## AN ANALYSIS ON THE FUTURE OF LIBYAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

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#### ABSTRACT

Politics is the activity they are doing to create, maintain and change the general rules in which people live as a subject. In this respect, mainly politics is a social activity that is linked in a complex way to the existence of difference and conflict, on the one hand, and on cooperation and collective action on the other. In order to understand politics in the most correct way, it is necessary not to see it as an action that solves or solves all conflicts, but as an effort to resolve conflicts beyond achieving it.

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

 Keywords
 : Arab Spring, Democracy, Political System, Tribe, Civil Society.

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JEL Codes : Y800- Related Disciplines (International Relations).

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#### LİBYA POLİTİK SİSTEMİNİN GELECEĞI ÜZERİNE BİR ANALİZ

#### ÖZ

Siyaset, insanların ona tâbi olarak yaşadıkları genel kuralları oluşturmak, korumak ve değiştirmek amacıyla yaptıkları faaliyettir. Bu yönüyle, esas olarak siyaset, bir yandan farklılık ve çatışmanın varlığıyla karmaşık bir biçimde bağlantılı, diğer yandan işbirliği ve kolektif eylemle ilişkili olan bir sosyal faaliyettir. Siyaseti en doğru biçimde anlamak için, onu tüm çatışmaları çözen veya çözebilen bir faaliyet olarak değil, bunu başarmaktan öte bir çatışma çözme çabası olarak görmek gerekir.

Libya tarihinde din, kabilecilik, petrol ve ideoloji dinamikleri sürekli hakim durumda olmuşlardır. Libya, Kaddafi döneminin bitişi ve NATO müdahalesi sonrasında tüm alanlarda olduğu siyaset alanında da yeni bir düzen kurmaya çalışmaktadır. Sancılı ve çeşitli ciddi zorluklarla geçmekte olan bu süreç, hâlihazıra belli bir sistemle yürütülmektedir. Bu çalışmanı amacı, Libya'nın mevcut siyasi uygulamaları ve devlet yönetim süreçini inceleyerek, Libya toplumunun sosyal ve kültürel yapısında can bulan yönetim süreçlerinin geçmiş ve şimdiki yönetim süreçlerini inceleyerek, gelecekteki ideal siyasal sistem uygulamasına yönelik önerilerde bulunmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Arap Baharı, Demokrasi, Politik Sistem, Kabile, Sivil Toplum.JEL Kodları: Y800-İlgili Disiplinler (Uluslararası İlişkiler).

## **INTRODUCTION**

In the broadest sense, politics can be defined as the activities to create, protect and change the general rules governing people's lives. In this framework, politics is in a complex connection with the events of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, rival ideas, different demands, the need for competition and the existence of conflicting interests do not conform to the rules that people come to; On the other hand, people know that they have to work together or cooperate in order to be effective or keep them in effect. For this reason, the essential characteristic of politics is often shown as the process of resolving conflict. Here, the resolutions of competing opinions and conflicts of interest are provided. However, politics can be considered as a search for conflict in this broad sense, not as an activity that can be solved and resolved rather than reaching all conflicts (Heywood, 2014: 24).

The political system is a set of organizations developed to identify and realize common goals of communities. These organizations constitute the whole thing in a connected fashion. All members participate in the activities. The decisions of the system are binding to all members. Members must comply with all laws and decisions of the system and cannot be found in arbitrary approaches. There are various sanctions and penalties for this. The political system consists entirely of economic, social and natural systems.

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

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

<u>Background:</u> The Arab Spring is an anonymous concept used to express popular movements on different scales that have recently come to the fore against oppressive and authoritarian governments in the Arab world and to define them positively as a process of democratization. In this context, the protests and demonstrations carried out in the social media and researches related to the subject, Arab Spring, Arab Awakening, Arab Rebellion, Arab Revolution is also known by such names. The popular movements that began on December 18, 2010, resulted in revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt. In Libya, in 2011, Gaddaffi caused an internal civil war, which was considered by Gaddaffi as a nonsense supported by NATO, but which has taken over the regime.

