 of May, 2014, when Major General Haftar's forces attacked certain militia camps in Benghazi including one blamed on the assassination of US Ambassador Christopher Stevens in 2012. Helicopters, aircraft and ground forces participated in the attack. At this attack at least 70 people are killed and injured 250 others. He vowed not to stop until clearing Benghazi from the armed groups. The operation began when the loyal forces of Khalifa Haftar attacked the units of the 17 of February militia which are the militia of the shield of Libya, and Ansar al-Sharia. Fighting was largely confined to the south-western areas of Benghazi in Kalawari and Sidi Faraj. The fighting is particularly concentrated in the area between the South Gate and the Cement Factory which is the area that was controlled by the Ansar al-Sharia group. Helicopters were seen taking part in the fighting on the Hawari area. In the next day, the Libyan Shield militia attacked the Port of Benghazi Sea where they clashed with the state security force protecting the port and also clashed with the Marines at the nearby naval base in Gleana in a two-day battle that ended with the militia's occupation of the port and the deaths and injuries. Forces led by Haftar apparently moved towards Benghazi

from the east which backed by some units coming from the Marj. The backed forces included forces from various tribal units. Then, they were joined by a few elements of the Libyan army in Benghazi. Although the Libyan Air Force and the Marines have close ties to the Libyan Special Forces (Thunderbolts), neither the Phalange nor the Joint Security Council in Benghazi have participated in that attack. While the spokesman of the former security room, Colonel Mohamed Hijazi stated that the Libyan military forces fighting "terrorist groups" in the areas of Sidi Freij and Hawari Benghazi. Hijazi also said that the Libyan army forces had taken control of a camp belonging to Rafallah al-Sahati militia. The Libyan Herald newspaper also reported that an eyewitness claimed to have seen tanks belonging to the lightning forces stationed on the airport road in front of its camp in Bouatni. The Special Forces called on the residents of Benghazi to avoid the areas of clashes.

The fighting resulted in the fact that the streets of Benghazi were largely empty and roads leading to Benghazi were effectively closed. As well as, the fighting resulted in the closure of Benina International Airport near Benghazi. At the next day, fighters from Rafallah al-Sahati militia and the 17 of February Martyrs' Militia which had been evicted the previous day returned to their bases (Jahan, 2016).

3.5.2 The Subsequent Press Release Of Haftar

Khalifa Hafer held a press conference in which he declared that the Libyan General Congress of the outgoing Libyan president is illegal and no longer represents the Libyan people. He claimed to have found evidence that the General National Congress had opened the Libyan border to declared terrorists and summoned many international Islamist fighters to come to Libya and gave them Libyan passports. He explained that the main aim of his campaign is to "cleanse" Libya of Islamic militants specifically the Muslim Brotherhood "terrorist".

3.5.3 Reaction of the Government of the National Convention

In a press conference held by the Libyan government in response to the Benghazi attack, Interim Prime Minister Abdullah al-Thani denounced the movement of Major General Hafer and described it as illegal movement and said that this movement undermines attempts to confront terrorism in Libya. The interim

government had designated supporters of Sharia as a terrorist organization earlier in May 2014. He claimed that only one Libyan Air Force plane had participated in the clashes along with 120 army vehicles. Although eyewitnesses reported to CNN that they had seen several planes taking part in the attack. Also, Maj. Gen. Abdulsalam Jadallah al-Obeidi, chief of staff of the Libyan National Army, which the National General Conference appointed him as Chief of Staff on 30 of July, 2013 condemned the attack by the military forces led by Haftar, and called on the forces loyal to him "to take over Benghazi." In contrast, al-Obeidi urged the so-called "rebels" in Benghazi to resist them.

3.5.4 Rebellion of Militias

The Presidential Council failed to implement the security arrangements. After the Council has entered to Tripoli, the armed groups are kept and recycled and they were involved in violations of human rights and public freedoms leading to an escalation of insecurity and armed groups fighting among themselves in Tripoli. It was agreed that they should be replaced by regular forces as soon as the council enters the capital. Therefore, the Al-Wefaq government failed to achieve the most important tasks and pillars of security and climate to work without pressures or dictates.

