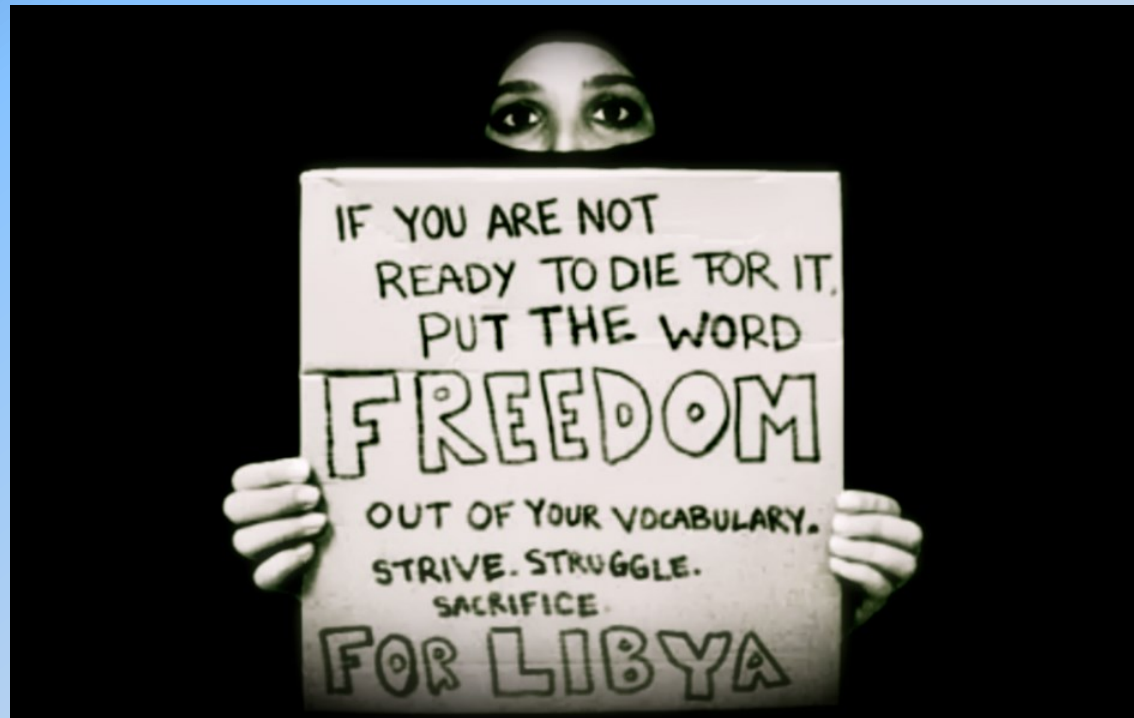


# NATO DEFENSE COLLEGE FOUNDATION



## Libya the unen(viable)



Rome, 26/11/2013  
NATO Parliamentary Assembly  
Alessandro Politi  
Director NDC Foundation

# FLASHBACK



# Post-war and UNO



- After various negotiations, UNGA appointed Adrian Pelt as commissioner for trustee administration
- Libya had 90% illiteracy, no serious economic resources (Italian farms apart)
- Cleavage between Fezzan, Tripolitania and Cyrenaica (and within generations also)
- National Constituent Assembly (1950) envisaged a federal constitutional monarchy
- 1951 Constitution
- 24.12.1952 Independence and Kingdom of Libya



# Monarchy oil and split



- 1951 the king abolishes political parties
- Lack of heir to the throne
- 1953 Arab League, 20/y friendship treaty with Britain, 1953 Wheelus AFB + ties with IT, FR, GR, TU
- Esso discovers light crude (June 1959)
- 1963 abolition of federation and split with urbanised pro-Nasr younger generation
- Ominous dissatisfaction with corruption, bureaucracy and malfeasance, especially in officers
- 1969 Idris in Greece hospitalised, Hasan ar Rida regent



