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LIBYA – ROAD TO DYSFUNCTIONALITY

ABSTRACT The developments of the Arab Spring of 2011 extended, among others, to Libya. As a consequence of the armed anti-government uprising supported militarily by the air forces of the Western powers (under the auspices of NATO), the regime of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi, who has controlled the state since the 1969 military coup, was overthrown. The collapse of the current regime has initiated the path to the social, political and economic transformation of the Libyan state. However, the rivalry of local political forces which is a reflection of tribal, regional and ideological divisions, prevented the emergence of an effective political system. As a result, Libya has evolved into a dysfunctional state and the processes of internal destabilization and lack of state borders control generate threats also for the international environment of the country (West Africa, East Africa, Europe).

Keywords: Libya, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, migration crisis, Operation Unified Protector

The developments of the so-called Arab Spring have brought significant political changes to many countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Despite the expectations of democratization and socio-economic reforms, as a consequence of the mass anti-government insurgences, in most countries affected by this process their effects proved to be far from expected. The social energy released in the process of contesting the existing political order turned out to be insufficient to give to the processes of changes following the fall of political regimes the political vectors aimed at increasing political liberties and economic freedom. Apart from Tunisia, where the transformation of 2011 has so far resulted in the democratization of the system and the liberalization of political life, in other states where previous regimes have been subjected to contestation the authoritarian regime has been restored (Egypt) or anarchization of the political system lead to the civil war and/or dysfunctionality of the state.¹ Libya constitutes an example of such developments, as following the overthrow of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi's regime it failed to create stable structures of political power and the country gradually plunged into conflict fuelled both by internal contradictions underlying the rivalry of various political-military forces and external influences of regional and non-regional actors pursuing their own strategic interests in this part of the world.

PREREQUISITES OF LIBYA'S DYSFUNCTIONALITY

Libya has the location of strategic importance – located in the northern part of the African continent at the Mediterranean Sea, it has a relatively long coastline (1775 km), which both in the past and today has attracted the interest of the superpowers seeking to control the Mediterranean Sea and adjoining areas. The mild Mediterranean climate and good conditions for colonization in the coastal area since antiquity attracted consecutive waves of conquerors and settlers – from the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans, through Arabs and Turks, to the Italians in the modern era. Libya, however, was not a separate geopolitical entity in the past but rather constituted the part of larger empires that extended their rule over the neighbouring territories. The name of the country comes from the ancient inhabitants of this land, referred to by the Greek with the term Libue (Libyans) – they were a part of the Berber communities inhabiting North Africa since prehistoric times.² The inhabitants of this land were also called similarly by ancient Egyptians and Romans. The name 'Libya' appeared in contemporary times on the world map only in the twentieth century along with the change of the legal status of these territories. In 1912, as a result of the Italian-Turkish war (1911-1912), two coastal provinces of the Ottoman Empire – Tripolitania (western part of the country) and Cyrenaica (eastern part) – were united within the new territorial unit becoming

¹ For the essence of the dysfunctionality phenomenon and its sources see: R. Kłosowicz, *Konteksty dysfunkcyjności państw Afryki Subsaharyjskiej*, Kraków 2017; R. Kłosowicz (ed.), *Państwa dysfunkcyjne i ich destabilizujący wpływ na stosunki międzynarodowe*, Kraków 2013.

² The Greeks used this term to refer to the whole North-Western Africa (apart from Egypt). See: T. Falola, J. Morgan, B. Adeyemi, *Culture and Customs of Libya*, Santa Barbara 2012, p. XIII.

Italian colony. The third province of the country became, Saharan and almost uninhabited, Fezzan. Officially, since 1934, these three territories were united within one geopolitical entity called Libya, although the name itself had appeared in the area before.³ De facto (along with the transformation of Morocco into a French and Spanish protectorate in the same year), this ended the process of dividing Africa by the European colonial powers.

The establishment of Italian domination over Libya became an impulse for the birth of the resistance movement. For more than twenty years (until 1935) the struggle for the liberation of the country from the colonial system (mainly in the area of Cyrenaica) was conducted by the partisans (mujahedin) under the command of Umar al-Mukhtar, who – after being captured in combat and sentenced by Italians to death in 1931 – became a national hero and a symbol of the national liberation struggle.⁴

Libya remained under the Italian administration until 1943 when it was taken over by British troops as a result of the wartime allied offensive. Formally, the authorities in Rome waived all claims to this territory in the peace treaty concluded with the victorious allied states in 1947.⁵ During the transition period the administration over the country was held by Great Britain (provinces of Tripoli and Cyrenaica) and France (south-western province of Fezzan)⁶. At the same time, it was a period of activation of local political forces striving for the political emancipation of the country. The question of the future of Libya was the subject of negotiations of the victorious Allied Powers.⁷ In the absence of an agreement among them regarding the future international legal status (in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, territories detached from the defeated countries should be included in the UN trust system) ultimately it was decided to grant Libya full independence.⁸ Finally, on December 24, 1951 Libya was proclaimed an independent state as a monarchy. Its first (and as it later turned out also the last) ruler was King Idris I (As-Sajjid Muhammad Idris al-Mahdi as-Sanusi). He originated from the religious-social movement with Sufi tint called Sanusiyya, whose founder (in the 1830s) was the grandfather of the future ruler, Muhammad Ibn Ali as-Sanusi. This movement played a very important role in the history of the

³ See: A. Baldinetti, *The Origins of the Libyan Nation: Colonial Legacy, Exile and the Emergence of a New Nation-State*, London 2010, p.1. It is worth adding that the existing national borders have been shaped for several years as the result of agreements between European powers. The above process ended as late as in 1955 when France signed the treaty of friendship with independent Libya which defined the course of the southern border of the country (and the withdrawal of troops from Fezzan); see: *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴ See more: E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1949.