3.5.5 The Failure of the Political Agreement

The Libyan political agreement signed in the Moroccan Skhirat on 17 of December 2015 about the formation of a national unity government leading a transitional period ending with legislative elections after one year. However, the Government of the Accord did not succeed in implementing the terms of the agreement. Therefore, the mass of national sovereignty revealed the rejection of the political agreement and proposal to remove the Libyan parliament from the agreement. After the date of 17 of December, announced a bloc of 34 deputies in a press statement that it proposes to vote in the first session of the parliament after the seventeenth of this month. On the end of the agreement to announce the parliament and in the case of the continuation of the Government of Reconciliation, Libya is declared under indirect occupation.

3.5.6 Field Developments

After a year of political agreement, Libya is witnessing a military war raging over oil and control of strategic sites and cities in order to anticipate the expected negotiations between the political forces to amend the political agreement and form a new presidential council. The political forces realize that their bargaining power will be affected by their location and the limits of their control in the field. Therefore, the Libyan army forces maintain control over the Crescent oil area while the militias backed by the Government of Reconciliation are trying to regain control of the area.

3.5.7 Political Development

Although Sirte has been cleared of state organization in Libya, Libya remains unstable amid ongoing conflicts between rival battalions and the remaining insurgents which may hinder the national reconciliation government. We can point to the most important political challenges that undoubtedly affect the future of the transition process and political transformation as follow:

- The organization of the state is still active in other parts of the country. Also, currently Libya faces the spectre of underground cells and terrorist attacks as in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan. The organization cannot be excluded from attacks in other parts of the country. Some of the organization's fighters are fighting in Benghazi in, addition the escape of remnants of the organization from Sirte to southern Libya including the city of Sabha. As well as, the south region provides a safe haven for the organization. It is expected that the remnants of the organization will seek to find a region that is marginalized which can receive it and also has a jihadist background. The organization still has strong links to smuggling networks in Sabratha.
- Violence continues to dominate the capital weakening the authority of the Government of Reconciliation and its ability to protect security and law enforcement where tensions are also growing between the Islamic battalions in the city and the escalation of the conflict will deepen the chaos in Tripoli Which opens the way for extremist groups and is encouraged to reactivate.
- Despite attempts by the Wifaq Government to seek to benefit from the liberalization of Sirte and to strengthen its international legitimacy, many of its

supporters are increasingly dissatisfied with it. The battalions that fought the organization in Sirte are mostly Misurata and many of them believe that the recent clashes in Tripoli are an attempt by its rivals to control the capital which may prompt them to try to mobilize their troops in the coming weeks to Tripoli.

3.5.8 Russian Options to Deal with the Libyan Crisis

With the year 2016 an important page of the history of Russian-Arab relations was closed, the Russian bear has returned to the region in a pivotal period of the region history. Since 2011, there has been a violent wave of popular protests from Tunisia to Syria. After the fall of this wave in the course of a number of regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, and shook violently the stability of the Syrian regime without the Russian intervention which saved the Syrian regime from the inevitable fall. However, at the same time, this intervention resulted in the emigration of millions of Syrian people who were displaced and sinking on the borders of Europe, and the rejection of Russian interests only on the remains of innocent people. The region was rife with terrorist organizations after Iran and Syria promoted the holy war to protect the holy shrines in Syria as a holy war between Shiaas and Sunnis. Many Shiite militias from Iraq, Lebanon and Iran engaged in this war and claimed to defend holy sites and holy shrines. The region has rallied with organizations such as Nasra, Daadash and others which all of them raising religious banners and seeking special political purposes (Tshueng, 2016).

