

### **CHAPTER III**

## **History of Libya Crisis and the Timeline of Libya Crisis ( 2011 to 2015)**

The crisis happened in Libya when there were huge transformations that happened in Tunisia (January 2011) – (February 2011). That conditions were triggering Libya with that expectations. Given the power from the universality of mass media makes the people in Libya aware of the conditions that happened in Tunisia and Egypt (Joffe, 2011). Nevertheless, the condition that happened in these countries were different with the condition that happened in Libya since these countries had never adopted the liberal autocracy pattern from other states in that area, thus it did not make the domino effects in Libya partly, because there were no new and significant social movements. The regime in Libya anticipated the potency of troubles that might be happen and wanted that it would not happen in Libya, warned people that the government would not tolerate demonstrations, While Qaddafi decried the removal of Ben Ali and Mubarak from the power (Joffe, 2011).

### **A. History of Libya Crisis**



**PICTURE 3. 1: Official Flag of Libya (Smith, 2001)**

The triggered of the uprising was the restrain of the head of a lawyer and the Libyan well-known Journalist, Idris Al-Mismari on 15 February 2011. The compensation had asked by Mismari and

others lawyer for the victim's family in 1996, where based on the orders from the head of security Abdullah Al- Sanussi, prison guards at Abu Sulaim prison in Tripoli, Tripoli was the place where political prisoners were housed. The chaos of conflict that happened in prison started when there were 1300 deaths. When Sannusi (Qaddafi's strongmen) and his son Sa'adi Al-Qaddafi tried to prevent all civilians to do public demonstrations that happened in the city in Benghazi. Security forces shot many people. In turn, the demonstrators overwhelmed the police and soldiers, while their weapons were disarmed by others. This situations added by the escaping of Sannusi and Sa'adi caused the regime's moral collapse in the city.

In Tunisia and Egypt, the oppositions group using the computer and internet network like Facebook to draw the attention from others to engage in the 'day of anger' means stage protests in Libya on February 17 (Institute for Security Studies, 2011). In subsequent demonstrations in several cities, including Al-Bayda, Toburuk, and Beida, witnessed deadly clashed that took place between the demonstrators and security forces. The use of indiscriminate force by security forces resulted in the death of 20 people which caused criticism by the international community. In the following days, the killing of the demonstrators did not make the protest decrease, instead brought more people in the city. In several cities in eastern Libya, demonstrators went to the headquarters of the security forces and set them on fire. In Benghazi, protesters from Tobruk and Beida captured weapon depots and military bases. When the government forces either defected or escaped their headquarters, demonstrators seized tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and

ammunition. Thus, the situation began to take the form of an armed rebellion. Following further crackdowns on the protesters in Benghazi and defections by the troops in that city, the opposition groups ousted government forces and took the control in Benghazi.

The defections from the Qaddafi government intensified after the protesters took the control in Benghazi. The representative of Libya to the Arab League was the first to resign on February 20 and was immediately followed by the Interior minister, Abdel Fattah Younes A Abidi in the same day, who announced that he was defecting and supporting the 'February 17 Revolution'. This situation marked the start of the bleeding officials which defected either into exile or to the rebels from Qaddafi regime. The following day, the minister of justice, Mustafa Mohamed Abud Al Jeleil resigned over the use of excessive violence against protesters. Jeleil was later appointed as the head of the Transnational National Council (TNC) – The new Libyan Transitional government – that based at Benghazi. TNC was the mixture of urban intellectuals, Islamist ex-guerrillas, secular professionals and tribal leaders (Joffe, 2011). TNC took advantages from the spotlight that had been shown in Tunisia and Egypt to take on Qaddafi. When Libyan People in major cities in Libya ( with the exception of Benghazi), they did not take part in the uprising of Libya, the TNC leadership, encouraged by parties who doubted inside and outside Libya, who were involved by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and League of Arab States ( LAS), and African Union (AU) to intervene in the conflict (Haseeb, 2011).

When the rebellion moved west toward Tripoli, the Qaddafi government mobilized its troops in order to

confront the rebels there. Nevertheless, in the late February and early March, rebel forces had made huge advantage and took control of several coastal cities in Libya such as Ajdabiya, Ras Lanuf, Brega, and Misrata in eastern Libya, Zuwara city, Yefren Zente, and West Jadu. Apart from territorial gained by the rebels, they appeared different and disorganized. In the early March, The Qaddafi forces launched an attack on the rebels to regain the control over the coastal cities and several strategic areas under rebel's control. On March 10, Qaddafi forces cleared the main oil city of Ras Lanuf from the rebels, and in the following days, rebel forces lost Zawiyah. Until March 15 2011, The government forces took control of Ajdabiya and were knocked the gate of Benghazi rebels, within the threat of Qaddafi about the bloodbath in the city.

