

Forum: *Security Council*

Issue: *The situation in Libya*

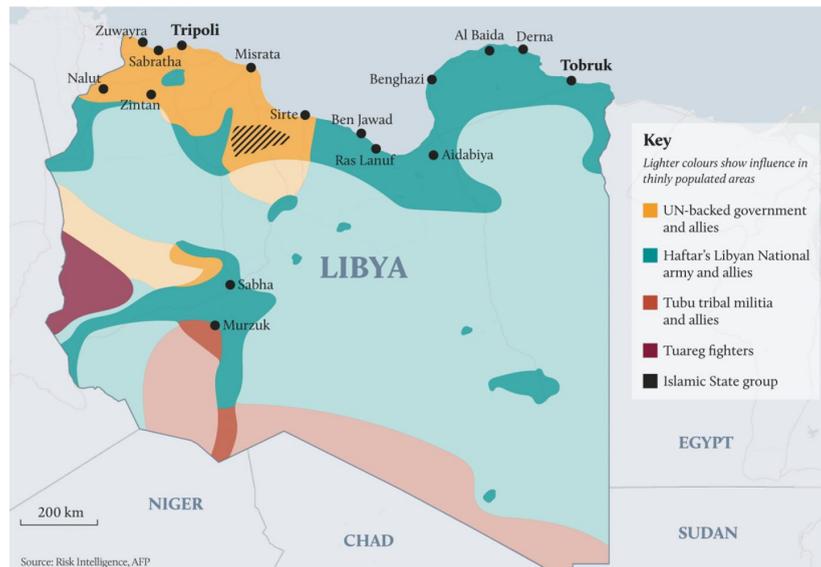
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Introduction

After ruling Libya as a dictator for over 40 years, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, who proclaimed himself as the Brotherly Leader and Guide of the Revolution, was overthrown and killed during the Arab Spring and First Libyan Civil War. Thenceforward, a power vacuum was left in Libya as the country struggles to find a strong enough government to replace Gaddafi, and it is now controlled by three main powers– the House of Representatives (HoR), the Government of National Accord (GNA), and the National Salvation Government. All of them seek to control the oil, population, and territory of the once prosperous country, plunging Libya into economic, political, and social chaos and leaving the status quo further away from the goals of peace and security protesters hoped to achieve than before 2011. The situation of Libya’s lack of a central government is further worsened by the myriad of militias and terrorist groups present, which houses perfect conditions for them to come and grow due to its availability of weapons, crucial location for attacks and expansions, uncontrolled borders, and widespread available territory.

As a result of the violence and instability, inter alia, Libya is also experiencing a refugee crisis because it serves as one of the major routes for refugees to arrive from sub-Saharan Africa and enter Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. This poses both a security and humanitarian threat as they can bring in disguised terrorists, are being tortured in overcrowded detention centers, and face risks of drowning on poorly supplied boats. Today, nine years after the fall of Gaddafi and the First Civil War, Libya is still involved in its Second Civil War from 2014 to the present, where no clear end can be seen as an agreement or ceasefire plan is lacking among the four sides, or three after the dissolution of the National Salvation Government in 2017. Libya is desperately in need of peace, security, stability, and unity, all of which are crucial for the Security Council to bring forth for the country through its actions and legally-binding resolutions.



#1: A map that illustrates the areas of territory controlled by each side of the Second Libyan Civil War, as of May 2019.

Definition of Key Terms

Arab Spring

Beginning with the Tunisian Revolution and immediately spreading to fifteen other countries within months, the Arab Spring was a series of uprisings and violence across the Middle East and North Africa. These mass protests were often caused by authoritarian regimes and problems such as corruption or human rights violations associated with their rule, which led to government overthrows in some countries but only brought constitutional democracy to Tunisia.

Ceasefire

A ceasefire, also known as a truce, is a temporary suspension of fighting between all countries and groups of an armed conflict. It is normally declared and agreed upon in order to allow certain civilian activities or set the grounds for further discussions regarding reaching permanent peace.