3.5.9 The International Context and the Option of Direct Russian Intervention in Libya

The option of Russian direct intervention in Libya is one of the most important options and alternatives to the Russian decision-maker especially that Russia has adopted this option in Syria despite the Western opposition to intervene. The determinants of this intervention can be determined as follows:

- Libya is a strategic gateway to Africa where the Chinese Dragon and the first ally of the Russians in the face of the West is an opportunity to block the western camp to the south in response to its expansion east. This may be the most important features of the strategy on which to build the Russian intervention in

Libya and the Russian intervention will strengthen the Russian presence in the North African region and then extend Russian influence in the region. This may enable Russia to establish military bases in strategic areas as it did in Syria. Also, what motivates Russia to intervene is the issue of the migration of terrorism from Syria to Libya and that it will be a broad address.

- Some researchers believe that Putin's strategy could result in a new partnership with US President-elect Donald Trump if Washington chooses to support Haftar's successor in his fight against radical Islamist groups especially because Donald Trump sees rapprochement with Russia as a priority. This is what prompted the Russian bear to extend a step towards Libya and perhaps many of the regional countries involved in the crises of the Middle East. Russia is convinced that its role will gradually fade in Libya on the Mediterranean level according to the nature of the new alliances. However, the Russian alliance with Iran, Turkey, India, China, Egypt and finally Algeria and Morocco brings together contradictions at the regional and international levels and predicts a new year full of surprises. There are alliances that are collapsing at the expense of another that is escalating dramatically. Donald Trump's policies toward Libya with Vladimir Putin may well be complementary if they go to a new Yalta contract by sending Russian influence in Syria in return for continued American influence in Libya.
- For Britain, France and Italy, it is noted that France is a part of the eastern camp in Libya. The south of Libya that planned to be restored by Khalifa Haftar to become within his influence is considered the main interest region of France. As for Britain, it is integrated with the US administration in the Libyan file. Although they differ qualitatively in the mechanisms of its administration and mechanisms of approach and the US administration will dismantle that with a wave of partial violence. Also, the giant companies will play the re-mapping of elites as part of the future strategy for file sharing wealth. Therefore, the role of Russia will be only in the interest of the interest and the development issue which is subject to complex international and regional interactions. Thus, the collision with the Russian bear in the Libyan file will increase the crisis in the Mediterranean basin and in Europe specifically. The administration will work to maintain its traditional allies, its role and influence in Libya and may adopt the implementation of another strategy in the Libyan file. Italy seems to be taken a

surprising position on the Libyan file and joining forces with a new partner in Libya (Khashana, 2014).

3.5.10 Regional Context and the Option of Indirect Russian Intervention through Regional Allies

The second option is to turn Libya to work through regional allies such as Egypt and Syria to intervene indirectly in the Libyan arena. Also, Egypt is considered the most prominent regional actors in the Libyan file and the strong partner of Russia. While Algeria is also a strong ally of Russia and enjoys close relations with them. So, Libya can coordinate the position of Russia with Algeria and Egypt and their support to resolve the Libyan crisis in a way that serves the interests of these parties. Therefore, the past few days witnessed intensive Egyptian and Algerian movements to communicate with Libyan officials as follows:

- Russian coordination with the Egyptian side. Egypt attaches great importance to the Libyan issue. Also, there is a great convergence of views between Russia and Egypt on the Libyan issue. Egypt is exerting great efforts in bringing the Libyan parties closer together especially after the recent developments in the confrontation with the terrorist organization "Da'ash". The Egyptian confrontation with Da'ash in Libya appears in various areas of the Libyan territory in Sirte, Benghazi and other places. During the past few days, Egypt has called for a new round of dialogue and reception with Libyan officials and Libyan political including members of the House of Representatives and members of municipal councils and representatives of social components and all of which follow the Government of Reconciliation headed by Fayez Sarraj, and the Interim Government under the chairmanship of Abdullah al-Thani. Others follow Marshal Khalifa Haftar who is the commander of the Libyan army, a representative of Ahmad Qadhaf Al-Dam and former coordinator of the Egyptian-Libyan relations.
- Coordination with Algeria where Algeria invited Marshal Khalifa Haftar for an official visit after his visit and adviser Aqeelah Saleh to Russia. The visit comes within the important transformations of Algeria which represents the west of Libya and its south-west a strategic depth and an important point to protect itself

from the looming dangers due to internal strife and the regional crisis situation. On the other hand, the presidential council missed the opportunity to achieve a better negotiating position after the liberation of the city of Sirte from the organization of the state and its wrong involvement in a failed military escalation in the oil crescent which made it lose its international credibility.