One week after the demonstrations happened Qaddafi dismiss the protesters quickly as 'cockroaches' and 'rats' which means they did not deserve to live (The Economist, 2011). That language was very chillingly, and remind the people about the broadcast of Radio-television Mille Collines, which spurred on the perpetrators of Rwanda's genocide in 1994. In another place, Qaddafi's son, Saif Al Islam announced that Qaddafi would fight the uprising that against Qaddafi's rule until the last man standing (Institute for Security Studies, 2011). In another speech, Qaddafi declared "I will die here as a martyr." (Institute for Security Studies, 2011). He blamed the protest against him about Al Qaeda and the use of drugs by those protesting before. He was had called person opposed to his rule named stray dogs and nothing but lackeys of United States. This condition was in keeping with his usual sentiments on people who

opposed him. Thus, because of the threat in Benghazi, Security Council of United Nations passed the resolutions 1973 authorizing the use of force to protect people and grounds for seeking the intervention of NATO air forces.

Long Journey of Qaddafi's rule becomes the root of the crisis that happened in Libya. During 42 Qaddafi's rule, Qaddafi implemented the repressive government system without any of the institutional features familiar even to many of the world's most undemocratic regimes (Institute for Security Studies, 2011). When he took power in a military coup September 1969, Qaddafi represents the theory that called the third universal theory. That theory was argued about the idea of "people should directly run the activities and exercises the power of government (Institute for Security Studies, 2011).

The result of this system implementation over the years was the virtual absence of any development of state bureaucracy or any form of institutionalized governmental structure. The decision-making process under Qaddafi was restricted to small advisors and confidantes, and political decisions were similarly outside popular purview or devoid of any means of checks and balances (Vandewalle, 2008). Therefore, there was neither a constitution in the modern sense nor political parties.

Under Qaddafi's rule, the government has the function by a complex web of local structures built around family and tribal ties, another informal association, and business interest. He practiced the forms of brutal oppression and injustice by assassinating his political opponents and mutilating their bodies (Haseeb,

2011). Generally, under Qaddafi's rule, Liban people did not have any significant role in the governmental system, even though this country has some of the world's largest oil reserves. Oil wealth liberated the government from any needs that have the aims to conciliate the people politically or to democratically accommodate their demands. That conditions made the exclusion of the social contract, and since the government had all the means came from oil, any notion of democratic credentials was not seen as necessary as long as the government has the support from the economic matters to control the state.

## B. Timeline of Libya Crisis

No	Spotlight	Year	Moment
1	<b>Anti-Qaddafi Uprising</b>	2011 February	Violent protests break out in Benghazi, and some areas leading to escalating clashes between security forces and ant-Qaddafi rebels.
		2011 March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ African Union response to resolve the Libyan Crisis.</li> <li>➤ United Nation Security Council</li> </ul>

			Approved sanctions about No-Fly-Zone over Libya and air strikes to protect civilians.
		2011 July	International communities on Libya formally recognized the main opposition group called the National Transnational Council ( NTC) as the legitimate government of Libya
		2011 August	Qaddafi goes into hiding after rebels attack and swarms his fortress compound in Tripoli.
		2011 October	Qaddafi captured and killed as rebel fighters take his hometown Sirte.
		2012 January	Clashes erupt between the former rebels in Benghazi

			and NTC.
		2012 August	The National Transnational Council gained the power to the General National Congress, elected in July
2	<b>Benghazi Attack</b>	2012 September	US ambassador to Libya and other three Americans officer in US Ambassador were killed when Islamist militant storm the consulate in Benghazi
3	<b>Civil War</b>	2014 - 2015	Civil war happened in some area in Libya.

**TABLE 3. 1: Timeline of Libyan Crisis (BBC News, 2018)**

2011 was the beginning of the anti-Qaddafi uprising in Libya, inspired by the uprising that happened in other Arab countries, especially neighbors Tunisia, and Egypt, violent protests break started in Benghazi, spread to other cities, and leading to the violations and clashes between security forces and anti-Qaddafi rebels. In order to response the crisis in Libya, at its 265th meeting held on the 10 March 2011, the African Union held a summit at the level of head of state and government and established a High Level Ad hoc Committee to examine the issue of Libya and to find the way in order to solve the crisis. Seven days after the African Union meeting, in



March 2011, the United Nations through United States Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya. This approval released in demanding the ceasefire that happened in Libya, including an end to the current attacks against civilians, which it said as the crimes against humanity and the freedom. The Security Council imposed a ban on all flights in the country's airspace that called a no-fly zone and tightened sanctions for Qaddafi's regime and his supporters.

Adopting the resolution 1973 in 2011 with the vote 10 for in favor to none against, with 5 abstentions ( China, Germany, Brazil, India, Russian Federation), the council authorized member states, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, to take all necessary actions in order to protect civilians under the threat from Libya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force and any form on any part of Libya territory, asking them to immediately gave informations to Secretary-General of such measures (United Nations, 2011).