Libyan Civil Wars

The Libyan Civil Wars were fought among multiple sides, including different government bodies supported by foreign countries and terrorist groups, to become the country's central government and control its resources and territories. The wars are divided into the first and the second, with the former fought between two sides in 2011 and the latter between four sides from 2014 to the present.

Power Vacuum

In political science, a power vacuum refers to when a country is lacking a central government to control its day-to-day operations. This period of time usually happens when the previous government lost control from military coups, overthrows, or revolutions, and there is yet to be a new replacement due to both power competition and ongoing violence.

Refugees

Refugees are people forced to leave their homes and cross international borders in escape of persecution, violence, or war. Defined by the United Nations, refugees enter a new country with a “well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion”. Such individuals are often afraid or unable to receive protection and return to their home country.

Background Information

Rule and Death of Gaddafi

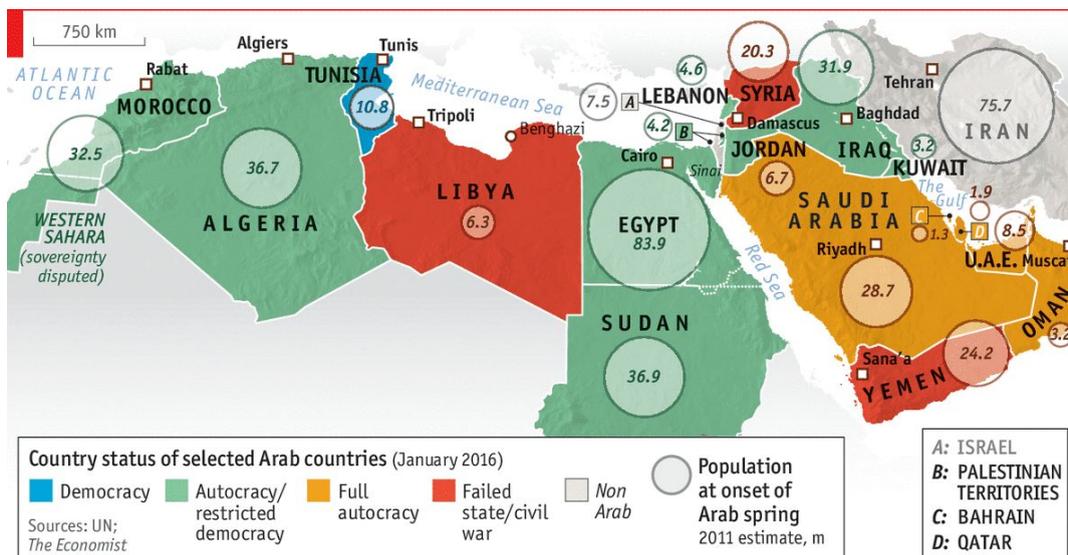
During the 1959 coup d'état, Gaddafi led the Free Officers Movement that overthrew Idris I, the King of Libya who ruled ever since the country gained independence from Italy in 1951. Unlike the previous pro-Western king who is growing extremely unpopular among the population Gaddafi supported Arab nationalism, especially with Egypt. Whether as the Revolutionary Chairman from 1969 to 1977 or the Brotherly Leader from 1977 to 2011, Gaddafi ruled the country in a dictator-like fashion. He allowed little freedom, reacted violently against protests, and developed hostile relations with Europe, the US, and the UN. Despite ruling for forty-two years, Gaddafi's political downfall came as part of the Arab Spring, eventually resulting in his death as part of the Battle of Sirte that marked the final battle of the 2011 Civil War.

The Arab Spring, First Libyan Civil War, and Foreign Military Intervention (2011)

In countries like Libya, the Arab Spring led to governments have been overthrown, and major civil wars and protests have broken out. When protests against Gaddafi's rule broke out in Benghazi, tensions quickly escalated as the Gaddafi Regime fired on the protestors. The protests then spread throughout the country, with both armed civilians and rebel forces fighting against the military of the Gaddafi Regime and foreign mercenaries, resulting in violence and huge numbers of casualties. Wanting

to overthrow Gaddafi and create a new government, the rebel force created the National Transitional Council (NTC).