Algeria has declared a neutral position of the crisis in Libya, and has declared on more than one of its officials that it stands at an equal and moderate distance between all the Libyan parties, for this purpose, it played a major role in the agreement reached by the Libyan parties and the subsequent government of Al-Wefaq emerged from it. The crisis in Libya for Algeria is part of its national security and the stability of this country is of great interest to it. Therefore, there is no doubt that the visit of Haftar last and sudden carries many meanings and dimensions and may have repercussions on the Libyan file in the coming days, Algeria, which has recently become a kiss for Libyan political officials in various directions, is trying to play a bigger role in the Libyan problem and may have an influential role in the direction of bringing the conflicting points of view between the conflicting parties, or perhaps in the direction of resolving their position and supporting one party at the expense of the other. It is very natural that Algeria will receive a handful, which means that it has become part of the solution in Libya and a key player in the next stage, especially after it has become internationally supported and has internal weight.

The visit of Haftar to Algeria after his visit to Russia resulted in positive results for it and after the liberation of Benghazi from the terrorist groups in addition to the control of the army led by the largest air bases in the south which its borders on the Algerian border. All of this made Haftar in a strong position to negotiate with the neighbouring countries. Then, Russia is likely to mediate in this meeting between the officials in Algeria and Haftar in particular that their relations are good with the parties and looking for wider influence in the region and greater support for their positions towards the Libyan crisis. Algeria had to be more open to the military led by Haftar and considered a military ally within Libya to coordinate with it security and militarily to protect its borders especially from the south of Libya which is full of terrorist groups. These terrorist groups in the south led by Mokhtar Balmokhtar who is the first enemy of Algeria and do not afraid that Algeria is ruled by generals. Therefore, the security and military mentality is understood only by a military person

and this is what I found and will find Algeria in the person of Marshal Haftar (Khashana, 2014).

3.5.11 The Libyan Context and the Option of Providing Support to the Libyan Army

The official visits of Libyan officials to Russia reveal that there is great Russian interest in the situation in Libya indicating that the directions of Russian President Vladimir Putin is undergoing a new shift towards Libya After he achieved his goal with the support of his ally Assad in Syria. The intentions of Putin this time aims to strengthen his friendship with a strong military commander in Libya who is the Marshal Khalifa Haftar who now controls a larger area of land than the other factions in Libya. We can point out the factors that enhance the strategic alliance and military support of the Libyan Army and Maysheer Haftar as follows:

- Haftar's victory is likely, and it is clear that he receives military, financial and diplomatic supports from Russia. His repeated visits to Russia and the meeting of defence and foreign ministers revealed the depth of the strategic relationships with Russia. Where Russia supplies a hole in eastern of Libya with funds and military expertise. Russia can strengthen its role in the region through Libya, and through the sale of weapons and other deals by support Haftar in the confrontation between him and the government of Fayeze Al-Sarraj. Some researchers believe that the key here is military power and oil control and in such circumstances, Haftar can enforce his conditions in Tripoli. Russia sees that there are individuals in Libya can achieve the stability to their country such as Haftar and must be supported.
- The comments made by Libyan army colonel Ahmad al-Mesmari that the forces are on the degree of readiness for the battle to liberate Tripoli that caused a wave of anger in the competing forces and revealed the possibility of the Russian coordination with Haftar. At the time when the military council of the city of Zintan does not support any armed action dragging the western region to the bloodshed and chaos under any name. The Zintan battalions are in a state of growing conflict with Marshal Haftar. At the same time, while the military council of Misurata warned of "any military movement within the city of

Tripoli". The Misurata Council said: "We reject attempts to the sedition and drag the western region and the capital Tripoli to the war in order to seize power". US envoy to Libya Jonathan Winer expressed his rejection of violent solutions. While the European Union announced its rejection of any military confrontations and stated that the calls for military confrontation were irresponsible and could undermine efforts to build a stable and prosperous Libya for its citizens.