الملك خالد بن عبد العزيز يستقبل الملك الحسن في الإسكندرية (أكتوبر 2004)  
صورة رقم (2) من إصدارات المجلد 1 لسنة 2004 من مجلة "الملك فيصل بن عبدالعزيز"  
(مجلس الوزراء، الرياض)



# The Sept. 1969 coup



- Libya follows Egypt's example with Free Officers' Movement
- Coup starts in Bengasi, no resistance, king abdicates
- Overnight the country becomes from conservative to radical
- Revolutionary Command Council promotes Capt. Gheddafi to colonel and chief of Armed Forces
- No parties, no communism, no imperialism, yes Arab and Palestinian cause
- Any resemblance with the present?



# An end

Muammar Muhammad Abu Minyar al-Gaddafi



20 October 2011

1 September 1969 – 20 October 2011

**SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI**



# Machiavelli today...

- would have written about Qaddafi and not Valentino Borgia
- He surely would have underlined the dictator's effort to create a new Libya beyond traditional families and divides
- and he would have noted his failure, together with similar ones by Saddam Hussein and Hafez el-Assad



# SITREP



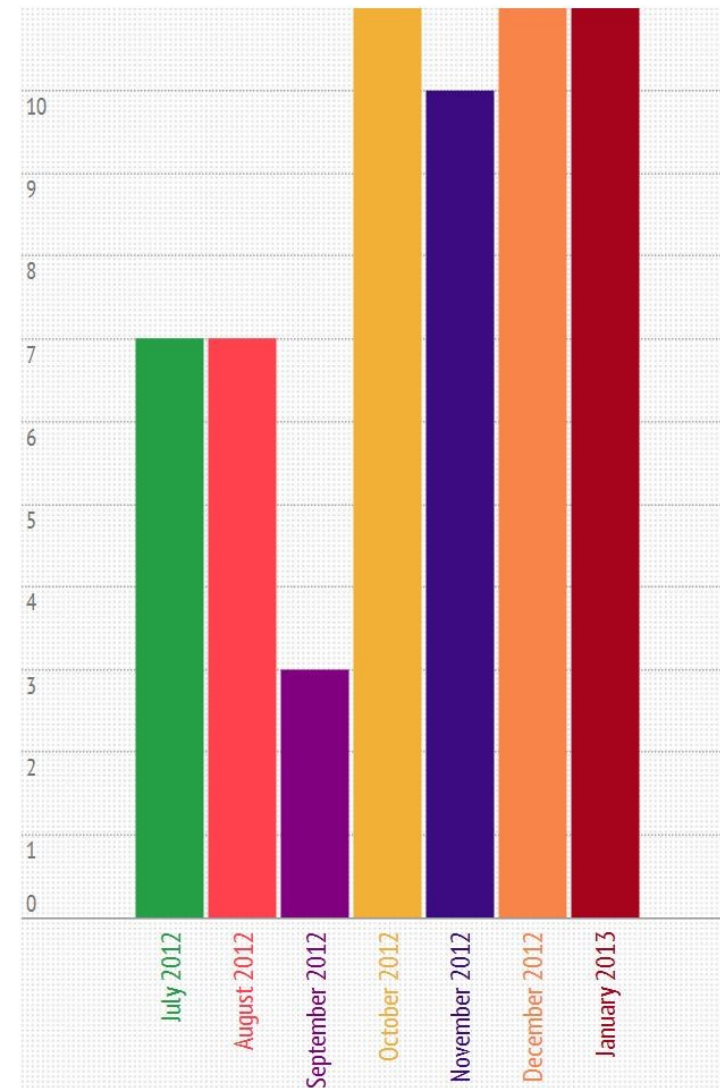


# Short term forecast

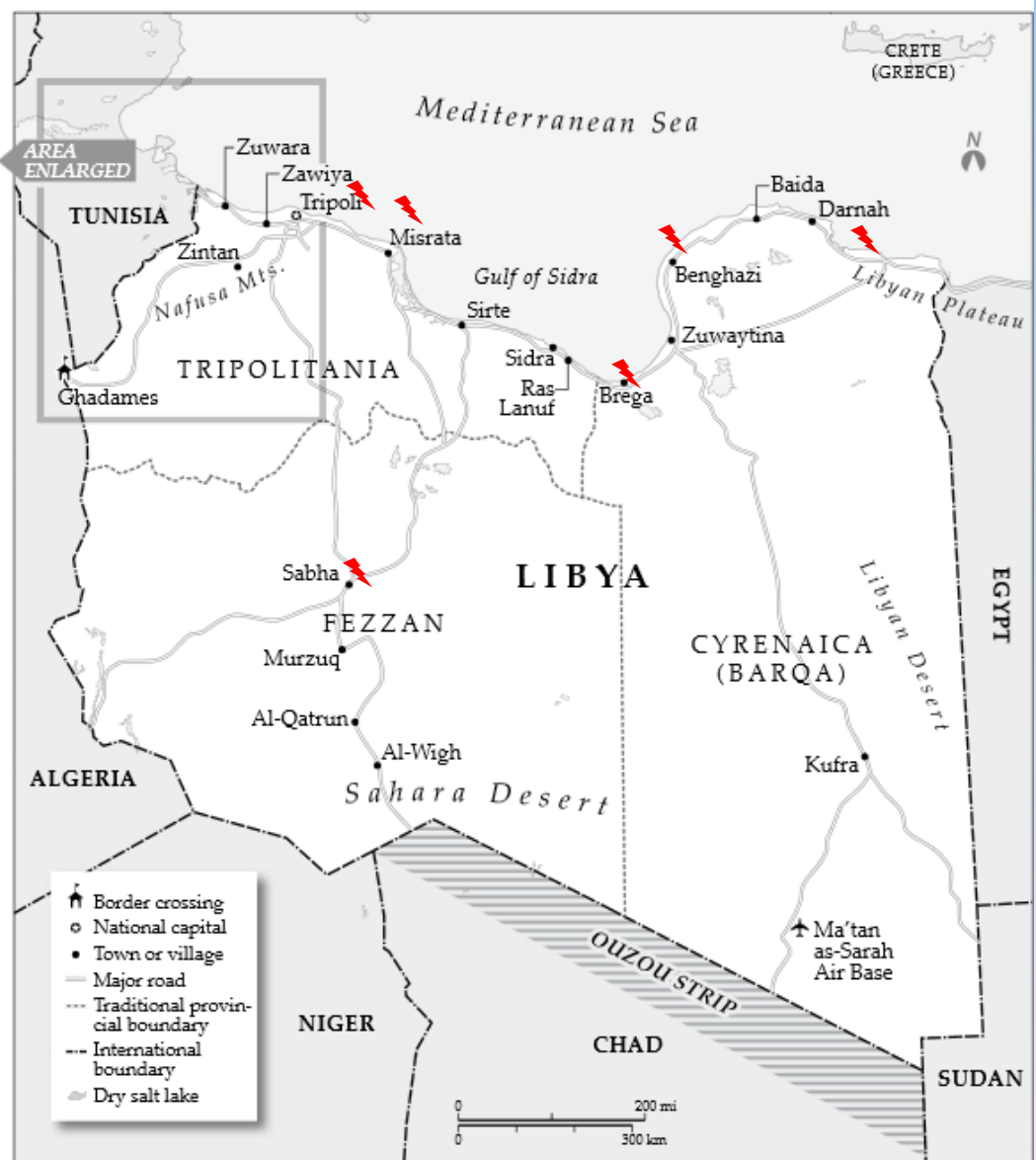
NDCF Strategic Trends  
October 2013

*“Inasmuch as the government and the GNC are deadlocked by strong divisions and contrasts between rival groups within former (secular and religious) rebels, it is not unlikely that the PM abduction and the subsequent trials of old regime’s officials might increase domestic tension in the short term.”*

