Strategy Research Projec

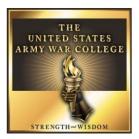
The Complexity of Achieving Stability in Sirte, Libya

by

Colonel Nathan J. Prussian United States Army

Under the Direction of:
Dr. Natalia Mirovitskaya and Professor Douglas Waters

While a Fellow at: Duke University



United States Army War College Class of 2018

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT: A

Approved for Public Release Distribution is Unlimited

The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government. The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

REPORT D	OCUMENTA	TION PAGE			Form ApprovedOMB No. 0704-0188
needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Service	f information. Send comr es, Directorate for Informa no person shall be subject	nents regarding this burden tion Operations and Reports	estimate or any other aspect of t (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Da	his collecti vis Highwa	searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data on of information, including suggestions for reducing the burden, to ay, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be one not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO
1. REPORT DATE (<i>DD-MM-YYYY</i>) 01-03-2018	2. REPORT TYP FELLOWS S		SEARCH PROJEC	СТ	3. DATES COVERED (From - To)
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Complexity of Achieving Stability in Sirte, Libya					5a. CONTRACT NUMBER
1 .	•	•			5b. GRANT NUMBER
6. AUTHOR(S)					5d. PROJECT NUMBER
Colonel Nathan J. Prussian United States Army					5e. TASK NUMBER
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION N Faculty Adviser: Dr. Natalia Host Institution: Duke Unive	Mirovitskaya	DRESS(ES)			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGE		ND ADDRESS(ES)			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)
Faculty Mentor: Professor Do	ouglas Waters				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT
U.S. Army War College, 122 F	Forbes Avenue	, Carlisle, PA 17	013		NUMBER(S)
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY To the best of my knowledge to information or aggregation of	this FSRP accu	rately depicts U	SG and/or DoD po	olicy &	
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Word Count: 9946					
paper then recommend understanding gained the execution of a demining establishment of a civil-Accord (GNA) in Tripolis	s preliminary nrough the u mission; es military oper and tribal e people of Si	steps toward se of a stakel stablishment of ations center ngagement. irte; legitimize	d stability and one of colder's analysic of security throus (CMOC) with the These recomments the police force	rder i s. Th gh Na ne Go endeo	nese recommendations are: ATO trained Libyan police;
15. SUBJECT TERMS Sirte, Libya, Stability, Tribes,	Religion, Oil,	Non-State Arme	ed Groups		
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF	F:	17.	18. NUMBER OF PA	AGES	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT b. ABSTRACT	c. THIS PAGE	LIMITATIO N OF ARSTRACT	58		19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (w/ area code)

The Complexity of Achieving Stability in Sirte, Libya (9946 words)

Abstract

This paper conducts a stakeholder's analysis of Libya from the perspective of USAFRICOM. The paper then recommends preliminary steps toward stability and order in Sirte, based on the understanding gained through the use of a stakeholder's analysis. These recommendations are: execution of a demining mission; establishment of security through NATO trained Libyan police; establishment of a civil-military operations center (CMOC) with the Government of National Accord (GNA) in Tripoli; and tribal engagement. These recommended steps will: begin stability in Sirte; provide aid to the people of Sirte; legitimize the police forces; legitimize the GNA; and move the ostracized tribes back into Libya's political construct.

The Complexity of Achieving Stability in Sirte, Libya

Glossary of Acronyms and Terms

Al Asala Party: Sunni Jihadist aligned Libyan political party.

Ansar al Sharia: Jihadist non-state armed group with forces in the Derna and Benghazi areas in the east of Libya.

Civil-military Operations Center (CMOC): "A CMOC is formed to provide a joint force forum for organizations which want to maintain their neutrality. The CMOC receives, validates, and coordinates requests for support from NGOs, IGOs, and the private sector. The CMOC then forwards these requests to the joint force for action."

Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR): "DDR seeks to stabilize the OE by disarming and demobilizing warring factions and by helping former combatants reintegrate into society."²

Explosive Remnants of War (ERW): Explosives and munitions left behind after a conflict.

Firjan Tribe: Libyan tribe aligned with Colonel Qaddafi during his reign.

General National Congress (GNC): Interim Libyan government popularly elected in 2012, disbanded by the Libyan Political Agreement, and reformed by politicians outside the internationally recognized Libyan government.

Government of National Accord (GNA): Interim Libyan government formed in 2015 under the UN-led Libyan Political Agreement (LPA).

Halbous Brigade: Non-state armed sub-group of the Misratan Militia.

High Council of State (HCS): Advisory body to the Government of National Accord established under the UN-led Libyan Political Agreement in 2015.

Homeland Party – Al Watan: Sunni Jihadist aligned Libyan political party.

House of Representatives (HoR): Legislature of Libya established in 2015 under the UN-led Libyan Political Agreement (LPA).

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC): Humanitarian institution and non-profit organization ensuring protections for the victims of war and other violent situations.

Islamist State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS): Takfiri non-state armed group attempting to establish a caliphate in Libya as it did in Syria and Iraq.

Justice and Construction Party (JCP): Libyan political party aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood.

Libyan National Army (LNA): Militia under the control of Kalifah Haftar.

Libyan Political Agreement (LPA): UN-led agreement establishing the interim Libyan government in 2015.

Magarha Tribe: Libyan tribe aligned with Colonel Qaddafi during his reign.

Mahjoub Brigade: Non-state armed sub-group of the Misratan Militia.

Misratan Militia: Militia controlling the area around the city of Misrata, seen as possibly the largest and most powerful militia in western Libya.

Muslim Brotherhood: Transnational Sunni Islamist political party founded in 1928. **National Forces Alliance (NFA):** national political alliance of minor Libyan political parties.

Petroleum Facilities Guards: Militia controlling the oil production facilities in the "oil crescent" to the east of Sirte.

Qadhaffa Tribe: Colonel Qaddafi's birth tribe, and the major tribe in the Sirte area.

Shura Council of Benghazi: Jihadist non-state armed group located in Benghazi.

Stability: The ability of a state to recover from disturbances and resist sudden change or deterioration"³

Stabilization: the process of ending or preventing the recurrence of violent conflict and creating the conditions for normal economic activity and nonviolent politics.⁴

Tripoli Brigade: Non-state armed group located in the greater Tripoli area.

US Africa Command (USAFRICOM): US Military Geographic Combatant
Command responsible for all US military activities on the continent of Africa.

Warfallah Tribe: Largest tribe in Libya, aligned with Colonel Qaddafi during his reign.

Zintan Militia: Large and powerful militia aligned with Haftar and the LNA, controlling area to the southeast of Tripoli and threatening the security of Tripoli.

Scope

This paper conducts a stakeholder's analysis of Libya from the perspective of USAFRICOM. The paper identifies how the interests, desires, and agendas of these stakeholders bear on the city of Sirte, Libya. Through this process, the paper identifies the current conditions keeping stability from taking hold in the city of Sirte.

The paper then recommends preliminary steps toward stability and order in Sirte, based on the understanding gained through the use of a stakeholder's analysis. These recommendations are: execution of a demining mission; establishment of security through NATO trained Libyan police; establishment of a civil-military operations center (CMOC) with the Government of National Accord (GNA) in Tripoli; and tribal engagement. These recommended steps will: begin stabilization in Sirte; provide limited humanitarian and demining assistance to the people of Sirte; legitimize the police forces; legitimize the GNA; and move the ostracized tribes back into Libya's political construct.

Conflict to Stability: Flawed Constructs due to Emerging Trends

<u>A Flawed Construct</u>

Current US military doctrine on post-conflict stabilization proposes distinct actions accounting for: security needs posed by armed groups and militias; ongoing peace negotiations; transitional justice; the humanitarian needs of a vulnerable populace, and the like.⁵ Security think-tanks and academics propose another look at traditional Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), predominantly terming it second-generation DDR.⁶

However, both current US military doctrine and academic thought seem to make a similar supposition. They both assume the existence of a state actor, a coalition, or

a legitimate government in control of the country, region or area in question. Therefore, when conducting DDR, a state actor or coalition will act from a position of authority either as the legitimate power, or through the legitimate power.

International law, notably the Geneva Convention of 1949 and its Additional Protocols I and II guide the focus of both DoD and academia. Article 69 of Additional Protocol I states the "Occupying Power" shall ensure that relief gets to the affected populace.⁷ However Article 70 of Additional Protocol I creates a conflict stating that offers of humanitarian assistance are "subject to the agreement of the Parties concerned in such relief actions." Due to the nature of these two statements, governments and international organizations are obliged to obtain the consent of the host nation government.

This is demonstrated in Department of Defense's (DoD) Joint Publication 3-07 STABILITY which states "The fundamentals are conflict transformation, HN [Host Nation] ownership, unity of effort, and building HN capacity." Similarly, the United States Institute of Peace provides as its first cross-cutting principle "Host-Nation ownership and capacity." This focus on the host nation meets difficulty in two distinct situations: when the situation is too violent for non-military organizations to attempt humanitarian relief; and when there is no credible party or government from which to gain agreement.

An Emerging Trend: Non-state armed groups

The conditions seen in many conflict areas today were first noted in Robert Kaplan's work "The Coming Anarchy" in 1994.¹¹ They include the breakdown of social order, incessant crime, disease, hopelessness, refugee migration, and resource scarcity in seen in West African countries. In his seminal work, Kaplan noted that "In the poor

quarters of Arab North Africa there is much less crime, because Islam provides a social anchor: of education and indoctrination."¹²

Mary Kaldor's work in 1999 made the observation that there was a "blurring of the lines between war, organized crime, and large-scale human rights violations. She termed this "New War" and brought to the forefront the idea of organized violence in an era of globalization.¹³ Since then, a vast body of knowledge has accumulated in the field of non-state armed groups and their impact on society.

There is a growing body of evidence that a state actor, coalition or legitimate government may not control a country, region or area in need of stabilization.¹⁴ The conflicts in Somalia, Yemen, and Syria demonstrate the idea that programs underpinning stability must move forward, but that the parties providing these programs may not be acting from a position of traditional authority.¹⁵

In Somalia, a decades long failed state, there exist governments in Puntland, Somaliland, and Mogadishu, as well as areas wholly controlled by al Shabaab. No actor has the ability to conduct DDR, nor would DDR be appropriate in Somalia. Implementing DDR would likely create a power vacuum, leading to greater instability, as seen in other DDR attempts such as Afghanistan. 17

In Yemen, the government is under siege, the populace subjected to a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran, while whole swaths of the country are ruled by al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) .¹⁸ As of January 2018, the capital of Sanaa has fallen to Houthi rebels, the country is facing a cholera outbreak while on the verge of the worst famine the world has seen in decades.¹⁹ Although Yemen is in a state in conflict, once areas of the country achieve a cessation of hostilities it is unlikely that a

single legitimate power will be in place. Yet a profound need for stability and humanitarian assistance will remain.

