

## Governance in Transition: Strengthening Administrative Capacity and Democratic Foundations in Libya

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الحكومة في مرحلة الانتقال: تعزيز القدرة الإدارية والأسس الديمقراطية في ليبيا.

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### الملخص:

في حقبة ما بعد القذافي، يُعدّ أحد أهمّ الأسئلة المطروحة هو ما إذا كانت ليبيا ستصبح دولة مستقرة أم لا. ولا تُعدّ الإجابة على هذا السؤال واضحة وبسيطة، إذ توجد مشاكل متأصلة في ليبيا منذ تأسيسها. فبعد الحرب، لا تزال مشاكل بناء الدولة والشرعية قائمة، بالإضافة إلى مشاكل جديدة. وانطلاقاً من هذه النقاط، تُحلّل هذه المقالة التحديات الأمنية وتحديات بناء الدولة في ليبيا في حقبة ما بعد القذافي. وتُجادل المقالة بأنّ التطورات التاريخية تُؤثّر على التحديات الأمنية التي ظهرت في مرحلة ما بعد القذافي، والتي لا تزال تُعيق عملية بناء الدولة. لذا، لا يُمكن إغفال المشاكل العميقة التي تُهدّد عملية بناء الدولة منذ بدايتها، وذلك لتحقيق الاستقرار في ليبيا. وبناءً على ذلك، تُحلّل هذه المقالة الحوكمة في مرحلة الانتقال: تعزيز القدرة الإدارية والأسس الديمقراطية في ليبيا، وتُقدّم توصيات تُعزّز الاستقرار.

**الكلمات الدالة:** الحرب الليبية، عملية بناء الدولة، تحديات بناء الدولة، المشاكل الأمنية، نظام القذافي.

### Abstract

In the post Gaddafi Era, one of the main question of the issue at stake is whether Libya will be a stable country or not. The answer of this question is not so clear and simple because there are certain problems inherent in Libya since the establishment of the country. After the civil war, state building and legitimacy problems are still continued in addition to the new problems. Deriving from these points, this articles analyses the security and state building challenges in Libya in the post Gaddafi era. It simply argues that, historical development plays a role in the security challenges that unveiled in the post Gaddafi challenges which is continued hinder the state-building process. Libya political, social Therefore in establishment of stability in Libya, one cannot overlook the deep-seated problems jeopardizing the state building process from starting. This article, therefore, examines the state building challenges and legitimacy problems in Libya and provides recommendations that promotes stability.

**Keywords:** Libyan civil-war, state-building process, state-building challenges, security problems, Gaddafi regime.

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## 1. Introduction

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), there was an uprising at the start of the second decade of the 21st century. This was marked by riots, protests, and rallies that turned into a change. It was also known as the Arab Spring or Arab Awakening. This move set off a search for change in the area. There are many reasons for the Arab revolution, but one thing that all of them have in common is that people were unhappy with their low living standards and the restrictions that were standing in the way of their freedom and prosperity. Following the success of the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, other Arab countries like Western Sahara, Syria, Yemen, Kuwait, Morocco, Sudan, Mauritania, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Western Sahara, and Libya were also affected (Adhil 2016:1).

From a two-level study and a strategic point of view, the problems in Libya can be seen. The first is from a local point of view, and the second is from a regional point of view. From a geopolitical point of view, the third view is different. This study looks at the political situation in Libya from a geopolitical point of view. It also uses historical references to understand the problems there, because the present situation can't be separated from past events. The way people in the area see things is shaped by its history. It is linked to the local point of view and is built on the fact that there isn't a strong government. Problems with terrorism, energy, migration, and strategic competition are some of the strategic problems that Libya faces. From a local point of view, looking at Libya means looking at problems like internal divisions, bad leadership, poor public management, and a lack of investments. It's important to remember that the problems mentioned weren't just caused by the Libyan crisis of 2011. The people of Libya were already divided before Gaddafi took power.

