Challenges of the Libyan crisis and opportunities to build the state

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Abstract: This study is aimed to show and present the multiple political conflict (internal and external) in Libya, its causes and repercussions, since as usual in the Libyan scene 12 years ago, the rules of repetition were not broken in the Libyan political transition, as one of the transitional stages failed, while preparations for the next transitional stage are underway, With the ensuing repercussions on successive chapters of political conflicts and civil war. So that it becomes very difficult to complete the process Model. But it has given that the House of Representatives and the Supreme National Council agreed for the first time on the requirements of the transition path. The novelty of this usual approach is a strategy of the changing ways of alliances among central powers and the authority, in addition to an attempt to defuse the political differences that dominate the east and west parts of the country, as the prime minister has been appointed from the west of the country with the supporting of the eastern and western superpowers stuffs in Parliament, and on the political views as a strategy towards relatively consistent.

Keywords: Libya – Political conflict – rebuilding – Crisis.

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Introduction:

The Libyan crisis is one of the crises that was triggered by the wave of revolutions in the Arab region has experienced since 2010. The crisis of its life cycle is relatively short. However, it is difficult to solve other crises in this region. Most international settlement attempts have failed. This claim is not true in most of the relevant political conferences. To this crisis, "there is no military or political solution".

Hereby the exacerbation of the crisis in Libya, with the continuation of security chaos, political divisions, and the absence of a national unity government. Fears are growing that the country's current divisions are becoming a fait accompli imposed by the Turkish-led forces controlling the territory and their external backers.

The Libyan crisis was embodied with the emergence of several parties, the most prominent of which are two, the first one is the government that ruled by Fayez al-Sarraj, an internationally recognized government based in the capital, Tripoli. As for the second government, which isruled by Abdullah Al-Thani in Tobruk and supported by Major General Khalifa Haftar, commander of the Libyan National Army. One of the most prominent chapters of the crisis was the agreement under the auspices of the United Nations on a draft agreement that has so far been unimplemented.

As usual in the Libyan scene 12 years ago, the rules of repetition in the Libyan political transition were not broken, as one of the transitional stages failed, while the subsequent transitional stage was under preparation, with the consequent repercussions on successive chapters of political conflicts and wars, so that ending the process becomes too hard model. But given that the house of representatives and the Supreme National Council agreed for the first time on the characteristics of the transition path, the novelty of this usual approach is a map of the changing ways of alliances amongst centers of power and authority, in addition to an attempt to defuse the political differences that dominate the east and west of the country. Ministers from the west of the country proposed by the eastern and western power centers in Parliament, on a relatively consistent roadmap.

But it is unclear whether the new political transition will take place in a peaceful atmosphere, whether the cloud of security tensions in the west of the country will dissipate, allowing a peaceful transition between the two transitions, or whether there will be a chapter of armed conflict in the west of the country to allow For the government to return the country to the arena of conflict and division, and wasted the new opportunity that added to many missed opportunities. Given the Libyan experience, diagnosing the recurrent causes and motives in the political transition process is impossible, arguing that without a stable political transition, the political process will be fragile, and therefore it will be difficult to achieve a sustainable state of political stability.

The partners of the roadmap for the new transitional phase (Parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), which actually began on February 10, 2022, announced the appointment of Fathi Bashagha as the head of the new government and issued the twelfth amendment to the constitution, a new approach to the transitional phase, represented by drawing a roadmap for the transitional phase within the framework of " The Libyan-Libyan Dialogue", and the consolidation of Libyan sovereignty by rejecting foreign interference in the country's affairs,

and ending the manifestations of political regionalism, may constitute stable opportunities. For the political transition that leads to an ideal state of stability.[1]

Practically, however, it should be noted that the following scenarios may constitute a qualitative opportunities in the process of dismantling the traditional camps in the East and West. Dismantling the camps in western Libya based on the alliance of political elites. As well as the militias, in addition to providing ample opportunities to deal with foreign military bases and files of foreign fighters, for considerations of roles, the Bashagha formed part of these phenomena during the Government of National Accord, which constituted dealing with the most influential threat to politician's process. Additional factors, which will constitute an additional strength of the process institution strengthening. On the other hand, new types of benefits are created in addition to each transition.[2]

As the process will have its own character, these fears will remain, and the most important challenge among them is that there will be no regression in the security archives, through a return to political conflict and armed conflict, even as many observers believe that the current tensions could constitute the factor of early failure. Kills any opportunity looming. An important component of these challenges is how to restore the confidence of the approximately 2.5 million Libyans who want to restore the legitimacy of the authorities, the largest consensus in Libyan history, the state already knows.

