Libya's Past, Present, and Vision of the Future

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FOREWORD

Politics is the activity to create, maintain, and change the general rules under which people live as a citizen. In this respect, politics is mainly a social activity that is linked in a complex way to the existence of differences and conflict on the one hand, and to cooperation and collective action on the other. In order to understand politics in the best way, it is necessary not to see it just as an action that solves all conflicts, but as an effort to resolve conflicts by achieving better cooperation.

In Libya, the dynamics of religion, tribalism, oil, and ideology have always been dominant. Libya is trying to establish a new order in the political arena where the Gaddafi term has ended and NATO intervention is in all areas. This process, which has been going on with various painful and serious difficulties, is being carried out under a particular system. The aim of this study is to examine the current political practices of Libya and the state administration process, to examine the past and present administrative processes that have been found in the social and cultural structure of Libyan society, and make proposals for the future application of the ideal political system.

INTRODUCTION

In the broadest sense, politics can be defined as the activities to create, protect, and change the general rules governing people's lives. In this framework, politics has a complex connection with the events of conflict and cooperation.

> On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests leads to disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are maintained, they must work with others.
> (Heywood, 2014, 2)

For this reason, the essential characteristic of politics is often shown as the process of resolving conflict. Here, the resolution of competing opinions and conflicts of interest is sought, although not always successfully. Therefore, politics can be considered as a *search* for conflict resolution. However, the inevitability of diversity and scarcity of resources make politics a phenomenon that humanity needs (Heywood, 2014, 2).

The political system is a set of organizations developed to identify and realize common goals of communities, and consists of economic, social, and natural systems. These organizations constitute the whole thing in a connected fashion, and all members participate in the activities; the decisions of the system are binding on all members. Members must comply with all laws and decisions of the system to avoid possible sanctions and penalties.

Libya lived under colony rule before 1951 and was ruled by a monarchy and a federal system between 1951 and 1969. Libya, where dictatorship was dominant from 1969, has been struggling to place democracy in society and state administration since 2011. However, it is not possible to say that democracy has worked despite the many years that have passed.

The lack of political party and election experience in the past, the complexity of tribal and ethnic structures, the struggles for superiority between groups, the inability to create a safe environment for democracy and life, and the conflicts arising from the sharing of rich underground resources, are the main problems.

Background: The Arab Spring is a term used to express popular movements on different scales that have recently come to the fore against oppressive and authoritarian governments in the Arab world, and to define them positively as a process of democratization. In this context, the protests and demonstrations highlighted in social media and research relating to the subject "Arab Spring" are also known by the names Arab Awakening, Arab Rebellion, and Arab Revolution. The popular movements that began on December 18, 2010, resulted in revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. In the fall of 2011 Gaddafi caused an internal civil war in Libya, considered by Gaddafi as a nonsense supported by NATO, but which took over the regime.

Aims and Objectives: In Libya, the dynamics of religion, tribalism, oil, and ideology have always been dominant. Libya is trying to establish a new order in the political arena where the Gaddafi term has ended and NATO intervention is in all areas. This process, which has been going on with various painful and serious difficulties, is being carried out under a particular system. The aim of this book is to examine the current political practices of Libya and the state administration process, to examine the past and present administrative processes that have been found in the social and cultural structure of the Libyan society, and make proposals for the future application of the ideal political system.

Problem Statement and Research Questions: Libya, despite the fact that from 2011 the revolution took more than seven years to complete, the political system that was being supported by the people in the country could not be brought to an acceptable conclusion. In this book, the problems faced by the country are put forward in an attempt to show what measures should be taken in order to establish an effective authority capable of providing functional services with consistent institutions. The research questions identified in this context are as follows:

*   Has an ideal democracy environment been created since 2011?
*   In terms of operating the democracy, do the governance institutions functionally achieve their mission?
*   What are the internal and external influences on the establishment of democracy?
*   What are the political changes and have they brought improvements?
*   What are the tribal and ethnic influences on the organization of the country's governance?
*   What are the precautions to be taken to ensure a form of democracy in the country's governance?