## Kidnaps in Libya



# The country



# Main facts

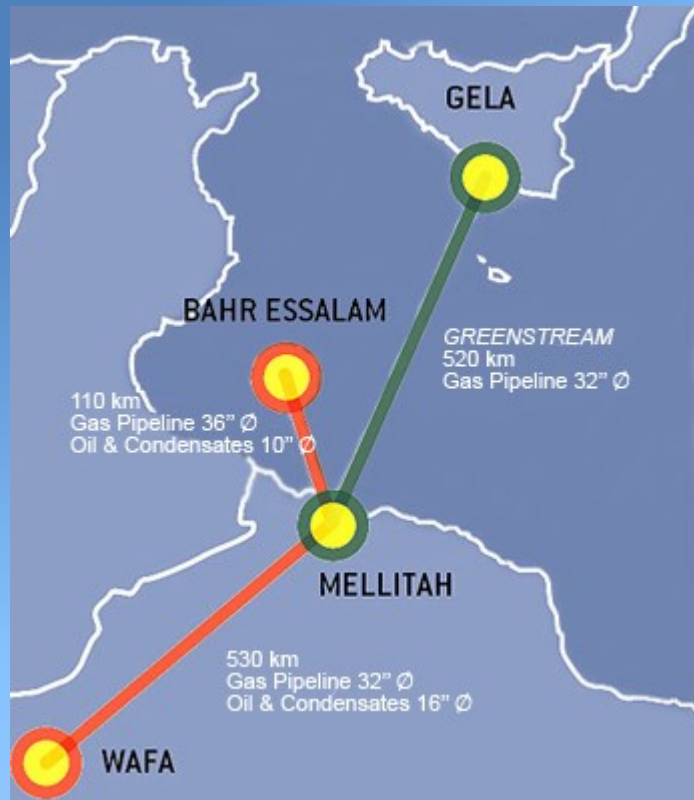
- 25/11 Retreat of the militias from Tripoli. Libyan Army deploys massively
- 19/11 Stand-off between Tripoli militias and public opinion and Misurata militias
- 18-12/11 wave of anti-government attacks in Eastern Libya. Jihadist groups accused
- 18/11 lightning abduction of the deputy chief of intelligence. Wave of political assassinations in Eastern Libya



AP/WIDEWORLD



# Main facts II



- 18/11 Greenstream output back to normal. Ms Bonino threatens to scale back imports
- 17/11 non essential UN staff evacuates Tripoli
- 16/11 State of emergency in Tripoli for 48 h. Fights between Tajoura suburb militia and incoming Misurata ones
- 6/11 ENI threatens stop of gas imports if further disruptions by protests. 11/11 Amazigh minority shuts Greenstream gas pipeline
- 4/11 Production at 250.000 bpd