This article discusses the stabilization of factors in the new political transition process based on the dynamics of the situation in Libya, the archive of the political process, the positions of the parties in the transition process, and the role of influential members from Libya.

I. The Challenges of Tribal Diversity in Libyan Society :

Tribal diversity has been recognized as a feature of Libyan society since ancient eras. Exclusion and employment to serve the interests of the existing regime was evident in the Libyan period, but its misuse and organization within the institutional framework qualifies it to be Libya's transition after the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime as one of the security challenges facing the stage. This diversity makes the social environment weak and enhances the diversity of loyalty, thus providing a suitable environment for the projects of dividing Libya into three regions as in the colonial era, or according to the conflict of internal, regional and international interests in the environment and its diversity. Players divide it into more regions.[3]

Returning to the transitional phase, although years have passed since the 2011 uprising, the unstable political situation in Libya is due to the failure of the new leaders to achieve a smooth transition and the difficulty of achieving the transitional plan they formulated despite the transitional government's succession due to competition between Libyans that led to direct conflict Among the Libyan parties, the council was elected on the basis of narrow interests based on tribal or regional ties. The logic of dialogue and reconciliation has been set in competition from the start, and above that and conflict, and this increases the potential for

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[1] . Central International Agency(CIA), COUNTRY PROFILE: LIBYA, 20 August 2020, Available at : https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ly.htm
[2] .Thiery, Tardy, L'intervention dans les Année Quatre Vingt Dix: Réflexion Autre D'un Concept évolutif, crises et conflits internationaux, (vol 2),2001
[3] . Bowen, W. Q. (2017). Libya and nuclear proliferation: stepping back from the brink. Routledge.

divisions between political elites and even between cities. Libya is independent as it was before, and threatens the unity of Libya and questions the possibility of its preservation.[4]

The legacy left by the Libyans after the fall of the Gaddafi regime continued for more than 4 years, which will have many negative repercussions on the future of Libya, as his policies lead to the destruction of state institutions, contempt for the institutional culture, and praised the rule of law, as well as lack of belonging to society and the country due to Adherence to tribal thought. In her 1986 book "Gaddafi and His Opponents," Lisa Anderson, professor of international relations at Columbia University in New York and dean of the American University in Cairo, said that nearly 25 years before the regime collapsed, Xavi's legacy would require a new system to deal with the effects The negative of his revolution, as she said: "Gaddafi's policies are what determine the legacy of his regime in Libya, and a new system is needed to deal with the economic and social turmoil caused by the revolution.[5]

As mentioned earlier, the tribes are an important factor in the Libyan equation and will remain in a transitional phase as well as the future of Libya, where they can represent a privilege and a challenge through which their influence is privileged and supported during this phase. The process of democratization, because its impact helps maintain the diversity of identities while protecting the national identity, especially since it enjoys legitimacy and its members are loyal to it, so it is easy for them to obey its laws, which supported the search for security and stability lost since the 2011 uprising. The emerging state institutions in Libya weaken the presence of the state And its strength if it is excluded or if it feels that the presence of the state reduces its influence, or that the state does not have a mechanism to contain the weakness of its institutions, or if it was as it was in the era of the Jamahiriya. Tribes are treated with a logic of discrimination.[6]

This would erupt into a conflict between these tribes under the legitimate pretext of the desire to seize power or restore its stolen status, and these possibilities open the way for the return of tribal ideas to the hegemony of the political scene in the country, not in line with the ABCs of the state of the institution. These possibilities are a result of the legitimacy that these tribes possess, which goes beyond legal and national legitimacy, as they have played a role in Libya's history in igniting political and military conflicts in the country or facilitating their resolution.

Especially since armaments are available and allowed. This fuels fears among the tribes that conflict will break out without regular armies. They maintain security and order, so policymakers in the new Libya must realize that tribes are double sharp swords that may help build or abort jobs and build democracy.

II.   Political and Security Challenges in Libya :

Countries located in Libya, and the political and ideological confrontation, Libya, and among the challenges are the following:

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[4] . European Training Foundation, LABOUR MARKET AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY In Libya, 2014, Available at: https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/m/01BE9A2F283BC6B2C1257D1E0041161A_Em

[5] . Talmon, S. (2011). I. DE-RECOGNITION OF COLONEL QADDAFI AS HEAD OF STATE OF LIBYA?. International & Comparative Law Quarterly, 60(3), 759-767.