Syria, a country ravaged by civil war since 2011, has a central government in control of a portion of the country. However non-state armed groups numbering as many as 1000 in 2013, rising to possibly 1500 groups in 2015, control pockets of north and east Syria, while the Islamic state (ISIS) now controls areas to the south.²⁰ ²¹ Due to the pocketing of control seen across Syria, areas in the northeast and northwest receive little aid from the international community, while these populations are in great need. This lack of aid has as much to do with the security situation as it does with international law and a general unwillingness among the international community to compromise the aid already approved by the Assad regime. As in Somalia and Yemen, it is unlikely that there will be a single controlling entity in Syria for some time, yet the need for stabilization in many of these pockets will remain for decades.

In many similar situations, external actors looking to begin programs toward stability are unable to work through a legitimate actor and cannot assume that role themselves. The ensuing problem then is how to implement programs that lead from a cessation of hostilities to stabilization and lasting order when unable to work from any position of authority.

Libya: Context for Understanding Sirte

"The government is polarized and the government has been paralyzed by the battle between the two parliaments using religious discourse and mixed with social, political, economic, ethnic, and tribal agendas."²²

Overview

Sirte lies on the Mediterranean coast of Libya, on the northwest corner of oil crescent. This former resort town of 80,000 people, home of the Qadaffah tribe, is remembered as both the birthplace and final resting place of Colonel Muammar Qaddafi.²³ ²⁴ In the final days of the Libyan revolution, Qaddafi found himself on the run in Sirte, where he was ultimately executed by militias on October 20, 2011, ending his forty-two-year reign.²⁵

Sirte became an ISIS stronghold of 3,000 fighters in February 2015.²⁶ Ultimately ISIS transformed Sirte into its capital in Tripolitania, described as ISIS' "Raqqah" of Libya.²⁷ Along the way the world witnessed ISIS' bloody execution of 21 Egyptian Coptic Christians on the beaches of Sirte, and then the brutal retaking of the city by Misratan militias during Operations "Solid Structure" destroying over 8,000 buildings in the process.²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ Sirte's inhabitants described the city during this operation as a "Libyan Dresden".³¹

Stakeholder's Analysis

Principal Stakeholder: US Africa Command

US Africa Command (USAFRICOM) is the principal stakeholder regarding stabilization in Libya. US policy on Libya seems less murky since May 2017, following the joint visit of both the US Ambassador and Commanding General USAFRICOM GEN Thomas Waldhauser.³² In this visit the United States formally backed the UN supported Government of National Accord (GNA). Although the GNA is nominally in control of Tripoli, if only through political alignment with militias, the GNA's control of the country is far more limited, with an eastern boundary of Sirte (see Appendix F).³³ ³⁴

However, American interests are less likely to be served by the weaker GNA, and therefore the US continues to deal directly with various armed groups, primarily the House of Representatives (HoR) aligned Khalifa Haftar and his Libyan National Army (LNA).³⁵ This direct engagement comes at the risk of undermining the GNA and the peace process.³⁶

Much of the US engagement in Libya narrowly focuses on the defeat of ISIS as a way of achieving gains against the interests listed in Table 1 below.³⁷ However, the defeat of ISIS is not a broad enough strategy to address Libya's current state of instability. Gaining stability and order in Libya is paramount to addressing greater regional issues such as the refugee crisis, petroleum pricing in Europe, and greater geopolitical interests in Africa and the Mediterranean.

Table 1. Principal Stakeholder -- US Africa Command

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity to mobilize	Position
				resources	
Principal Stake	US Africa	Stability in Africa and	Vast potential military	Constrained by the	Recently State
Holder	Command ³⁸	Middle East	engagement,	number of commitments	Department formally
		Regional stability as	cooperation, and	in Africa, but as robust as	backed the GNA,
		Africa affects Europe	operational capability	US policy allows it to	putting them at odds
		Decreasing the flow		increase	with HoR and Haftar
		of refugees from Libya			Since then State
		Support to the US			Department has met
		Embassy in Tunis			with Haftar, although
		• Support US, EU, AU,			no outcome is public
		NATO influence			
		Destruction of ISIS			
		Counter Russian			
		influence in Africa,			
		Europe, and the			
		Mediterranean			

Libya's Governing Bodies

Libya's governing bodies are described in the Libyan Political Agreement (LPA) signed in December 2015.³⁹ Although the LPA proscribes the Government of National Accord (GNA) as the executive body, and the House of Representatives (HoR) as the legislative body, they both act unilaterally and in their own interests.⁴⁰ Further complicating matters, the previously formed but now illegitimate General National Congress (GNC) reformed themselves outside the mandate of the LPA. This created a third body attempting to govern the country.⁴¹ Additionally, Libya has a Supreme Court functioning as the head judicial body and providing a check on both the GNA and HoR.⁴² Finally a High Council of State (HCS) exists as an advisory board to both the GNA and HoR.⁴³

With the exception of the Supreme Court, each of these bodies has shown a desire to rule the country. The HCS recently made a plea to receive status equal to that of the GNA and HoR, potentially resulting in a fourth body vying for national power.

The UN mandated, less powerful executive branch, the GNA, is seated in Tripoli, aligned with the Misratan militias (see Table 2). This alignment provides the GNA strength at times convenient to the militias yet weakens the GNA's position overall. Although the Misratan militia re-took the city of Sirte, they have no interest in doing more, and are unlikely to have the strength to retake the oil crescent (see Appendices E, F, and G) from Haftar's LNA. Neither the GNA nor the Misratans seem capable of full control over Tripoli, while the power of the HoR and Haftar grows with each passing day. Although the GNA enjoys the support of the US, Italy, the EU, AU, and UN, there is little strength from this support (see Table 8).

The HoR, seated in Tobruk and aligned with Haftar and the LNA, has the strongest alliance in Libya at present. As the strongest military power, the LNA controls much of eastern Libya, and is pushing further west (see Appendices E, F, and G). Through this alliance, the HoR retains control of the oil crescent, which provides the greatest economic power in Libya (Appendix G).

Military and economic strength make the HoR and Haftar much sought after partners of many countries including the United States, France, Russia, UAE, Egypt, and China (see Table 8) as well as private businesses (see Tables 9 and 10). In the case of the UAE and Egypt these alignments can also be traced to Haftar's desire to rid Libya of the Muslim Brotherhood, Qaddafi's party, known as the Justice and Construction Party (JCP).⁴⁴ ⁴⁵

Although an illegitimate governing body, the GNC enjoys the support of Turkey and Qatar who reportedly fund and arm the GNC, violating the United Nations Arms Embargo. 46 47 This relationship seems due to strong membership in the GNC of the Justice and Construction Party (JCP) members. This membership is due to a law passed in May 2013 that former members of the Qaddafi regime should not serve in Libya's government. The result of the law was that up to 500,000 Libyans were likely ostracized, this high number due to the large government payroll in Libya, employing nearly 1.8 million people. This GNC-Turkey-Qatar relationship is also likely due to support for Salafist leanings in both Turkey and Qatar (see Tables 2, 3, 4, and 8 for more). St

Table 2. Libya's Governing Bodies

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Libyan Governing	Government of National	Legitimate	Limited financial	Limited	Will continue to
body / ministries	Accord (GNA) ⁵²	Executive Power of	resources		work toward a
	Accord (CIVA)	the country,	Aligned with Misratan		recognized
		recognized by UN	Militia, but limited		government
		and EU	personnel		May attempt to
		Do not control the	Backing of many		fight Haftar's forces
		Oil crescent (wealth	international actors,		if pushed to do so,
		of country)	but those many lack		but not necessarily
		Counter LNA and	the will to take a strong		a good course of
		HoR influence in the	position		action
		East			
		Counter Russian			
		Influence in East			
		Stem the flow of			
		refugees into Europe			
	House of Representatives	Legitimate	Vast resources due	Limited by	Will continue to
	(HoR) ⁵³	Legislative Power of	to oil revenues,	themselves.	work to supplant
		the country,	economic, military and		the GNA as the
		recognized by UN	political backing by		recognized
		and EU	Russia, France, UAE,		Executive branch,
		Controls the Oil	and Egypt		and consolidate
		Crescent through	Control of the LNA		power
		Haftar	may give them access		May attempt a
		Counter GNA	to the most powerful of		forcible takeover of
		influence in the West	the militias, hard to		Tripoli through
		Russian Influence in	determine however		Haftar and the LNA
		Libya			
		Stem the flow of			
		refugees into Europe			
	Supreme Court 54	Lawful Judicial	Limited	Very limited capacity	Will continue to
		Power of the country,			work toward a unity
		recognized by UN			government
		and EU			
		Have shown desire			
		to act in this capacity			
		and not supplant the			
		GNA or HoR			

General National Congress	Unrecognized	Funded and Armed	None without	Will continue to
(GNC) ⁵⁵	resurrection of the	by the Turkey and	support from Turks	attempt to supplant
	previous GNC, Third	Qatar	and Qataris.	the GNA and HoR
	party power			and assume control
	government with little			of Libya
	influence			
	Desire to Supplant			
	the GNA and HoR as			
	the active			
	government			
High Council of State	Advisory role to the	International	None	Will continue to
(HCS) ⁵⁶	GNA and HoR	recognition		advise as a means
	Desire for Unity			to unify the
	government			government
	Sided with UN, EU			Recently called
	and the west			for equality with
				HoR

Libya's Political Parties

Libya's political parties take on a tribal dynamic. ⁵⁷ This is due to the 130 parties in the country, and their close affiliation with the nearly 140 tribes. Of these 130 parties, only 10 seem to be national political parties. ⁵⁸ Focusing on just two of these will provide some clarity to the situation.

The Justice and Construction Party(JCP), seen as the arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in Libya, was the ruling party under Qaddafi.⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ The JCP therefore is pitted against Egypt, the UAE, the HoR, and Haftar (see Tables 2, 4, and 8). Although facing incredible opposition, the JCP has solidified its position as a leading national party looking to regain its place in national politics.

The National Forces Alliance (NFA) is currently the leading party in many elections, is the most secular of the major parties, and has a strong showing in the GNA. However, the NFA's politicians are beholden to militias over which they have no

control. These politicians are also known to come from predominantly privileged classes. The resulting dynamic is that the NFA has no power through the threat of force, nor the support of the common class of people. Hence, the NFA has little influence outside Tripoli.

The simple analysis of political parties reveals that they are not a unifying force among the people, they compete with multiple governing bodies vying for power, have little to no control over any military force, and are pervaded with tribalism. They may become a factor in Libya's politics once a true unity government stands on its own, but not before.