As the civilian casualties continued to increase in the Arab Spring and civil war, a coalition of NATO member states and other countries militarily intervened in Libya through establishing no-fly zones, setting up naval blockades, and launching airstrikes to target pro-Gaddafi forces. In August, with the support of the coalition, rebel forces launched an offensive campaign against the Gaddafi Regime. They retook old territory and captured Tripoli, the current capital of Libya, which scattered the Gaddafi Regime to Sirte and forced them to name the city as their new capital. Throughout the war, the UN, China, and Russia, as well as 100 other countries, recognized the NTC as the only legal regime in Libya. During the final Battle of Sirte, the rebels captured the city in their fourth attempt, killing Gaddafi and marking an end to his forty-two years rule and the civil war.



#2: The status of Arab countries, including those in the Arab Spring, showing Tunisia as the only democracy and Libya as one of the failed states undergoing a civil war.

Fractional Violence (2011-2014)

After the First Libyan Civil War, fighting did not end between the different groups despite at least 30,000 civilian deaths. Libya soon began a period of factional violence with three sides to the conflict—the HoR’s Libyan National Army (LNA), militia groups including Gaddafi loyalists and guerrillas, and the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries. The NTC, established during the war, was supposed to be the “political face of the revolution” and become the only legitimate government in Libya at that time. However, it was unable to control the entire country, mainly because of its lack of a sufficient military. Militias and rebel groups during the war refused to disarm, as they also wanted to seize control over the entire country. The NTC hosted parliamentary elections in July 2012 and soon handed their power to the

General National Congress (GNC) the month after, which ended its brief ten-month rule. However, the GNC was still unable to control the violence between militias and rebel groups in the country, with one of the many examples being the 2012 US Benghazi Mission attack. The attack, performed by the terrorist group Ansar al-Sharia, resulted in the deaths of US ambassador Christopher Stevens and three other Americans. This act shocked the international community and brought back up the important problem of militias and rebel groups fighting control that needs to be solved.

Key Issues

Multiple Governments and Political Instability

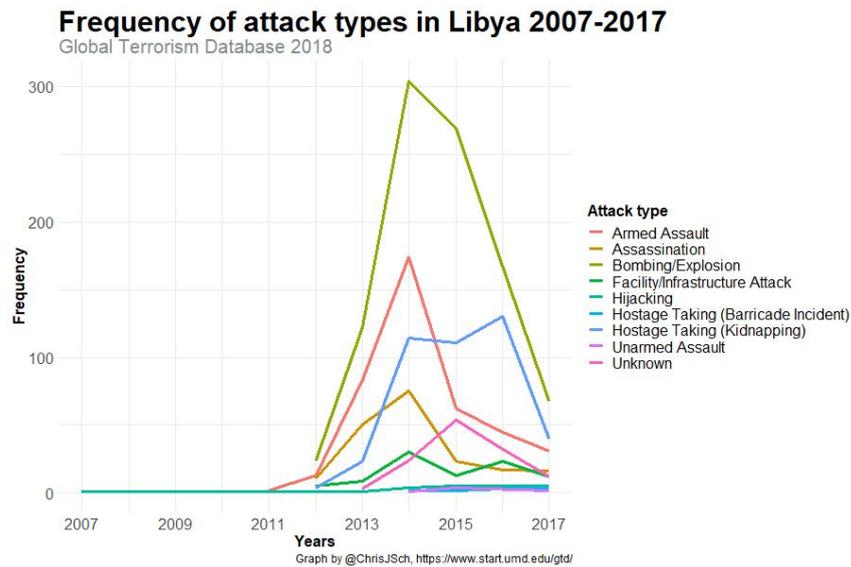
In response to public pressure, parliamentary elections were held in June 2014 and elected the HoR, also known as the Council of Deputies (COD), to take over the GNC. However, with just a 18.8% turnout as well as violent protests and riots, the GNC refused to transfer power after their mandate expired, leading to the Second Libyan Civil War. From 2014 to the present, conflicts continued between the HoR and the GNC. The former had the support of the LNA lead by General Khalifa Haftar, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), while the latter has obtained assistance from the Muslim Brotherhood, Qatar, Sudan, and Turkey. In the end, as a result of talks brokered by the United Nations (UN), the HoR and GNC formed the GNA under the Libyan Political Agreement, forming a President Council and temporary GNA with elections every two years.