<u>Aims and Objectives:</u> In Libya, the dynamics of religion, tribalism, oil and ideology have always been dominant. Libya is trying to establish a new order in the political arena in which Gaddafi term ends and NATO intervention is in all areas. This process, which has been going on with painful and various

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serious difficulties, is already carried out with a certain system. The aim of this article is to examine the current political practices of Libya and the state administration process and to examine the past and present administrative processes of the management processes that have been found in the social and cultural structure of the Libyan society and make proposals for the future application of the ideal political system.

As a result of this work, it is evaluated that the results to be achieved will contribute to the efforts of democratization, nationalization, formation of national identity, providing economic wealth, operation of state institutions, securing public confidence, social justice, ensuring of country security and creating a stable environment which is being carried out by various parties in and out of Libya.

<u>Problem Statement and Research Questions:</u> Libya, despite the fact that in 2011 the revolution took more than six years to complete, the political system that was being supported by all the people in the country could not be brought to a healthy operation. In this article, the problems faced by the country are put forward and it is tried to show what measures should be taken in order to establish an effective authority capable of providing functional services with consistent institutions. The research questions identified in this context are as follows:

\* Has an ideal democracy environment been created over time since 2011?

\* In terms of operating the democracy, do the governance institutions functionally achieve their mission?

\* What are the internal and external influences on the establishment of democracy?

\* What are the political changes and did they were better than before?

\* What are the tribal and ethnic influences in the organization of the country's governance?

\* What are the precautions to be taken for the democracy approximation of the country's governance?

<u>Limitations:</u> This article is based on published books, articles, a mix of primary and secondary materials and public/government documents, speeches, remarks which are related to the topic. Moreover, published studies and research done on the issue of Libyan political system and Arab spring and other sub-topics related to this research is utilized, all of which will be part of the references for this endeavor.

<u>Methodology:</u> The study is a qualitative study. Within the framework of the subject, the information obtained on the basis of the examination of the printed books, researches and articles were evaluated and the solution proposals were presented by introducing the problems faced by existing democracy management efforts.

#### **1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Briefly and generally speaking, the concept of politics can be attempted to achieve power, to use power, and to participate in the use of power. We can call political power as the power to determine the basic distribution and control of social resources among social groups. The main function of political power is to determine which group will benefit from the social source or how much social resources it will control. The structure and use of political power in a society determines the political system. The political system can be defined as a set of established and certain human relationships that contain considerable authority or power. (Şaylan, 1981: 1, 4)

Politics is interesting because people are incompatible with each other. People do not agree how life should be. Who should take what? How should power and resources be distributed? Should it be based on community co-operation, or on the basis of conflict? At the same time, people do not agree how such problems will be resolved. How should collective decisions be taken? Who should be speaking? How much effect should each person have? And such that. According to Aristotle, politics is "the supreme science" as an activity that people have taken to improve their lives and create the Good Society. Politics is, first and foremost, a social activity; he is always a dialogue, never a monologue. Only individuals like Robinson Crusoe can develop a simple economy, they can create an art, and so on; but they cannot do politics. Politics can only emerge with the advent of another man, Friday. However, the dispute that lies at the heart of politics is also true of its nature and how it should be examined (Heywood, 2014: 3).

## 1.1. The State

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

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

However politics is defined, government is undoubtedly central to it. To 'govern', in its broadest sense, is to rule or exercise control over others. The activity of government therefore involves the ability to make decisions and to ensure that they are carried out. In that sense, a form of government can be identified within most social institutions. People in every part of the world recognize the concept of government and would, in the overwhelming majority of cases, be able to identify institutions in their society that constitute government. Furthermore, most people accept without question that government is necessary, assuming that without it orderly and civilized existence would be impossible. Although

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they may disagree about the organization of government and the role it should play, they are nevertheless convinced of the need for some kind of government (Heywood, 2004: 66).