In history, the Ottoman Empire ruled from 1551 to 1911, a period of about 400 years before Gaddafi. Libya was split into Tripoli and Benghazi at this time. When Italy and other European powers beat the Ottoman Empire at the start of the 20th century, the empire began to fall apart. But they learned that they had another enemy: "The Libyans." Libya was also split into two parts during the rule of the Italians (1911–1934): Up until 1928, Tripoli and Cyrenaica were separate. For strategic reasons, they were brought back together in 1928. For better control, it was split into five provinces or areas, even though it was said to be one. In addition, the Allied Protectorate ran Libya from 1934 to 1951, until it became independent in 1951. King Idris took over in 1951. King Idris made a federal state and a fed-wide law. Libya was then split into three main parts. There were problems during the reign of King Idris. There were a lot of disagreements inside the group. A federal state is okay with some groups of Libyans, but not with others. They wanted a different kind of strong government. In 1963, King Idris tried to bring the area together but failed. But in 1969, Gaddafi led a coup that got rid of King Idris. It's important to talk about the differences in Libya because they show that the country's government has never been run by a single, uniform system (Gaub, 2013:222).

At the start of Gaddafi's rule in Libya, the country became more divided. Many of the things he did show that he wanted to make Libya a great country, but he couldn't because he was too focused on his own goals and wanted to be in charge of the whole country. Divide and rule was what Gaddafi did. He turned people against each other. He also did the same thing to make people hate the colonialists. This was the plan he used to run the country. When the Libyan civil war started, it was hard to say if Libya was a state because all the things that make up a state were either missing or not strong enough. This can be seen in the way people are divided today, with political, racial, and tribal conflicts. Some people, on the other hand, only wanted to use Libya for business purposes (by getting resources from the country). This process of becoming more

democratic has been messed up by these strangers. This means that Libya is the way it is now because of both the people who live there and the rest of the world. So, the problem in the area is caused by both outside and inside forces. Outside players include Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, and other countries that have a stake in Libya. You could say that Libya's internal problems were caused by the fact that the country did not have a strong and united government. Libya is said to almost not have anything because of this. They don't feel safe, can't get in touch with political leaders, and the economy is very weak. There is also not much investment, and the government is weak. At this point, we reach the third type of trouble that Libya is having.

There are strategic problems in Libya that are caused by both inside and outside actors. At the top, there are external players, and at the bottom, there are internal actors who are making things worse in Libya. Migration, energy, and terrorism are all examples of problems that can happen within a country. It is possible for terrorist groups and other crime groups to work together on terrorism. There are times when they act together and times when they act alone. But because the state doesn't have a strong government, crime is getting worse. Libya is now a safe place for terrorists and people going to Europe. Around 200,000 people tried to cross into Europe from Libya in 2016. A 2016 study from the State Department on trafficking in persons said that Libya's migration problems were a "special case." The International Organization for Migration (IOM), which is part of the UN, said in a report that from January 1 to July 25, 2018, 55,001 migrants came to Europe by sea and 1,504 died. In 2017, 111,753 people came and died, which is more than in 2018 (IOM 2018). Some countries want to buy Libya's oil because it is one of the best in the world. This is another problem. There is now global strategic competition to deal with. Russia and the Western countries, for instance, want to be in charge in Libya (Mohammed et al., 2015: 247).

## **2. Background of the Study**

In the last few months of 1969, Muammar Gaddafi led a group of about 100 junior army staffs (also known as the Free Unionist Officers) to remove King Idris from power. Outside control was a big problem for Libya for a long time before King Idris took over. From 1551 to 1911, Libya was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. From 1911 to 1951, it was ruled by Italy. When Libya got its freedom in 1951, King Idris became its leader. Soon after the 1969 coup, Gaddafi became the new leader and was in charge of the 12 people who made up the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). At the same time, the RCC fought against outside interference in Libya's economy and against corrupt governments in the past. The only ministry that RCC did not directly run was the one that was in charge of managing oil for Libya's economy. The oil ministry was hard for Gaddafi to control because it was run by a lot of different people. It also made groups like the Popular Revolution (PR), the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), and the Popular Congresses (PC). Since Gaddafi was in charge of the country, the RCC stuck with the real power, especially Gaddafi. Every choice in Libya was made by Gaddafi's government (Imam, Abba, & Wader 2014:1152).

