



HamMUN 2018

"Reflect the Past. Reshape the Future."

**HISTORICAL UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY COUNCIL**

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WELCOME MESSAGE BY THE CHAIRS

Honourable delegates,

Welcome to the Historical Security Council at HamMUN 2018! We will be serving as your chairs for the duration of the conference. Both of us attended HamMUN last year as delegates and we are really excited to be back! We are looking forward to meeting all of you soon during the upcoming sessions!

The popular uprisings across the Arab world in 2011 brought significant change to the region. Many protestors took to the streets against corruption, economic mismanagement and authoritarian rule. While the reasons and outcome were different in every country, the consequences are still very visible today – either in form of transformed governments, or in long lasting civil wars. The events of 2011 also had a global impact: the year marked the end of the consensus between the great powers on global security issues and the beginning of what some now refer to as a new cold war. Moreover, it had far reaching implications for the future of the Security Council.

With more than seven years passed since the “Arab spring”, we found it worthwhile to revisit this fateful year. We have decided to set the starting date of the committee as 22 February 2011 and focus on Libya, which saw the greatest protests and violence at that time. This date will also serve as the 'present day' of this guide. While the real outcome of the situation in Libya is known to us today, your decisions in the committee will have the power to change history. It is up to you to shape the fate of the country and make things go better (or worse). We are looking forward to seeing the solutions that you come up with!

This guide is meant to serve as a basis for your preparation. You are encouraged to do your own research as well, especially about your country's position. If you have any questions or need help with your preparation, do not hesitate to get in touch – we are happy to help!

Sincerely yours,

Sören Wehrheim & Vivian van der Linde

Chairs of the Historical Security Council

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

MEMBERSHIP AND MANDATE

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN) and has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Chapter V of the UN Charter establishes the membership and mandate of the UNSC. The Security Council consists of five permanent members – China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States – and ten non-permanent members that are elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.¹ The non-permanent members of the Security Council in 2011 are Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Germany, India, Lebanon, Nigeria, Portugal and South Africa.² All permanent members have a veto right on the substantive decisions made by the Council. In line with its task of maintaining peace and security, the Security Council is the only body within the United Nations system whose resolutions are considered part of international hard law and are legally binding to all Member States. The specifics of the mandate of the Security Council are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII of the UN Charter: Chapter VI of the Charter instructs the Security Council to make recommendations for the peaceful resolution of conflicts and disputes; Chapter VII states that the Security Council may also take actions that would normally conflict with a country's sovereignty by calling upon Member States to impose sanctions (Article 40) or authorising the use of military force by Member States or UN missions (Article 41). Other responsibilities include recommending a candidate for the appointment of the Secretary-General to the General Assembly, recommending the admission of new members to the United Nations, and electing judges of the International Court of Justice.³

Under its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council tackles regional conflicts in order to prevent them from escalating into international disputes. The actions of the Security Council range from making recommendations to the belligerents, establishing panels of experts and observer missions, and hosting peace talks between the parties to the conflict, to imposing sanctions, authorising interventions by UN Member States, and setting up peacekeeping and special political missions. United Nations peacekeeping missions are established in the aftermath of a conflict to provide security and political support to help countries make the transition from conflict to peace.⁴ A major challenge in the decision-making process of the Security Council is weighing the dangers of the conflict against the national sovereignty and the right to self-determination of the involved state actors.

THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P)

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a commitment by all Member States of the United

¹ "United Nations Security Council: Structure." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/structure.shtml>

² "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/>

³ "Charter of the United Nations." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/un-charter/>

⁴ United Nations Peacekeeping. "What is peacekeeping?" *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml>

Nations to end the worst forms of violence and persecution. R2P was created in response to the UN's failure to respond to the genocide in Rwanda and the atrocities of the Balkan wars in the 1990s. Then Secretary-General Kofi Annan was a driving force in the development of the principle by appealing to Member States to "find common ground in upholding the principles of the Charter and acting in defence of common humanity". R2P was adopted at the 2005 World Summit and is contained in paragraphs 138 and 139 of its outcome document. It is an evolution from the principles of the UN Charter, which primarily focused on the maintenance of security.⁵

R2P emphasises the responsibility of each individual state "to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity" (paragraph 138). In situations where Member States fail to uphold the principle, "the international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter". In cases where peaceful means do not suffice, the Security Council shall intervene under Chapter VII (paragraph 139).⁶

As a self-commitment by all Member States, R2P is not binding under international law. It presents "a challenge to traditional conceptions of state sovereignty"⁷ and is therefore unlikely to emerge into hard law. In 2011, however, it is strongly endorsed by most UN Member States. As a relatively new principle, there exists little precedent for the application of R2P by the Security Council. R2P may provide additional justification for intervention and could thus lead to more proactive action. Advocates of R2P argue that preventing atrocities is more important than state sovereignty, while its sceptics fear that it will lead to a more militarist approach to conflict.⁸

HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council was established on 24 October 1945, when the victorious powers of World War II ratified the UN Charter. It deployed its first peacekeeping mission in 1948 to the Middle East during the Arab-Israeli war.⁹ In response to the North Korean invasion of South Korea in 1950, the Security Council authorised its first military intervention through resolution 84. The Soviet Union, a veto power opposing the intervention, underestimated the effectiveness of the Security Council and was boycotting it at the time, thus being unable to exercise their veto.¹⁰ The following tensions of the cold war split the permanent members and made it difficult to implement extensive programmes.¹¹

There has been some change as to the identity of the five permanent members themselves. Until 1971, the Chinese seat on the Security Council was held by Taiwan, officially called

⁵ United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect. "About Responsibility to Protect." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/genocideprevention/about-responsibility-to-protect.html>

⁶ United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution 60/1 – 2005 World Summit Outcome." *United Nations*. 24 October 2005. <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/pdf/N0548760.pdf>

⁷ Luck, Edward C. "Sovereignty, Choice and the Responsibility to Protect." *Global Responsibility to Protect* 1, no. 1 (2009).

⁸ Thakur, Ramesh and O'Connell, Mary E. "The R2P controversy." *D+C Development and Cooperation*. 22 February 2008. <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/pros-and-cons-responsibility-protect>

⁹ United Nations Peacekeeping. "Current peacekeeping operations." *United Nations*. Accessed on 5 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/current.shtml>

¹⁰ Malkasian, Carter. "The Korean War: Essential Histories." *Osprey Publishing*. September 2001.

¹¹ "Global Issues: Peace and Security." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/peace-and-security/index.html>

Republic of China (RoC). Through General Assembly resolution 2758, the RoC got expelled from the United Nations and the People's Republic of China replaced them in all bodies and organisations, including the Security Council.¹² In 1992, the Russian Federation also succeeded the then-dissolved Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) on the council.

Since the end of the cold war, the number of resolutions and peacekeeping missions has drastically increased, as the Council is able to agree to a unified approach more often now. Whereas in the past, the Security Council held just a few sessions every year, it now meets multiple times per week and responds directly to the latest developments.¹³ 15 peacekeeping missions were deployed by 2011, most of them in Central Africa.¹⁴ The veto right is commonly only exercised by the United States and the Russian Federation, and less often by China.¹⁵ France and the United Kingdom generally only vote against draft resolutions that face broad opposition; they have not used their veto right on a resolution that would have otherwise been adopted since 1989.¹⁶

MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF 2010 AND EARLY 2011

The most significant international event of 2010 was the Haiti earthquake that occurred on 12 January. While exact figures are disputed, it is accepted that the death toll was above 100,000. The destruction of vital infrastructure and homes left over one million people without housing, food, clean water and access to medical infrastructure. The humanitarian crisis became a major focus of the international community; with many countries and UN agencies providing aid to the country. The earthquake also had implications for regional security as public institutions temporarily collapsed in the already unstable country.¹⁷ The earthquake led to the destruction of the headquarters of the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) and to death of some of its personnel, including the Head of Mission.¹⁸ Over the course of 2010, the Security Council undertook efforts to restore the capabilities of MINUSTAH, respond to the deteriorated situation in Haiti, and support emergency relief.¹⁹

2010 also saw an escalation in the conflict between North Korea and South Korea. On 26 March, a South Korean military corvette was sunk near the border by an explosion that killed 46. A South Korean inquiry identified a North Korean torpedo as the cause. North Korea disputed the outcome of the investigation and threatened South Korea with war. With the support of the United States, the situation was brought to the Security Council.²⁰ However, due to opposition by China and the Russian Federation, no resolution was reached. The Security Council merely condemned the attack on the ship in a presidential statement without explicitly

¹² United Nations General Assembly. "Resolution 2758 – Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." *United Nations*. 25 October 1971. [http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/2758\(XXVI\)](http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/2758(XXVI))

¹³ "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/>

¹⁴ United Nations Department of Public Information. "United Nations Peace Operations Year in Review 2010." *United Nations*. March 2011. <https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/yir2010.pdf>

¹⁵ "UN Security Council Working Methods: The Veto." *Security Council Report*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/un-security-council-working-methods/the-veto.php>

¹⁶ "UN Documentation Research Guides: Security Council – Veto List." *United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld Library*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick/veto>

¹⁷ Pallardy, Richard. "Haiti earthquake of 2010." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Haiti-earthquake-of-2010>