- It is clear from the above that the cost of this option seems to be higher than its gains because Russia's supporting to Khalifa Haftar as a counterterrorism may escalate the conflict in Libya which undermine and sponsored. Russia risks at the same time igniting more conflicts in the divided country. The cost of this option seems larger than any potential gain. Russia has lost at least \$ 4 billion in arms deals and billions of dollars in energy and transportation contracts after Gaddafi's ouster.

3.5.12 Political Future

Arab countries should consider their strategic options to resolve the Libyan crisis in the light of the new political changes on the international and regional scene, especially with the declaration of a cease-fire in Syria, and then study the possible scenarios of Russian intervention in Libya and its impact on Arab interests.

The Russian intervention may be in the interest of Arab countries if they choose indirect and political intervention through regional powers such as Egypt and Algeria. As long as it reflects a consensus vision on the political solution in Libya and counter terrorism and balancing the Russian role of the role of Western powers that support the forces of political Islam at the expense of the stability of Libya.

Although the new US administration of Trump agrees with Russian policy on the need to block the political Islamic movements and terrorist organizations. This does not prevent competition and conflict of interest between the two countries over influence in Libya. Therefore, the Arab policies should examine their options to solve the Libyan crisis in a way that achieve stability and peace in Libya and through international and regional organizations and the League of Arab States. Libya needs a comprehensive reconciliation between the spectra of the Libyan people. The Libyan people are exhausted and suffer from the scourge of division, fragmentation,

and absence of justice and the spread of chaos. On the other hand, the West covet the vast oil wealth in Libya. There were calls in Libya to return to the monarchy and other calls to turn Libya into a federal entity. So, the Arab countries that have influence on the parties of the Libyan crisis must exercise their influence and reach a formula for the solution in Libya, "no winner or loser." (Khashana, 2014).