People in Libya and other RCC members quickly started to question how the country's resources (99% of government income and oil income) were being used in 1975. There was more fighting because of this, which led to a fake coup to get rid of Gaddafi. The coup didn't work out. Twelve people were in the RCC before the coup, but only five stayed loyal to Gaddafi. People in Gaddafi's government who he thought were betraying the country were fired after the failed coup. Gaddafi slowly filled important security jobs with people he trusted. Gaddafi destroyed civilian groups like political parties, independent trade unions, and other groups that worked to improve society. People who spoke out against Gaddafi's rule were jailed, beaten, or killed. The executions were shown live on TV, which made people afraid. The fear methods made Gaddafi's power even stronger (Imam, Abba & Wader 2014:1152).

At this point, the system was also going through other changes. Under Gaddafi's rule, schooling, health care, and housing were all cheap. It has been around since 1993 as the Peoples Social Leadership Committee (PSLC). People in charge of clans and other important people made up the PSLC. The PSLC's job was to make sure that state money went to programs like student loans and supported housing. They were also told to punish people in their groups who didn't follow the rules, or else the whole tribe would be punished. People agreed to keep quiet about politics in exchange for Gaddafi's promise to meet their basic economic needs. Every person made about \$12,000 a year. This was a small part of the money the country made, especially since Libya only had about 1153 people living there (Imam, Abba, & Wader 2014:1153).

### **3 Transition from Muammar Gaddafi's Regime**

Before the uprising in Libya, most people around the world thought that Libya had a steady authoritarian government that wasn't likely to change. Following the events in Egypt and Tunisia, which are close to Libya to the east and west, things started to change in Libya. On February 17, 2011, these changes began. The National Transitional Council (NTC) was set up on this date. Mustafa Abdul Jalil, who used to be Gaddafi's Justice Minister, led it. The NTC was made to run the parts of Libya that were controlled by the rebels. On March 10, that year, France made it official that the NTC was the real government of Libya. The NTC and other soldiers who chose to side with the rebels were slowly taking over Libya. While Gaddafi still ran Tripoli and the areas around it, the NTC was in charge of a large part of Benghazi and eastern Libya (Yilmaz 2012:46).

A protest because the government hadn't been able to fix long-term shortages was one of the things that led to power being given to the NTC. This wasn't the most important thing, but this medium was used to show how people really felt about the country's political situation. This protest led to a movement that forced Gaddafi to give up his power. It was a more aggressive protest than the ones in Tunisia and Egypt, which were calmer. Because Gaddafi's government didn't care about the plight of the people of Libya, there was violence at the protest. Another person arrested was a young lawyer named Fathi Terbil. Terbil helped the families of the prisoners who died in the Abu Salam Prison Massacre. In 1996, Gaddafi's security forces killed about 1,200 prisoners by firing on them. This event was called the Abu Salam Prison Massacre (Sawani 2013:1).

It is said that Gaddafi threatened to end the protests and gave guns to militants who support him so that they could kill the protesters in Tripoli. The United Nations (UN), the United States of America (USA), Australia, and Canada all spoke out against it because of this. Because of this, on March 17, 2011, Libya was banned as an NFZ and its people had to be protected at all costs, which is also known as "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P). The UN secretary-general agreed to it, and it is now known as Resolution 1973. Gaddafi was caught and killed in Sirte, his home country, on October 20, 2011. So, Gaddafi's government came to an end. But since then, the hardest thing has been starting over with the Libyan economy and making it grow.

## **4 Security Challenges in Post-Gaddafi Libya**

### **4.1 Terrorism Challenges**

Territorial control is significant to the stability of a state, however terrorist capitalized on government inability to control the state, in establishing their control. One of the problems being faced by Libya today is the problem of terrorism which the Islamist State of Iraq (ISIS) stands as leading actor. There are several armed Islamist groups in Libya. They are Ansar al-Sharia, al-Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Derna Mujahidin Shura Council (DMSC), the Benghazi Revolutionary Shura Council (BRSC), and the Ajdabiya Revolutionary Shura Council (ARSC). The purpose or aim of these groups is to ensure that sharia law is established in villages and certain cities across Libya or for political agenda to be influenced. While some of the Islamist

groups represent political candidates, religious scholars or external interests are being represented by others (Toaldo & Fitzgerald 2016, Cited in Eriksson & Bohman 2018: 15). On the other hand, ISIS is the main group that changes how the conflict in Libya moves. ISIS took over the coastal towns of Sirte and Derna in 2014. ISIS tried to create a government by putting people in fear by putting executions in public places. In order to get rid of ISIS, other groups had to put aside their differences (Toaldo & Fitzgerald 2016, cited in Eriksson and Bohman 2018: 15). This was because ISIS had broken through the weak security in Libya.