[6] . (Richmond Canadian Center of Science and Education, 2017), PP.95-96, Available at: https://www.researchgat.net/publication/316693111_Crude

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Political challenges:

The political challenges in Libya are vary widely, and we will try to include in key points: the nature of the Gaddafi regime and what had done through the crystallization of political layers separate from society itself. Libyan Streets: "The tyrant has fallen, but all his institutions and despotic culture remain." Most political parties in Libya have military bases, which mean that these parties have their own armed brigades, keeping away from political action. We are not far away. threats and military action; Difficulties in uniting the Libyan people under a unified banner and the control of the central authority due to the tribal environment and the political orientation towards which each tribe is heading.[7]

On the one hand, these challenges are offset by deeper political challenges that occurred or occurred in Libya after the so-called Shirat Agreement. We shall endeavor to include them in the ranking of points, as follows:

After the draft was rejected, most members of the General Assembly delegation in Tripoli, who were absent from the signing ceremony for the meeting in Shirat, worked hard in a letter to the UN envoy to Libya, Bernardino, to call for a meeting in Lyon. Reconsider and review the draft, bearing in mind that these reviews are necessary for the success of the dialogue and the achievement of practical results. Justice for all Libyans.[8]

Problems arise with the General Command of the Libyan Army and the headquarters of the Government of National Accord, especially since the parties opposing the agreement pledged to prevent Mr. Fayez al-Sarraj from entering Tripoli. The Sarraj government will not be allowed to enter the capital, but other parties have announced that many armed groups in Tripoli have agreed to the deal, which means that street fighting in the capital is possible, which is the problem of the head of the United Nations mission in Libya. Taking note of the United Nations mission in Libya, the head of mission announced that his mission is in contact with officials in Tripoli with the aim of reaching an agreement that would allow the Government of National Unity to carry out its tasks in the capital.[9]

The Parliament Speakers of Tripoli and Tobruk, Nuri Abu Sahman and Aqira Saleh, insist that they are the source of the legitimacy of any political deal they reject, arguing that the signatories only represent themselves; Dar Al Iftaa, headed by influential and influential people. Sheikh "Al-Ghariani" argued, that the agreement is legally void because the signatories have "no legal authority and no right to sign, and the parties involved in the negotiations with Shirat" and the signing of the agreement is not a member of the Libya Tobruk Conference. "They have absolutely no mandate, nor do they represent anyone; states other than those that continue to struggle in Tripoli and Tablaq; Those who reject the Shirat Agreement. Ensan is one of the main parties in Tripoli, and soon Tobruk held a meeting between them, initially in Malta, and news leaked of talks also taking place in Oman, Which

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[7] . Vandewalle, D. (2012). A history of modern Libya. Cambridge University Press

[8] . Wolfram Lacher, (July 2015): Supporting Stabilization in Libya: The Challenges of Finalizing and Implementing the Skhirat Agreement, SWP Comment 2015/C 36, (Berlin: German Institute for International and Security Affairs),P: 211.

[9] . Fenstermacher, L., Leventhal, T., & Canna, S. (2011). Countering violent extremism: Scientific methods & strategies. AIR FORCE RESEARCH LAB WRIGHT-PATTERSON AFB OH.

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may lead to the signing of a future parallel agreement to terminate the two units agreement and the end of the owner. He said it was a popup.[10]

The intertwined interests, the complexity of the crisis and the diversity of the parties to the conflict have raised serious concerns, internally, regionally and internationally, that the latest agreement, the Shirat Agreement, could be a way to open the way for third parties within while the Sarraj government is the result of an international consensus.

Security Challenges:

Security instability in Libya poses a major challenge to the transition and state-building process in Libya for several reasons, which we will highlight: the inability of the government to control the security situation and the restoration of the prestige of the security sector.

The Libyan army was damaged during the revolution, especially by the attacks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and its inability to impose its authority over the rebel armed groups, or to provide adequate security during the transitional period; A large number of militias belonging to different ideologies. and tribal organizations, which lack a clear political agenda, which pits them against each other for positions of power and leadership and leads to armed conflict.

Without formal security and military authorities and underperforming, Libyan territory has become a hub for extremist Islamist groups, Which made Libya a transit and launch area for all kinds of organized crime (arms trade, drugs, migrants), not the revolutionaries reject the idea. Disarmament and accession to the formal structure of the state.[11]

From the principle of their commitment to what they consider to protect the revolution from the point of view of some, while others believe that by giving up their arms, they will lose many of the privileges they enjoy, while others are motivated by a lack of confidence in the transition process itself by not surrendering their arms.