Threats of Islamic Extremist/Terrorist Groups

In Libya, due to the lack of a central government and high levels of political instability, widespread terrorism is causing serious security threats and constant attacks on the country. The Islamic extremist group Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), also known as ISIL or DAESH, first appeared in 2012 to expand, gain supporters, and take control of the Libyan territory. In 2014 and 2015, it took control of several key cities in a row, including Derna, Sirte, and Nofaliya, asserting control over those regions and setting training camps in the areas around it. The ISIS presence in Libya has also been connected to terrorist attacks both in and out of the country, including the bombings at Ariana Grande's concert in Manchester that killed twenty-three people in May 2017. Even with foreign military intervention, including airstrikes carried out by American and Egyptian air forces, ISIS has already lost their control of Sirte but remains a serious threat in Libya.

Ansar al-Sharia, another Islamic extremist group, was responsible for the 2012 US Benghazi Mission Attack. After the attack, the group has been designated as a terrorist group by the UN, the US, and several other countries and international organizations. Ansar al-Sharia strongly supports the

implementation of strict Sharia law, and it relies mainly on killing specific Libyan and American citizens to achieve its purpose. However, although the group was already dissolved on May 27, 2017, due to the deaths of its leaders and fighters, the group still has a strong presence in Benghazi and other parts of Libya, causing a threat together with ISIS and other terrorist organizations, such as the Abu Salim Martyrs Brigade (ASMB) and Majlis Shura Shabab al-Islam (MSSI).



#3: A graph of the terrorist attack frequencies in Libya by type, which still represents a significant amount to be considered despite a decline across most.

Humanitarian Issues and Refugee Crisis

Despite all of the domestic problems already going on in Libya, the overall situation is further worsened by humanitarian and refugee issues. Geographically, because of its close location with Sicily and the rest of Italy, refugees from all across the Middle East, North, West, and East Africa enter Europe by passing through Libya, where they begin the last leg of their journey. Since 2011, the chaos, political instability, and power vacuum have made it easy for smugglers to take advantage of Libya's situation and produce tremendous profits in the human trafficking market. Again, as a result of the lack of a proper government, the 1,100-mile Libyan coastline became an "open border" without forces controlling the refugees entering and exiting the country. During the peak season, Italy rescued 13,000 refugees within four days, and more than 3,000 have died fleeing across the Mediterranean Ocean every year.

In addition, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are 217,002 internally displaced people (IDPs) in the country and another 278,559 returnees that came back to Libya. Including those that fled to neighboring countries such as Tunisia and Egypt, there might be two million Libyans living outside the country, which constitutes a third of the six million total population. These people, including refugees and IDPs, are desperately in need of humanitarian aid.

They have low or limited access to basic living supplies and health care services, further worsening living conditions as all of these are becoming less due to ongoing conflicts. By abusing, exploiting, killing, and torturing, rebel groups have consistently demonstrated acts of violence against Libyans, especially refugees, causing the issue to be one that has to be solved.



#4: The sea routes that refugees take to travel across the Mediterranean Sea, many of which pass through Libyan coastal cities to reach Sicily, Italy.

Major Parties Involved and Their Views

European Union (EU)

The EU strives to assist in Libya's transition to stability and provides funds for security purposes. However, tensions escalate as the union faces the European migrant crisis, leading to the voiced interest in breaking the previously negotiated EU-Libya migrant deal to reduce the number of refugees fleeing from Libya to Italy. The European Border and Coast Guard Agency, otherwise known as FRONTEX, has also been operating in Libya with the obligations of bringing African refugees to Italy— a country firmly in favor of assisting Libya in its current crisis and political instability.

House of Representatives (HoR)

The HoR is the internationally-recognized legislature of Libya elected in 2014 to replace the previous GNC. Seeing as HoR is based in the eastern port city of Tobruk, Libya, the parliament represents one of the two parties involved in the civil war— Tobruk government. Due to its failure to pass a valid constitutional declaration as the authoritative body, the HoR turned to support Abdullah al-Thinni's

government, which is based in Bayda. Moreover, the HoR has aligned with the general Khalifa Haftar, who leads the LNA, therefore now sharing control of the army and dominating as the monopoly of power over the GNA.