Table 3. Libyan Political Parties

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Political Party	Justice and	Regain formal	Limited but gaining	Capacity is growing as	May be the majority party in
	Construction Party	inclusion into the	as they gain greater	they gain more support in	the next year to continued
	(JCP) (Muslim	government	support in the	Libya.	support among the people
	Brotherhood) ⁶¹	Re-establish	country		Recently attacked Grand
		influence in the			Mufti Ghariani in the press
		government due to			
		ostracization			
		Decrease pressure			
		on party from other			
		Arab nations			
	National Forces	Primary and most	• Larger than JCP,	Limited	Gain majority in GNA and
	Alliance (privileged	successful party in	but struggling		consolidate the unity
	class) ⁶² 63	elections			government
	,	Supporting the GNA			Progressive as compared to
		and LPA			the rest of the parties
		Head to head			
		struggle with JCP			
	Al Asala (Salafist,	Promote the Salafist,	Limited	Limited	Work to consolidate position
	aligned with Grand	Sunni religion			of power with Sunni's
	Mufti Ghariani) ⁶⁴	Gain influence in the			
	,	wake of the ISIS loss			

Homeland Party -	Promote the Salafist,	Limited	Limited	Led by former emir of LIFG,
Al Watan	Sunni religion			Belhaj
(Salafist) ⁶⁵	Gain influence in the			
	wake of the ISIS loss			

Libya's Armed Groups

Libya's armed groups and militias are prolific. They wield power across the country, are courted by the world's major powers, and show no sign of disarming (see Tables 4 and 8). Due to the weak central government, and the divergent interests of the armed groups from the political process, the armed groups will be the power brokers in Libya until the central government can match their force, rather than be beholden to it.⁶⁶

Because of this powerbroker dynamic among the armed groups, and the fact that they align more tribally than politically, there is a city-state effect that has evolved across the country.⁶⁷ It can be observed in the names of the militias: Zintan, Misratan, Shura Council of Benghazi, etc. This city-state effect remains today, and will only be undone by a unifying force, either a legitimate government or a significant strongman. Therefore, rather than discuss the multitude of armed groups, discussing the general alignments, interests, and impacts is more useful.

Libya's armed groups are aligned generally in an eastern and western manner, beholden to either the Libyan National Army (LNA) in the east, or the Misratan militia in the west (see Table 5). This idea of alignment wrongly gives the impression of order and control. Militias often operate independent of the LNA in the eastern alignment with examples of the Zintani (actually southwest of Tripoli) and other armed groups aligned with the LNA and HoR having backed the GNC due to Salafi leanings.⁶⁸

Due to their backing by multiple state actors, their general unification under Haftar, and their recent re-taking of the "Oil Crescent," the armed groups aligned with the LNA in the east wield significantly greater power than those aligned with the Misratan militia in the west (see Appendices F and G). It is likely that Haftar will conduct operations with the Zintan militia to seize Tripoli and install the HoR or himself as the single legitimate government, as he attempted once before in 2014.⁶⁹ Thus, the LNA with Russian backing is now reportedly making inroads to the south among the Tebu and Tuaregs.⁷⁰

The western militias aligned with the Misratan militia will have a difficult time staving off Haftar's push when it comes. Although the Misratans are the largest militias, unlike the eastern aligned militias, the militias in the west have no firm backing from external governments, have far less oil revenue (see Appendix G), and no single entity controls Tripoli (see Appendix F).⁷¹ This continued competition among the western militias has taken its toll on Sirte.

Although the Misratans freed Sirte from ISIS, in the months immediately following the revolution the Misratans took revenge on the inhabitants of Sirte. This was due to Sirte's tribal affiliation with Qaddafi.⁷² Only once ISIS operations began spreading west did the Misratans conduct an operation to clear Sirte, resulting in hundreds of lives lost, and more than 8000 homes destroyed.^{73 74} No militia has emerged from Sirte with revolutionary ties, nor credibility, and Sirte has largely been excluded from new Libya due to their ties with Qaddafi.⁷⁵

Table 4. Libya's Armed Groups

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position

Armed Group,	Libyan National Army	Defeat of ISIS	Tens of thousands of	Great militia capacity,	Ultimately Haftar and
Aligned in the	(Haftar) ⁷⁶	Retaking of Oil	militia	significant fiscal support	the LNA will attempt to
East	(* 12.12.)	Facilities	Oil Revenues, and	and control of banking in	retake land west,
		Consolidation of	majority of control of oil	east	including Tripoli
		Power in East	production	Russian printing of	Haftar does not
		Align with Russia,	Support of GCC,	billions of Libyan Dinar	currently have the
		EU countries, and	Russia, and EU	went to fund LNA	force to fight to Tripoli
		any backer that will	countries		but that could change
		support his legitimacy	Support of some Libyan		with Russian backing
		Destroy Salafist	factions opposed to		
		ideology	Salafists		
	Zintan Militia ⁷⁷	Defeat of ISIS	Several thousand	Limited	Will side with the LNA
		Power within Tripoli	fighters, supplied by		and Haftar
			UAE		Fought the Misratans
					for dominance in Tripoli
					Will continue to look
					for opportunities to
					gain a dominant role in
					the western side of the
					country
	Ansar al Sharia ⁷⁸	Remain a Salafist	Limited	Limited	Will remain salafi, but
		organization with			will support the HoR
		influence in the east			and Haftar as
		Al Qaeda affiliate			necessary
	Shura Council of	Salafist organization	Limited	Limited	Will remain salafi, but
	Benghazi Battalions ⁷⁹	looking for influence			will support the HoR
		in the east			and Haftar as
					necessary
	Petroleum Facilities	Security of oil	Limited	Very limited	Currently within the
	Guards ⁸⁰	facilities			controlled area of the
					HoR
					Will take the position
					of Ibrahim Jadhran, a
					militia CDR in
					Adjibiyah, linked to
					Islamists
Armed Group,	Misratan Militia ⁸¹	Security of GNA,	Thousands of fighters	Great militia capacity	Largely will side with
Aligned in the		Misrata, and tribes in	and strongest militia,		the GNA and legitimate
West		the West	may be greater than LNA		government proposed
		Destruction of ISIS	and Haftar		by the UN
		Oil Output			

	Halbous Brigade ⁸²	Part of the Misratan	Limited	Limited	Remain aligned with
		militia, but not entirely			Misratan militias and
		Fought to retake			GNA
		Sirte from ISIS			
	Mahjoub Brigade 83	Part of the Misratan	• Limited	• Limited	Remain aligned with
	, ,	militia, but not entirely			Misratan militias and
		Fought to retake			GNA
		Sirte from ISIS			
	84	Security of the	Several thousand	Limited to a small militia	
	Tripoli Brigade ⁸⁴	Capital, and the GNA	fighters	presence	
Tal Cal Haallana I	0.5	0	Particular Shall a Call a C	Market and a last	MCH C to C-lat
Takfiri, Unaligned	ısıs ⁸⁵	Securing an area to	Limited with the fall of	Weakening, but	Will continue to fight,
		establish the	Raqqa and Mosul, and	numbers sill in the	transition to an
		caliphate	greater emphasis placed	hundreds	insurgency, and wait
			on their destruction by		for an opportunity to
			many parties		retake land

Libya's Tribes

"Libyan tribalism is growing stronger due to the post Qaddafi legacy and the failure of the post Qaddafi state to provide social security for its people." In some expert opinions, it's tribalism including that of Farej Najem that preserved Islam in Libya for fourteen centuries. Tribalism provides a rallying point within Libya's society, a consistency that Libyans rely upon in times both good and bad.

Playing such a large role in Libya, the tribes number around 140, with 30-40 of these being of true national influence (see Appendix A).⁸⁸ Much of the tribal dynamics today go back to Qaddafi's rule, the tribe he hailed from, and those tribes he chose to empower for the sake of his regime. Qaddafi hailed from the Qadhaffa tribe, not a well-known nor powerful tribe prior to his ascent.⁸⁹ Qaddafi chose unsurprisingly to empower his own tribe through in influx of cash, military facilities and weaponry, and political positions. The city Sirte flourished in the process. In the interim Qaddafi would need

more influence than his own tribe to solidify his position. In the long-term, Qaddafi's favoritism would drive a wedge between his tribe and the city of Sirte, and the rest of the country.

Qaddafi began to partner with and empower other tribes, notably the largest and most powerful in Libya, the Warfallah tribe.⁹⁰ During his reign, the Warfallah tribe was both his ally and adversary, participating in his government but many seeing themselves as loyal to Libya, not to Qaddafi.⁹¹ Today the Warfallah, seated in Bani Walid, are largely held out of Libyan politics due to their linkages to the regime. Yet they have succeeded in establishing possibly the most stable city in Libya.⁹²

Qaddafi's outreach to the Magarha and Firjan tribes resulted in the same effect of casting them on the outside of new Libya. For both these tribes, predominantly in the west / southwest of the country as well as the Sirte area, inclusion in the political process is a desired future outcome.

The casting out of the Qadhaffa and Warfallah tribes had quite a detrimental effect on Sirte. Many of the tribal youth began helping ISIS prior to and during the occupation, primarily for political rather than religious or ideological reasons.^{93 94} This only put further distance between the people and tribes of Sirte, and those who control various aspects of the new Libya.

Table 5. Libya's Tribes

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Tribe	Qadhaffa	Re-establish power and	• None	• None	Will continue to be on the
	(majority in	gain admittance in the			outs with all parties due to
	Sirte) ⁹⁵	government			their 42-year reign through
		Sided with Salafists and			Qaddafi
		ISIS post revolution			
		Rebuild their homes			
		and re-establish			
		infrastructure			
	Warfallah	No recognition of ANY	Largest (1M), Most	Limited due to ostracism,	Will continue to hold out
	(largest in	post-revolutionary	powerful and armed	and lack of desire to	until a better offer from a
	Libya, Berber	institutions	tribe during the	participate	neutral government is made
	and Amazigah	Rebuild their homes	Qaddafi era due to	Controls all aspects of	Rising crime rates and
	roots) ⁹⁶	and re-establish	their loyalty to him	government in Bani Walid	detention of Warfalla youth in
	,	infrastructure		(west of Sirte) through the	other areas may lead them to
		Looking for Neutral		Warfalla Social Council	negotiate
		institutions.		(WSC), although no legal	
		Unique Transitional		mandate nor recognition	
		justice issues related to			
		support to Qaddafi, and			
		harboring of high profile			
		criminals			
	Magarha ⁹⁷	Regain inclusion into	Only through militia	Limited due to ostracism	Will continue to make
		the government	support		headway into the government
		Rebuild their homes			
		and re-establish			
		infrastructure			
	98	Regain inclusion into	Only through militia	Limited due to ostracism	Will continue to make
	Firjan ⁹⁸	the government	support		headway into the government
		Rebuild their homes			2, 32.2
		and re-establish			
		infrastructure			

Libya's Ethnic Groups

The role of ethnic factor in Libya's politics is minor due to 97% of the country being of Arab or Berber descent (see Table 6).99 This homogeneity in the north of Libya does not extend to the southern areas where there is an ongoing rift between the Tebu

and Tuareg (see Appendix A).¹⁰⁰ However, this rift plays little role in the construct of the new Libya.