Significance of the Book: It is considered that the results achieved through this work will contribute to the efforts of democratization, nationalization, and formation of national identity by providing economic wealth, operating state institutions, securing public confidence and social justice, ensuring the country's security, and creating a stable environment under various parties in and out of Libya.

Limitations of the Research: This research is based on published books, articles, a mix of primary and secondary materials and public/government documents, speeches, and remarks related to the topic. Moreover, published studies and researches completed on the issue of the Libyan political system, the Arab Spring, and other subtopics related to this research are utilized, all of which are detailed in the references section.

Methodology of the Research: This research is a qualitative study. Within the framework of the subject, the information obtained on the basis of the examination of the books, researches, and articles was evaluated and the proposals for solutions presented in the context of the problems faced by existing efforts in democracy management.

In the second chapter a general framework of the political systems currently in place is drawn up, the necessary elements are set forth for the existence of a state, the types of power-sharing are explained and the ideas of the leading thinkers in the history of political thought are summarized. Libya's historical governmental styles are described, in which the Gaddafi period is elaborated. It also explains the work being done to bring the democracy to life and the difficulties that these efforts face.

In the conclusion, recommendations for the how the democracy can be settled in Libya and the ideal form of government are presented.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATION	DESCRIPTION
ASU	Arab Socialist Union
BPC	Basic People's Congress
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DPADM	Division for Public Administration and Development Management
DPM	Democratic parliamentary monarchies
EU	European Union
GNA	Government of National Accord
GNC	General National Congress
GPC	General People's Committee
GSDRC	Governance and Social Development' Resource Center
HNEC	High National Election Council
HoR	House of Representatives
IDEA	International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance
ISPI	Italian Institute for International Political Studies
JCP	Libyan Justice and Constitution Party
LIFG	Libyan Islamic Fighting Group
LNA	Libyan National Army
LPA	Libyan Political Agreement
LPC	Libya's Presidential Council
LSF	Libya Shield Forces
LWG	Libya Working Group
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
NFA	National Forces Alliance
NFSL	National Front for the Salvation of Libya
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NOC	National Oil Corporation
NTC	National Transitional Council
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
SSC	Supreme Security Committee
SSR	Security Sector Reform

TSC	Temporary Security Committee
UN	United Nations
UNSMIL	United Nations Support Mission in Libya
USA	United States of America
UW	Unconventional Warfare
WDP	Welfare Distribution Program

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK ON POLITICAL SYSTEMS

1.1. Some Major Concepts for Politics

Briefly and generally speaking, the concept of politics can be seen as a means to achieve power, to use power, and to participate in the use of power. We can call political power the power to determine the basic distribution and control of social resources among social groups. The main function of political power is to determine which group will benefit from the social resource, or how much social resource it will control.

The structure and use of political power in a society determines the political system. The political system can be defined as a set of certain established human relationships that contain considerable authority or power. In more concrete terms, the political system can be defined as the form of institutionalized human relations involving power and authority in a country. The basis for determining the political system is the form and use of power (Şaylan 1981, 1–4).

Politics is interesting because people are incompatible with each other. People do not agree how life should be. Who should take what? How should power and resources be distributed? Should it be based on community cooperation, or on the basis of conflict? At the same time, people do not agree how such problems should be resolved. How should collective decisions be taken? Who should be speaking? How much influence should each person have? And so on. According to Aristotle, politics is "the supreme science" — an activity that people have taken on to improve their lives and create a decent society. Politics is, first and foremost, a social activity; it is always a dialogue, never a monologue. Solitary individuals like the fictitious Robinson Crusoe can develop a simple economy, create art, and so on, but they cannot participate in politics. Politics could only arise with the arrival of another person—in this case, the character "Friday." However, the disagreements that underlie

politics are part of the nature of the subject and affect how it should be examined (Heywood 2014, 3).