The challenge of building the Libyan army, as it found a chief of staff in Tabruk and another in Tripoli, each demanding legitimacy. The dispute remained at odds during the UN-led talks, with forces insisting that Libya Dawn completely removed Haftar from commanding the army and accusing him of serious allegations while the other side insisted on his legitimacy, arguing that the internationally recognized parliament granted him that status; legitimacy...).[12]

The United Nations is trying to find a consensus package approved by a presidential council, granting it security and military powers, and it is waiting for a consensus government to separate the army leadership, an opinion that many see, although it delays the biggest differences, but it is dangerous for the appointment of a personality to lead to an explosion of the situation without consensus.

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[10] . Blanchard, C. M. (2016). Libya: Transition and US policy (No. CRSRL33142). Congressional Research Service Washington United States.
[11] . Abdulrazag Mohamed Etelawi, et.al, Crude Oil And Libyan economy, International Journal of Economics and Finance; Vol. 9, No. 4 March.2017.
[12] . Okaneme, G. (2015). The Libyan Revolution: Philosophical Interpretations. Open Journal of Philosophy, 5, 31-38. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojpp.2015.51004.

III.   The Economic and Social Challenges in the Libyan Crisis:

Economic Challenges:

After the fall of the Gaddafi regime in Libya, there were indications of a historic opportunity to build the Libyan economy on solid foundations and create conditions for Libyan citizens to lead a decent life. However, this opportunity awaits a series of challenges. It appears that Libya's economic future depends on the ability of its new leader to respond to the main demands in the following areas: Libya recovers more than $170 billion in frozen international bank balances and manages them transparently according to interim priorities to improve economic performance and ensure confidence and restore confidence and security; Libyan oil revenues must be managed wisely on the basis of clarity, transparency and the national interest, as the energy sector is the lifeblood of the Libyan economy, accounting for 90% of government revenue and 95% of exports.[13]

This includes encouraging the private sector, raising the quality and capacity of human resources to provide the labor market with skilled labor to meet the needs of economic projects in the industrial and service sectors, and keeps pace with the requirements of economic diversification. Libya faces a historic opportunity to build a bright economic future, enabling the country's various groups and actors to benefit from its wealth and participate in the formulation of its economic and social policies. Undoubtedly, Libya has enough material and human resources to transcend the stage of the renter economy, build a diversified economic system, and formulate development strategies.[14]

Social Challenges:

From the beginning of the Libyan revolution, Gaddafi, because of his understanding of the tribal structure of Libyan society, adhered to the "armed tribes," through which Gaddafi hoped to transform the conflict from a popular revolt against an authoritarian regime to "armed tribes." In a civil war in which the tribes played a central role, Gaddafi's exploitation of the tribes intensified competition, especially after the revolution, where he was able to obtain the support of some tribes that fought on his side during the revolution, and the fall of the Gaddafi regime With the fall of the Gaddafi regime, sharp differences emerged within the Libyan society. The victorious revolutionaries were treated with honor and dignity, and shame, defeat, and guilt were publicly spread.[15]

The failure of the previous regime and the killing of a Gaddafi loyalist led to a state of chaos and raised fears of reprisals, especially in the absence of the rule of law and the collapse of the National Security Apparatus. This led to the emergence of a large number of elements of the former regime and. Their families are in Libya. They decide to flee the country, while others are internally displaced due to the ongoing violence. The number of displaced people in Libya has reached nearly 60,000, according to estimates by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The internally displaced live in extremely difficult conditions in refugee camps and urban areas in Libya, and the number of refugees from Libya reached its

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[13] . Siebens, J., & Case, B. (2012). The Libyan civil war: Context and consequences.

[14] . Yarmolinsky, A. (2014). Road to Revolution. Princeton University Press

[15] . Thiery, Tardy, L'intervention dans les Année Quatre Vingt Dix: Réflexion Autre D'un Concept évolutif, crises et conflits internationaux, (vol 2),2001

peak at one point in the area of nearly one million refugees. He still lives in Tunisia and Egypt, and is not officially registered as a refugee.[16]

One of the most serious problems related to the internally displaced is that of the city of Tawergha. According to residents of the neighboring city of Misurata, Tawergan fighters of the Gaddafi tribe launched a systematic killing campaign that lasted for two months during the siege of the city of Misrata. Numbering 42 thousand people completely left the deserted city, where the majority of the sons of the Tawil Han live in three camps, while others sought refuge in other Libyan cities or fled the country; However, the residents of the city of Misurata are still calling for revenge until the destruction of the city of Tawergha to prevent the return of its residents.