⁵ “Treaty of Peace with Italy. Signed in Paris, on February 10, 1947”, *United Nations Treaty Series*, vol. 49 (1950) (see: art. 23 and Annex 11), at <<https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%2049/v49.pdf>>, 1 October 2018.

⁶ See more: A. Baldinetti, *The Origins...*, pp. 110-137.

⁷ See: “The United Kingdom of Libya” (“Mamlakatu Libiya al-Muttahida”), in N. Barbour (ed.), *A Survey of North West Africa (The Maghrib)*, London 1962, p. 354.

⁸ See more: A. Pelt, *Libyan Independence and the United Nations: a Case of Planned Decolonization*, New Haven 1970.

country, being one of the birth factors of local nationalism with a strong anti-colonial tinge and the later ruler, Idris, was a de facto inter-war period (while in emigration in Egypt) ideological political leader of the anti-colonial insurrection (Umar al-Mukhtar was the military leader of Sanusijja).⁹

Libya is a country with large territory (about 1.75 million square kilometres) but the vast majority of its area is a desert (about 93% of the area). Only the coastal areas of Libya ensure convenient conditions for their inhabitants. The Mediterranean climate and soils, suitable in some areas for the development of agriculture, make the vast majority of the 6.5 million citizens of the country live there. The dry tropical climate in the interior entails extreme temperatures.¹⁰ Desert areas are characterized by permanent water deficit but also in coastal areas the amount of water available for economic purposes is limited (a characteristic feature of the landscape of these area is the lack of permanent rivers). In Libya, however, there are huge reservoirs of underground water (in the area of the Sahara) which constitute about 70% of the country's water resources and are exploited for the needs of coastal cities by supplying them through the water supply system.¹¹

Unpopulated and inhospitable areas of the interior were in the past and are now a difficult place to control and, as a result, may constitute a shelter for various forces contesting the existing political order. In the absence of effective central authority this factor becomes even more important. At the same time, communication routes leading to the Sub-Saharan Africa countries go through the interior. Their control is therefore of strategic importance for the stability of the entire region, especially the areas neighbouring Libya in the south and south-east (Sudan, Chad, Niger – these countries are perceived as highly unstable). To some extent, this also applies to the eastern and western neighbours of the country – Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria.¹² These Arabic-speaking countries lie in similar geographical latitudes, which makes them similar in terms of climatic and landscape factors and makes their borders (especially in the Sahara) difficult to control and thus easy to penetrate (in all directions). The abovementioned feature of the borders in the region has become even more meaningful in connection with the rapid development of means of communication in the twentieth century.

Libya is an Arabic-speaking country and according to most sources it is relatively ethnically homogeneous. Around 86% of the population are Arabs, and 11% of the population are Berber tribes (including Tuaregs inhabiting desert areas). At the same

⁹ See: C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Handbook*, Edinburgh 1967, p. 42.

¹⁰ Most probably, the highest temperature in the world was recorded in Libya on 13 September 1922 – 58.7° C, See: *Global Measured Extremes of Temperature and Precipitation*, at <<http://www.aos.wisc.edu/~hopkins/100-lec/pix/globalextrmes.html>>, 7 September 2018.

¹¹ See: "Plumbing the Sahara", *The Economist*, 11 March 2011, at <<https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2011/03/11/plumbing-the-sahara>>, 1 October 2018.

¹² See: Y. Ronen, "North African Turmoil: Libya's Descending to Chaos", *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2016), at <<https://www.meforum.org/articles/2015/libya-s-descent-into-chaos>>, 2 October 2018).

time, it should be remembered that a large part of the country has Berber roots and the ongoing Arab conquest in the time of the first Muslim caliphs changed its demographic structure in favour of the Arabic-speaking component (both groups make up approximately 97% of the population and the South is also inhabited by the Sub-Saharan Tubu). However, until today the tribal divisions, characteristic for communities living in this difficult climate, have survived. It is estimated that about 140 tribes and large families with political significance live in Libya. Considering the relatively short history of the country as an independent geopolitical unit and additionally its creation as a result of external intervention, it is difficult to expect that the Libyans have become a modern, homogeneous nation. On the one hand, belonging to the Arab world and on the other hand, persistent tribal differences, make Libya a specific state where the loyalty to the central government must compete with loyalty to other reference groups created on the basis of tribal identity.¹³