1.1.1. The State

The state is necessary to provide control over a territory. The state is an organization that controls the population living in a certain region, and is different from other organizations operating in the same region. It is autonomous, centralized, and its parts are officially coordinated with each other (Rynn 2001, 135).

The state is an abstract concept, and it must have institutions with designated duties, powers, and responsibilities to exercise sovereignty. These institutions are the executive and the legislature that exist in every country. Parliament will both legislate and control the executive power within the state. In addition to these, it is necessary that a judicial institution exists (Akin, n.d.).

Today, the first phenomenon that is associated with the state as a state is likely to be about public services; that is, the state provides services (security, health, education, transportation, communication etc.) to society as an institution that is considered appropriate to supply such services. However, fulfilling a number of services cannot be considered as a significant feature of the state institution; the distinguishing feature of the state is that it is an institution that uses sovereignty.

The state is not an institution that has always existed within human society; on the contrary, it emerged at a certain stage of social evolution. The generally accepted view is that the stage at which the state emerges is when the production technology becomes an open division of labor. The development of the division of labor in society involves the formation of social clusters that differ on the one side, and the distribution of values and products produced in society on the other. Products and values will be distributed in a certain pattern between the social clusters or classes formed, depending on the division of labor. At this point, in other words, the institution of the so-called state is becoming compulsory for the formation and continuation of the promised framework. The state institution has emerged to preserve, develop, and suppress contradictions that may disrupt this order in society, when social products and values are distributed in a certain way between the clusters and classes.

The state has three concrete elements. These can be defined as the country, the human community, and the theoreticalized power. The country gives the physical-geographical boundaries of the use of power, and the power is to regulate the relations within the human community.

The regulation of human relations means to show how to share and control values, products, and privileges in society (Şaylan 1981, 7–8).

According to Hobbes, the aim of the state—which is the main element of sovereignty—is security. The state that we need to understand is where the people who form the society that we call "political society" are both individuals and collectively protected, and therefore have happier lives. In order to establish the state, it is necessary to transfer all the powers of the people to a single group or a delegation to reduce the diverse will of individuals to a single will, with the majority of the votes. Everyone should agree to respect such a person or delegation, and defer their will to the will of that person or delegation (Aksoy et al. 2013, 6).

From Aristotle's point of view, the state is a union of families and villages having as its aim a perfect and self-sufficing life, in happiness and honor (University of Mumbai 2011, 22).

The basic image of political systems in the modern world is in the form of political powers and institutions applying control over a human community living on a specific piece of land, using a post-decision-making authority. In this case, we have a system that keeps the collective ruling power of people who are generally accepted to be dominant in the land and who live on that land, which we call the state (Kalaycıoğlu et al. 2013, 18).

The state can be defined as a set of institutions, bureaus, and officials whose decisions are seen as binding for all and who have the authority to exercise this, or to be obeyed by the population of a particular geographical region. As can be understood from this definition, the state has both power and authority: it has the capacity to exercise it and the right to exercise it (Munroe 2002, 37).

1.1.1.1. Population

A state without a population cannot be imagined. It is a matter of debate as to how large a population a state must have in order to be called a state. Aristotle was talking about a population small enough to handle well and an optimum mass that was too big to be self-sufficient. But it is not possible to deny the fact that there is no state without the population (University of Mumbai 2011, 23).

1.1.1.2. Territory

Like the population, there is no landless state. Well-defined land is necessary for the state to use its powers. The state borders must be clearly defined in order for the lawful practices to be carried out without

hesitation. Clearly drawing the boundaries is important for people to be able to talk about their motherland or fatherland emotionally. The region is so important, normally there are disagreements over the borders between countries. For example, India and Pakistan are having a disagreement over Kashmir. A fixed, well-defined territory is also required for legal aims. A state must be able to control the underground and above-ground riches of the land including the airspace where it is the sovereign (University of Mumbai 2011, 24).

