LIBYA: A CONFLICT DIAGNOSTIC

INAF 5203: INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION
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BACKGROUND

Libya was declared free of its long-time ruler Col. Muammar Gaddafi in October 2011 for the first time since 1969. The period prior to the liberation was plagued by a civil war that matched Gaddafi's armed forces against Libyan rebels. After a long period of conflict, with various internal and external stakeholders involved, Libyan rebels were able to overthrow the Gaddafi regime. Led by the National Transitional Council as the interim government, Libya held its first election in over 50 years on July 7, 2012. Although the United Nations declared the election a success, Libya's growth into a fully democratic nation will continue to be slow. The effects of Gaddafi's regime are still felt as a new power struggle is taking effect. The tribes and rebel militias continue to battle and there is a proliferation of weapons within the territory. The newly elected government has yet to persuade the militia tribes in conflict to disarm and join the state army forces and police. Although the economy of the oil-rich country is beginning to show signs of renaissance, security and the struggle for government stability remain key issues. This conflict diagnostic will engage all of the external and internal stakeholders, along with key indicators, to devise worst, best, and most likely scenarios for the country's transition after the civil war.

EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

FACTOR	IMPACT	EFFECTS
International Community	Mixed Positive intentions, but mostly negative outcome	(+) Several countries such as Britain[1], Switzerland[2], the US[3] and Tunisia[4] freeze Gaddafi's family assets. (-) Without informing its allies, France sent arms and ammunition to Libya under a false pretence as humanitarian and medical aid, and food.[5] (+) Germany supported the intention to stop the violence in Libya, but declared that it would not send troops to Libya, "no matter how honourable the motives of its partners who have decided differently"[6] (+) Iran declared that the country condemns Gaddafi's violence against civilians, but opposed any foreign, military intervention.[7]
African Union	Mixed	(+) Supported the UN in their intentions to solve the problem through peaceful dialogue with no foreign military intervention.[8] (-) It did not support the establishment of a "no-fly" zone.
Arab League	Positive	(+) Syria and Algeria were the only two countries within the Arab League that voted against foreign intervention in support of UN Resolution 1973. (+) On March 12, the Arab League approved the established "no-fly" zone.[9]
United Nations	Mixed	(+) On March 17, 2012, the UN adopted Resolution 1973.[10] The intent was to protect civilians from growing violence by the establishment of a "no-fly" zone. Originally, Resolution 1973 forbade "a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory".[11] (-) Did not have a strong position about the legitimacy of the military intervention; failed to develop a reasonable alternative solution to prevent it.
NATO	Negative	(-) NATO officially took full command of air operations in Libya on March 31, 2011.[12] On 24 August 2011, Special Forces from France, Britain, UAE, Italy, Jordan, and Qatar invaded Libyan territory despite the Resolution and started the operations in Tripoli and other cities.[13] (-) NATO forces attacked one of the Gaddafi's residences. As a result one of the Gaddafi's sons and his three grandchildren were killed. A question of "overstepping the UN Resolution" had arisen.[14] (-) The Arab League expressed their condemnation and disappointment about the broad military intervention and intensive bombing campaign by Western Forces[15]

INTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS

FACTOR	IMPACT	EFFECTS
National Transitional Council (NTC)	Mixed	(+) Garnered international support for the revolution and managed a transition from revolution and civil war to a post-Gaddafi era while averting a breakdown despite the difficult circumstances.[16] (-) General public viewed NTC as not being adequately represented and accountable. Libyans believed that too many of its members were tarnished by their ties to Gaddafi.[17]
General National Congress (GNC) - PM Mustafa Abushagur	Mixed	(+) The GNC has electoral legitimacy – a key area that had been missing with the NTC.[18] (-) Libya is still without a new government as the PM withdrew his cabinet list on Thursday, October 4th 2012 after facing massive opposition from GNC members and from Zawian protestors who stormed the GNC meeting during the debate on cabinet.[19] (-) As of October 7th 2012, Abushagur is dismissed due to his widely criticized cabinet nomination after an assembly no-confidence vote. (+) The government has promised to disband rogue militias operating outside of government rulings and to aid in the support for armed groups who operate under official government permission to help strengthen Libya's security forces.[20]
Militia Groups	Negative	(-) Amnesty International has accused militias of abusing human rights – acts include abduction, torture and killings[21] (-) Armed militia groups planned an assault on U.S. Consulate in Benghazi on September 11 2012 – U.S. Ambassador and three other Americans were killed[22]. This event brought Libya's security issues to the forefront of international concern underlining the challenges of a resurgence of Gaddafi loyalists and the robust clashes between tribal and inter-militia groups[23]. (-) Growing speculations that the terrorists who killed the U.S. Ambassador had links to al-Qaeda.[24]