Table 6. Ethnicities

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Ethnicity	Arab /	97% of Population	• NA	Vast majority of Libyans are	Maintain position as majority
	Berber ¹⁰¹			Arab	and powerbroker in Libya
	Amazigah		• NA	Second largest ethnic population in Libya	Maintain position in western regions
	Tuareg ¹⁰²	Transitory population	• NA		Fighting Tebu in south
	Tebu ¹⁰³	Transitory population	• NA		Fighting Tuareg in south

Religions and Religious Figures

Libya is a strongly Sunni Muslim country, and during one brief period from 2007-2008 more young men per capita joining ISI (al Qaeda affiliate in Iraq) than any other Muslim country.¹⁰⁴ This indicates that conditions in Libya were ripe for a disenfranchised youth to take up arms. Following the fall of the regime in 2011 these conditions would provide the fertile ground necessary for ISIS to take the city of Sirte.

With ISIS assassination of Sufi Imam Khalid bin Rajab Ferjani in August 2015, all the leading religious figures left in Libya are Salafist leaning Sunni Muslims. No moderate Sunni leadership acts as a counter-balance today. NATO's intervention, in some opinions, created room for the Islamic radicalization seen today. These strong religious tendencies, fertile jihadist soil, and lack of a counter-balance take an interesting turn when speaking to the Libyans themselves however.

In a 2016 survey, 9 out of 10 respondents stated they felt the leading religious figures (see Table 7) have a negative effect on peace and justice.¹⁰⁷ Additionally,

Libyans seem to wildly overestimate jihadist and Muslim Brotherhood tendencies in many of the major cities (see Appendices B, C, and D). And in 2017, when asked who the local Imam of their mosque was, many Libyans did not know, nor was it important to them.¹⁰⁸

Libya's leading religious leader, Grand Mufti Ghariani, would be thought to have some influence with the Libyan people. However, his attempts in 2012, issuing a fatwa to halt the murder of Libyan Army officers after the revolution had no effect. This may indicate that religion is influential, but that religious leaders are not as likely to sway the populace.

Sirte, a counter-revolutionary stronghold, was governed temporarily by Ansar al Sharia until an ISIS coup. Clearly susceptible to Salafi and Takfiri leanings, and on the road to the religious jihadi hotbeds of Derna and Benghazi, Sirte is clearly at risk of becoming a jihadi hotbed itself (see Appendix B and C), while the greater country is unlikely to yield to the jihadist influence.

Table 7. Religious Figures

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Personality	Grand Mufti Ghariani ¹¹⁰	No support to LPA No Support to HoR No support to Presidency Council No support to Haftar and LNA	• Unknown	• Unknown	Salafi supporter
	Ali al Salabi ¹¹¹	Salafist, former LIFG Ties to Qatar and Turkey	• Unknown	• Unknown	Anti-Qaddafi Salafi supporter
	Abdel Hakim Belhaj ¹¹²	Former Emir LIFG Current leader al Watan Political Party	• Unknown	• Unknown	Anti-Qaddafi Salafi supporter

External Actors

Libya is rife with external actors, all vying for degrees of influence, elements of dominance, or the opportunity to spoil the influence of others. It is no surprise that Libya, an oil rich rentier state, would find itself vulnerable and caught between many international actors, both state and non-state.¹¹³

Prior to the 2011 Libyan revolution against Qaddafi's regime, Russian companies made multi-billion-dollar oil and infrastructure deals in Libya. These included oil exploration, the construction of a railway from Sirte to Benghazi, and a \$6 billion deal for power generation plants. 114 Following a visit by Vladimir Putin in 2008, the Russian government even forgave a Libyan debt of \$4.5 billion in exchange for the signing of military and civilian contracts. 115 Further, the Russians sold billions of dollars in arms to Libya over a two-decade period. 116

Russia, taking a leading role in the outcome of Libya has sided with the HoR and backed Haftar, flying him to Moscow twice. In May 2016 Russia printed \$2.9 billion (4 billion Libyan Dinar), and delivered it to Benghazi's banks. In return Haftar has offered the Russians a Naval Base in Benghazi, and would likely welcome Russian military assistance. In an unsurprising move, the Russian government stated recently it was ready to ease the UN arms embargo on Libya, which would allow it to resume sales and support.

Russia's goals are straightforward. First, solidify its military position in the Mediterranean, influencing Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Second, apply pressure to European countries through domination of the hydrocarbon market. Third, spoil NATO's influence in its own backyard. Fourth and finally, to recoup its financial losses in Libya.

On the other side, China has seemingly avoided significant involvement in Libya, primarily due to the economic losses they felt due to the 2011 revolution. With recent news releases that Chinese companies will make large investments in Libyan infrastructure it seems they may have shaken off their losses and intend to pursue some influence in Libya. This should in no way indicate they will take a leading role, nor even a military role, but that economically they see the promise of influence over markets in Europe and Africa.

France, as with much in North Africa, is taking a leading European role in Libya. Although supporting the UN backed GNA, France seems to be more strongly courting Haftar and the HoR with the placement of French forces in eastern Libya and recently hosting Haftar in Paris. This seems to be a bit of hedging, as well as an attempt to move Haftar away from Russia, thereby increasing France's prominence in the process. Of course, France has a vested interest in the Russian's not gaining too much influence over the European gas markets as well. The stability that France, and the rest of Europe seeks is directly tied to the refugee crisis emanating from Syria primarily, but also from Libya and North Africa.

Italy, typically seen as the European lead on Libyan affairs due to its proximity as well as colonial history, has nearly been brushed aside by France's efforts. Until recently Italy was the strongest backer of the Tripoli based GNA, but as of September began courting Haftar in similar fashion to Paris. Italy provides assistance in policing the seas, developing the Libyan Coast Guard, training Libyan police, and working in the west with militias to counter ISIS. However, their influence in Libya is minimal while their interests concerning gas prices and refugees mirror those of France. As evidence

of their energy interests, Italian company ENI announced in 2017 they had found new gas deposits off the Libyan coast.¹²⁸

The United Kingdom, although taking the position of supporting the GNA, have recognized Haftar and stated he has a place in the political process.¹²⁹ Having pledged money for demining, the UK seems to be hedging a bit.¹³⁰ Although the UK would welcome a decrease in the refugee flow from Libya, a bigger concern is the price of oil, particularly during the period of Brexit.

Qatar and Turkey are seemingly working together, counter to the efforts of the UN backed GNA. Both countries are supporting the illegitimate GNC, some say with lethal aid in violation of the UN arms embargo.¹³¹ Although Turkey backs the GNC, they are assisting with training of Libyan police in an effort to restore some stability.¹³²

The interests of Qatar and Turkey are in line with their desire to have control over aspects of oil pricing, a desire to thwart the efforts of the US, the UAE and Egypt, and the promotion of Salafism and the Muslim Brotherhood. Qatar took an early position as a leading Arab country against the regime, has continued this approach by facilitating Libyan oil exports, and owns a 49% interest in the Bank of Commerce and Development in Benghazi. 133

Qatar will continue their support to the GNC if only to thwart the efforts of other Gulf countries due to the recent trade blockades imposed on it. Similarly, Turkey has an axe to grind with the United States, the UK and France concerning support to the Kurds in Syria and will therefore maintain its support to the GNC. The efforts of these two countries will unlikely change Libya's political future, but will extend that timeline and frustrate the efforts of other external actors.

As if to act as a counter-poise to the efforts of Qatar and Turkey, Egypt and the UAE support Haftar and the HoR in the east.¹³⁴ This is primarily due to Haftar's desire to root out the Muslim Brotherhood. However, Emirati based companies are taking large stakes in oil rights, and although not government owned, these actions do increase the influence of the UAE. Egypt, with less stake in the oil market, has a clearly stated desire to counter the Muslim Brotherhood, and with its shared border has the ability to assist Haftar, and allow others this same ability.¹³⁵ ¹³⁶

While not taking a leading political role, the Netherlands has taken the lead in providing demining capabilities to Libya. This assistance is the focal point for the removal of the explosive remnants of war (ERW) that persist in many areas of Libya and truly confound any efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to the local populace.

Finally, the UN, EU and AU have all taken a position of supporting the UN backed GNA, although their varying support is relatively meager and unable to assist in militarily solidifying their political stake. Unless and until these treaty organizations form a concerted coalition, they will be unlikely to have significant influence, and in the case of the UN and EU, will continue to see their own members take complicating positions.

Table 8. External Actors

Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
African Union 137	Influence in Africa	None at this	None without a consensus	They support the UN led
	 Legitimacy as an 	time	vote	effort, but are not doing
	organization			anything that looks like
	Stability on the			contribution
	continent			
		African Union 137 • Influence in Africa • Legitimacy as an organization • Stability on the	African Union 137 • Influence in Africa • None at this • Legitimacy as an organization • Stability on the	African Union 137 • Influence in Africa • None at this • None without a consensus vote organization • Stability on the

	China 138 139	Investment in	• 36Bn	Extremely large capacity,	With the loss of investments
	Olilla	infrastructure	investment in	but not committed	in 2011 China appears to be
		Influence over gas	projects		reticent to move too quickly
		and oil prices	Large military		into the Libyan fray
		Continued movement	capability		
		toward superpower			
		status			
	Egypt ¹⁴⁰	Stability on its borders	Limited in all	Very limited capacity	Allowed Russian Basing in
	551	Cooperation with	areas, but still		Egypt
		Western	conducting		Supporting Haftar and HoR
		countries/NATO	military		Aligned with UAE
		Cooperation with	operations		Against the JCP and Muslim
		Russia			Brotherhood
		Increased influence			
		through legitimacy after			
		SISI coup			
		Cleansing of Muslim			
		Brotherhood (JCP in			
		Libya)			
		Cooperation with UAE			
	EU	• Low Oil and Gas	Limited	Large but no consensus	In line with the UN, but not
		Prices	Member nations	across EU countries on what	homogenous across all EU
		Counter Russian	already	to do or who to back	countries
		Influence	contributing		
		Limit Refugees into			
		EU			
	France 141	Regional Influence in	• Cash	Significant but not	Aligned with NATO, US and
		support of NATO and	investment	overwhelming capacity in all	West
		UN	• Military	areas of National power	Courting Haftar to counter
		Influence over Their	cooperation and		Russian influence
		own cost of gas and oil	training		
		Counter Russian	Assistance in		
		influence in the Region	Humanitarian aid		
		Stem the flow of	and infrastructure		
		refugees to Europe	Training of		
			Libyan police		
			Offered to host		
			negotiations this		
			past summer		
l			l		