In 2016, as a result of military pressure in driving ISIS out of town, the group was successfully outlasted from the two cities they captured (Sirte and Derna). In November of the same year, they tried establishing control in Libya again because of the deterioration of the situation of their group in Syria and Iraq (Pack Smith & Mezran 2017:2). In 2017, there were reports that the number of ISIS been seen at the south of Sirte and Sabratah were small in a number of about 500 fighters as to the 3,000 they were formally present there. Reports about the presence of ISIS also show that the group has changed how it operates in Libya. Instead of moving on large convoys, they have come up with a new plan based on sneaking up on people, being present without being seen, and hit-and-run tactics. ISIS seems to still be a security risk for the people of Libya, which means that outsiders will continue to try to help. In addition, armed Islamist groups are not just a problem for Libya; they are also a problem for other North African countries (Eriksson and Bohman, 2018:16).

#### **4.2 Armed Militias**

The matter of security is very crucial when it comes to state building and the protection of people's lives and properties. As a result of the war in Libya, one must say that there are security challenges inherent in the system. From the perspective of some scholars, they explain that it will be difficult for the dissolution of the militias to occur because Libya lacks a unified national army to carry out its duties. The scholars termed it a catch-22 situation. Also, the interim government that took over after the war is still struggling because they lack adequate capacity and sovereignty to enforce the security needed (El-Katiri 2012:16). When Gaddafi was killed, there was a little bit of ease from the supporters of Gaddafi. However, Libya still had challenges of armed militias. Tripoli Military Council (TMC) was established by the NTC to provide security to Libya's capital (Tripoli) and to take a further step in establishing a national army that is professional and recognized. Even with the establishment of the TMC, there was still a lack of adequate ability to control the affairs of the military within the state capital (Mahmud 2011, Cited in El-Katiri 2012:17).

After the war in 2011, different armed militias moved into the state capital (Tripoli) taking charge of Tripoli and its environs. The facilities took charge of include different infrastructures such as airports, ports, and borders (Prier 2011, Cited in El-Katiri 2012:17). It should be noted that Libya is presently going through an immigration crisis where people from different countries (underdeveloped and developing countries) use Libya as a route to European countries. These migrants risk their lives across the oceans when trying to get to their destination. Because of the poor economic state of the country, these migrations are used for an economic reward for the smugglers. Libya has become a migration haven for those seeking for greener pastures.

During the Libyan war, there were differences between the militias because of things like differences in terrain and tribe. Since they had different ideas, they were not united even though they wanted Gaddafi to go (Munoz 2011, cited in El-Katiri 2012:17). When one of the rebel leaders was killed, things got worse among the troops. According to Gerard (2011) and El-Katiri (2012), these are some of the things that have made it hard for the NTC to come together. While the groups were useful during the war, they are now seen as one of the problems that the new

Libya has to deal with. Since the end of the war, some groups have been blamed for damaging property and being violent.

Libyans also held a protest calling for the rebels to leave Tripoli, which is the capital of the country. That being said, they have refused to leave. They think they are keeping the few people who still support Gaddafi safe from the people of Libya after the war. Also, they wouldn't give up their weapons or bend over to the interim government because they think that, like in Tunisia and Egypt, they would not be able to help the state gain progress. It is important to note that Libyan governments will not be able to make the necessary steps toward creating a new Libyan state until the weapons from the different types of groups are collected.

#### **4.3 External Legitimacy and International Involvements**

Libya has had help from outside sources for a while now. Around the world, Gaddafi's fall would have been seen as proof that the rebels were well-trained, organized, and skilled. But that wasn't the case. Libya has been important in the world long before oil was found in the area. In 1943, the British Military took over a large part of Libya and made it their territory. France, Italy, and Britain all wanted to control a piece of Libyan land soon after the war, either for military or prestige reasons (Van Genugten 2011:17).

Gaddafi explained his takeover by telling the people of Libya that he was coming to give them real freedom from outside interference. Even then, he couldn't totally get away from western ideas. Gaddafi asked that the British and American military bases in Libya be taken down. Also, the Italian community was kicked out in 1970, but Gaddafi's government kept in touch with them through ENI, an Italian oil and gas company. It was less obvious, though, that they were dating. People in Libya are wary of foreign forces because they don't trust outsiders to stay out of their country's business. The oil and gas industry brings in a lot of money for Libya, so it will be hard for the people there to handle pressure from other countries for long (Van Genugten 2011:71).