The ethnic differences also overlap with regional differences resulting from the fact that Libya was created as a conglomerate of two provinces which for the past three centuries belonged to one country (the Ottoman Empire) but retained some distinct features. These differences date back to ancient times. Historically, Tripolitania was a region of the Maghreb countries (today's Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco), while Cyrenaica was more integrated with the Arab East (Mashrek) in terms of socio-economic factors. At the time of the Turkish rule in North Africa this was not a problem – both the east and west of today's Libya were the provinces of the empire. The relatively large scope of their autonomy made it easier to rule over the vast territory of the country. The Italian intervention, uniting Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, created the premises for full integration of both provinces, but it required time and commitment to promoting modernization processes. Italian rule in Libya, however, lasted only about 30 years and for the greater part of this period the national liberation struggle (led by Umar al-Mukhtar) continued, so unification processes could not proceed effectively. Of course, this does not change the fact that the epos of the anti-colonial insurrection was an important factor in building modern identity of contemporary Libyans in its ideological-political layer. The British and French occupation, which lasted for nearly a decade, was of temporary character, so only after gaining independence on December 24, 1951 Libya could launch building a strong state and modern identity. However, the challenges faced by the authorities were confronted with factors objectively limiting the effectiveness of this process such as the vastness of the territory and the dispersion of the relatively small population, regional differences and low level of development in the social and economic dimension (the oil deposits were not discovered until 1959 and their exploitation began in 1963). There were also some elements of rivalry between the main centres of both provinces – the capital of Tripoli and Benghazi in eastern Libya which, on the one hand was an expression of historical differences, but on the other hand – of

¹³ S. Kaplan, "Understanding Libya: The Role of Ethnic and Tribal Groups in Any Political Settlement", *Fragile States*, at <<https://www.fragilestates.org/2012/03/01/understanding-libya-the-role-of-ethnic-and-tribal-groups-in-any-political-settlement/>>, 2 October 2018.

modern aspirations to play the dominant role in the state. The political dominance of Tripoli was one of the factors driving the mechanism of this rivalry.

The Libyan Monarchy tried to use the religious factor to build a new Libyan identity. This factor played an important role, but was only one of many elements shaping social awareness. Nevertheless, the political role of the Sanusijja brotherhood in the interwar period favoured the use of a religious factor in the process of building the modern national identity. Entrusting the role of a monarch to the religious leader, Idris I, and the conservatism of the ruling elite around him evoked reluctance and resistance in some social circles impressed by the pan-Arab and socialist ideas which were triumphant at that time thanks to Egypt's policy and its charismatic leader Gamal Abdel Nasser in the fifties and sixties of the XX century.¹⁴ The above created the prerequisites of the fall of the monarchy as a result of the coup by the military group of young officers in 1969 and the transformation of the country from autocratic monarchy into an authoritarian regime led by Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi but also – despite the revolutionary rhetoric – based on neo-patrimonial principles referring to local specificity of tribal and rural communities and political patronage.¹⁵

Libya is a relatively rich country. The main source of Gross Domestic Product is oil, whose vast deposits were discovered in the Libyan Sahara. With the population of several million, it allowed Libya to achieve a high GDP per capita making it one of the richest countries in the African continent.¹⁶ The geographical proximity made European countries (mainly from Western Europe – Italy, Spain, France, Germany) the main recipients of Libyan energy resources which in turn generates interest in the development of their mutual relations. As a result of the geopolitical location and energy resources, during the Cold War period Libya became the subject of influences of the Western and Eastern powers which in turn triggered international tensions resulting from the endeavours to gain influence and control of the strategic resources of the country. This rivalry continued also after the end of the Cold War, although in another geostrategic and economic dimension.

Between gaining independence and the military coup organized by Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi on September 1, 1969, Libya remained in the Western powers' sphere of influence and close relations with the United States resulted in the location on its territory of the largest US military air base on the Mediterranean coast, where about 4 600 American soldiers were stationed (Whealus Air Base – near Tripoli).¹⁷ Libya re-

¹⁴ See: M.O. El-Kikhia, *Libya's Qaddafi: The Politics of Contradiction*, Gainseville 1997, pp. 25-28.

¹⁵ See: *ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶ See: D. Vandewale, *Libya since Independence: Oil and State-Building*, Ithaca–New York 1998. After the fall of the regime of colonel al-Qaddafi, due to the unstable internal situation, the dynamics of GDP changes has been very high. For example, in 2014 GDP decreased by slightly more than 50%, in two subsequent years there was a further decline in the ratio although at a significantly smaller scale, to increase in 2017 by 55.1%. See: "African Economic Outlook 2018", *African Development Bank*, p. 153, at <https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African_Economic_Outlook_2018_-_EN.pdf>, 3 October 2018.