		(-) Much of Libya is still run by former rebel fighters. An estimated 200 militia groups are still active in Libya, controlling large territories and weapons arsenals taken from Gaddafi's military bases.[25] Massive protests have broken out against the rebel militias that still occupy the country.[26]
National Security Force: **The Supreme Security Committee (SSC) and the Libyan Shield**	**Generally Negative**	(-) GNC is faced with rebuilding and formalizing the country's security service. Currently there is an absence of an effective police force and army. During the NTC, programs were enacted to disarm and reintegrate the "brigades". The NTC, with their weak police and army, allowed the brigades to project their own authority and this allowed militias to carry out their own vendettas. [27] (-) SSC: composed of revolutionary fighters who still have their brigade structure intact – entire brigades have joined the SSC. Members of the SSC have been accused of kidnappings, torture and murders. Accused of having loyalties tied with the Muslim Brotherhood.[28] (+) The SSC provided transitional security at the local lever particularly during the election period. (-) The Libyan Shield Brigade: an elite paramilitary force built out of the revolutionary brigades. The Libya Shield has been accused of worsening tensions in the east because its officials are often seen as having ties to the local conflict.[29]
National Forces Alliance (NFA)	**Generally Positive**	(+) The NFA is currently the biggest party in congress, having won 39 out of 80 party seats in the 200-member assembly[30] The coalition is seen as a progressive party and is in place to serve as "a bridge between the old and new Libya."[31] (+) The NFA is proclaimed to be a "moderate Islamic Movement" and has shied away from affiliating itself as a liberal party in the Western sense of the term.[32] (-) After proposing his cabinet list and removing it several hours later on Wednesday October 3rd 2012, a considerable rift was created between the NFA and the newly elected PM Abushagur; one member claiming that by the next morning, "Abushagur will be out."[33]

KEY INDICATORS

RISK ASSESSMENT (R.A.) → STABLE ↑ IMPROVING ↓ DETERIORATING

LOW RISK	MODERATE RISK	HIGH RISK

STABILIZING FACTOR	DESTABILIZING FACTOR

HISTORY OF ARMED CONFLICT

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Armed Conflict Index	**1** (1 is low and 9 is high)	In March 2011, the UN Security Council authorized a no-fly zone over Libya and air strikes to protect civilians.[34] Despite the recent de-escalation of conflict in Libya, the civil war produced exponential fatalities. The number of battle-related deaths is unclear but estimates vary between 12,500 and 25,000, with the National Transitional Council estimating 30,000 deaths.[35]
Refugees (by country of origin)	**1.6** (1 is low and 9 is high)	The civil war caused widespread civilian displacement along the front-line coastal areas and in the Western Nafusa mountains. Since February 2011, more than 900,000 people have left the country.[36] Significant numbers of Libyans have begun to return from abroad and within the country to their places of origin.[37] The UNHCR budget for Libya has increased from 6.2 million USD to 31.2 million USD between 2011 and 2012.[38] In 2010, 11,000 refugees registered with the UNHCR in Libya.[39]
Refugees Hosted	**5** (1 is low and 9 is high)	According to the UNHCR there are 10,130 refugees hosted in Libya, 2,894 asylum seekers, and 73,973 internally displaced persons.[40] While Libya is a party of the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention, it is not a signatory of the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. Therefore there currently is no national legislation or structure established to address the issues of refugees and asylum. While many people left during the conflict, others continued to arrive in search of employment, in transit, or to seek asylum.[41]
R.A.: MODERATE →		Despite the recent armed conflict in Libya, positive strides have been made towards establishing national asylum and refugee institutions to accede to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention. The UNHCR's goal in Libya is to reduce the amount of refugees and internally displaced persons from 121,000 in January 2012 to 58,000 by December 2013.[42]