As was already said, the civil war in Libya ended in October 2011. They had to build a new country for themselves, though, which was not easy. It was called "special" that the military stepped in. The most important thing that wasn't there, though, was that the peacekeeping forces weren't sent by foreign actors to help with things after the conflict. The foreigners left less of a mark on the area after the war than they did in the Balkans, Iraq, and Afghanistan (Chivvis et al. 2012:1)

The United States only did what it could do best in Libya so that other allies could take the lead from a different angle. The United States has kept a low image since the end of the war. This is because the Libyan keeping forces now have power. The Libyan economy was more worried about their own weak legitimacy, so they asked that foreign involvement be kept to a minimum. Also, things were quieter right after the war than they have been in the past, so the international community didn't need to send in peacekeepers. Bringing in a lot of foreign experts could also be too much for the new, fragile Libyan government to handle (Chivvis et al. 2012:1-2).

### **5. State Building Challenges in Libya**

#### **5.1 Political and Administrative Challenges**

After the war started, constitutional growth in Libya with NTC. They made a draft of the constitution that would help them make Libya the kind of country they wanted it to be. The draft said that the General National Council (GNC) should be formed and voted into office. The GNC will be the temporary assembly and pick the prime minister and other people who will be in the transitional government. A constituent assembly of 60 people was to be chosen by them to write a new constitution for Libya (Fedtke 2014:20).

He set up what was called "Jamahiriya," which was a direct government system, while Gaddafi was in power. He was the only national authority because of this scheme. In the end, Gaddafi was in charge of what Libya did. When his government was overthrown, the new assembly was

supposed to present a draft constitution that would cover things like religion, the rights of the people, the state, and the identity of the country. What the people of Libya really cared about was that the law made sure that everyone had an equal share of political and economic power. Two different groups then got into an argument, and to this day, they still haven't come to an agreement. There hasn't been a single vote in the GNC, which has caused disagreements and shown how weak it is as nationalist parties, former rebels, and rival Islamists try to push their own political ideas. Without the support of most of the people, GNC's time ended on February 7, 2014 (Fukutomi 2017:28).

And because of this, Libya has had two different governments, each with its own parliament. Libya's state capital, Tripoli, is being held by a group of armed former rebels from Misrata city. Meanwhile, Islamist-leaning brigades have put back in place the old parliament and set up their own government. The internationally recognized government, on the other hand, works out of Tobruk in East Libya and is backed by a loose alliance of armed forces that are motivated by local or tribal loyalty (Fukutomi 2017:28).

Libya's public administration has also gone through a number of changes that have changed how it works and how it interacts with the people of Libya. If you look at the country's political system, you can see some of these changes. There was the monarchical system after it became independent in 1951, Gaddafi's government from 1969 to 2011 and is now in change. The monarchy was a simple way to run a government. But there were natural shortages of money and people, so they couldn't spread to other parts of society. More went on under Gaddafi's rule. His model was based on decentralization, but it was really just a cover for authoritarian rule (Sawani 2018:807).

Due to the war, formal bodies have been replaced by army bands, local councils, revolutionary groups, the council of elders, and those that work for the army. Also, different tribes that got back some of the power they had lost have added to the weak, corrupt, and ineffective government. Gaddafi said he was building a direct democracy, but his government preferred favoritism and kept elites in line by concentrating power.

One issue the government had to deal with during Gaddafi's rule was the end of personal and powerful power structures (Mattes 2018, cited in Sawani 2018:1). It was also hard to trust and steal from the government. Gaddafi also said he would get rid of the old government structure and replace it with bottom-up direct democratic control with a lot of decentralization. Heads of administration were not chosen based on their skills but on how loyal they were to the government. At that time, there was both a formal and an informal system of government. The informal sector was stronger than the formal sector, which made it hard for public management to work well. In the formal sector, choices were not clearly spelled out, and in the informal sector, people meddled in government in an illegal and disorganized way. It was a mess because power was spread out, and it wasn't legal because it didn't follow the rules of democracy. Also, there was a lot of corruption and no one was in charge.