¹⁷ See: R.B. St John, *Libya and the United States: Two Centuries of Strife*, Philadelphia 2002, pp. 61-66.

mained in the orbit of Western influence also in the economic dimension (investments in the oil industry). The radicalism of transformations initiated together with the “revolution of September 1” led to the deterioration of relations with the West. The new Libyan authorities with colonel al-Qaddafi in the lead decided to break the existing external connections and took steps to develop an independent development path. In 1977 al-Qaddafi published the program of political transformation of the country calling it in the ideological dimension the third global theory constituting in fact a mixture of nationalist (with strong references to Pan-Arabism), socialist and populist slogans as well as elements of the Muslim religion. The program was comprised in the Green Book¹⁸ which, printed in millions of copies and in many languages, was aimed at dissemination in Libya and in the whole world the slogans of the Libyan revolution as the expression of striving for modernization and development based on own resources and own concepts, competitive to the models offered by the developed world. The wealth coming from the export of crude oil was to be the source of support for ambitious development programs implemented by revolutionary authorities. The anti-Western course in Libya’s foreign policy objectively positioned the country on the side of the Eastern bloc in the Cold War era, nevertheless the radicalism of actions and the high level of assertiveness in Libyan politics made Tripoli a difficult partner for Moscow and its allies.¹⁹ His unconventional behaviour in foreign policy made the Libyan leader a controversial partner for other actors, building a wall of reluctance around him and inducing readiness to engage in attempts to eliminate the politician who does not avoid actions negatively evaluated from the point of view of the stability of the international order.²⁰ Libya has been among others sanctioned by the UN Security Council for more than 10 years for supporting international terrorism (after accusations of organizing the attack on an American plane of the Pan Am Airways on December 21, 1988 over the Scottish city of Lockerbie, which resulted in the death of 259 passengers and crew members as well as 11 city residents).²¹

THE ROAD TO THE “FALL” OF STATEHOOD

Libyan state decomposition processes are associated in their genesis with the events of the so-called Arab Spring which led to the collapse of several political regimes in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East. Anti-government demonstrations began in December 2010 in Tunisia and then spread to other countries in the region. As a result, current political elites were removed from power in Tunisia, Libya and Egypt,

¹⁸ See: M. al-Kaddafi, *Zielona Książka (The Green Book)*, at <<http://web.archive.org/web/20121102015616/trzeciswiat.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/muammar-al-kaddafi-zielona-ksiazka.pdf>>, 4 October 2018; see also: P. Sensini, *Sowing Chaos: Libya in the Wake of Humanitarian Intervention*, Atlanta 2016, pp. 48-56.

¹⁹ M. Sicker, *The Making of a Pariah State: The Adventurist Politics of Muammar Qaddafi*, New York 1987, pp. 101-111.

²⁰ Por. *ibid.*, pp. 123-131.

²¹ See more: K.I. Matar, R.W. Thabit, *Lockerbie and Libya*, Jefferson–London 2004.

civil wars broke out in Syria and Yemen and more or less mass anti-government demonstrations were held in other countries of this part of the world. The developments in Libya were preceded by the resignation from their offices of the presidents of Tunisia and Egypt which had a huge impact on the public opinion in Libya leading to the radicalization of anti-government moods especially in the younger part of the country's population.²²

In this context, it is worth remembering that in the economic dimension, in terms of quality and standard of living, the situation in Libya was not bad. Libya was one of the better developed countries of North African in terms of socio-economic indicators with the relatively high standard of living, extensive system of social benefits financed with oil revenues as well as developed and modern economic infrastructure. It is worth noting that immediately before the outbreak of the uprising in 2011, the country had one of the highest standards of living in Africa and one of the highest indicators of national per capita income, quite well-functioning education and health protection systems (though also benefiting from the imported labour force).²³ The main driver of social dissatisfaction was the authorities' authoritarianism preventing the mitigation of existing social tensions. The lack of civil society combined with the efforts to fully control the lives of citizens by the authoritarian authorities and suppressing even the smallest manifestations of opposition activity created the atmosphere conducive to the contestation of the existing political order. The symbol of the *status quo* and the ossification of the regime was the then leader of Libya, Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi who, although formally did not hold any official state functions, was the number one of the regime and maintained this position for 42 years (he came to power at the age of just 29 years).²⁴

A characteristic feature of al-Qaddafi's rule was the unpredictability and unconventionality of his behaviour. Original political concepts, exemplified by the content comprised in the Green Book, led to the creation of a specific political system which was based on original solutions and – according to the assumptions of its creator – was to be based on certain forms of self-government combined with elements of direct democracy with strong reference to values such as social justice or basing the country's

²² See more: M.L. Haas, D.W. Lesch (eds.), *The Arab Spring: Change and Resistance in the Middle East*, Boulder 2012; D.H. Rand, *Roots of the Arab Spring: Contested Authority and Political Change in the Middle East*, Philadelphia 2013; J. Zdanowski, *Bliski Wschód 2011. Bunt czy rewolucja?*, Kraków 2011.

²³ According to the Human Development Index from 2011, Libya was on the 64th position (High Human Development) – and was outperformed among African countries only by Seychelles (52nd position). In the report for 2018, Libya ranked 108th in this indicator and was outperformed by Botswana (101st position in the ranking), Tunisia (95th), Algeria (85th), Mauritius (65th) and Seychelles (62nd) – all these countries are in the High Human Development category. See: "Human Development Report 2011. Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future of All", *United Nations Development Programme*, New York 2011, at <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/271/hdr_2011_en_complete.pdf>, 4 October 2018; Human Development Indices and Indicators, *United Nations Development Programme*, New York 2018, at <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf>, 4 October 2018.