IV.   Scenarios of the Libyan Crisis and Prospects for State Building:

Given the continuing state of political and security deterioration in Libya, the armed confrontations between the Libyan parties, and the lack of clarity of vision to end the crisis, future scenarios for the Libyan situation will be proposed, any of which can be achieved, starting from the scenario of the continuation of the transitional phase and intervention, the scenario of civil war, partition, and settlement Peaceful rule of law, the scenario of building democracy, then the scenario of federalism or the scenario of restoring property.[17]

The scenario of the continuation of the transitional phase and intervention:

What happened in Libya went beyond the dispute between the ruler and the political opposition, in a region where a political crisis developed and developed into an armed conflict, followed by an international intervention that led to the overthrow of the regime, making this a continuation of the situation. For a long time, there may be several reasons for the transitional period and the continued interference of the international community in the internal affairs of Libya, including: The spread of corruption in the state apparatus and the general institutional insecurity in it, and the emergence of localism and tribalism that manifested itself after the fall of the previous regime. It is clear that one of its most important manifestations is the continuation of the voices of the speakers who represent their regions and tribes, and between them about the role of each region or tribe in the revolution.[18]

Against the background of the positions of the various regions against or in favor of the proposals of the government and its institutions, it may develop into a conflict and armed confrontation between many regions, which makes reaching a consensus decision, takes a long time. Opinions and positions of all parties; under the pretext of combating illegal immigration and stopping this flow on Libyan territory, Europe took drastic measures and worked hard to support the penetration of terrorists through the country and provide safe conditions for the flow of Libyan oil. In European markets, different politically oriented countries, even within the same current, the situation in Libya was marked by chaos and

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[16] . Siebens, J., & Case, B. (2012). The Libyan civil war: Context and consequences.

[17] . Sánchez-Mateos, E. (2018). Internal dystrophy and international rivalry: the (de-) construction of Libyan foreign policy. The Journal of North African Studies, 1-22

[18] . European Training Foundation, LABOUR MARKET AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY In Libya, 2014, Available at: https://www.etf.europa.eu/sites/default/files/m/01BE9A2F283BC6B2C1257D1E0041161A_Em

division. The 2012 elections showed a clash of attitudes between Islamism and liberalism, and later the emergence of extremist groups in the name of religion.[19]

The resulting struggle for power involves a religious dimension, meaning different currents of thought and orientation. Reaching a political solution and dealing with Muammar Gaddafi and his former officials and the new situation, and this means the continuation of the transitional phase and its negative political and security elements, especially since mutual suspicions dominate public life in Libya.

The difficulty of achieving national reconciliation and transitional justice in an environment based on revenge and revenge as a basis for social interaction, especially with the enactment of the political and administrative separation law, which stipulates that officials are not allowed during the period of the masses to participate in it. The political life in the new Libya, which shows the logic of revenge and the difficulty of addressing inherited issues that guarantee security in a contemporary state, and this, is an example of that.[20]

Especially since the first step in the Libyan democratic experience represented by elections represents one way for the parties to the conflict to ensure two things: control over the use of means Violent (legal use of weapons). Controlling energy wealth (taking advantage of the legitimacy of financial resources) is not the way to achieve a quantum leap in political practice.

The problem of the integration of the different factions and the loyal revolutionaries is one of the problems that hinder the work of the transitional institutions. Militias belonging to regions known for their differences and contradictions express the difficulty of this integration, as well as the complexity of the task of incorporation. Security and achieving political reconciliation between the Libyan parties, which indicates the continuation of the existing political tension on the ground and the situation on the ground.[21]

Relations between the new leader and the foreign powers that intervened in 2011 led to the prolongation of the transitional period, as the intervention of these forces in Libya to serve their interests fueled internal division and chaos, as Libya became a new battlefield in the battle of international interests.

In addition, there is a danger of again making Libya subject to Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which gives NATO the right to use force against terrorist groups in Libya, around which not all Libyan activity is concentrated, unlike the Gaddafi regime. So any military intervention in internal divisions and polarization will continue to be seen as on one side and not on the other.[22]

Not to mention that it will raise controversy about the groups that will be targeted, and those included in the lists of international terrorist groups "such as Ansar al-Sharia" still includes all the Islamist militias in Libya, while not ignoring the social cover of these groups.