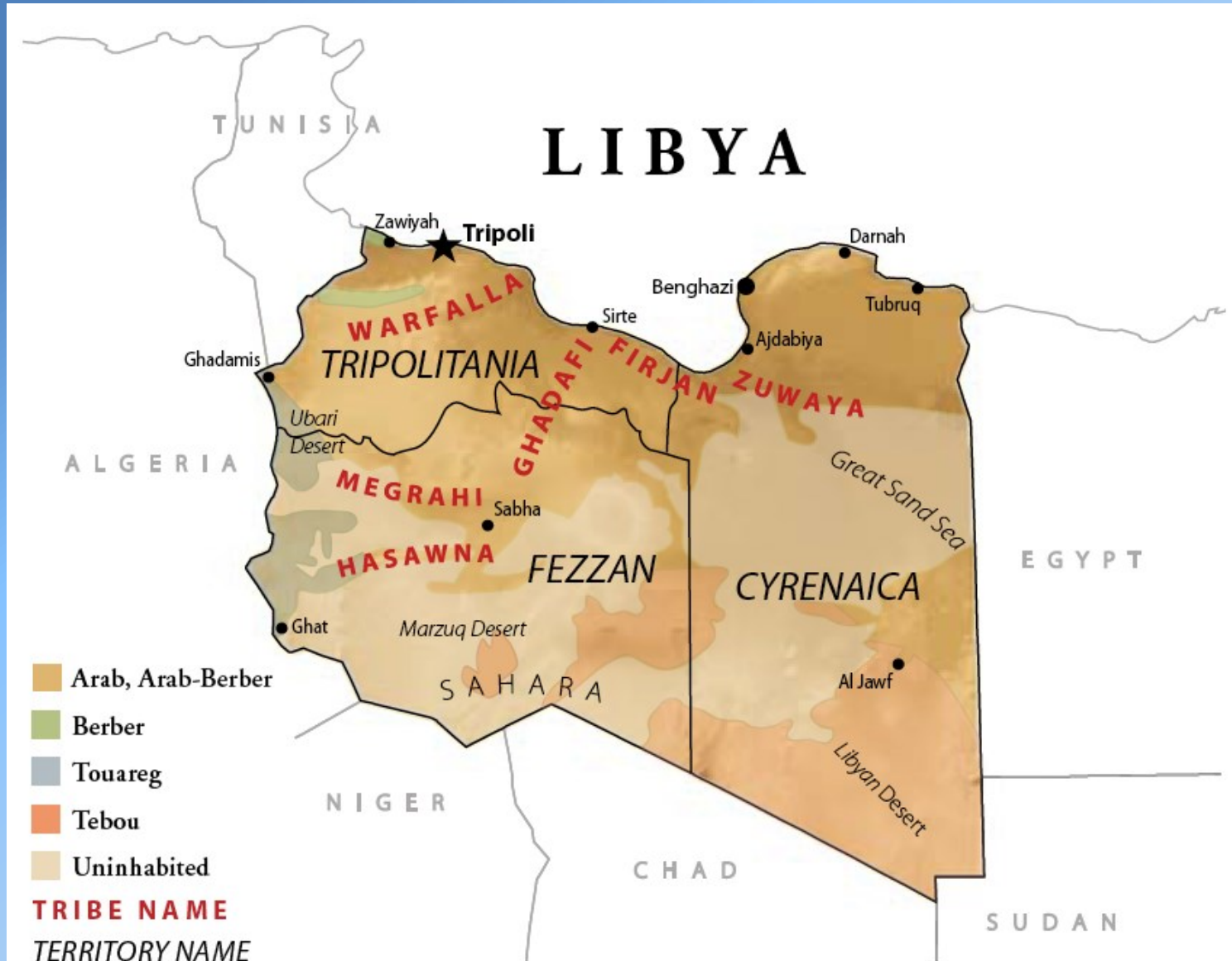
# Main facts III



- 4/11 Cyrenaica/Barqa proclaims regional federalist government with PFG leader. Same idea floats in Western and Southern Fezzan
- 4/11 high-profile attacks against popular places in Benghazi
- 28/10 agreement between PM Ali Zeidan and Tobruq council and negotiations with the PFG (Petroleum Facilities Guard). This weakens the local councils of Brega, Benghazi, Ajdabia. Negotiations in the West with Berbers and Touaregs



# The people



# Foreign relations



- Relationship with Egypt in flux; strategic for Tripoli, but not for the Cairo
- IT, UK, USA have agreed to start training an army (1 div.) by Spring 2014
- Italy active in joint border monitoring
- Problem of guarding an important yellow cake stock in Sabha (6.400 barrels). Al-Qa'eda presence signalled. Russia concerned
- Mounting concern of Italy and France. Italy pushes for political dialogue through UNSMIL



# Summary



- A. Typical state reconstruction situation: PP non partnership and duplication
- B. Political and regional fragmentation along wider family lines
- C. Resources hostage to ethnic *condottieri* and *signori*
- D. Tunisia becoming dangerous jihadi militants/weapons conduit
- E. Can we revert this Arab Weimar? Libyans still enthusiastic about democracy



# Questions?



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