Italy ¹⁴²	Regional Influence in	• Cash	Significant but not	Aligned with NATO, US and
,	support of NATO and	investment	overwhelming capacity in all	West
	UN	• Military	areas of National power	Backing the GNA
	Influence over Their	cooperation and		Skeptical of Haftar, but
	own cost of gas and oil	training		courting him
	Counter Russian	Assistance in		Upset at France for
	influence in the Region	Humanitarian aid		supplanting them in
	Stem the flow of	and infrastructure		negotiations
	refugees to Europe	Training of		
	Maintain their	Libyan police		
	precedent at the	• Leads the EU's		
	primary intermediary	migrant mission,		
	with Libya due to	training Libyan		
	Colonialism	Coast Guard		
Qatar 143 144	Regional Influence	Large cash	Large economic capacity,	Aligned with NATO, US and
	over conflicts, and oil	investment	therefore large potential arms	West
	production	Minor military	influx, limited in all other	Supporting the GNC in
	Cooperation with	cooperation	areas	Tripoli
	Western	Potential		Interested in the West's help
	countries/NATO	significant Arms		in ending Saudi led blockade
	Increased influence	contribution		
	through legitimacy	Assistance in		
	Cooperation with	Oil industry		
	Turkey			
	Increased influence			
	through legitimacy			
Netherlands 145	Humanitarian	Limited	Limited	Lead for demining in Libya
Notificitation	assistance			
	ERW clearance			
Russia ¹⁴⁶	Regional Influence	Large cash	Large and well used	Partnered with Haftar
. taodia	outside the confines of	investment	capacity in all areas of	Printing money for the HoR
	Slavic states and	Government	National Power	and Haftar
	Europe	owned and		Attempting military sales
	Influence over	controlled global		Made gas and oil
	European Gas and oil	companies		exploration deals
	prices	Military sales,		May attempt reconstruction
	Military Basing in the	training and		of Sirte through construction
	Mediterranean	cooperation		companies
	Counter US, EU,	Counter US,		Potential Naval Basing
	NATO influence and	EU, NATO		offered by Haftar
	expansion			
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			

		influence and		
		expansion		
Tunisia ¹⁴⁷	Stability on its borders	Limited, but they	Limited	Not taking a side currently,
	Cooperation with	facilitate nearly all		looking for stability
	Western	external		
	countries/NATO/UN	Humanitarian Aid		
	Stability internal to	into Libya		
	Tunisia	Hosted Libyan		
	Decreased Arms flow	GNA when first		
	from Libya	active		
	Oil and Gas pipeline	Hosting UN led		
	from Libya to Tunisia	talks to reconcile		
	ITOTT LIDYA to Turiisia			
		inter-		
		governmental		
		issues in Libya		
Turkey 148	Regional Influence	Significant	Limited	Supporting the UN initiatives
	outside the normal	military resources		through training of Libyan
	confines	Limited \$ due to		police, but countering the UN
	Influence over	commitments in		process though support to the
	European Gas and oil	Syria and the ME		GNC
	prices	Sided with GNC		Pro-islamist and Pro-muslin
	Counter Russian	and Qatar		brotherhood
	Military Basing in the			
	Mediterranean			
	Counter Russian			
	Influence			
	Stem the flow of			
	refugees into Europe			
	Support to the GNC			
	puts them at odds with			
	the UN and west, and			
	allows them influence			
	in other areas			
		l		

UAE 149	Stability on its borders	Large cash	Large financial potential,	Supporting Haftar and HoR
	Cooperation with	investment	limited military potential	Aligned with EGYPT
	Western	More significant		Against the JCP and Muslim
	countries/NATO	military		Brotherhood
	Cooperation with	cooperation		Will work to solidify their
	Russia	Potential		position as a regional power
	Increased influence	significant Arms		
	Cleansing of Muslim	contribution		
	Brotherhood (JCP in	Assistance in		
	Libya)	Oil industry		
	Cooperation with			
	Egypt			
	UAE AI Ghurair owns			
	50% of Ras Lanuf oil			
	refinery, largest in			
	Libya			
ик ¹⁵⁰	Regional Influence in	• Pledged	Limited capacity, but very	Aligned with NATO, US and
	support of the UN and	\$6million, \$4	capable	West, but have taken a
	NATO	million to		position backing Haftar
	Influence over	Demining of Sirte		
	European Gas and oil	Military training		
	prices	of coast guard		
	Blunt Russian	Met with Haftar		
	interests and influence	Following French		
		meetings		
UN ¹⁵¹	Primary negotiator for	No resources	Limited without a vote in the	Continues to negotiate with
	institution of	without UNSCR	UN	Libyan parties to gain a
	governance in Libya	or member vote		consensus government
	Role of not seeing	Aid flowing		
	Russian influence grow	through Tunisia		
	too greatly			
	Limit Human			
	Trafficking and Slave			
	trade from Libya			

International Companies

The international companies staking claims to resources and infrastructure projects in Libya are proceeding on a course that benefits them and the nations they hail from (see Table 9). Although these companies may not be under the direct control

of Russia, China, the UAE, etc., they certainly benefit from a position that is in line with their respective nations. The actions of these companies may be of some benefit to Sirte as there is a great need for reconstruction, the jobs that it would bring.

Table 9. International Companies

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
International	Al Ghurair (UAE) 152	Making deals with	Vast economic	• Unknown	Mirrors UAE position
Companies		Libyan Companies	resources		
		Influence for the			
		Emirati government			
	Gazprom	Making deals with	Vast economic	• Unknown	Mirrors Russia's position
	(Russian) ¹⁵³	Libyan Cos	resources:		
		Influence for the	technology,		
		Russian government	personnel, funds,		
			political connections		
	Rosneft (Russian) 154	Making deals with	Vast economic	• Unknown	Mirrors Russia's position
		Libyan Cos	resources		
		Influence for the			
		Russian government			
	Technopromexport	Making deals with	Vast economic resources in power	Unknown	Mirrors Russia's position
	(Russian) ¹⁵⁵	Libyan Cos	engineering		
		Influence for the			
		Russian government			
	ENI (Italian) 156	Making deals with	Vast economic	• Unknown	Mirrors Italy's position
		Libyan Cos	resources		
		Influence for the			
		Italian government			

Libyan Companies

Libyan companies act as weather vanes indicating the direction Libya is headed.

Although they alone do not determine political outcomes in Libya, without banks friendly to Haftar, Russia would not print and deliver money. These companies will in ways favorable to their corporate leadership and the leanings of their local environment. If

they are any predictor of the political outcome, they indicate that Haftar and the HoR will, in large part succeed.

Table 10. Libyan Companies

Туре	Group	Interests	Resources	Capacity	Position
Libyan National	Bank of Commerce	Making deals with	Limited	Limited	Looking to preserve their
Companies	and Development	Russian Companies			own position and future.
	Benghazi ¹⁵⁷	Receiving printed			
		money from Russian			
		government			
		Qatar owns a 49%			
		interest in the bank			
		Need to survive in a			
		HoR and Haftar			
		controlled environment			
		that was ripe for			
		Islamist control			
	Central Bank of	Economic future of	• Limited	Limited	Looking to preserve their
	Libya ¹⁵⁸	the country			own position, will hedge on
					both sides until the outcome
					is clear
	Eastern Central	Making deals with	Limited	Limited	Looking to preserve their
	Bank	Russian firms			own position and future
	(Benghazi) ¹⁵⁹	Receiving printed			
		money from Russian			
		government			
		Need to survive in a			
		HoR and Haftar			
		controlled environment			
		that was ripe for			
		Islamist control			
	National Oil	Making deals with	Large monetary	Limited	Will maintain relations with
	Company 160	UAE	resourcing, and able		both HoR and GNA in order
		Making deals with	to draw resources		to survive, and will continue
		Russian Companies	from two significant		to look for interested
		Oil Crescent	countries		investors to increase output
		controlled by Haftar			and revenue
		and HoR			
		Need to outlast any			
		political swings			

Humanitarian Needs

Libya is in great need of humanitarian relief. The UN assesses that 1.3 million Libyans across the country, 300,000 in the Sirte region, and 50,000 in the city of Sirte are impacted by food and water shortages, lack of access to lifesaving medical care, and the threat of armed groups and Explosive Remnants of War (ERW) (see Appendix H and I). In 2016 inflation in Libya reached 25%, and due to a thriving blackmarket, food prices rose 31%. The UN plan of action released in November 2016 listed over \$150 million in aid requirements, to be executed by twenty-two aid organizations.

When comparing the UN assessments of the Sirte region in July 2016 (see Appendix H) and November 2016 (see Appendix I) we see that there is improving humanitarian access to the region since the fall of ISIS. However, security concerns posed by both armed groups and ERW impact relief operations.

The impact on the population caused by the ERW threat cannot be overstated. Qadaffi's regime procured over \$22 billion in weapons through the 1970s. This allowed vast stockpiling of weapons, nearly all of which were unguarded and uncontrolled in the days following the revolution. According to one account, over 100,000 landmines went missing from just one bunker in 2011. Although reports indicate the clearance of over 500,000 explosive devices thus-far casualties due to ERW remain a threat. In 2015 the ICRC reported 2555 ERW related casualties, while in 2016 the ICRC reported 1610 casualties. This threat directly impacts the security of the populace, as well as the ability of aid workers to gain access to areas like Sirte.

The threat posed by ERW in conjunction with armed groups caused the UN and USAID to move their operations out of Libya, now conducting all operations from Tunisia. Hence, they are unable to verify their aid deliveries first-hand, forced to work through third parties from Tunisia to facilitate the delivery of aid. The Direct communication with US SOF personnel revealed that they saw no evidence of aid delivered to the city of Sirte during a recent six-month period. This raises the common concern that although these efforts are well intentioned, they may not be as effective as the aid organizations would like to believe.

The prospects of jobs, income, and the opportunity to rebuild the oil industry are not likely to help the humanitarian crisis in Sirte. Libyan oil production increased through 2017, now at nearly 900,000 barrels per day. This is certainly good news for those on the government payroll as oil production had decreased through both 2015 and 2016. However, unless the people and tribes of Sirte reconcile with the rest of Libya and reintegrate into society, they will not benefit.

Sirte and Stability: Recommendations

Indications from the stakeholder's analysis lead to a conclusion that although Sirte is a difficult and complex environment, there is still opportunity to achieve stability and order. If a concerted attempt is not made though, Sirte is at great risk for becoming a festering hotbed of jihadi activity for years to come.

Currently the environment in Sirte is one of little hope. With no prospect of inclusion in Libyan governance, and no ability to defend themselves from either the east or the west, the people of this destroyed city suffer from food insecurity, unclean water and nearly no medical care. The inhabitants of Sirte have little hope of a job in the coming years regardless of the potential oil revenue from the nearby Oil Crescent.

Although targeted humanitarian aid can address many of these near-term issues, aid requires access to be effective.

Recommendation 1: Gain access to Sirte

Effective humanitarian aid requires verifiable, consistent access to Sirte.

USAFRICOM should coordinate through UNSMIL to begin a demining mission, clearing Sirte and the roads leading to it of ERW. This will allow aid organizations to gain the access they need in order to deliver the care that is required. Further, the people of Sirte will recognize that the world cares about what happens to them, and provide the foothold needed for other recommended activities. Aid organizations will require other security measures as well.