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[19] . Lesch, A. M. (2014), Troubled Political Transitions: Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Middle East Policy, 21: 62–74. doi:10.1111/mepo.12057
[20] . Talmon, S. (2011). I. DE-RECOGNITION OF COLONEL QADDAFI AS HEAD OF STATE OF LIBYA?. International & Comparative Law Quarterly, 60(3), 759-767.
[21] . Okaneme, G. (2015). The Libyan Revolution: Philosophical Interpretations. Open Journal of Philosophy, 5, 31-38. http://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojpp.2015.51004.
[22] . Blanchard, C. M. (2016). Libya: Transition and US policy (No. CRSRL33142). Congressional Research Service Washington United States.

The tribal dimension flourishes in Libya, and any action against the sons of a particular tribe will rebel against it. This has led to the consideration of any ill-targeted UN intervention in the Libyan case, a repetition of the Somali experience, which resulted in the organization being considered a party to the conflict, which eventually forced it to announce its failure and withdrawal from the country without a solution to the crisis.

However, the option of military intervention is currently ruled out due to the lack of necessary factors, and the fact that it requires international cover, and it appears that there is no regional coordination and coordination, makes the military option an unlikely but not non-existent option.[23]

Which requires coordinating Libya's efforts to protect the state from the militarization of the new regime that follows Libya to the Somali scenario, and at that time the crisis will not disappear and security will not be achieved, but rather violence will spread more, and security and chaos will weaken. It will intensify, and the threats will escalate abroad.

The scenario of civil war and division:

This situation represents a negative aspect of the future of the Libyan nation-state, a situation in which the crisis does not continue at its current levels, but rather a further tension and escalation. Among the possible factors in the scenario of civil war and the division of Libya, we mention :[24]

Weakness of political and administrative institutions in the post-Gaddafi era. Despite the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime that ruled Libya for 42 years with an iron fist, Libya suffers from a power vacuum as Libya lacks normal political and administrative institutions.

It had a special character characterized by a unique political administration that is not established at the normal global level, in addition to the absence of parties and a partisan institution in Libya, which makes the presence of these institutions in Libya characterized by modernity and instability and makes them unable to do so. They perform their full functions and form conscious popular bases with comprehensive programs, not regional or tribal programmers, which create a state of chaos and dissonance.

Proliferation of Weapons and Militias: This point represents the most important issue in the post-Qaddafi era. The armed conflict in Libya contributed to the spread of weapons and their ease of availability in all sectors of Libya, which led to a lack of discipline and the inability to end armed demonstrations and collect weapons from militias that control public institutions and vital places such as airports. and camps. This is the appropriate atmosphere for armed conflict between the warring factions after the fall of the Gaddafi regime, especially since these militias are not loyal to the central party, and the interim Libyan transitional government cannot conquer and control them.

Because these militias have personal loyalty, which can be seen through the policy. The special policy pursued by each militia, which differs from the policies of other militias, is

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[23] . Wolfram Lacher, (July 2015): Supporting Stabilization in Libya: The Challenges of Finalizing and Implementing the Skhirat Agreement, SWP Comment 2015/C 36, (Berlin: German Institute for International and Security Affairs),P: 211.

[24] . Ham, A. (2012). The Virginia Quarterly Review ،)1(88 ، 136. the road to revolution. International Crisis Group, Libya's Economic Reforms Fall Short, 25 OCTOBER 2018, Available at: https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/north-

subject to it by establishing special internal systems, a special command, and a special geographical space.[25]

Tribal affiliation and loyalty: Tribal institutions are among the most important factors influencing the formation of Libyan political life. They were loyal to him because the tribes played a major role in the armed crisis that toppled the Gaddafi regime and NATO forces had the final say in many field battles, especially in Benghazi and the capital, Tripoli, but after the fall of the regime, tribal disputes. Tribal divisions increased, and tribal divisions appeared, especially between the East, and the phenomenon of tribal conflict is not visible in Libya, except for the phenomenon of revenge between tribes.

Especially because of the proliferation of weapons and equipment and the fact that each tribe is affiliated with armed militias is in fact a new thing in Libya, knowing that Libya includes about 120 tribes, which facilitates unrest and bloody confrontation in Libya. Especially when it comes to ethnic and tribal diversity.[26]

This situation is considered one of the worst and most unsuccessful results of the Libyan crisis, as it will lead to the erosion of all components of the Libyan state, the erosion of its capabilities, the hatred of its people, and the competition of the parties for that. Gaining peace with different interests, the agreement could plunge Libya into permanent chaos similar to the case of Somalia, or make it a stronghold for terrorist groups and a bloody theater for ethnic and sectarian issues, especially the performance of some Arab countries and their shift in prejudice. One of the parties to the conflict in Libya, some of which are funded with weapons, aircraft and money, instead of mediating to find a peaceful solution, and pressure on all parties to resolve issues through dialogue and politics, which will undoubtedly lead to fueling the crisis Libyan conflict. The victory of Libya and the army over one party, instead of proposing peace, breeds hatred.[27]

Which leads to the aggravation of the country's division into two or more political, geographical and tribal entities, and if the efforts of the political agreement fail, the parties to the conflict, convinced that the continuation of the political dialogue is useless, and it is difficult to resolve the conflict a military solution in their favor, with the continuation of the existing form of unity National.