²⁴ See: D. Vandewale, *Libya since Independence...*, pp. 169-190.

development on own resources. This specificity of the system was to be contained in specific terminology – the concept of Jamahiriya coined by al-Qaddafi²⁵ was supposed to reflect the uniqueness and specificity of the Libyan development model. Needless to say, behind these slogans lay in fact a local form of authoritarian regime with a strong position of its political creator, leader and ideologist in one person. The unmasking of the autocratic elements in the political system of Libya, a very long period of colonel al-Qaddafi's domination and the prospect of family succession as the leader of the state (one of the sons of Muammar al-Qaddafi, Sayf al-Islam, was prepared to become his successor) led to progressive delegitimization of the Libyan regime among the inhabitants of the country despite a fairly extensive system of social benefits.²⁶

Also in the international dimension, the policy of the al-Qaddafi regime evoked a lot of controversy. Radically anti-Western course in foreign policy led during the Cold War to the deterioration or severance of relations with virtually all countries of the bloc. Libya, during this period, not only continued verbal criticism of “Western imperialism” but it was also involved politically and materially in supporting various forces that could weaken its international position of the West. This logic led Libya to support various terrorist organizations, especially those which had undertaken spectacular actions, such as the Provisional Irish Republican Army in Great Britain or the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The supply of weapons and explosives to terrorist organizations provided Libya with the label of the main sponsor of international terrorism and Libyan secret service was directly accused of similar actions (such as the attack on discotheque in Berlin in 1986, the above-mentioned attack on the American plane over Lockerbie in 1988 or the attack on an the Air France plane over Niger in 1989.²⁷ As a result, the country was subject to international sanctions introduced by the UN Security Council resolution of 1992²⁸ which were in force until September 12, 2003 (Libya finally agreed to accept its responsibility for the attacks on planes and paid compensations to the victims which led to the suspension of sanctions in 1999).

Libya's activities in the international arena were also directed at promoting mechanisms of cooperation with countries that perceived the Cold War international system in a similar way which were engaging in the processes destabilizing and contesting the role of the American power and its allies. The cooperation with Iran or leftist political regimes in Africa and in the Middle East led to the isolation of Libya on the

²⁵ Since 1977 to the downfall of al-Qaddafi's regime, the official name of the country was the Great Arab Libyan People's Socialist Jamahiriya.

²⁶ R.B. St John, “Libya: Reforming the Economy, not the Polity”, in Y.H. Zoubir, H. Amirah-Fernández (eds.), *North Africa: Politics, Region, and the Limits of Transformation*, London 2008, pp. 62-66.

²⁷ See: B.L. Davis, *Qaddafi, Terrorism, and the Origins of the Attack on Libya*, New York 1990; A. Konert, *Odpowiedzialność za szkodę na ziemi wyrządzoną ruchem statku powietrznego*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 235-237; L. Pienaar, “State and State-Sponsored Terrorism in Africa: The Case of Libya and Sudan”, *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2008), pp. 58-62.

²⁸ See: “Resolution of the UN Security Council”, no. 748 (1992), at <<https://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/748.pdf>>, 5 October 2018. see also: L. Pienaar, “State and State-Sponsored Terrorism...”.

international forum. The community of interests with the countries of the former Eastern bloc resulting from the rivalry with the West led to the creation of many levels of mutual cooperation although unconventional statements and behaviours of the Libyan leader limited the possibility of allied cooperation, at least on the official level. The involvement of Libyan authorities in supporting anti-system forces in the Arab states of the region (often under the Pan-Arabic slogans, though filtered through the Libyan interests and specific ideological assumptions promoted by Colonel al-Qaddafi) in that period led to the isolation of the state also in the immediate international environment (which was one of the reasons of the fiasco of the successive initiatives of the Libyan leader aimed at creation of the union of Arab states).²⁹ As a consequence of diplomatic failures in the region of North Africa and the Middle East, Libya then reoriented its foreign policy seeking to strengthen its position in relations with Sub-Saharan African countries.³⁰ The successes of Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi in this field were rather the result of African leaders' interest in Libyan economic aid (during the oil boom play Libya had budget surpluses at disposal) than real interest in the cooperation model promoted by the Libyan authorities. Libya at that time tried to "punch above its own weight" on the international forum achieving rather limited results. However, it built a negative image of the country among the main actors in the framework of the then international order leading, as a consequence, to limiting its ability to achieve foreign policy goals.

Therefore, after the end of the Cold War, Libya undertook certain measures to change the existing image and normalize relations with the Western powers and pro-Western states in its international environment. The most spectacular proof of this stance was the consent of Tripoli to refrain from further development of the potential of mass destruction weapons (chemical and nuclear weapons) as well as the consent to submit its arsenals to the system of control³¹. Economic needs have also led to gradual normalization of relations with European countries that are the main recipients of energy resources exported by Libya (Italy and France were particularly interested in developing cooperation in the oil sector). Nevertheless, despite the desire to change the international image, Libya remained the state of "limited reliability" – and this should be probably perceived as one of the reasons for the decision of the Western powers to support the opposition forces after the outbreak of the anti-regime uprising during the Arab Spring.