#### 1.2. The Power

While some thinkers view politics as the capital of values, others define it as a "struggle for power" from a traditional view. This formulation transforms the problem of describing the political system into a problem of defining power. Power is the control over the actions of the human mind and other men. Since the definition of political power usually includes the concept of state, the state is included in the definition of the political system (Rynn, 2001: 144).

According to Max Weber, power is the imposition of one's will on the behavior of others. Power can be defined as sovereignty in one word; it is also possible to define it as a special instance of effect application, in an environment of serious deprivations, as a process of influencing the politics of others, asymmetric relationship between the behavior of two persons, or make changes despite the resistance of the opposition (Okpanachi, 2013: 344).

#### 1.3. The Nation

We call the nations that are the living habits of living together constituted by the citizens who are citizens of the state and who are willing to share in the future. The most prominent image of the legal systems in our age is the nation-state. When we look closer to the nation-states, we can easily see that the organizational forms of each are not exactly the same. These differences arise mainly from the history of the political culture, the philosophies of the founding of the states, the international relations and the institutional arrangements in their history, and their contents. The forms of organization of the nation-state constitute the basic institutions, the written and unprinted rules that determine the internal functioning of these institutions, and the political regimes associated with these institutions (Kalaycıoğlu et.al, 2013: 18).

#### **1.4. Sovereignty**

Sovereignty states that a state can effectively use its authority, its structure and its authority within its borders. Sovereignty is the capacity to enforce both rule-making authority and rules. Sovereignty; is also a concept that explains the place of legal and political authority, the use of political power, and the relationship between the rule makers and those who follow these rules, which define the independent status of political society at international level (Aksoy, Ateş, Akyeşilmen & Çemrek, 2013: 3).

## 2. AN OVERVIEW ON LIBYA'S POLITICS HISTORY

### 2.1. Governance in Libya from the Past to the Gaddaffi Period

Libya is a product of a series of striking changes. In less than a century, it went from an Ottoman province to an Italian colonial, to a constitutional monarchy, to a very general socialist state, to a

democracy in the construction phase. However, these breakdowns in Libya's official political system included a series of continuities that constituted a stable and long-standing foundation of state-society relations (Smiths, Jannsen, Briscoe, Besick, 2013: 17). Although Libya, as a state, gained independence in 1951, first a monarchy, then a practice of dictatorship management systems. It is not possible to say that the people of Libya have tested the power of democracy until 2011 (Laurea, 2012: vi).

With the United Nations resolution in 1951, Libya declared its independence as a constitutional, hereditary monarchy under the leadership of Sanusi Said Muhammad Idris (King Idris I). "The United Kingdom of Libya," adopted a federal system of government comprising three provinces. Though, The Libyan State ended the federal system of government with the constitutional amendment in 1963, turning Libya into a unitary structure under the name "The Kingdom of Libya" (Omagu&Odigbo, 2017: 30 ; see also Eltweni, 2016: 8).

Although the United Kingdom of Libya brought together the three provinces under one flag, Libyans had very little experience in running a centralized administration. The Italians had left Libya with considerable infrastructure, but few administrative or bureaucratic institutions. The colonizers had also deliberately prevented the emergence of a 'politically active Libyan citizenry' (Smiths et.al, 2013: 10).

This performance under the Sanusi administration of the Libyan state was the exercise of dominating Cyrenaican from the state performance to the rest of Libya. Libya's state institutions, like the state, have worked very much like a customer patron relationship. Similar to the new independent African states, the Libyan state can be described as a hollow sea shell to hide its natural distribution on the ground (McGlynn, 2016: 15).