After the sanctions given by United Nations to Libya about the no-fly-zone sanctions over Libya, on July 2011 the International group on Libya formally recognizes the main opposition group by the establishment of the National Transnational Council (NTC) as the legitimate government on Libya. The National Transnational Council was the de facto government of Libya for ten months during the crisis that happened in Libya in 2011 and 2012. The National Transnational Council has the key role in the country to regaining peace in Libya, following the harsh of Qaddafi's regime and recognized internationally. The establishment of NTC was shortly after the uprising

began, meeting held in the city in Bayda gave the result about the chair of NTC that was chaired by the former justice minister Mustafa Abdul Jalil, NTC aimed to propose some form of an interim administration. Shortly after that initial meeting, the National Transnational Council was officially formed. The establishment of NTC questioning some parties about the aim of NTC itself. Most the people thought that NTC was a temporary organization. One month after the establishment NTC received broadly, around 60 countries in the world have recognized NTC and following by the African Union as the regional organization in Africa have recognized the National Transnational Council as the legitimate government of Libya.

At the same time with the establishment of NTC, Qaddafi as the Libyan leader goes into hiding after rebels attack his fortress compound in Tripoli. Libyan rebels have stormed Muammar Qaddafi's Bab Al-Aziziya compound in Tripoli, seizing weapons, looting valuable things. Over 1000 oppositions fighters surrounded an apartment block near Qaddafi's former headquarters in the Libyan capital. The fighters scoured through the complex shouting to each other that they had trapped their dictators in his lair, the massive green gates were exploded open after seven hours of bloody fighting and exultant rebels poured into Bab Al-Aziziya, Muammar Qaddafi's fortress. That conditions became the symbol of the regime's bloody resistance in Tripoli (Sengupta, 2011).

The hiding of Qaddafi was founded by rebels in a culvert west of Sirte and also captured by the National Transnational Council forces. On 19 October 2011, Libyan minister, Mahmoud Jibril argue that Qaddafi was

believed to be in the Southern desert, recreating his government among pro-Qaddafi's member in the region. By that statement, NTC had just taken control of the pro-Qaddafi town and had some pieces of information about the positions of Qaddafi hat time. NTC with some International communities like NATO started their operations. At around 01:30 local time on 20 October 2011, Qaddafi and his army try to move from their hiding in a convoy of 75 vehicles and a Royal Air Force reconnaissance aircraft spotted the convoy moving at high speed.

NATO was attacked some of the vehicles in that convoy and did not realize that Qaddafi involves in that convoy. The aims of Nato in attacking those convoy just because it was one of the military actions that might be threatened civilians in Libya. Knowing that situation, NTC which already know about the joining Qaddafi in that convoy came together with rebels. Ran out from that convoy Qaddafi hiding on a large drained pipe with several loyalist bodyguards. On that place, based on the report of United Nations, released in March 2012 revealed Qaddafi's capture. Qaddafi was wounded by grenade fragmentation, from a grenade thrown by one of his men, that bounced off a wall and fell in front of Qaddafi, that shredded his flak jacket. At that moment Qaddafi was captured and killed.

Three days after the killed of Qaddafi, the National Transnational Council was declared Libya to be officially liberated and announced plan to hold elections within eight months. However, the crisis did not stop at all. On January 2012 clashes erupt between former rebels in Benghazi in the sign of the discontent with the NTC. Not only between the rebels and NTC, in September

2012, but there was also a huge moment when US ambassador to Libya J. Christopher Stevens, State Department Information Management Officer Sean Smith, and Diplomatic Security Agents Tyrone Woods and Glen Doherty was killed when Islamist militants, including Ansar Al-Sharia attack and storm the consulate in Benghazi.

Many challenging situations happened after the uprising that happened in Libya. In almost 42 years, power and wealth were under the control of the dictator Muammar Qaddafi and his demise in 2011. It became a significant challenge to the successor to adopt a new discourse based on free elections and power balancing. From 2011 to 2015 have offered Libyans many challenges as well as opportunities. While this transition has given a chance to rebuild a new unified state that based on democratic idea encompassing transparent institutions and the rule of law, it nonetheless put the whole notion under pressure. The threat of disintegration was real.

Lack of political consensus within many political actors in Libya and their inability to resolve regional differences through peaceful diplomatic dialogue resulted in two parallel civil wars in the east and west of Libya. A civil war that happened in some area in Libya has been fuelled by detrimental foreign intervention. However, the reality of the conflict was because of the scramble for power and wealth, ignited by the inability to create a new social contract in order to determine a fair sharing of power. Serious disintegration that happened in Libya is because of the emergence of two separate conflicting parliament and governmental system, one operating in the east and one in the west.