UNSMIL and USAFRICOM should begin the necessary negotiations with the GNA to emplace security checkpoints and aid escorts, ideally created from existing police officers trained by NATO allies. This will: bolster the credibility of the GNA; address the security concerns of the aid workers; legitimize the security services loyal to the GNA.

Recommendation 2: Establish a Humanitarian Aid Coordination Mechanism Supporting the GNA

It is clear through the stakeholder's analysis that there is little coordinated effort across the UN, EU, or NATO allies. Further, the GNA holds an ever-weakening position, and is in need of support and legitimacy. Although US military "hard power" action is clearly not required in this case, US military coordination of these many efforts may be greatly beneficial.

Establishing a civil-military operations center (CMOC) in Tripoli, working directly with the GNA would address several issues. First it would have the ability to directly monitor, coordinate and verify aid deliveries. Second, it would legitimize US support for the GNA through demonstrated and visible commitment. Third, it would likely result in a "humanitarian coalition" forming across many of the actors already in country. In turn, this coalition would be the nexus of a coordinated and deliberate effort providing aide where it is needed, and counter negative influences on the people of Sirte as a byproduct. If this CMOC idea is welcomed, and successful it could spread to other locations through tribal engagement.

Recommendation 3: Tribal Engagement

Although extremely difficult, and always a long-term endeavor, tribal engagement at senior levels is clearly required to move toward a unity government. This engagement should focus on pulling tribes that are either unable or unwilling to participate in the new Libya toward the GNA. Given the vast number of tribes, focus will be important.

Engaging with the tribes that dominate Sirte, specifically the Qaddafah, will begin to move them closer to the GNA. Additionally, it will promote the idea that the GNA needs to bring them back into the fold as legitimate members of the new Libya. This tribal engagement is key to the notion that Sirte will become a hotbed for jihadists unless they move toward the unity government.

Just as with the Qaddafah, engagement with the Warfallah in order to move them toward the new Libya is key to the future of Libya. The fact that the largest tribe in the country is ostracized simply cannot stand. The nation cannot move forward with a unity government until they have reconciled with the Warfallah.

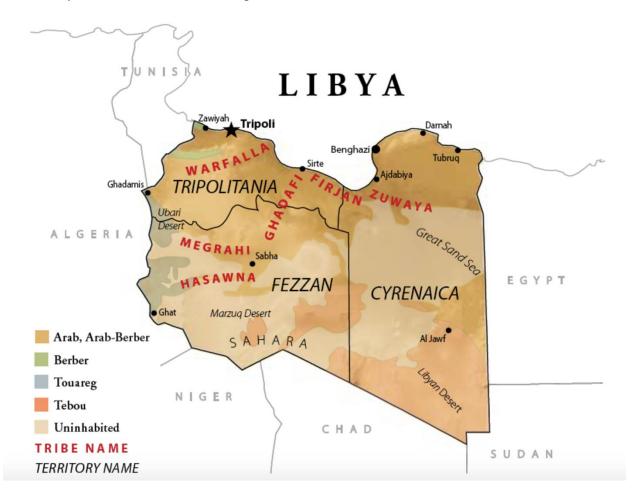
Similar to these tribes, any tribe that is currently ostracized must eventually be moved toward the new Libya through engagement. Tribal engagement would begin through the CMOC previously mentioned, but likely transition to more senior AFRICOM and State Department leaders in coordination with UNSMIL and GNA leaders meeting to discuss the inclusion of these tribes.

The combined outcome of access to Sirte through security and demining, coordination mechanisms through a CMOC, and tribal engagement is that stability can begin to take hold. The country can begin to reconcile and unify, and the people can begin to feel that they neither have to defend what they have, nor take what they must. Eventually violence and injury will not pervade the Sirte region if US Africa Command begins these steps.

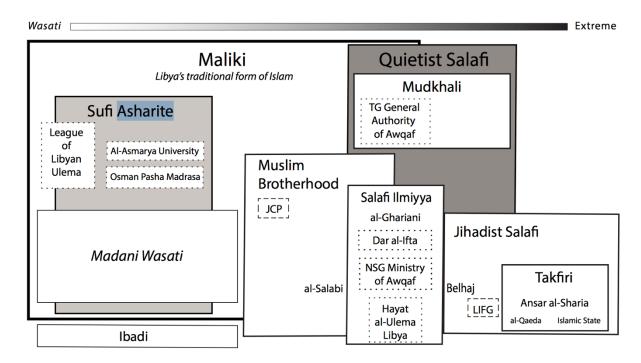
Conclusion

Sirte, Libya is a difficult environment, however there is opportunity to bring stability and order to the region. This will require a small investment of manpower and funding, but will rapidly stabilize Sirte. This will enable the people and tribes of Sirte to move toward the GNA, therefore being included Libya, rather than moving away from the GNA and becoming a jihadist hotbed.

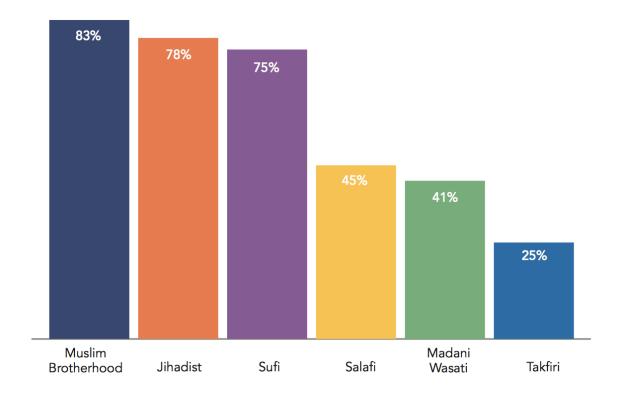
Appendix A: Libyan Tribal and Ethnic Regions¹⁷⁴



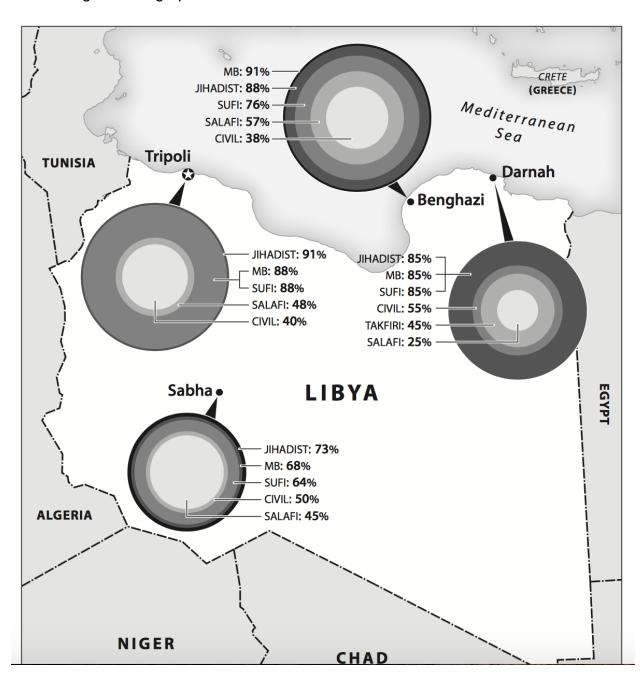
Appendix B: Libyan Religious Spectrum¹⁷⁵



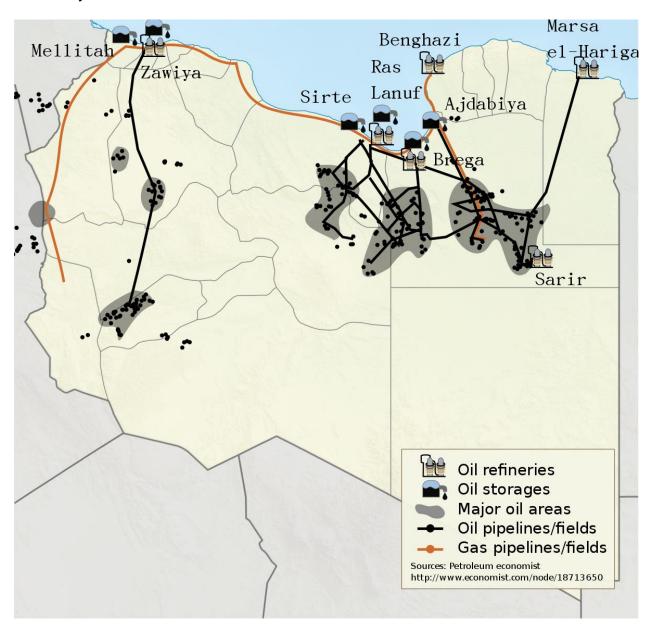
Appendix C: Breakdown of Religious Spectrum by Percentage 176



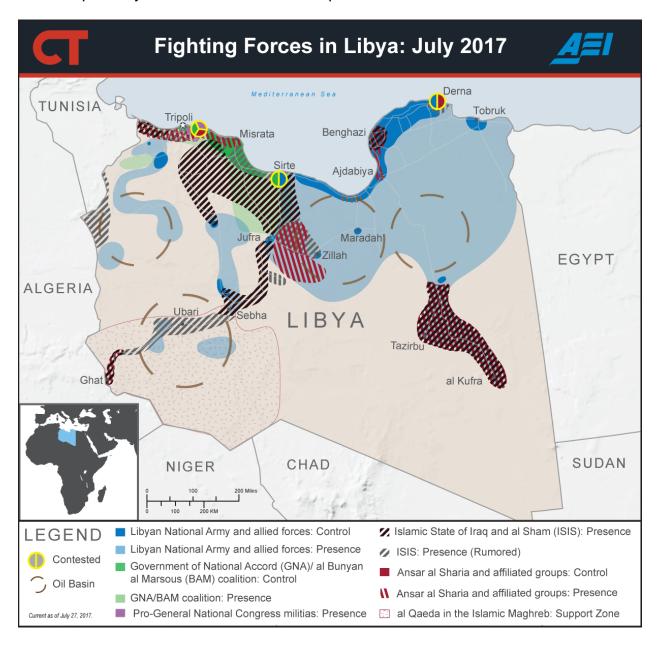
Appendix D: Religious Geographic Breakdown¹⁷⁷



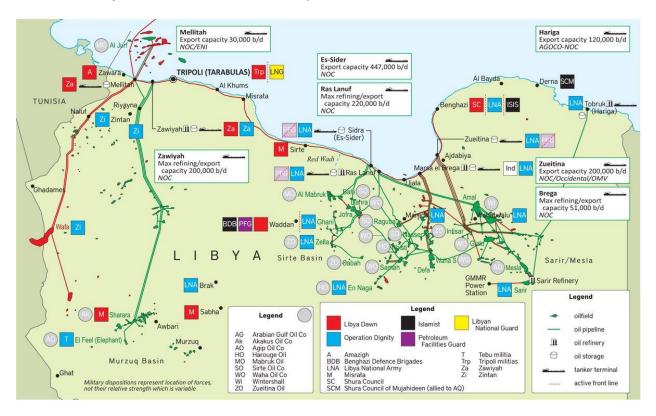
Appendix E: Libyan Oil Infrastructure¹⁷⁸