## 2.2. Gaddaffi Period

By 1969 a group of low ranking officers in the army –the most prominent of them was lieutenant Gaddaffi– changed the regime of the state under the need for change felt by the people, so to speak. The head leaders started immediately organizing their movement by initiating a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). Nevertheless, if we consider it as a coup politically speaking, publically it was felt as real revolution for Arabism in Libya, because even Libyans did not sympathize with the King or the Monarchy as if they waited for the coup to happen. Furthermore, the coup went smoothly with not difficulties detected by the people, and Gaddaffi became swiftly the head of RCC and the new republic (Eltweni, 2016: 9 ; Alsari, 2017: 24 ; Tuncer, 2017: 50 ; Genugten, 2011: 4). Gaddaffi's coup took a single day and was accomplished without fighting or bloodshed (Friesen, 2013: 21)

During his 42 years in power, Colonel Gaddaffi succeeded in maintaining his power despite the crisis, with the country's traditional power balances and interventions on its social and religious fabric. While Gaddaffi put forward a system in which the people are the absolute power in theory with the

Jamahiriya system, - in other words he invented-; has maintained its role as the absolute political International Journal Entrepreneurship and Management Inquiries Dergisi / Cilt 2 / Sayı 3 / 16-32 determiner of the country for many years thanks to its loyal men who have placed them in key positions in practice. Gaddafi's patronage relations, tribal structure and the ability to manipulate the local governments have achieved great success in avoiding opposition to him. In this respect, it has become one of the most influential autocratic leaders in the region in terms of the dissemination of dissident groups, including regional Islamic movements. For this reason, it is necessary to put the bureaucratic elite which Gaddaffi patronized and guided in the analysis of the local power balances on the process of reviving in the context of Libya into the first place (Bölme, Ulutaş, Özhan & Küçükkeleş, 2011: 9).

Some authors describe the Jamahiriya as: "Contrary to popular belief, Libya, which western media described as 'Gaddaffi's military dictatorship' was in actual fact one of the world's most democratic States. The Jamahiriya was a higher form of direct democracy with the People as President. Traditional institutions of government were disbanded and abolished, and power belonged to the people directly through various committees and congresses. The nation State of Libya was divided into several small communities that were essentially 'mini-autonomous States' within a state." (Imam, Abba & Wader, 2014: 1158).

Gaddafi tried to convince the public that Libya would become a non-stateless society, but it simply stood up to the point of making it acceptable to the country and making it complicated to prevent any step in the country from becoming economic or political. Thus, the Libyans struggled not to focus on the policies of the Leader and paid less attention to the political aspects of their country (Eltweni, 2016: 10).

The Third Universal Theory is an attempt to establish a philosophical basis on the principles of Islam, with a view to positive neutrality in the Third World countries. According to the theory, Third World states can coexist with the United States and the Soviet Union, and that they can negotiate with them for their own interests. But these associations or negotiations should not cause the Third World states, and especially the Arab states, to enter the dominion of two ideological imperialist super powers. The world is actually divided into two parts, one of which sees the other super powers as hunting. The Third Universal Theory provides a concept that is called the North-South Interpretation in international relations. Accordingly, the world is divided into countries that consume natural resources (industrialized North) and countries that produce natural resources or whose resources are consumed by the north (less developed Southwest). As a matter of fact, Gaddafi defended this interpretation of the international relations that he revealed in his theory. In this regard, Libya is a strong supporter of the national liberation movements that are fighting colonial regimes (Metz, 1987: 136).

The first volume of the Green Book is called The Solution of the Problem of Democracy: "The Authority of the People". Gaddaffi said he believed in one of his most influential instruments. According to him, political parties, plebiscites and parliament had to be rejected; only a form of direct democracy

based on a system of congresses and committees can show the best way of directing the world. He wrote that;

"...the democratic system is a cohesive structure whose foundation stones are firmly laid one above the other, the Basic People's Conferences, the People's Conferences, and the People's Committees, which finally come together when the General People's Conference convenes. There is absolutely no conception of democratic society other than this..." (Laurea, 2012: 12 ; Hajjar, 1980: 183-185).