Years after the signing of the political agreement on December 17, 2015 in the Moroccan resort of Skhirat, the specter of crisis still hangs over the theater in Libya amid political divisions and a stifling economic crisis. The national unity government has failed to achieve stability on the security and economic levels despite the recognition and support of the international community, in addition to the recent failure of the international community to sponsor a meeting to amend the political agreement that will raise calls for general elections. to enter a new transitional phase.

About what we might call a failure of the protocol and its consequences. These three (the House of Representatives, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Presidency of the

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[25] . Blanchard, C. M. (2016). Libya: Transition and US policy (No. CRSRL33142). Congressional Research Service Washington United States.
[26] . Bassiouni, M. C. (Ed.). (2013). Libya: From Repression to Revolution: A Record of Armed Conflict and International Law Violations, 2011-2013. Martinus Nijhoff publishers.
[27] . Asongu, S. A., & Nwachukwu, J. C. (2016). Revolution empirics: predicting the Arab Spring. Empirical Economics, 51(2), 439-482.

Republic) changed the state of the country. It does not appear that the international community will risk further support for the three institutions, which have failed even at home due to the divisions they have suffered and the divisions among their members.[28]

The scenario of a peaceful settlement and building a state of law and democracy:

The goal of a peaceful solution is to overcome the crisis through efforts aimed at resolving differences, away from fighting, which does not help to achieve tangible results on the ground, and finding a political solution to the Libyan crisis, away from violence and coercion. Military intervention, ending the state of fighting in Libya and pressure for an institutional state have been the focus of most diplomatic initiatives that seek to launch a full Libyan national dialogue away from the language of arms.

If this is the best case, then it is the most difficult. Concerns that could lead to an escalation of fighting and civil war may be the motivation for the parties to de-escalate and develop a settlement agreement to contain or mitigate it. The settlement is based on completing the transitional phase through parliamentary and presidential elections to ensure a peaceful transfer of power, in addition to dialogue and agreement on the following documents:[29]

All parties achieve national reconciliation in full.

Emphasis on the existence of real political pluralism by creating a good party life.

Supporting Libyan national reconciliation: In light of the escalation of violence, many regional and international parties call on the Libyan political parties and the conflict parties to exercise restraint and resolve the crisis through dialogue. Stability can only be achieved through genuine national reconciliation. All parties to the crisis, this mechanism can only be achieved through the right of all Libyans to participate in building the state without political isolation or political or social discrimination, and on the basis of full citizenship for all Libyans.

Ensuring the establishment of a democratic system that includes the provision of basic rights to the Libyan people, which are represented in the first place in freedoms, including freedom of expression, press and organization, even if citizens exercise all elements of citizenship, and not restrict it. Their freedoms except through imposed respect for others, and no censorship of their ideas unless they threaten freedom and democratic institutions and incite political violence.

Proposing the concept of truth and fairness commissions to try criminals instead of collective punishment of the supporters of the former regime and to move away from the policies of revenge and access to justice and fair trials.

The need to expedite the formation of security institutions and a professional Libyan army that could draw on the training expertise of the Arabs, move away from narrow factional and

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[28] . Alusala, n. & Institute for Security Studies (South Africa). Reintegrating ex- combatants in the Great Lakes region: lessons learned. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies; 2011.
[29] . African Development Bank Group, African Economic Outlook 2020, (Abidjan : African Development Bank, 30-Jan-2020).

tribal accounts, and prevent the parties from taking over armed groups in order to preserve the unified army and national security in Libya.

Ensuring that foreign powers do not interfere in internal political and economic interactions and trends, especially with the availability of the appropriate environment for intervention through reconstruction projects that the great powers are competing for in order to preserve or improve their interests in the country.

Although the transitional period was characterized by political fragmentation due to the multiplicity of decision-making centers, which intensified as a result of the lawlessness due to the absence of an institution that maintains order and is entrusted with the task of establishing security and restoring stability in the country.[30]

There are Libyan, regional and international efforts led by Algeria, seeking to achieve national reconciliation among Libyans to move the country from a prolonged transitional stage to a stage in which it embodies the foundations of democracy, starting from the foundation. Among the institutional structures, defining tasks and responsibilities, and above all, forming a Libyan national army, then agreeing on the form of the state and the political system according to all Libyan parties, regardless of their different affiliations, affiliations, and orientations, without exception or marginalization, in search of a final peaceful solution to the Libyan crisis.