The outbreak of the anti-government riots in Libya took place in March 2011. The success of anti-government insurgencies in neighbouring countries gave a strong impulse to Libyans dissatisfied with the existing socio-political and economic conditions. Hopes for the change of the authoritarian regime led thousands of protesters to the

²⁹ See more: M. Sicker, *The Making of a Pariah State...*, pp. 47-87.

³⁰ See: *ibidem*, pp. 88-100; see also: D. Geldenhuis, "The Rule-Breaking Conduct of Qaddafi's Libya", *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2003), pp. 55-76.

³¹ See: M. Braut-Hegghammer, "Libya's Nuclear Turnaround: Perspectives from Tripoli", *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 62, no. 1 (2008), pp. 55-72; K. Davenport, "Last CW Materials Removed from Libya", *Arms Control Today*, vol. 46, no. 8 (2016), pp. 25-26.

streets. At the same time, it launched the opposite process of mobilizing pro-government forces to defend status quo. Aware of the experiences of neighbouring countries, Colonel al-Qaddafi did not want to risk losing his power (attempts to make concessions or compromises seemed only a way to strengthen the demands of the opposition and could be interpreted as a weakness). Consequently, the situation escalated to the conflict in which the government side decided to use the full arsenal of forces and resources being at its disposal. The riots turned into an internal conflict in which the opposition side, as deprived of the access to arsenals of weapons, seemed doomed to failure. The prospect of victory of the forces faithful to al-Qaddafi's, however, prompted Western countries to launch the military intervention. Formal pretext, formulated on the international forum, were humanitarian issues, nevertheless the fact that Libya is an oil state gave rise to additional speculations about the real motives of the intervention forces (especially as the initiator of the venture was France, subsequently supported by Italy and the United Kingdom – that is the states economically involved in Libya). The adoption by the UN Security Council of the resolution banning military flights in Libyan air space combined with the activities of the regime forces – including aviation – gave the pretext to launch an international intervention which in fact supported Libyan opposition.³² The coalition of Western countries which took the initiative decided to transfer the coordination of operations to the North Atlantic Alliance (Operation Unified Protector). International intervention has reversed the fate of the conflict. Air support has made it possible to the anti-government forces to gain advantage also in ground operations. As a result, the regime of Colonel Mu'ammad al-Qaddafi was overthrown and the dictator died in fighting, brutally murdered by partisans on October 20, 2011. This started the new stage in the history of the Libya.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS FOR THE STABILITY OF LIBYA AND ITS INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

Contrary to the hopes of both the participants of the Libyan revolt and the intervening coalition of states, the process of rebuilding the structures of political power after the overthrowing of al-Qaddafi's dictatorship did not proceed as expected. Regional differences, ambitions of local leaders, tribal divisions, different visions of the future of the state, striving by local political and military forces to control territories and maximize their possession, efforts to take control of the oil extraction sites, transport routes and oil exports facilities – all this lay at the background of the gradual evolution of internal situation in the country towards anarchy. This was favoured by the weakness of the

³² For various aspects of the intervention see.: H. Campbell, *Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya: Lessons for Africa in the Forging of African Unity*, New York 2013; R.H. Gregory Jr., *Clean Bombs and Dirty Wars: Air Power in Kosovo and Libya*, Lincoln 2015, pp. 149-203; M. Perkowski (ed.), *Libia 2011. Wybrane uwarunkowania prawnomiędzynarodowe*, Białystok 2012; A. Wojciuk, "Interwencja w Libii – pozorny sukces militarny drogą do państwa upadłego", in M. Madej (ed.), *Wojny Zachodu*, Warszawa 2017, pp.178-204.

central authorities elected as a result of electoral procedures (aimed at legitimizing the new authorities) and the resulting lack of efficient and effective military forces. The inability to form a strong army encouraged local groups, usually formed on the basis of tribal loyalty, to manifest their own interests.³³ The first elections after the collapse of the al-Qaddafi regime, carried out on July 7, 2012, brought hope for stabilization of the political system, nevertheless the political disputes in then National Assembly caused by different views of the form and future of the state (including works on the new constitution) led to pre-term elections (June 25, 2014). Lack of consent by some political forces to such a resolution led to the contestation of newly elected authorities and, consequently, to the formation of two rivalling decision-making centres and, although the peace negotiations held subsequently under the auspices of the United Nations led to the formation of the National Unity Government (agreement of December 17, 2015), many influential groups and their leaders refrained from accepting the adopted solutions. As a result, Libya found itself under the control of rival power centres that, apart from their mutual rivalry, had to face the expansion of jihadist forces and regional and tribal groups. Political chaos in turn gave rise to competition for resources (oil) attracting the interest of external actors.³⁴

Libya, during the previous regime, was a state with a relatively well-equipped army. Its collapse with the fall of the al-Qaddafi's regime due to a lack of armed forces capable of taking control of this equipment led to the proliferation of weapons and radical reduction of the citizens' security. It was one of the reasons why local militias began to appear in many parts of the country to guarantee the security of local communities. The country found itself in a kind of a vicious circle: the lack of security and strong power centre enforced the emergence of local military forces guaranteeing to the inhabitants of various regions stability and preservation of status quo, at the same time this factor deepened internal chaos leading to the increasing anarchy of political life.