In the second part of the Green Book published in 1977 titled Solution of Economic Problems, it is seen that the concept of socialist economy is totally dominant. In this section, Gaddaffi's evaluations and opinions on the current economic system are included under the headings of Needs, Housing, Income, Transportation, Land and Maids (Doğan&Durgun, 2012: 68). In this section, criticizing modern ideologies, Capitalism and Communism, argued that socialism could be the only precious alternative to them (Laurea, 2012: 12; Hajjar, 1980: 183-185).

## 2.3. Democratization Efforts since 2011 to Present

Developments in post-Gaddafi Libya can be divided into three general stages in general terms. The third phase is still ongoing:

In the recent post-Gaddaffi period (October 2011 - July 2012), which focuses on the determination of temporary leaders and rescue from the 2011 conflict,

A controversial transitional period (July 2012-May 2014) that focuses on the enactment and testing of the validity of temporary institutions; and

Tension and violence among loose political-military coalitions, a multi-faceted conflict between members and violent Islamist extremist groups, and a period of conflict and mediation (May 2014), characterized by an increase in the efforts of third parties to promote reconciliation (Blanchard, 2018: 5).

The Libyan case makes it difficult to understand the relationship between a militant structure and democratization. It is very clear that the control of the Army is a key obstacle for a successful democratic transition in Libya. Critical legislation, such as the 2013 Political Isolation Act, was enacted under the influence of the armed forces, and the military forces maintained their economic and political privileges. However, the problem is not just the failure of the military forces to be under the authority of civilian administration. In the first place, it is a more fundamental failure that a coherent Libyan National Army, which has a hierarchical structure and established a chain of command, cannot be created. At the root of this failure is the deep and historical root of the Libyan state (Alfasi, 2016: 16).

On 7 July 2012 the Libyan voters cast their votes in the first national elections for around five decades. Both the UN and the EU observers declared the elections pretty fair and transparent in spite of violent incidents. Naturally, it is not possible to claim that voters have a free will and appreciation for

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voting and selecting certain candidates. It would not be wrong to say that local elections are effective in this election made many years later and that it directs voters' will. Libyans have a very important reason to trust local actors rather than central actors: it is accepted that Gaddafi's supporters are local and stateless groups and that these groups at least have undertaken minimum security and social welfare functions. Local legitimacy is therefore seen as important by these groups (Anderson, 2013: 26; General National Congress Election Report, 2012: 62).

But the 2012 elections did not produce a strong government on the political level. The lack of organizing political parties around the country has not created a structure that can bring together the interests of the country in the new parliament, and even a fragmented picture has emerged. Also, because of the high number of candidates and the lack of second round voting, most of the selected candidates received less than 20% of their votes in their own regions (Chivvis & Martini, 2014: 41).

Libya has three centers of power currently. The first centre of power is the Presidential Council (PC), which has been located in the Abu Sittah navy base, in Tripoli, since 30 March 2016. According to the Libyan Political Agreement (LPA), the PC has an authority on the Government of National Accord (GNA), which is currently based in Tripoli. The GNA should be approved by The House of Representatives (HoR), which was established in Tobruk, but should be able to act to ensure the safety of some of the members, some of whom are repeatedly reported to have been abandoned by the members threatened by the GNA members. Because of this, HoR was forced to vote by the ruling, but most of his members stated that they had given him a written statement twice.

The second power center is the opponent of the GNA, which is based on the authority of the General National Congress (GNC), the first resurrected parliament of 2012, which was chaired by Former Prime Minister Caliph Ghwell. It is not in Tripoli at the same time, it is not in control anymore. The majority of GNC members (also called as Tripoli Parliament) moved to the Council of State, an advisory body created in accordance with LPA in Tripoli.