1.1.1.3. Government

The government is the governing body of the state's "ship." Without the government, the state cannot begin its course. The government type is not important in terms of the provision and direction of the administration of the state. Government type can be a presidential system, a single/ multiparty, or dictatorship; the form is not important. In other words, the government is nothing but a practicing power of the state, and the system in which the state declares its will. The government makes and executes laws, corrects violators, and improves people's well-being (University of Mumbai 2011, 24).

However politics is defined, government is undoubtedly central to it. To "govern," in its broadest sense, is to rule or exercise control over others. The activity of government therefore involves the ability to make decisions and to ensure they are carried out. In that sense, a form of government can be identified within most social institutions. People in every part of the world recognize the concept of government and would, in the overwhelming majority of cases, be able to identify institutions in their society that constitute government. Furthermore, most people accept without question that government is necessary, assuming that without it, an orderly and civilized existence would be impossible. Although they may disagree about the organization of government and the role it should play, they are nevertheless convinced of the need for some kind of government. However, the widespread occurrence of government and its almost uncritical acceptance worldwide does not in itself prove that an ordered and just society can only exist through the agency of government (Heywood 2004b, 66).

1.1.1.4. Society

Compared with the concepts of government, society is a controversial and a much broader concept. But a group of people, even a crowd, cannot

be described as a society. In fact, today's society is a huge complex of all sorts of associations and communities. For human existence, it is necessary to be able to realize the needs and dreams of a person, just as it is through society. It is possible to talk about a society if there are rules, regulations, and initiatives that regulate relations between people (University of Mumbai 2011, 26).

In the broadest sense, "society" defines a community of people in the same region. Societies are characterized by regular patterns of social interaction, suggesting the existence of a kind of social work. Moreover, social relations include mutual consciousness and at least some level of cooperation. The cooperative interaction that defines "social" behavior need not necessarily be reinforced by a common identity or sense of loyalty. This is what distinguishes society from the stronger notion of "community," which requires at least a measure of affinity or social solidarity, and identification with the community (Heywood 2004b, 40).

1.1.2. The Power

While some thinkers view politics as the capital of values, others define it as a struggle for power from a traditional point of view. This formulation transforms the problem of describing the political system into a problem of defining power. Power is the control over the actions of the human mind and other people. Since the definition of political power usually includes the concept of state, the state is included in the definition of the political system (Rynn 2001, 144). Industrial revolution is from one end challenged in the context of power in affiliation with production, market access, and resource flow, and at the other end challenged by military and economic strength to protect the remote markets of resources and consumption (Öğün and Aslan, 2014).

Power is the ability to change/modify/affect the behavior of another person/group/institution in a simple sense; the capacity to influence the behavior of others. Moreover, this effect is not voluntary and cannot be easily accepted by the people who apply it. Power, therefore, is the capacity of those exercising it to impose their will on others. Money, military, social status, numerical strength, and quality of human resource can be said to be components of power (University of Mumbai 2011, 40–42).

According to Max Weber, power is the imposition of one's will on the behavior of others. Power can be defined as sovereignty in one word; it is also possible to define it as a special instance of effect application, in an environment of serious deprivations. It is a process of influencing the politics of others, an asymmetric relationship between the behaviors of two

people, or making changes despite the resistance of the opposition (Okpanachi 2013, 344). The post Cold War era challenged the international arena, directly changing the context of power. If somebody asked "which state is powerful?" before the termination of the Cold War, the parameters would be state-centric and numeric in the forms of standardized indexes. But the post Cold War period introduced new parameters that shaped and changed the context of power (Öğün and Aslan, 2014).

1.1.3. The Nation

What we call the nations are the people who are living together by the constitution of the state and who are willing to share in the future. The most prominent image of the legal systems in our age is the nation-state.

When we look closer at the nation-states, we can easily see that the organizational forms of each are not exactly the same. These differences arise mainly from the history of the political culture, the philosophies of the founding states, the international relations, and the institutional arrangements in their history. The forms of organization of the nation-state constitute the basic institutions, the written and unprinted rules that determine the internal functioning of these institutions, and the political regimes associated with these institutions. The basic process in the political system which is part of a political regime involves the rules that dominate interaction and behavior (Kalaycıoğlu et al. 2013, 18).