DEMOGRAPHIC STRESS

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Total Population	**4.8** (1 is low, 9 is high)	Total population has been steady within the last 6 years. Libya has a population of 6,422,772. [43]
Population Growth Rate	**8.2** (1 is low, 9 is high)	The population growth rate has been decreasing steadily from 2.2% in 2007 to 1.1% in 2011.[44]
Population Density	**1** (1 is low, 9 is high)	The population density was last reported at 3.61 people per square kilometre in 2010.[45]
Urban Population	**8.6** (1 is low, 9 is high)	78% of the population lives in urban areas (about 4,992,742). This figure has been relatively stable since 2007.[46]
Urban Population Growth Rate	**6** (1 is low, 9 is high)	The urban population growth rate is 2.1% and it has been consistent at this figure since 2006.[47]
Youth Bulge	**6** (1 is low, 9 is high)	Libya's total population between 0-14 years of age is 31% between 2007 and 2011.[48]
RA: MODERATE →		The demographic stress in the area is moderate and is not a direct link for conflict in Libya. The most significant demographic stress is the percentage of people that live in urban areas.

GOVERNANCE AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Level of Democracy	8 (1 is democratic, 9 is autocratic)	Democratic elections were held on July 7, 2012, for the first time since the toppling of the Gaddafi regime. A total of 2,051 candidates, including 84 women took part in the majoritarian race. Over 1.7 million people voted and 33 women were elected to the 200 members General National Congress, replacing the National Transitional Council.[49]
Regime Durability	3 (1 is high, 9 is low)	Newly elected Prime Minister Mustafa Abushagur was dismissed in a vote of no confidence on October 7, 2012. The General National Congress voted 125-44 in favour of removing him and until a replacement can be nominated, management of Libya's government is in the hands of the legislature.[50]
Restrictions on Civil & Political Rights	10 (2 is high, 14 is low)	Despite the attempt at implementing democratic elections, the period leading up to the polls was marred by violent incidents, including the burning of ballot papers, the firing on a helicopter transporting electoral materials, and the killing of an electoral official.[51] It is to be determined how the General National Congress will transform the state.
Restrictions on Press Freedom	9 (1 is free, 9 is not)	Development on press freedom has yet to be established under the new government. During the Gaddafi regime, however, independent news and website reporters were permitted to work in the country, but regulatory bodies often banned sources and sites, such as YouTube in January 2010. Article 13 of the 1969 Constitution guaranteed the right to freedom of expression but within the limits of public interest and the principles of the Revolution.[52]
Corruption Score	9 (1 is low, 9 is high)	One of the most difficult tasks facing he new Libyan government is how far to investigate into the rampant corruption of the Gaddafi regime, which secret U.S. cables frequently described as kleptocracy.[53]
R.A.: HIGH ↓		Although Libya is moving towards the implementation of democracy, the government remains highly unstable as the no confidence vote has demonstrated. Many political parties that are trying to establish themselves under the General National Congress. The government's priorities at the moment do not address the previous regime's corruption and restrictions on rights. Government durability is still very fragile.

MILITARIZATION

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Total Military Expenditure	1 (1 is low, 9 is high)	The expenditure was 785 million USD in 2006 and 1,116 million USD in 2008.
Total Military Expenditure as part of GDP	6 (1 is low, 9 is high)	The expenditure has varied between 1% in 2006 to 1.2% in 2008.
Total Armed Forces	6 (1 is low, 9 is high)	As the CIA World Fact Book states, the government is in transition and attempting to staff a new national army with anti Gaddafi militia fighters and former member of Gaddafi's military[54]. Armed forces personnel have been around 76,000 according to data from the World Bank 2006-2009.[55]
Total Armed Forces (per 1,000)	9 (1 is low, 9 is high)	Gaddafi focused resources on equipment and facilities, instead of personnel and training, while also using mercenaries.[56] The new government will be responsible for rebuilding Libya's army and police force and controlling the proliferation of weapons by disarming the militia.[57]
R.A.: HIGH ↓		The new government is tasked with the duty of creating a new army. Security remains a big issue in Libya. There are various communities and tribes that hold large quantities of small arms in militia groups. Until the government can disarm the militia groups and unite them under a national army, the risk of security remains high.