In order to avoid new threats when the country enters into a new civil war or even a foreign military intervention under humanitarian pretexts in order to protect the interests and interests of the country, this can only be achieved by handing over the reins. By involving various actors, the Libyans file was handed over to the Libyans themselves, to keep them safe from foreign interference. Without procedural exclusion and drawing on the experience of a country that has achieved national reconciliation, the country is moving forward in safety.[31]

A study by the Middle East Center also showed that the situation depends on the Libyan parties to stop hostilities and reach a political solution based on the Shirat Agreement and acceptance of the Government of National Accord, noting that this requires convincing the parties. That they can in the foreseeable future, it is not feasible to resolve conflicts militarily in favor of either at the regional and international levels, a situation that requires consensus among the influential powers, Libya on the need to end the conflict. A peaceful settlement aims to achieve the desired democratic transition and work on rebuilding Libya. Such a situation, despite the difficulty of what Libya is experiencing, is not impossible.

Conclusion:

The nation-building process is a continuous and dynamic process aimed at achieving political stability, strengthening the welfare state, and integrating social identity. If this complex process fails, especially in countries with fragile tribal structures or multi-ethnicity, the sense of belonging and pride in a collective national identity will recede in favor of narrow identities. In such a situation, the relationship between ethnic groups within the state is characterized by competition, which can lead to conflict and violence, leading to the failure of

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[30] . Abdulrazag Mohamed Etelawi, et.al, Crude Oil And Libyan economy, International Journal of Economics and Finance; Vol. 9, No. 4 March.2017.
[31] . (Richmond Canadian Center of Science and Education, 2017), PP.95-96, Available at: https://www.researchgat.net/publication/316693111_Crude

the state; A description of a legitimate government, a state unable to protect its people and territory. This is what the experience of state building in Libya shows.

As an important part of the political and social structure in Libya, the tribe has always played an important role in achieving political and social balance in Libya. because its members are more loyal to it than state institutions. However, the use of tribal data under Muammar al-Qaddafi as a basis to ensure continued rule and to strengthen loyalty to al-Qadhafi gradually made it a negative factor that led to the disruption of construction projects after Libya's independence.

The absence of institutions during the Gaddafi era makes building them in the transitional period an important and urgent issue, as it is the first cornerstone of a new Libyan state, but it is difficult at the same time, especially since there is a political difference in vision and direction. The levels between the Libyan parties inflamed, which indicates the depth of the conflict over who rules post-Qaddafi Libya, impeding the development of building Libyan state institutions and democratic structures. The continuation of the tribes in the political and social reality, even in the post-Gaddafi era, invalidates their role in achieving national reconciliation, especially since the idea of revenge and revenge created a traditional hostility between tribes.

Tribes have always been an important factor in the Libyan equation, and will remain so during the transitional period and shaping the future of Libya. Paradoxically, it can represent a privilege and a challenge, and through the way it is used at this stage, its impact will be distinctive and support the democratization process, so that its impact helps protect national identity. While maintaining the diversity of identity, which makes it easier for them to obey its laws because of its legitimacy, and where its members denounce allegiance to it supports the search for security and stability lost since the 2011 uprising. However, intellectual and cultural influences may represent challenges and obstacles to the process of building Libyan state institutions emerging in the Libyan context, and weakening The existence and strength of the state if it is excluded or feels that the presence of the state reduces its influence, or that the state does not have a mechanism to contain its institutional weaknesses.

In sum, the situation in Libya and its political and military situation portends the continuation of the current crisis after the fall of the Gaddafi regime, which led to the fall of the Libyan state and to a political vacuum and political chaos over who is in. Authority and how to formulate the political system and state building, and the laws of isolation played an important role in impeding the democratic process in Libya, and prolonging the transitional period, especially since there are other security, social and economic challenges in addition to the positions of external forces on developments in Libya that make resolving the crisis difficult.

As the conflict in Libya continues, and given the length of the transition, this opens the door to four scenarios: a transitional phase, a scenario in which intervention continues, and a scenario of civil war and division, and the scenario of a peaceful settlement establishes the base. A law, federation, or a return to the monarchy, and that the transitional period continues, with the conflict continuing and no agreement reached, the intervention is the closest that satisfies the Libyan parties.