1.1.4. Sovereignty

Sovereignty means that a state can effectively use its authority, its structure, and its authority within its limits. Sovereignty is the capacity to enforce both rule-making authority and rules. Sovereignty is a concept that explains the place of legal and political authority, the use of political power, and the relationship between the rule makers and those who follow these rules, which define the independent status of a political society at the international level (Aksoy et al. 2013, 3).

Sovereignty must have key characteristics that citizens need to conform to within the state. These features can be listed as absoluteness, universality, permanence, and indivisibility (Rai University 2104, 98).

1.1.5. Liberty

For good quality of human life, liberty is required. This is a necessary condition for rationality, action, and success. Freedom allows people to

achieve their personal ideals and thus realize their own potential. Liberty and freedom have the same meaning; liberty does not mean absence of restraints, it means acceptance of reasonable restrictions. The following are the types of liberty: natural, personal, national, civil, political, and economic (University of Mumbai 2011, 91).

1.1.6. Equality

Equality refers to the equal rights of all citizens without discrimination based on status, race, or sex. It means equal opportunities for all, and the absence of special privileges to anyone. The concept of equality is quite controversial. Despite many differences, it reminds us of our common humanity. The concept of equality is used in social sciences in various forms, for example: equality in law, outcome equality, gender equality, racial equality, and social equality. The concept of equality does not have an acceptable, common view (University of Mumbai 2011, 95).

1.1.7. Justice

The concept of justice, a multidimensional concept, has to be explained. The answer to "what is justice?" can only be given by specifying which person is exercising it, and will continue to do so. It changes with the passage of time. For this reason, past justice may be a case of injustice in the present, or vice versa. For this reason, it has become the "egalitarian" sense of justice in which the highest value is added to the equity value; a "libertarian" perception that freedom is the ultimate value; the greatest good of the greatest number of the "hedonist" justice criterion in the Divine vision of justice fulfilled by God's will; and "harmonization" justice, the harmonization of different units and values to create a satisfactory balance (Rai University 2014, 151).

It is one of the most comprehensive and complex concepts that includes the essence of values such as freedom, equality, rights, brotherhood, and dignity. The main aim of justice is to provide the right balance. In legal terms, it means a fair trial and fair punishment. In political theory, justice concerns the membership conditions of a social group and the distribution of the burdens and benefits within that group. In the first sense it is known as social justice, and in the second sense it is known as distributive justice (University of Mumbai 2011, 97).

1.1.8. Rights and Citizenship

Citizenship is widely understood as being connected to individual, social, and state-bound connections. This link is understood to be made up of mutual rights and responsibilities. The predominant definition of citizenship was coined by the British sociologist T. H. Marshall, who explained this as "full and equal membership in a political community" (Marshall, 1950). Citizenship refers to membership of a political community that is a nation-state in our present context. Citizenship, therefore, symbolizes a connection-specific feature in the midst of the people living together in a nation. He emphasizes political loyalty and loyalty within the society rather than cultural/emotional identity (Rai University 2014, 135).

Rights are natural, universal, linked with duties, never absolute, dynamic, and are social in origin. The following are types of rights: civil rights (the right to life and liberty, equality before the law and equal protection of law, the right to a nationality and a name, the right to personal privacy, the right not to be tortured, the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, and the right to freedom of opinion and expression), political rights (the right to contest an election, to hold a public office, to criticize government, and to petition), economic rights (the right to work, to own property, to receive equal pay for equal work, the right to education, to form and join trade unions, to strike), cultural rights (the right to social security, a cultural life, protection from childhood to motherhood, benefits from science and intellectual property) (University of Mumbai 2011, 103–110).