But since Gaddafi's fall, the country hasn't been able to set up a constitution or a political system because the military and the politicians are on different sides. The main things that are needed to shape the Libyan state are those listed above. Also, the lack of security has made it easier for conflicts to happen, which has hurt the Libyan government's resources. Oil production and exports have almost stopped. This has had a negative impact on public administration, and the public sector that used to be the most important one is no longer there. Public management will not work if it doesn't have enough money (resources turned into inflows).

## **5.2 Democratic Challenges**

One more important question that needs to be asked is whether the Libyans are ready for democracy. The country is still having trouble getting a steady government after Gaddafi's fall.

It's important to remember that a democratic system has a single government. Right now, Libya has two governments: one in the east (Tobruk) and one in the west (Tripoli). In the eyes of the United Nations (UN), the government in the west is the real one. A leader of the Libyan National Army named Khalifa Haftar runs almost half of the country of Libya from the east.

It's not simple or clear-cut to switch from an authoritarian system to a democracy one. There should be a set of steps in place. The name for this process is "democratization." Democratization means going from a system that isn't democratic to one that is. A democratic system has free elections, rule of law, a strong civil society, separation of powers (with a strong state-supported independent court), and a democratic culture (El-gamaty 2016).

It's hard for democracy to move forward in Libya because the country doesn't have the basic state and governmental building that it needs. Tribalism, a culture that isn't democratic, and a weak civil society are also problems. The fact that Libya has a rentier economic system is another big reason for this. It means that Libya trades its natural resources for cash and then spends most of that cash on its people, like paying their salaries. There are other places where these things happen besides Libya. If an economy doesn't have these simple things, it will definitely make it harder for people to vote. The process of building democracy has been held up because there aren't any clear institutions or political structures in place. Libyans also see themselves through the lens of their tribes instead of as a country as a whole. This is another thing that has made it harder for Libya to become democratic. A democratic society teaches its people how to live by democratic values, rules, and customs (El-gamaty 2016).

### **5.3 Socio-economic Challenges**

Socioeconomic factors like urbanization, wealth, education, and industrialization all play a big role in the growth of a country (Lipset 1959:80; cited in Perroux 2019: 206-207). Taking into account the world's wealthy countries, like China, the USA, the UK, Germany, and so on. It is clear that they have a lot of factories. Industrialization makes it possible for more people to get jobs. A high rate of work gives people the money they need to take care of themselves and their families. This helps keep society stable by making sure people can meet their basic needs. But this can't happen in Libya yet because the country isn't safe or peaceful enough. A citizen who is educated and has a stable income is also more likely to be involved in public life and ask for human rights, openness, and responsibility (Lipset 1994, cited in Perroux 2019: 207). The World Economic Forum did a study in 2009 and 2010 and found that Libya had the 138th worst education system out of 139 countries. Libya also came in at number 129 for schools having access to the internet and number 134 for having study and training services available.

Because there aren't many social and economic opportunities, it will also be hard to get the fighters to stop fighting so that a safer Libya can be built. The fighters care about more than just their beliefs; they also care about their living conditions. Stopping the fighters in Libya will mean that the governments of Libya or the rest of the world will offer them good jobs (Perroux 2019: 207). The Libyan Program for Reintegration and Development did a survey from 2011 to 2015 that showed that 41% of past combatants and 65% of current militia members did not have a job and had not gone to college. This means that giving people useful chances can help end the fighting in Libya (LPRD 2015, cited in Perroux 2019: 207).

Libya is famous for its oil, but it also has the fourth-largest proven gas supplies in Africa. In 2006, the World Bank said that this sector made up 97% of exports of goods and non-factor services, 76% of GDP, and 93% of government income (World Bank 2006, cited in Perroux 2019: 208). Libya got back to making oil after the war, which kept them from having the problems that most countries do after a war. The militias and other groups were able to get paid, and the Libyan government was able to get back on its feet. When armed groups took over Libya's oil facilities in the summer of 2013, however, the economy became less stable (Imam,

Abba & Wader 2014: 1162). Since a country's main source of income is being affected, it is clear that the country will continue to have trouble with its finances until the problem is fixed. Even if a country decides to diversify its economy based on other resources it has, it will still need to be a business-friendly place to do business. Right now, Libya is not a business-friendly place to do business, which is why it doesn't have any investment.