It is worth noting that Libya's destabilization processes have also affected other countries of the region.³⁵ The desert character of most of the Libya's border areas with neighbouring states facilitated the transfer of people and weapons beyond the borders of the country. This, in turn, facilitated the activities of jihadist groups (such as Islamic State or Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb) which, using the weakness of central government structures, tried to create territorial base for their activity in North and West Africa. Fundamentalist groups present in Egypt, Tunisia or Algeria took action across

³³ C.S. Chivvis, J. Martini, *Libya after Qaddafi: Lessons and Implications for the Future*, Santa Monica 2014; C.S. Chivvis, K. Crane, P. Mandaville, J. Martini, *Libya's Post-Qaddafi Transition: The Nation-Building Challenge*, Santa Monica 2012.

³⁴ See: E. Kekilli, "Anatomy of the Libyan Crisis", *Insight Turkey*, vol. 19, no. 3 (2017), pp. 159-180; Y. Ronen, "North African Turmoil: Libya's Descent into Chaos", *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 1 (2016), at <<https://www.meforum.org/articles/2015/libya-s-descent-into-chaos>>, 5 October 2018; M.E. Yilmaz, "Peacebuilding in Libya", *International Journal on World Peace*, vol. 29, no. 1 (2012), pp. 45-57.

³⁵ See: A.J. Kuperman, "Obama's Libya Debacle: How a Well-Meaning Intervention Ended in Failure", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 94, no. 2 (2015), pp. 66-77.

the borders of these countries trying to expand their influence, especially during the time when the Islamic State was celebrating triumphs in Syria and Iraq – Libya became another country in which it tried to create the territorial bridgehead of the restored caliphate. In particular, the central coastal part of the country (with Sirte as the main city) was temporarily controlled at the turn of 2014 and 2015 by the forces related to the Islamic State, eventually repudiated by the coalition of various groups (including Al-Qaida) in December 2016.³⁶ Activities of jihadist militia were also favoured by natural conditions – difficult to control areas of the south of the country enabled functioning of the routes leading to sub-Saharan Africa. The instability in Libya constitutes also a factor affecting the situation in western Sudan. The lack of effective control of inter-state borders was encouraged by anti-government groups operating on the territory of Darfur to seek a territorial base in Libya. Through the territory of the Sahara, weapons and combat equipment are supplied to partisans in Darfur and local armed groups support each other's goals.³⁷

The destabilization of Libya was also one of the causes of escalation of the conflict in Mali in 2012. It was caused by the tensions between the northern Berber people inhabiting the northern regions (Tuaregs) and the representatives of the Negroid people inhabiting the southern provinces who are politically dominant in Bamako. The outbreak of another Tuareg insurgency in March 2012, seeking to proclaim an independent state (Azawad), was possible mainly because after the collapse of the al-Qaddafi's regime huge amounts of weapons were released from the Libyan warehouses to the south supplying rebel troops. Many Tuareg mercenaries also served in the Libyan army – after its disintegration they joined the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA) which set for itself the goal of building the independent state in the northern part of Mali. The training and combat experience gained in Libya increased the military capability of the Azawad partisans contributing to the escalation of the conflict. The outbreak of insurgency in northern Mali became the starting point for the activation of groups referring to militant Islam. They successfully undertook military effort resulting in taking control of the region and establishing their administration over the areas affected by the conflict. Consequently, in fear of further expansion of jihadism, France (Operation "Serval"), supported by the military forces of the African-led International Support Mission to Mali (AFISMA), launched a military intervention on January 11, 2013 which restored the control of the authorities in Bamako over northern provinces of the state. However, due to their specific conditions, desert areas are still penetrated by anti-government forces³⁸. Jihadist groups undertook terrorist actions

³⁶ See: W. Lizak, "Bliski Wschód na drodze do nowego porządku międzynarodowego", *Rocznik Strategiczny*, vol. 23 (2017/2018), pp. 272-273.

³⁷ "Darfur rebels strengthen foothold in Libya: UN report", 16 August 2018, *News24*, at <<https://www.news24.com/Africa/News/darfur-rebels-strengthen-foothold-in-libya-un-report-20180816>>, 5 October 2018.

³⁸ See more: A. Arieff, "Crisis in Mali", *CRS Report for Congress*, 14 January 2013, at <<https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R42664.pdf>>, 6 October 2018); S. Chazbijewicz, "Rebelia Tuaregów w Mali w 2012 roku a czynnik islamski", in A. Żukowski (ed.), *Konteksty bezpieczeństwa w Afryce. Konflikty, wojny*,

in several countries of West Africa (alongside Mali, also in Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, and Ivory Coast). The expansion of jihadism in this part of the world is therefore one of the consequences of the Libyan crisis and the progressive dysfunctionality of this country. This dysfunctionality was to a certain extent “exported” beyond the borders of Libya, contributing to the increase of the security threats in neighbouring countries. At the same time, the anti-Western sentiments in this region were strengthened – both the international intervention in Libya in 2011 and the French intervention in Mali in 2013 encouraged the radicalization of local communities previously marginalized and devoted to religious traditions of Islam in North and West Africa (all Sub-Saharan Africa countries in the geographic region of Sudan are inhabited mostly by Muslim population).