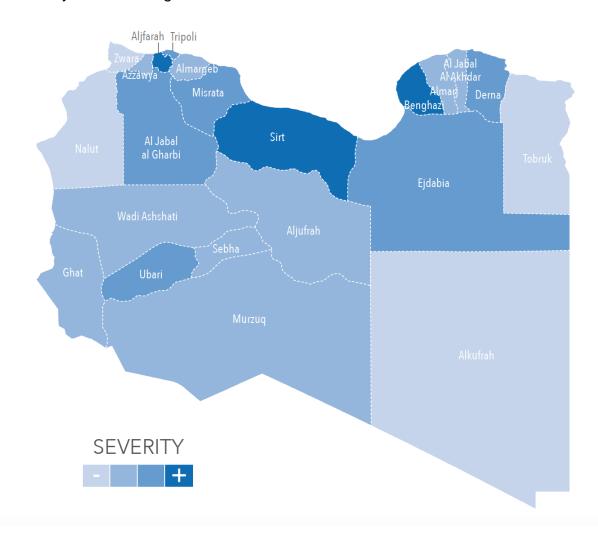
Appendix F: Map of Libyan Non-State Armed Groups¹⁷⁹



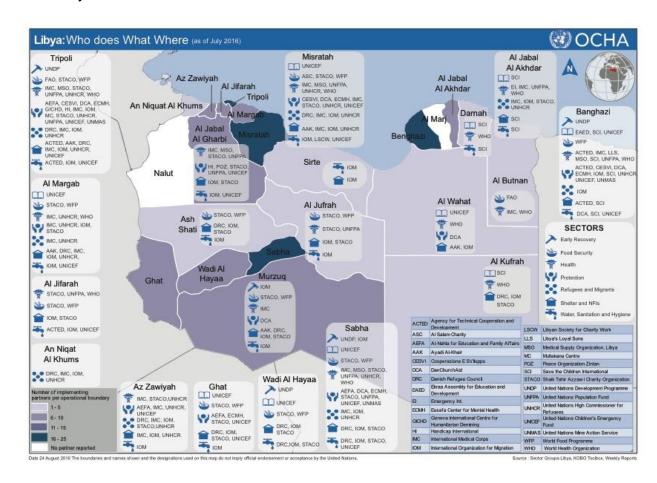
Appendix G: Overlay of Non-State Armed Groups and Oil Infrastructure¹⁸⁰



Appendix H: Libyan Needs Regional Overview¹⁸¹



Appendix I: Libyan Needs Breakdown¹⁸²



Endnotes

¹ U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Joint Publication 3-57 Civil-Military Operations," (September 11, 2013).

² U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Joint Publication 3-07 Stability," (August 3, 2016).

³ Dan Snodderly, "Peace Terms: Glossary of Terms for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding. Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, Endowment of the United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC," *US Institute for Peace< http://glossary. usip. org/>. Accessed* 2 (2013), p. 60.

⁴ Ibid., 50.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Jairo Munive and Finn Stepputat, "Rethinking Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," *Stability: International Journal of Security & Development*, no. 4 (2015): 48, p. 1. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/sta.go

- ⁷ International Committee of the Red Cross, "The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols," accessed January 24, 2018, https://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/treaties-customary-law/geneva-conventions/overview-geneva-conventions.htm
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Joint Publication 3-07 Stability," xi.
- ¹⁰ United States Institute of Peace, "Guiding Principles for Stabilization and Reconstruction," *US Institute of Peace Press*, 2009, p. 3.1.
- ¹¹ Robert D. Kaplan, "The Coming Anarchy," *Atlantic Monthly,* no. 273 (1994). https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1994/02/the-coming-anarchy/304670/
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Mary Kaldor, "Old and New Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era," Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- ¹⁴ Lynch Marc, "Failed States and Ungoverned Spaces," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (November 1, 2016): 24-35.
- ¹⁵ Sukanya Podder, "State Building and the Non-State: Debating Key Dilemmas," *Third World Quarterly* 35, no. 9 (October 21, 2014): p. 1627.
- ¹⁶ Conor Seyle, "Making Somalia Work," Foreign Affairs (December 10, 2015).
- ¹⁷ Jairo Munive and Finn Stepputat, "Rethinking Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Programs," *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 4, no. 1 (2015).4.
- ¹⁸ Clare Duncan, "The Conflict in Yemen: A Primer," *Lawfareblog.com*, (November 28, 2017), accessed December 14, 2017, https://www.lawfareblog.com/conflict-yemen-primer
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ "Guide to Syrian Rebels," *BBC.com*, (December 13, 2013), accessed December 14, 2017, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-24403003
- ²¹ Zuhur Sherifa, "The Syrian Opposition: Salafi and Nationalist Jihadism and Populist Idealism," *Contemporary Review of the Middle East* 2, no. 1-2 (March 1, 2015): p. 144.
- ²² Palwasha L. Kakar and Zahra Langhi, "Libya's Religious Sector and Peacebuilding Efforts," 5.
- ²³ Christopher S. Chivvis, "Countering the Islamic State in Libya." Survival 58, no. 4 (July 3, 2016): p. 120.
- ²⁴ United Nations. "2017 Libya Humanitarian Needs Overview." November 15, 2016, p. 1, https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/node/135727
- ²⁵ Mattes, Hanspeter. "Rebuilding the National- Security Forces in Libya." Middle East Policy 21, no. 2 (2014): p. 86.
- ²⁶ Chivvis, "Countering the Islamic State in Libya," 120.
- ²⁷ Patrick Haimzadeh, "Libya: Military Intervention Would Only Strengthen the Islamic State," *Jadaliyya.com*, (March 7, 2016), accessed November 19, 2017. http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/33060/Libya-Military-Intervention Would-Only-Strengthen-the-Islamic-State.
- ²⁸ Chivvis, "Countering the Islamic State in Libya," 116.

- ²⁹ Ibid., 114.
- ³⁰ Raphaël Lefèvre, "The Pitfalls of Russia's Growing Influence in Libya," *The Journal of North African Studies* 22, no. 3, May 27, 2017, p. 330.
- ³¹ Haimzadeh, "Libya: Military Intervention Would Only Strengthen the Islamic State."
- ³² Aidan Lewis, "U.S. envoy endorses Libya's U.N.-backed government in whirlwind visit to Tripoli," *Reuters.com*, (May 23, 2017), accessed December 18, 2017, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-security-usa/u-s-envoy-endorses-libyas-u-n-backed-government-in-whirlwind-visit-to-tripoli-idUSKBN18J2HR
- ³³ Iffat Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," *GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1385*, (2016): p. 2. http://www.gsdrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/HDQ1385.pdf
- ³⁴ Emily Estelle and Min Young Park, "Fighting Forces in Libya: July 2017," *CriticalThreats.org,* accessed December 11, 2017, https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/fighting-forces-in-libya-july-2017
- ³⁵ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 3.
- ³⁶ Ibid., 14.
- ³⁷ Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, December 15, 2017.
- ³⁸ Lewis, "U.S. envoy endorses Libya's U.N.-backed government in whirlwind visit to Tripoli."
- ³⁹ Kakar. "Libva's Religious Sector and Peacebuilding Efforts." 3.
- ⁴⁰ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 4.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 1.
- ⁴² Noureddine Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 5 (October 20, 2015): p. 848, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13629387.2015.1068697
- ⁴³ Abdulkader Assad, "High Council of State says equality with eastern parliament necessary for successful LPA amendments," *Marsad.ly*, (December 13, 2017), accessed December 18, 2017, https://www.marsad.ly/en/2017/12/13/high-council-state-says-equality-eastern-parliament-necessary-successful-lpa-amendments/
- ⁴⁴ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
- ⁴⁵ Mediel Hove, "Post-Gaddafi Libya and the African Union: Challenges and the Road to Sustainable Peace," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 52, no. 3 (May 1, 2017): p. 273. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909615583366
- ⁴⁶ Idris, "Libvan Political Economy," 2.
- ⁴⁷ Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, December 15, 2017.
- ⁴⁸ Mattes, "Rebuilding the National- Security Forces in Libya," 90.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.