1.1.9. Legitimacy

Power and legitimacy are in the midst of vital and permanent issues in political analysis. A question of legitimacy is linked to one of the bases of political debate, in which the justification of a regime or regulation is ultimately a political necessity (Rai University 2014, 115).

Regardless of the regime, all political systems demand legitimacy. Legitimacy is the implicit or explicit support of the regime by its people. It is usually an emotional association with the regime. When the public believes that the institutional structures of the government are the most appropriate for the society, the regime is popular (Okpanachi 2013, 343).

1.1.10. Authority

"Authority" can be government buildings, bureaucracy, elections, family, and society. From the case of a teacher using authority toward a student in school to a powerful state, authority-using can be war against a neighbor, or the bombing of a target. So it becomes imperative to see exactly what is in these examples and how it is justified. In political theory, authority is a central question, whether it is legal, lawful, or subservient to the power it maintains (Rai University 2014, 106).

Authority is the quality of helping people to do things because they think they have the right to tell individuals or groups what to do. In reality, people in authority are followed because they are considered to fulfill a need within the community or for political issues. In this case, authority depends on the respect that is created by legitimacy and thus the power.

Legitimate power or influence is often called authority; this is a force dressed with legitimacy. Approval is an authentic power based on voluntary obedience and persuasion. Legitimacy is the belief that a person has the right to make reliable and binding decisions. It believes in the right to command and the right to obey. All governments must be empowered to accept people's decision-making rights (Okpanachi 2013, 347).

1.1.11. Ideology

All people are political thinkers. Whether they know it or not, people use political ideas and concepts whenever they express their opinions or speak their mind. Everyday language is littered with terms such as freedom, fairness, equality, justice, and rights. In the same way, words such as conservative, liberal, socialist, communist, and fascist are regularly employed by people either to describe their own views, or those of others. However, even though such terms are familiar, even commonplace, they are seldom used with any precision or a clear grasp of their meaning.

The ideology can be explained by the following concepts: a political belief system; a set of action-oriented political ideas; the ideas of the ruling class; the worldview of a particular social class or social group; political ideas that embody or express class or social interests; ideas that place individuals in a social context and create a sense of community; a set of officially approved ideas for legitimizing a political system or regime; a set of political ideals that are abstract and highly systematic (Heywood 2004a, 1–6).

Another factor that demonstrates the legitimacy quality of political systems is ideology. Ideology is an open set of values that directs people in society about what people can expect from the government and what the government should do for its citizens and society. In other words, ideology is not just about human nature, but also about the role of government in society and the relationship between politics and the economy. Similarly, there are action agents to implement the sacred documents and programs of every ideology. Ideologies demand high emotional description, loyalty, and commitment. While an ideology can make slow changes, it is resistant to fundamental changes in worldview (Okpanachi 2013, 351). The period of wars in Europe has led to many socio-economic and political-cultural changes. European countries were highly influenced by the end of the 1920s and the world economic crisis of the early 1930s, although there were old, sound, and radical democracies (De Meur and Berg-Schlosser 1994, 196). It is therefore possible to say that the economy has a significant influence on the development of the political system.

1.1.12. Political Culture

Political culture refers to the attitudes, feelings, thoughts, and values people have about politics, the government, and their roles, and more generally authoritarianism in various forms. Political culture is a universal phenomenon and changes from country to country; for this reason, the political culture in the United States differs from the political culture in Jamaica in some ways. For this reason, it is not possible for people to understand the politics of any country without looking at political culture. Political behaviors are activity/inactivity about politics and government issues. Conversely, political culture refers to the extent of ideas and beliefs that are in your head and are not easy to see. Political behavior is easy to follow; political culture is more difficult and complicated to follow because it is based on a belief system, attitudes, and feelings (Munroe 2002, 7).

There are many and varied definitions in the literature. The following are the some definitions of political culture: "commonly shared goals and widely accepted rules," "values operating within the political system," "the sum of the basic values coming from the thought and the knowledge that gives shape and substance to the political process," "the pattern of individual behaviors and guidance toward politics" (Okpanachi 2013, 356).