POPULATION HETEROGENEITY

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Ethnic Diversity Score	2 (1 is low diversity, 9 is high)	Libya's ethnic composition: 97% Berber and Arab, with the remaining 3% being Greek, Maltese, Italian, Egyptian, Turk, Indian, and Tunisian.[58]
Religious Diversity Score	1 (1 is low diversity, 9 is high)	97% of Libya is Sunni Muslim, 3% are other.[59] Despite relative religious homogeneity, there have been attacks against the Sufi Muslims by the Salafi Muslims. The destruction of Sufi sites started in October 2011 and have continued into 2012 with the most recent in August 2012 at the al-Shaab mosque in Tripoli where tombs were desecrated and libraries were targeted. [60]
Risk of Ethnic Rebellion	N/A	Despite the fact that Libya is predominantly Muslim and Arab, there are several ethnic groups cause tension. The ethnic differences include the Berbers in the Nafusa mountains, Tuaregs in the southwestern desert of Fezzan, and Toubou in the Cyrenaican portion of the Sahara Desert.[61]
R.A.: HIGH ↓		Ethnic rebellion is one of the biggest causes of concern in Libya, regardless of the relatively homogeneous religious and ethnic factors. The ethnic groups are armed rebels that fought independently throughout the civil war. These ethnic rebels are currently one of the causes of government instability and conflict, as they seek to claim power. Without a genuine army, the government has struggled to persuade the ethnic rebels who fought Gaddafi to join the armed forces.

ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Rate of Deforestation	1.0 (1 is low, 9 is high)	With less than **1 percent** of Libyan land being covered in forest, the issue of deforestation is of relatively no significance in this particular context.[62]
People/ sq.km of Arable Land	2.2 (1 is low, 9 is high)	With less than 10% of the total surface of Libya being suitable for agriculture, the country has had to rely on imports to match as much as 70% of its food needs.[1] The heavy reliance on food imports resulted in significant food shortages during the conflict.[63]
Water Resources	9.0	The Great Man-Made River project that transports water from large aquifers under the Sahara Desert

	(1 is high number, 9 is low)	continues to function.[64] It is unclear however, how long this project can be sustained with Libya's minimal water resources **(0.8 cu km)**.[65] As a result, water shortages were persistent during the conflict.[66]
R.A.: HIGH ↓		Dropping from 123rd out of 142 countries in 2002 to 126th in 2005 on the Environmental Sustainability Index, Libya is listed as a country with serious environmental degradation.[67] The lack of arable land coupled with the depletion of already minimal water resources will make food and water provision a continued challenge for Libya in the upcoming years.

INTERNATIONAL LINKAGES

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
International Organizations	**5.0** (1 is high, 9 is Low)	Libya is a party to a number of organizations, including the UN, UNESCO, OPEC, Interpol, WHO, IMF, WTO, the Africa Union and the Arab League.[68] Despite being suspended from the UNHCR during the conflict, the NTC has pledged to honour Libya's international commitments.[69]
Miltary/ Security Alliances	**9.0** (1 is high, 9 is low)	Apart from an alliance with the Arab League, Libya has minimal military partnerships. Following the death of Gaddafi, Libya was recommended as a candidate for NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue military partnership, a partnership comprising Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Mauritania, Jordan and Israel.[70]
Total International Disputes	**6.1** (1 is no disputes, 9 is many disputes)	During the 1970s and 1980s, Libya was involved in sporadic warfare with Chad, Egypt and Sudan respectively.[71] Dormant disputes include Libyan claims of land in both southeastern Algeria & southeastern Morocco.[72] Most recently, Libya was involved in an attack against the US consulate in Benghazi.[73]
R.A.: MODERATE →		Libya's relations with the international community have deteriorated significantly following the outbreak of the conflict and the recent attack on the US consulate.

ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
GDP per Capita	N/A	GDP per capita has grown steadily in Libya over the past few years, increasing from 6,700 in 2004 to 14,100 in 2010.[74] Libya's boasts one of the highest GDP per capita in Africa.[75]
GDP Growth Rate	N/A	After experiencing relatively steady growth of around 2% per year, the decrease in oil production during the conflict led to a **61.03% drop** in GDP growth.[76] Although oil production has resumed, it is uncertain as to how long it will take for the country to return to its pre-conflict growth rates.
Inflation	N/A	Similarly, after experiencing steady inflation of around 2% per year, the inflation rate in 2011 rose to **15.9%.**[77] Consumer inflation rates are expected to ease as the UN sanctions against Libya are lifted and imports resume.[78] Again, it is uncertain as to how long this will take.
Foreign Direct Investment	N/A	Following the removal of unilateral sanctions by the U.S in 2004 and all sanctions by 2006, Libya increased its foreign direct investment, especially in the energy sector.[79] While foreign investment was disrupted by the conflict, the speedy return of foreign oil companies contributed to **16.13 billion** worth of foreign direct investment in 2011(**2.2% of GDP).**[80]
Trade Openness	**7.3** (1 = high and 9 = low)	Libya's highly regulated state economy and the presence of trade embargoes by the US and Europe contributed to its low level of trade openness.[81] Following the removal of these embargoes, Libya's openness to trade improved considerably.[82] This progress was reversed when exports were halted during the conflict and a new round of sanctions was imposed by Western countries.[83] These sanctions have since been lifted and imports and exports have begun to slowly resume.[84]
Inequality	N/A	Although most of Libya's proven oil and gas reserves lie in eastern Libya, the eastern region has long been neglected in favour of the western province of Tripolitania. It has been reported that eastern Libya suffers from a disproportionately high level of poverty and unemployment.[85]
R.A: MODERATE →		Despite the devastating toll the conflict took on the Libyan economy, the World Bank figures suggest that Libya is making an impressive recovery.[86] While positive trends are discernible, Libya still faces significant challenges in upholding the necessary security to allow the country to return to pre-conflict growth levels.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

FACTORS	CIFP 2006	DESCRIPTION
Access to Improved Water	**7.0** (1 is high, 9 low)	Access to improved water has risen from 68% in 2002 to **71%** in 2010.[87] However, Libya's lack of water resources makes the country extremely vulnerable to water shortages.[88]
Access to Sanitation	**3.0** (1 is, 9 is low access)	Libya's access to sanitation has remained constant at a rate of **97%** since 2000.[89]
Life Expectancy	**4.0** (1 is high, 9 is low)	Life expectancy in Libya has been increasing steadily from 75.45 in 2000 to **77** in 2009.[90]
Infant Mortality Rate	**5.0** (1 is low, 9 is high)	The mortality rate for children under 5 fell from 160 per 1000 live births in 1970 to **19.34 per 1000 live births in 2012.**[91]
Literacy Rate	**6.6** (1 low, 9 is high)	The literacy rate has risen steadily from 86.2 in 2004 to **89.2%** in 2010.[92] Libya boasts one of the highest literacy rates in Africa.[93]
Primary Enrolment	N/A	With a primary enrollment rate of **98%**, Libya also boasts one of the highest education enrolment rates in Africa.[94]
Health Expenditure per Capita	**7.0** (1 is low, 9 is high)	With a per capita expenditure of **$483.27 USD** in 2010, the Libyan government has achieved high coverage in most health areas.[95] The state of public health provision deteriorated significantly during the conflict, with hospital staff being forced to flee in contested areas.[96]
R.A.: LOW ↑		Improving from 58th in 2005, Libya ranked 53rd out of 170 UN member states on the UN HDI in 2010, making it a "high human development country." [97]While the conflict disturbed access to water and health care, Libya's history of high human development will allow the country to continue on this strong point even after the conflict.

	POSSIBLE SCENARIOS
Best ✓	The General National Council continues with Libya's transition into a fully democratic nation and a new constitution is drafted. Tribal warfare comes to an end and all of the rebel militias disarm to then unite under the national army. As forecasted, the economy recovers to pre-conflict levels by the end of 2012. Human development continues its upward trend and the government begins to seriously look into the question of food and water sustainability. As the economy strengthens, so do international relationships.
Most Likely	Prime Minister Abushagur leaves the political scene after the no confidence vote. The legislation continues to function but is severely unstable due to the multitude of political candidates. With an unstable government, tribal conflict continues and the government's army and police remain unable to stop the rivalries and weapons proliferation within the territory. The lack of security hinders the recovery of the economy.
Worst ✗	The weakened government is unable to hold the General National Council for an entire term. The political instability is seen as a sign of weakness by the tribes, who continue to take arms against one another in a struggle for power. Speculations that the assault on the U.S. ambassador was linked to al-Qaeda continue to grow, creating alarming tensions between the U.S and Libya. The economic recovery is much slower than forecasted. Access to food, water and health care remain a significant problem for the poorer populations. The lack of access to resources only serves to further the divide between the richer region of Tripolitania and the poorer region of Cyrenaica. Violence continues as people fight for basic resources and continue their struggle for increased equality in Libya.

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