- ⁵⁰ United Nations. "2017 Libya Humanitarian Needs Overview." (November 15, 2016), p. 8. https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/node/135727
- ⁵¹ Mary Fitzgerald, "Libya's Muslim Brotherhood Struggles to Grow," *Foreignpolicy.com*, (May 1, 2014), accessed December 18, 2017, http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/05/01/libyas-muslim-brotherhood-struggles-to-grow/
- ⁵² Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 1.
- ⁵³ Ibid., 1.
- ⁵⁴ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 848.
- ⁵⁵ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 1.
- ⁵⁶ Abdulkader Assad, "High Council of State says equality with eastern parliament necessary for successful LPA amendments,"
- ⁵⁷ Emilie Combaz, "Key Actors, Dynamics and Issues of Libyan Political Economy," *GSDRC Help Desk Research Report*, (April 27, 2014), p. 9. http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/hdq1106.pdf.
- ⁵⁸ "Libya's Political Parties," *Aljazeera.com, accessed December 18, 2017,* http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2012/06/2012626224516206109.html
- ⁵⁹ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
- ⁶⁰ Hove, "Post-Gaddafi Libya and the African Union: Challenges and the Road to Sustainable Peace," 273.
- ⁶¹ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
- 62 Ibid.
- 63 Combaz, "Key Actors, Dynamics and Issues of Libyan Political Economy," 16.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Mattes, "Rebuilding the National- Security Forces in Libya," 97.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., 95.
- ⁶⁸ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 6-7.
- ⁶⁹ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
- ⁷⁰ Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, December 15, 2017.
- ⁷¹ Idris. "Libvan Political Economy." 8.
- ⁷² Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, December 15, 2017.

```
<sup>73</sup> Libyabodycount.org, accessed December 19, 2017, http://www.libyabodycount.org/location
<sup>74</sup> Lefèvre. "The Pitfalls of Russia's Growing Influence in Libva." 330.
<sup>75</sup> Haimzadeh, "Libya: Military Intervention Would Only Strengthen the Islamic State."
<sup>76</sup> Idris, "Libvan Political Economy," 2.
<sup>77</sup> Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
<sup>78</sup> Idris, "Libyan Political Economy." 2.
<sup>79</sup> Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 843.
<sup>80</sup> Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 2.
<sup>81</sup> Ibid.
<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 8.
83 Ibid.
<sup>84</sup> Johnathan Winer, "Promoting a Stable Libva," Hampton Roads International Security Quaterly, February 19.
2017, p. 87.
85 Idris, "Libyan Political Economy." 2.
<sup>86</sup> Igor Cherstich, "When Tribesmen Do Not Act Tribal: Libyan Tribalism as Ideology (Not as Schizophrenia)," Middle
East Critique 23, no. 4 (February 10, 2014): p. 405.
<sup>87</sup> Arturo Varvelli, "The Role of Tribal Dynamics in the Libyan Future," ISPRI Analysis 172 (2013): p. 9.
http://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/analysis 172 2013.pdf
<sup>88</sup> Ibid.. 5.
<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 6.
<sup>90</sup> Ibid.
<sup>91</sup> Mustafa Fetouri, "How a small town became a role model for good governance," Thenational.ae, (October 17,
2015), accessed December 19, 2017, https://www.thenational.ae/opinion/how-a-small-town-has-become-a-role-
model-for-good-governance-1.84054
<sup>92</sup> Ibid.
93 Chivvis, "Countering the Islamic State in Libya," 121.
<sup>94</sup> Varvelli, "Jihadist Hotbeds Understanding Local Radicalization Processes," 100.
<sup>95</sup> Ibid.
<sup>96</sup> Varvelli, "The Role of Tribal Dynamics in the Libyan Future," 6.
```

```
<sup>97</sup> Ibid.
<sup>98</sup> Combaz, "Key Actors, Dynamics and Issues of Libyan Political Economy," 7.
99 "CIA World Fact Book", cia.gov, accessed December 19, 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-
factbook/fields/2075.html
<sup>100</sup> Rebecca Murray, "Tuareg and Tebu fight proxy battle in southwest Libya," Aljazerra.com, (June 22, 2015),
http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/06/tuareg-tebu-fight-proxy-battle-southwest-libya-150610115006475.html
<sup>101</sup> "CIA World Fact Book", cia.gov, accessed December 19, 2017, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-
factbook/fields/2075.html
<sup>102</sup> Murray, "Tuareg and Tebu fight proxy battle in southwest Libya."
<sup>103</sup> Ibid.
<sup>104</sup> Varvelli, "Jihadist Hotbeds Understanding Local Radicalization Processes," 96.
<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 101.
106 Hove, "Post-Gaddafi Libya and the African Union: Challenges and the Road to Sustainable Peace," 277.
<sup>107</sup> Kakar, "Libya's Religious Sector and Peacebuilding Efforts," 3.
108 Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina.
December 15, 2017.
<sup>109</sup> Mattes, "Rebuilding the National- Security Forces in Libya," 87.
<sup>110</sup> Kakar, "Libya's Religious Sector and Peacebuilding Efforts," 3.
<sup>111</sup> Ibid.
<sup>112</sup> Ibid.
<sup>113</sup> Varvelli, "The Role of Tribal Dynamics in the Libyan Future," 2.
<sup>114</sup> Mark N. Katz, "The Russian-Libyan Rapprochement: What Has Moscow Gained?," Middle East Policy 15, no. 3
(2008): p. 124.
<sup>115</sup> Ibid.
<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 123.
117 Lefèvre, "The Pitfalls of Russia's Growing Influence in Libya," 331.
<sup>118</sup> Ibid.
<sup>119</sup> Ibid.
<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 330.
```

¹²¹ Katz. "The Russian-Libvan Rapprochement: What Has Moscow Gained?." 125.

- ¹²² "Heavy Losses for Chinese Companies Operating in Libya," *asianews.it*, accessed December 18, 2017, http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Heavy-losses-for-Chinese-companies-operating-in-Libya-20887.html
- ¹²³ John Lee, "China to Invest \$36Bn in Libyan Infrastructure," *Libya-Businessnews.com,* accessed December 18, 2017, https://www.libya-businessnews.com/2016/11/01/china-to-invest-36bn-in-libyan-infrastructure/
- ¹²⁴ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 14.
- ¹²⁵ Jalel Harchaoui, "How France is Making Libya Worse," *foreignaffairs.com*, (September 21, 2017), https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/france/2017-09-21/how-france-making-libya-worse
- ¹²⁶ Angus MacKinnon, "Italy security chiefs meet Libyan military strongman Haftar," *thelocal.it*, (September 27, 2017), https://www.thelocal.it/20170927/italy-security-chiefs-meet-libyan-military-strongman-haftar
- ¹²⁷ Ibid.
- ¹²⁸ "ENI Makes a New Gas and Condensates Discovery Off Coast Libya," ENI.com, (April 5, 2017), https://www.eni.com/en_IT/media/2017/04/eni-makes-a-new-gas-and-condensates-discovery-offshore-libya
- ¹²⁹ Lewis, "Johnson Visits Libyan Strongman, Backs Ceasefire."
- Rowena Mason, "Britain sends £9m to Libya to fight terror threat and migrant crisis," *theguardian.com,* (August 23, 2017), https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/aug/23/britain-sends-9m-aid-package-libya-fight-terror-threat-migrant-crisis-boris-johnson
- ¹³¹ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 2.
- ¹³² Mattes, "Rebuilding the National- Security Forces in Libva," 93.
- ¹³³ Lina Khatib, "Qatar's Foreign Policy: The Limits of Pragmatism," *International Affairs* 89, no. 2 (2013): p. 420.
- 134 Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 2.
- ¹³⁵ Ibid.
- ¹³⁶ Khalil al-Anani, "What Happened to Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood?," *Aljazeera.com*, February 15, 2017, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/02/happened-egypt-muslim-brotherhood-170212130839987.html
- ¹³⁷ Hove, "Post-Gaddafi Libva and the African Union: Challenges and the Road to Sustainable Peace," 276.
- ¹³⁸ "Heavy Losses for Chinese Companies Operating in Libya," *asianews.it*, accessed December 18, 2017, http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Heavy-losses-for-Chinese-companies-operating-in-Libya-20887.html
- ¹³⁹ John Lee, "China to Invest \$36Bn in Libyan Infrastructure," *Libya-Businessnews.com,* accessed December 18, 2017, https://www.libya-businessnews.com/2016/11/01/china-to-invest-36bn-in-libyan-infrastructure/
- ¹⁴⁰ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy." 2.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid., 14.
- ¹⁴² Ibid.
- ¹⁴³ Ibid., 2.

```
144 Khatib, "Qatar's Foreign Policy: The Limits of Pragmatism," 420.
```

- ¹⁴⁶ Kyle Orton and Lincoln Pigman, "Inside Putin's Libyan Power Play," *Foreign Policy*, September 14, 2017. http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/09/14/inside-putins-libyan-power-play/
- ¹⁴⁷ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 845.
- ¹⁴⁸ Idris, "Libyan Political Economy," 2.
- ¹⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 14.
- ¹⁵¹ Jebnoun, "Beyond the Mayhem: Debating Key Dilemmas in Libya's Statebuilding," 832.
- ¹⁵² Al Ghurair.com, accessed December 18, 2017, http://www.al-ghurair.com/en/our-sectors/energy
- ¹⁵³ Katz, "The Russian-Libyan Rapprochement: What Has Moscow Gained," 122.
- ¹⁵⁴ Lefèvre, "The Pitfalls of Russia's Growing Influence in Libya," 331.
- ¹⁵⁵ Katz, "The Russian-Libyan Rapprochement: What Has Moscow Gained?," 124"
- ¹⁵⁶ Reuters Staff, "ENI to Invest \$8 Billion to Boost Libya Production," *Reuters.com,* December 16, 2012. https://www.reuters.com/article/us-eni-libya-investment/eni-to-invest-8-billion-to-boost-libya-production-idUSBRE8BF0AP20121216
- ¹⁵⁷ Khatib, "Qatar's Foreign Policy: The Limits of Pragmatism." 420.
- ¹⁵⁸ Orton, "Inside Putin's Libvan Power Play."
- 159 Lefèvre, "The Pitfalls of Russia's Growing Influence in Libya," 331.
- ¹⁶⁰ Katz, "The Russian-Libyan Rapprochement: What Has Moscow Gained?," 122.
- ¹⁶¹ United Nations, "2017 Libya Humanitarian Needs Overview," November 15, 2016, p. 1, https://www.humanitarianresponse.info/en/node/135727
- ¹⁶² Ibid., 4.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid., 12.
- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 8.
- ¹⁶⁵ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, "2017 Libya Humanitarian Response Plan," *reliefweb.int*, (December 15, 2016): p. 37.

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2017%20Libya%20Humanitarian%20Response%20Plan%20%28EN%29.pdf

Hayder al-Khoei, Ellie Geranmayeh, and Mattia Toaldo. "After ISIS: How to Win the Peace in Iraq and Libya," European Council on Foreign Relations, (January 4, 2017): p. 14. http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/After_ISIS January 2017-2.pdf

```
<sup>166</sup> Bonnie Docherty and Anna Crowe, "Abandoned Ordnance in Libya: Threats to Civilians and Recommended Responses," Journal of Conventional Weapons Destruction 17, no. 2 (August, 2012): p. 9.
```

- ¹⁶⁷ "Libya: Landmine Clearance," *Africa Research Bulletin: Political, Social and Cultural Series* 50, no. 8 (2013): 19828C-30C. p. 2.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁹ ICRC, "Annual Report 2015," (2015); p. 167.
- ¹⁷⁰ ICRC, "Annual Report 2016." (2016): p. 156.
- ¹⁷¹ United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, "2017 Libya Humanitarian Response Plan," *reliefweb.int*, (December 15, 2016): p. 37. https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/2017%20Libya%20Humanitarian%20Response%20Plan%20%28EN%29.pdf
- ¹⁷² Twenty-two SOF personnel, anonymous interview conducted by the author, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, December 15, 2017.
- ¹⁷³ "Libya Crude Oil Production Chart" *ycharts.com,* (accessed December 20, 2017), https://ycharts.com/indicators/libya_crude_oil_production
- ¹⁷⁴ Fragile States.org, "Understanding Libya: The Role of Ethnic and Tribal Groups in Any Political Settlement," accessed December 11, 2017, https://www.fragilestates.org/2012/03/01/understanding-libya-the-role-of-ethnic-and-tribal-groups-in-any-political-settlement/
- ¹⁷⁵ Kakar, "Libya's Religious Sector and Peacebuilding Efforts," 9.
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 10.
- ¹⁷⁸ Wikipedia, "Oil Reserves in Libya", *Wikipedia.org*, (accessed December 11, 2017), https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oil_reserves_in_Libya
- ¹⁷⁹ Estelle, "Fighting Forces in Libya: July 2017."
- ¹⁸⁰ "Petroleum Economist Libya Map," *Live UA Maps*, (accessed December 11, 2017), https://libya.liveuamap.com/en/2016/28-november-today-769-migrants-including-42-women-and-7-children
- ¹⁸¹ United Nations, "2017 Libya Humanitarian Needs Overview," (November 15, 2016), p. 13.
- ¹⁸² "Who does What Where," *UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs*, (accessed December 11, 2017), https://reliefweb.int/map/libya/libya-who-does-what-where-july-2016-enar