Government of National Accord (GNA)

The GNA is a transitional government of Libya aimed to unify the opposing governments of the HoR and the GNC. However, ever since the GNA voiced its support for the Libyan Political Agreement, the GNC has criticized the GNA for being biased towards HoR. Considering its establishment under the UNSC-endorsed Libyan Political Agreement, the GNA is currently recognized by the UN as Libya's legitimate government despite the lack of approval from the Libyan HoR.

Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

ISIS, also known as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), has been operating in regions of Libya ever since the beginning of the 2011 Libyan Civil War. Taking advantage of the absence in security enforcement and political stability, ISIS has been able to control as much as the city of Sirte and its surroundings as of 2016. The militant group has also launched numerous terrorist attacks and acts of atrocities, resulting in civilian casualties and fatalities. Through its local dominance, ISIS has also been using Libya as a center of recruitment for operations in Syria and Iraq.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO has a very controversial history of local support in Libya. In 2011, all 29 of its members agreed to the establishment of a no-fly zone over Libya, along with the enforcement of an arms embargo and the launch of attacks in the protection of Libyan civilians. However, after the death of Gaddafi in late October of 2011, NATO withdrew from its local operations, and the Security Council voted accordingly despite the request of the Libyan new government to extend the presence of NATO. However, critics argue that Libya's current crisis is largely credited to NATO actions and interventions in Libya before October.

United States of America (US)

Libya-US relations were heavily strained as the US government cut ties with the Gaddafi regime before the 2011 Civil War began. The US supports the internationally accepted GNA and is against ISIS. Throughout the war, it suppressed Libyan air defenses, established a no-fly zone over Libya, and campaigned air strikes against pro-Gaddafi forces. Later even by forming diplomatic relations and sending humanitarian aid to rebels, the US intervention crippled the strength of the Gaddafi regime and contributed to the victory of the rebels, leading to the fall of Tripoli in August of 2011. However, in the

2012 Benghazi Attack, Islamic militant group Ansar al-Sharia launched an attack against the US consulate in Benghazi, Libya, resulting in the death of four Americans.

Timeline of Relevant Resolutions, Treaties and Events

Date	Description of event
September 1st, 1969	<p>Libyan Coup D'état</p> <p>Because of Idris I's high unpopularity and immense wealth from oil discoveries, the coup was carried out by Gaddafi's Free Officers Movement. It led to the king's overthrow and the creation of the Libyan Arab Republic.</p>
February 15th, 2011	<p>Arrival of the Arab Spring</p> <p>After starting in several other countries, anti-government protests related to the Arab Spring began in Libya. Within a matter of days, it quickly escalated to protestors taking over both Tripoli and Benghazi, and started the First Libyan Civil War.</p>
March 5th, 2011	<p>Establishment of the NTC</p> <p>The NTC was formed as the "the only legitimate body representing" Libya, and would soon be recognized as the country's government by the International Contact Group for Libya.</p>
July 7th, 2012	<p>GNC Representatives Elected</p> <p>As promised after Gaddafi's death during the Battle of Sirte, fair elections were held for over 2.5 million Libyans to choose their representatives of the GNC, whom power would soon be handed to.</p>
September 11th, 2012	<p>Benghazi Attack</p> <p>On the eleventh anniversary of the September 11th Attacks, members of Ansar al-Sharia attacked the US Consulate in Benghazi, resulting in the deaths of Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and three other Americans.</p>
August 4th, 2014	<p>HoR Representatives Elected</p> <p>When the GNC refused to dissolve following the expiry of its mandate, protests and the Second Civil War led to another round of elections, one with extremely low turnout rates, for the HoR to take power.</p>

Formation of ISIS in Libya

November 13th, 2014 After conquering multiple key cities, Islamic groups in Libya pledged their allegiance to the ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, which declared for the country to split into three provinces– Fezzan, Cyrenaica, and Tripolitania.