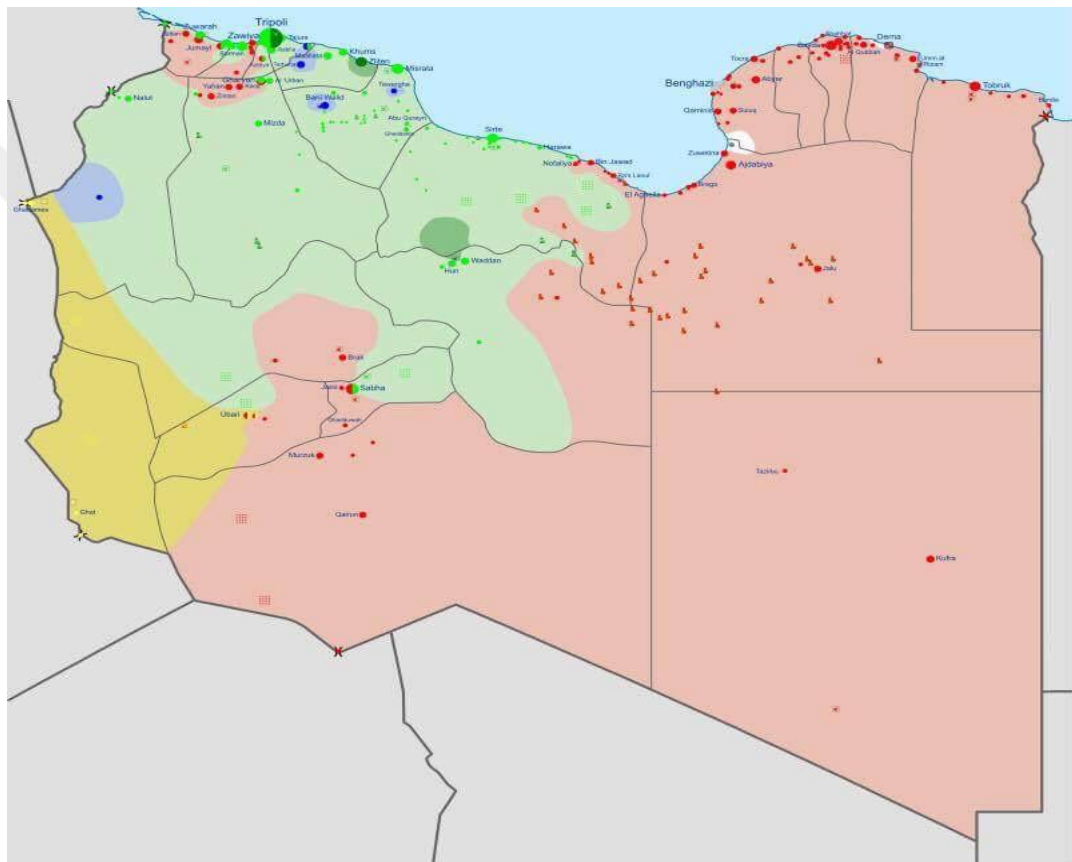


Figure 3.1 Libyan Map of Conflict Areas (Source: Khashana, 2014)

3.6 Summary

The present research consists of an introduction and three chapters dealing with the comparison between the political situation of Libya before and after the revolution. Where the study in the introduction taking theoretical framework of the study and found information about the history and geography of the state of Libya

and the most important events in which passed out through different eras. As well as, the research has been addressing the objectives of the events in Libya through First World War and during the Italian colonization. The first chapter addressed the history of Libya through the geography of Libya, population of Libya, Libya in ancient history, Libya under the Islamic rule, the Italian Colonization of Libya and Independence of Libya.

While the second chapter discussed the independence of Libya until the revolution of 17 of February, 2011. Also, the chapter addresses Libya at the Royal Prince, foreign policy in the era of ownership, internal politics, Libya on Gaddafi era, foreign policy in the era of Gaddafi, previous foreign bases, wars and conflicts, Gaddafi's theory of government and unitary experiences in the era of Gaddafi. The third chapter deal with 17 of February revolution through the reasons of 17 of February revolution, events of the revolution, Libya after Gaddafi death, development of events since the fall of the regime and the successive governments after the fall of the Gaddafi regime.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

It can be seen from this study that the political situation of the Kingdom of Libya was unstable and that the Kingdom of Libya tended to west direction where it signed two joint cooperation agreements with both the United States and Britain as well as the Soviet Union. The United States and Britain have set up military bases on Libyan territory. Kingdom of Libya has been unable to meet the desires of the Libyan young people who were aimed at Arab unity as a result of increased national thought and saturation of young people thought at the Arab Unity.

Moreover, the study showed that the political situation during the regime of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi was stable to a large extent as a result of the repressive dictatorial regime which characterized the regime of Muammar Gaddafi and get rid of all his opponents are either in prison or killed. Also, the regime is characterized by the Libyan foreign relations during the reign of Muammar Gaddafi change and extreme volatility both with African, Arab or European countries. The study pointed to the chaos and distractions that are currently on the scene as well as the lack of Libyan political forces ability to solve the existing problems as a result of the existence of two governments and two chamber pieces of legislation which hinders any attempt to unite and resolve the political problem.

4.2 Recommendations

The study showed a number of recommendations which if handled and think about where it could lead to resolve the current Libyan political problems:

- The need for the warring and conflicting parties to resort to rational thinking and self-denial to cope with the many problems that have occurred because of the

ongoing political conflict and provided an opportunity for external forces to seize on many areas of Libyan territory such as Daesh which occupied a large swathes of the east of Libya and established its capital in the city of Derna.

- Provide an opportunity for members of the Libyan people to choose members of the government without having the custody of any forces, whether internal or external.
- Face of armed elements firmly, intensity and the composition of the Libyan army forces which can confront these extremist elements.