The third power center is composed of officials in Tobruk and Al-Bayda, and they must also bring power to the GNA. HoR in Tobruk has the legal legislative authority of the LPA, the Abdullah al-Thinni government operates in the eastern Libyan city of Al-Bayda, and eventually must accept the power of the GNA. Tobruk and al-Bayda officials are under the control of anti-Islamic general Halifa Haftar, who is self-defining, aligned with Egypt, who leads the Libyan National Army (LNA) (Apap, 2017: 4-5).

"The basic question is not who is in the government, who is out of government." Today, individual political legitimacy prevents the development of full democratic representation from the role it plays in the revolution (Libya Working Group Report, 2011: 2).

In a country with two Parliaments and two governments, there is no control over either the person or the land. The armed groups are engaged in local conflicts against both the two and against the two coalitions throughout the country. Organized crime, kidnapping, torture, unsolved murders and suicide bombings are powerful reasons to show Libya as the legend of the failure of the Arab Spring, with debatable subject matter how successful others are. It is unlikely that a country will enter a civil war, or a Libyan state will be able to fulfill all its functions in the short term. Despite all the precautions and efforts, Libya's democratic transition process seems to have come about (Perroux, 2015: 1).

Blanchard (2018: 4) explains the post-Qadhafi political issues as followings:

"The relative powers and responsibilities of local, regional, and national government;

The weakness of national government institutions and security forces;

The role of Islam in political and social life;

The involvement in politics and security of former regime officials; and

The proper management of the country's large energy reserves, related infrastructure, and associated revenues."

While efforts have been made to reform by government or international organizations, little has been gained in the two key issues of public confidence and institutional efficiency. (Mangan&Murtaugh, 2014: 7)

It is a profound reality that the increasing influences and role of tribes on Libyan politics must be taken into account after the revolution in order to realize a real and meaningful national reconciliation (Ladjal, 2016:17).

The tribal loyalty or identity has proved to be a suitable means of ensuring tribal general acceptance in order to confirm the legitimacy of ruling the country. It is doubtless that it will continue to have significant effects in the future (Sawani, 2012: 4).

In this confusion, the ever-changing alliances of the political table of the country, extreme factionalism and different interests based on local or tribal basis cannot be drawn ideologically of their own reality but can be drawn motivated by various ideologies inspired and financially bonded with oil / gas incomes. On these highly unstable bases of the state, the exclusionary policies are re-emerging at an exceptional pace, and the use of violence continues to be common and decentralized (Smiths, et.al, 2013: 56).

Libya's democracy transition process should be constructed with new management structures from top to bottom, working toward the center from the periphery of the country. The Libyans see the revolution as their own revolution despite the decisive intervention in the NATO leadership. For this reason, external interventions on improving both the security situation and democratizing at the local level are not welcomed and limited (Anderson, 2013: 1, 43).

There is a need for a diversified strategy based on regional, national and local actors. In order to assess the need for democratization of social prosperity and local power, it is necessary to take into account local organization behavior. Libya lacks the experience of setting up parties, trade unions and non-governmental organizations. A large number of parties and NGOs emerged without a democratic organizational experience during the civil war. For this reason, it is difficult to say whether they are the means of enrichment and political incentives (Anderson, 2013: 45).

Given the cultural and ethnic diversity of Libya, it is not possible for the government to adequately represent all groups within the country. A more important question, however, is that Libya's complex sociology will not risk the future of the country. Everyone is involved in the need for Libya to build institutions to direct the country to democratic activity, including a parliament, government and ministries (Mikail, 2012: 3)

It is highly probable that Islam plays an important and indispensable role for Libya in public and political life. However, the desire for democracy in Libya is real. The support given to Al Qaeda is limited and few Libyans want to see the emergence of a theocratic state (Grant, 2011: 3).

If the past, present and future of Libya are mentioned, the effects of the tribe and the oil pair should not be overlooked. In order for this relationship to work in a healthy way, it is possible to decide whether it is federal or decentralized or other state (Sawani, 2012: 5).