The destabilization and anarchisation of political life in Libya was also the source of threats to the security of Western Europe countries. The proximity of the southern coast of Italy (Sicily) makes Libya the transit state for migrants from Africa seeking to improve their living conditions. Under the regime of Colonel al-Qaddafi, the authoritarian order was able to create an effective mechanism to protect the Libyan coasts and transit routes from Sub-Saharan African countries towards the Mediterranean coast. Especially after waiving sanctions imposed on Libya by the UN Security Council in 2003 when the authorities in Tripoli were seeking normalization of relations with the countries of the high-developed West (by seeking investments in the oil sector and contracts for the supply of energy resources) one of the conditions of cooperation laid down by European countries was to seal borders and strengthen control over the illegal emigration flow. These actions proved to be effective – the Libyan routes of migrants to the north were to large extent blocked. After the political changes caused by the so-called the Arab Spring the situation has changed fundamentally. Lack of effective power capable of controlling the entire territory of the state led to the reconstruction of migration routes and the development of illegal smuggling structures controlled by criminal groups. Transporting people across the Mediterranean is at the same time associated with high risk due to the quality of ships and boats used for transport, excessive burden or, frequently, deliberate actions of criminal structures incapable of ensuring to smuggled persons basic security conditions. The “Libyan” route became one of the three main directions of the influx of people seeking asylum during the migration crisis which emerged in Europe in 2015 along the eastern route through Turkey (then used to the greatest extent) and the western route between Morocco and Spain. The migration crisis contributed to the rise of nationalist moods in many European Union countries, led to increased tensions between EU member states in connection with the strategy of adapting illegal immigrants and displayed the weakness of the European

polityki bezpieczeństwa, Forum Politologiczne, vol. 17, Olsztyn 2014, pp. 161-170; E.J. Jaremczuk, “Aza-wad – nowe państwo w Afryce. Dramat Republiki Mali czy ostoja islamistów?”, *ibid.*, pp. 171-194; W. Lizak, “Kryzys w Mali. Rola afrykańskich sił pokojowych AFISMA”, *ibid.*, pp. 141-170; J. Luengo-Cabrera, “Symptoms of an Enduring Crisis: Prospects for Addressing Mali’s Conflict Catalysts”, *Africa Policy Journal*, vol. 8 (2012), pp. 9-19; S. Pezard, M. Shurkin, *Achieving Peace in Northern Mali: Past Agreements, Local Conflicts, and the Prospects for a Durable Settlement*, Santa Monica 2015.

Union institutions in the absence of effective means and mechanisms to solve the problems generated by the crisis.³⁹ This situation made European leaders aware of the need to pursue a more active policy aimed at neutralizing contradictions and threats generated in Africa. It also constitutes a proof of the progressive process of the internationalization of threats generated by dysfunctional states in the modern world.

The dysfunctionality of the Libyan state translates also into the stability of the oil markets. The high dependence of extracting operations on the political conditions resulted in large fluctuations in the level of oil extraction and export in Libya. This further aggravated the uncertainty on the international energy raw material markets and among recipients of Libyan resources, although in the context of low oil prices after 2015 it should be noted that this did not have a huge impact on the level of supply and prices on international markets – uncertain supply from Libya was previously taken into account in the market assessments by experts, intermediaries and recipients of crude oil. However, stabilizing the Libyan oil market is in the best interest of both importers and exporters of this raw material – as a factor stabilizing the international situation in the sector that is crucial for the global economy. This increases the involvement of third countries in activities aimed at forcing solutions that are positive from their point of view (in particular, Western European countries are involved in such activities due to geographic proximity and prospects of favourable business solutions). In the long term, however, this may preserve the phenomenon of Libya being objectified by external partners. The involvement of Italy and France in attempts to peacefully resolve the intra-Libyan conflict, the Italian initiative to strengthen the potential of the Libyan coast guard or Russia's attempts to use political divisions in Libya to rebuild influence in this part of the world indicate the existence of such tendencies.

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The dysfunctionality of Libya is a consequence of the presence of at least several factors favouring the destabilization of this country. Among them, the external military intervention must be mentioned, which was decisive for the fall of the authoritarian political regime symbolized by Colonel Muammar al-Qaddafi. Lack of political forces capable of effectively managing the transformation process, in the absence of sufficient interest of external players for its support, contributed to the anarchization of the internal situation, the destabilization of the state and creation of threats to the stability of the international environment. The example of Libya has become another case for analysis in discussions regarding the rationality of actions aimed at enforcing political change through external interventions even when they are justified by humanitarian reasons.

³⁹ M. El Ghamari, "Migration Crisis and the Libyan Gate to Africa", *Securitologia*, no. 2 (2016), pp. 35-49; P.L. Martin, "Europe's 'Migration Crisis: An American Perspective'", *Migration Letters*, vol. 13, no. 2 (2016), pp. 307-319; S. Sharma, "Europe's Struggle with Refugee Crisis: An Analysis", *IUP Journal of International Relations*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2016), pp. 17-33.

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