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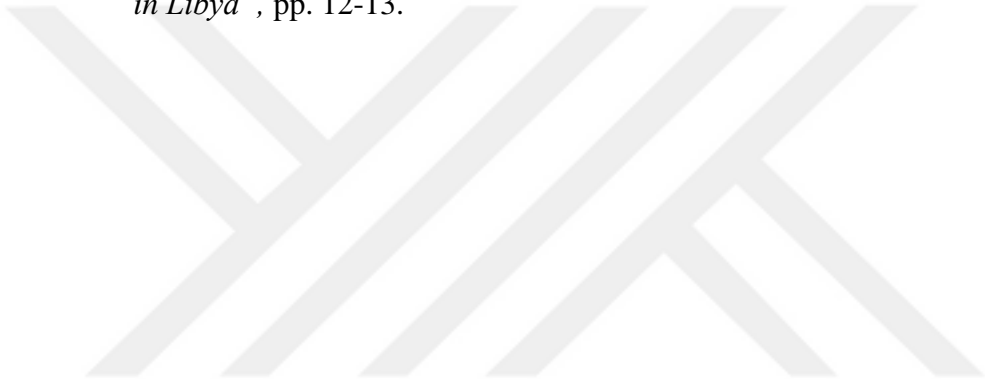
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ÖZET

Bu araştırmanın ana konusu, 17 Şubat 2011 tarihli devrim öncesinde ve sonrasında Libya'daki durumun karşılaştırılmasıdır. Araştırma, Libya Krallığı'nın başlangıcından bu yana Kaddafi rejimi ile rejimin düşmesinden bugüne kadar geçen süredeki politik olayları ele almaktadır.

Araştırmanın sonucunda Libya'daki ekonomik ve askeri kaynaklarda başlangıcından bu yana gelişme kaydedilmediği ancak Libya halkının daha daha önce hiç olmadığı kadar konuşma özgürlüğüne sahip olduğu söylenebilir. Bununla birlikte şu anda Libya'daki otoritenin oldukça kırılğan olduğu ve silahlı militanların neden olduğu güvenlik problemini çözemediği söylenebilir.

Libya'nın sorunları, güvenlik durumu, iç durum, bölgesel durum ve sosyal durum da dâhil olmak üzere dört ekseninde yoğunlaşmıştır. Son yıllarda yürütülen Libya'daki ulusal uzlaşma girişimleri, katılımcı tarafların daha fazla pişmanlığa ve sabotaja neden olan sık görüşlerinden dolayı ulusal diyalogun tıkandığı daha önceki ulusal uzlaşma konferansı da dahil olmak üzere başarısız olmuştur.

ARSİV Kayıt Bilgileri:

Tezin Adı : 17 Şubat Devriminden Önce ve Sonra Libya'daki Siyasi ve Ekonomik Durum

Tezin Yazarı : Haitham Boabreec

Tezin Danışmanı : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Sanem YAMAK

Tezin Konumu : Yüksek Lisans

Tezin Tarihi : 03.07.2017

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ABSTRACT

The comparison of the situation in Libya before and after the revolution of 17th February, 2011 will be the main topic of this research. The research includes the full information that shows what Libya had gone through, since the beginning of the kingdom of Libya through Gaddafi's regime until the governments that ruled Libya after the fall of the regime to the current government.

The result of the study is that there was no improvement in the economic or military sources in Libya since the beginning only in the near previous years the people of Libya had the freedom of speech, not like before in Gaddafi's era where no one was able to express anything that they think about either good or bad for the country.

However, currently, the authority in Libya is fragile and cannot control the security situation in front of the armed militias when currently anyone can make any crime without fear of punishment. The suffering of Libya is concentrated on four axes including the security situation, internal situation, regional situation and social situation. The social situation is considered one of the most important situations according to the case of the disintegration and tearing apart of Libya at the present time. All attempts of national reconciliations in Libya are failed during the last years including the national recompilation conference that held in previous time which did not witness any progress on the national dialogue because of the involved parties adopted narrow orientations lead to more of repentance and sabotage.

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Haitham Boabreec, I was born in 1986, Elbida- Libya. I completed my primary and secondary school education in Elbida, I got my bachelor degree from Omar Al-Mokhtar University, College of Law in 2007 with valid grade. In 2005, I got a job as an employee in Omar Al-Mokhtar University in Elbida city. I decided to complete my master study in Karabuk University by my own decision and the Libyan Cultural Office paid the university fees only to complete my master degree at the International Relations Department.

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