The chronological history of the governance formations and characteristics of Libya can be summarized briefly as follows:

1511-1911 Under the Rule of Ottoman Empire,
1918 Tripoli Republic
Council of Chairs,
Council of Presidents composed of four co-presidents and
Law Council,
1911-1922 Italian Colonial Administration,
1922-1943 Colonial Administration,
1951 Federal Monarchy,
Constitutional Hereditary Monarchy,
The United Kingdom of Libya,
1963 The Kingdom of Libya,
Terminated federal system and Libya turned into a unified country,
1969 Gaddaffi Regime,
Arab Unity,
Anti-colonialism,

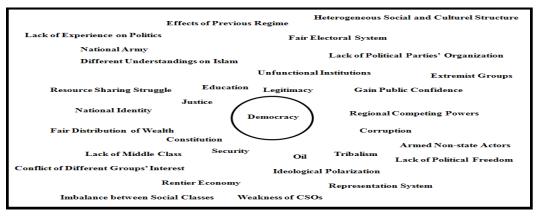
Military Dictatorship,
Libyan Arab Republic,
Socialism,
Green Book,
Third Universal Theory – Third way between democracy and communism,
Socialist People's Libyan Jamahiriya,
Arab Nationalism,
Interpretation of Islam,
Direct Democracy – Jamahiriya higher than this,
No need to political parties,
People directly manage themselves,
2011 Revolution.

## CONCLUSION

There is a reality in the middle. Gaddafi regime in the course of the development of the people or the attitude of the country is not much interested in the regime is understood. It is clear that economic well-being is an important element in ensuring peace in the country.

The state structure and democratization efforts to be built in Libya after the 2011 revolution are faced with many problems that need to be solved as shown in figure:

## Figure-1 : Multiple variables of Libyan democracy.



It seems that it is not possible to get a strong central government in a short period of time to get rid of the influence of the local government. The solution recommendations are given below:

- In a federal structure, the establishment of a loose central structure, the gradual strengthening of central government in Libya after the acquisition of the trust of the people of Libya, with the strong economic breakthroughs that the central government will gain over time in the direction of foreign policy and the prosperity of the people,
- Foreseeing the gradual transition of democracy,

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- The eradication of the negative effects of the previous regime in the fields of social and economic management in the direction of democratization,
- The lack of experience in politics is fulfilled by the support of political party organizations and political awareness,
- Making consensual and convergent studies within the heterogeneous social and cultural structure towards the formation of national identity consciousness,
- The implementation of a fair election and representation system,
- Ensuring that state institutions provide fair and equal service to citizens,
- Strengthening the middle class in economic and educational terms,
- The prevention of the excessive growth and strengthening of one of the classes to which the new political system to be established will be based, and the determination of the rules that will provide balance,
- Planning the country resources to be carried out in different management regions of production, processing and marketing/exporting stages, making the administrative departments interdependent in order to prevent conflicts of interest,
- There are a large number of students studying abroad. Following their completion of their education, they should encourage to participate in economy and politics on their way back to the country and to increase the quality of life in Libya rapidly,
- Many Libyan voted along tribal and familial lines and for publicly known personalities rather than according to ideological alliances. Therefore, there is a need for public awareness,
- To construct the political system, firstly the provision of security and justice grounds,
- Ensuring that institutions operate functionally,
- The determination of a system of representation that will satisfy all tribes and all segments of society,
- Acceptance of a constitution to embrace all segments,
- The establishment of a national army that is strong and faithful to the chain of command,
- Fair distribution of economic resources and promotion of prosperity,
- The convergence of different interpretations of Islam by groups in Libya with a compromising attitude,
- The prevention of ideological polarization,
- Solving the legitimacy problem of the present authority,
- Fighting with corruption,
- Resolution of regional power struggles through consensus,
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- The disarming of armed non-state groups,
- Securing political freedoms.

Authors wish for future of Libya;

"The people of Libya have great dreams for the future. These dreams should not be wasted after all these sufferings."

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