The GNA Arrives by Sea

March 31st, 2016 The GNA, formed under the UN-led and Security Council supported Libyan Political Agreement, arrives as the capital Tripoli by sea and takes control of all prime ministerial offices.

Western Libya Offensive

April 4th, 2019 The offense, also known as Operation Flood of Dignity, was launched by the HoR's LNA General Khalifa Haftar to take back territory in the western part of the country and Tripoli, which were held by militia groups and the GNA.

Relevant UN Treaties and Events

- Libyan Political Agreement, 17 December 2015

As a part of the Libyan peace process brokered under UN efforts, the agreement between the HoR and GNC was based on the four main principles of balance, consent, democracy, and empowerment.

- Peace and security in Africa, 26 February 2011 (**S/RES/1970**)

Passed unanimously by the Security Council, the resolution imposed embargoes and sanctions for the Gaddafi regime's use of force, as well as referred the situation to the ICC.

- The situation in Libya, 13 March 2011 (**S/RES/1973**)

The resolution, being the first on such topic, imposed a no-fly zone, authorized the use of "all necessary measures" to protect civilians, and established a panel of experts, all of which allowed this resolution to form the basis to intervene in the Libya Civil War with force.

- The situation in Libya, 16 September 2011 (**S/RES/2009**)

The resolution established the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), whose mission has been since then extended by different UNSC resolutions every year and has been crucial in assisting the country towards transitioning to long-term peace.

- Maintenance of international peace and security, 9 October 2015 (**S/RES/2240**)

After complaints towards the trafficking of Libyan refugees, this resolution was proposed and passed with Venezuela's abstention to allow ships to be intercepted if they might be used for human trafficking. It showed another step the international community has taken to fight against the issue.

Evaluation of Previous Attempts to Resolve the Issue

ICC Investigations and Rulings

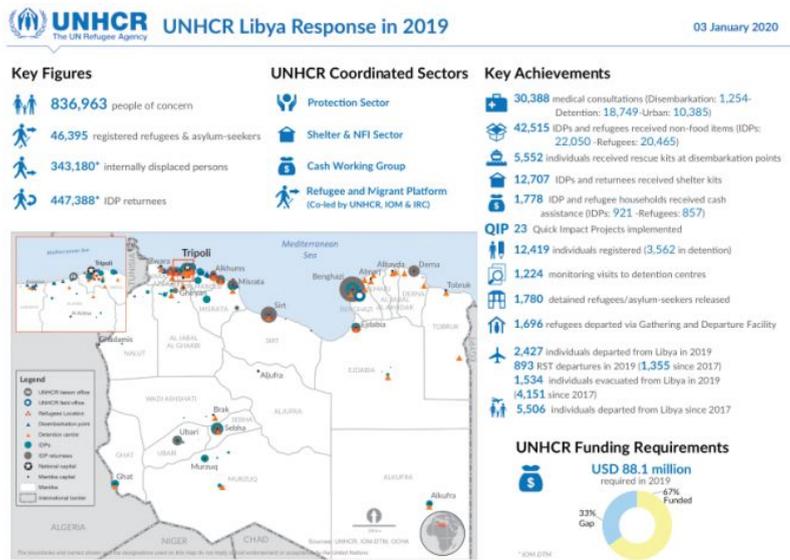
The International Criminal Court (ICC) has been monitoring Libya after its uprising began in 2011. Even though Libya is not a part of the Roman Statute, the ICC must exercise its jurisdictions as all members of the Security Council referred the case. From its investigation, the ICC found actions including arbitrary detentions, torture, forced displacement, and unlawful killings. It thus convicted Muammar Gaddafi and his son Saif al-Islam Gaddafi for crimes against humanity, one of which was withdrawn following his death and the other unable to continue as Libya won't turn him over. It also sentenced Abdullah Sanussi and 36 other people, whose trials took place domestically at a specially designated courtroom in Tripoli's Al-Hadba Corrections Facility. However, despite being referred to as having "significant developments" towards unity, Libya's case can be considered as another of ICC's failures. Without promising security situations and significant actions taken by the Security Council, Libya chose not to honor the ICC's warrants of arrest and does hand in its convicted criminals, which undermines the cause of the justice system.