It is important to remember that Libya had a higher GDP per person than most of its neighbors in North Africa until 2011. In this way of thinking, people were thought to have the right to good, affordable schooling and health care. This wasn't true in fact, though, because Libya was full of corruption and economic inequality (unfair distribution of wealth). The national statistics didn't show how well the people of Libya were living. As of 2011, there were 6.5 million people living in Libya, which made its GDP per capita better than that of other MENA countries. This sounds like they had enough to take care of everyone, but they didn't.

Libya had a high GDP compared to other MENA countries, but most of its wealth was held by a small group of people who supported Gaddafi. Because Libya was so dependent on oil, it couldn't provide enough jobs for the people who lived there. As a result, people in Libya between the ages of 15 and 24 were underemployed in 2012. As compared to other MENA countries, the World Bank says Libya had the highest rate of unemployment in 2011. The lack of a private sector is another thing that has led to unemployment in Libya. The IMF did a study in 2012 that showed that 80% of the people working in Libya were in the public sector. Unfortunately, this is very scary because it means that if Libya's government falls apart, as it did, so does the work of the people who live there. We can see this happening right now.

Libya is also having trouble with oil and money, in addition to the problems listed above. The wars and instability in Libya have made the country's finances and reserves less strong. Since 2011, up to 97% of the government's budget has come from selling oil and natural gas (Blanchard 2018: 14). The budget deficit was thought to be 49% of GDP in 2015, but it was higher in 2016 because oil production was low, which meant less money for the budget and less money from exports. The budget's income from exports and other sources fell to its lowest level ever (World Bank 2017, cited in Blanchard 2018: 12). On top of that, disagreements and budget cuts caused oil production to drop below 300,000 barrels per day (bpd.), even though it was supposed to be 1.6 million bpd. (IMF 2014 & Raghavan 2016, cited in Blanchard 2018: 12). According to the UN and statistics from the World Bank and IMF, Libya's foreign exchange reserves dropped from \$124 billion in 2012 to \$45 billion by the end of 2017 (IMF 2016, cited in Blanchard 2018: 12).

In 2017, output went back up to 900 bpd because of more oil being produced in Libya. At the end of December 2017, production in the country reached 1 million barrels per day (Blanchard 2018: 13). Since 2011, Libya's income has been going down, but expenses still need to be paid. The government has also spent more on imports and subsidies. Pay and benefits made up 93% of the state budget in September 2016 (Blanchard 2018:13).

## **6 Conclusions**

This article outlined the series of problems that Libya is currently going through. Firstly, this study viewed these problems from two level of analysis and one strategic perspectives which are the local perspective, the regional perspective, and the strategic perspective. As earlier stated, local problems have to do with the history of the country. To be able to forge ahead in creating a new Libya, looking back and learning from the Libyan history will be a very vital tool. The regional problems are present because the government in Libya is weak. One of the reasons for its weakness is because of the existence of two ruling power in the country. For there to be progress in Libya, the two governments present in Libya have to be able to come together and agree on to put their differences aside.

In addition, the strategic problems involve problems such as terrorism, energy problems, migration issues, and strategic competitions. When there are strategic problems, the role of the international community in what Libya is today is also at stake. Terrorism is a security problem and there are other challenges such as the challenges of the armed militias, external interference, and political and administrative challenges. Other problems can be classified as state-building challenges which include socio-economic challenges and democratic challenges.

Furthermore, one of the basic and relevant points observed in this study is that the international community would have done a thorough job in analysing the Libyan situation before their involvement. If they had known that the Libyan community will still remain in a state of despair, they should have immediately deployed forces after the Gaddafi overthrow so as to maintain peace in the area. It was also mentioned in this study that one of the reasons why the Gaddafi regime was toppled was because of the spark in the MENA region coupled with other factors.

Having stated the problems, we, therefore, recommend some solutions to the Libyan crisis. Reforms to improve security must include the suggested solutions, which include making the security forces in Libya stronger and making the borders safer. Furthermore, support for a National Reconciliation Process, the support for the Transitional Justice Process and the strengthening of public administration. In conclusion, the whole parties that should be involved in the creation of a new Libya will need to come together to deliberately agree on what should be done to make Libya get back on her feet.

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