Libyan Peace Process

To bring forth a solution to the Second Libyan Civil War, the Libyan Peace Process were made up of a series of meetings and three agreements they concluded– the 2015 Libyan Political Agreement, 2019 Libyan National Conference, and 2019 Three-Point Plan. The first agreement, as aforementioned, didn't include all sides of the conflict and had steps that were yet to be completed. The second was a meeting planned in Ghadames, a Libyan city right beside the border with Algeria and Tunisia, to discuss elections– which many Libyans wanted as found by domestic and international meetings conducted by the UNSMIL and Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. Yet, it was only intended to provide recommendations and leave implementation up to the GNA and HoR, and never happened due to postponements as a result of the Western Libyan Offense. Proposed by UNSMIL leader Ghassan Salamé, the last was a peace plan that contains a ceasefire between the GNA and HoR, an international meeting with all countries involved, and a domestic meeting similar to the planned Libyan National Conference. Despite such actions, peace still remains far to come as support is divided among varying sides of the conflict and processes organized by the international community are often not kept up with.

Relevant UN Organizations and Programs

Established by the Security Council, the UNSMIL was a political mission led by the Department of Political Affairs. With its most recent mandate extended to September 15, 2020, the UNSMIL was created in order to rebuild post-war Libya together with the NTC. To achieve its goals, it cooperates with many other United Nations Organizations (UNOs), with one of them being the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). Including plans from previous years, the OCHA has created the 2019 Libya Humanitarian Response Plan (HRP). As the standards of living in Libya are decreasing on multiple levels, ranging from basic supplies to health care and public services, the humanitarian issue is one that has to be solved. These plans, continuing year after year, have been mainly successful for the proportion of people under the target it reaches and impacts— mostly centered around Tripoli and Benghazi but also spread out across all regions. Working with 23 NGOs and UNOs to implement 68 projects across 8 sectors, the 2019 HRP needs USD 202 million to target 552,000 out of the 823,000 in need, a huge portion of the 6.82 million total Libyan population.



#5: An overview of the UNHCR’s work in response to Libya’s humanitarian crisis, including the population in need and refugees it assisted and achievements across multiple sectors.

Possible Solutions

As the situation in Libya is a crucial issue both domestically and internationally, the country is desperately in need of possible solutions that could solve the problems mentioned above. To fundamentally solve the majority of problems at once, the most important solution is to create a centralized and stable government in Libya capable of controlling the entire country. The current chaos and conflicts in Libya have all essentially followed the power vacuum created after Gaddafi’s death, and through the creation of the GNA, the UNSMIL has failed to create the replacement government due to a

lack of support from the HoR and GNC. Although there might be many ways to accomplish this, a possible approach is through fair elections by all Libyan civilians, maybe even supervised by the UNSMIL, UN member states, or other third parties that allow the elections to be equal and not influenced by any rebel group.

Due to the fact that Libya is in a dangerous condition to live in, protecting its civilians through continuing the arms embargo could be a possible solution. It makes it difficult for any group or side of the conflict to become too powerful, allowing the country to remain stable until a new government takes over. A possible ceasefire, one that is more legally recognized than its predecessors, can also be another possible solution. Some methods of improving the ceasefire's continuity and reliability can include unbiased terms all sides can agree upon, stated specifications of geographic regions and times, and clear guidelines of actions that are permitted and banned. In the long term, they could also be step-by-step transitions towards peace maintaining, or incentives for keeping up and sanctions or other forms of repercussions for any violations.

Libya is also in need of stronger border control in order to stop terrorists from entering and refugees from being illegally trafficked. The solution could come in the form of funding or investments towards security systems and intelligence sources, or the training in local law enforcement agencies so that they could tackle these situations more effectively. Lastly, a short-term solution is that Libya should continue to receive humanitarian aid at least before the domestic situation improves, which has been difficult, especially with the lack of funding. The UN or individual member states can possibly provide Libya with these basic services by themselves, or offer assistance to relevant IGOs and NGOs, including Doctors Without Borders, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), or the World Food Program.

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