¹⁸ "United Nations Meetings Coverage and Press Releases: Daily Press Briefing by the Offices of the Spokesperson for the Secretary-General and the Spokesperson for the General Assembly President." *United Nations*. 13 January 2010. <https://www.un.org/press/en/2010/db100113.doc.htm>

¹⁹ "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records 2010." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/records/2010.shtml>

²⁰ Branigan, Tania. "North Korea threatens South over report on sinking of warships." *The Guardian*. 20 May 2010. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/may/20/north-korea-naval-ship-report>

declaring North Korea responsible.²¹ On 22 November, North Korean artillery bombardment of a South Korean island killed two soldiers and prompted a return of fire by the South Korean military. The skirmish was one of the heaviest since the end of the Korean war.²² Nevertheless, there was no response by the Security Council and not even a session held on the issue.²³

After years of civil war between the South and the North of Sudan, a referendum took place in Southern Sudan in January of this year (2011) to decide on the issue of the independence of the territory. With 98.83 percent of the votes in favour, South Sudan is set to become the 193rd Member State of the United Nations on 9 July when the country will formally declare independence. The referendum had broad international support and aimed to bring peace to a region that saw one of the longest and bloodiest civil wars on the African continent.²⁴

Afghanistan and Iraq were the hotspots of instability and major terrorist activity in the Middle East in 2010. A Taliban offensive in Afghanistan killed 711 soldiers of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), making it the deadliest year for foreign troops in the country since the US invasion in 2001.²⁵ The conflict also saw 2,777 civilian deaths in 2010, most of which were caused by suicide bombings and improvised explosive devices (IEDs).²⁶ The increased violence caused NATO to produce a withdrawal plan from Afghanistan in November of 2010 and agree to hand over control to Afghan national security forces by 2014.²⁷ In Iraq, the withdrawal of United States forces continues and is scheduled to be complete by December. Similar to the decision on Afghanistan, this follows the policy of US President Obama to minimize the number of troops stationed in conflict zones.²⁸ The United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI), however, will remain in the country. The Security Council, in an attempt to stabilize the governments of both Iraq and Afghanistan and promote their self-reliance, has lifted restrictions imposed by previous resolutions.²⁹

The economies of the world are only slowly recovering from the 2008 financial crisis and the following global recession. International cooperation has suffered from this grave economic outlook. In 2010, the debt crisis of the private sector became a debt crisis of the public sector as well; as Greece required outside aid to remain solvent. Other countries, especially in Europe, are still plagued with similar financial problems. The European Union and its common currency, the Euro, are now in a state of crisis and directs most of its attention to these internal issues. Moreover, the general global economic situation makes countries less willing to make large investments.³⁰

²¹ "United Nations Security Council: Statement by the President of the Security Council 2010/13." *United Nations*. 9 July 2010. http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/PRST/2010/13

²² Kim, Jack and Lee Jae-won. "North Korea shells South in fiercest attack in decades." *Reuters*. 23 November 2010. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-korea-north-artillery/north-korea-shells-south-in-fiercest-attack-in-decades-idUSTRE6AM0YS20101123>

²³ "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records 2010." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/records/2010.shtml>

²⁴ "South Sudan backs independence – results." *BBC News*. 7 February 2011. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12379431>

²⁵ "Operation Enduring Freedom." *ICasualties.org*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://icasualties.org/oef/>

²⁶ United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan and Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. "Annual Report 2010 Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict." March 2011. https://unama.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/engi_version_of_poc_annual_report_2011.pdf

²⁷ Reynolds, Paul. "What does NATO hope to achieve?" *BBC News*. 18 November 2010. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11790165>

²⁸ Baker, Peter. "In Speech on Iraq, Obama Reaffirms Drawdown." *The New York Times*. 2 August 2010. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/03/us/politics/03prexy.html>

²⁹ "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records 2010." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/records/2010.shtml>

³⁰ Elliott, Larry. "Global financial crisis: five key stages 2007-2011." *The Guardian*. 7 August 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2011/aug/07/global-financial-crisis-key-stages>

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PERMANENT MEMBERS IN EARLY 2011

As of February 2011, the relations between the permanent members of the Security Council are good. Over the recent years, the Security Council has adopted almost all resolutions unanimously. No veto was used in 2010 at all and 2011 has so far only seen the United States use it once on a draft resolution concerning the Palestinian question.³¹ Barack Obama has been President of the United States since 2009, with Hillary Clinton currently serving as Secretary of State.³² Dmitry Medvedev is President of the Russian Federation, with Vladimir Putin having moved to the position of Prime Minister. In their first meeting in 2009, Obama and Medvedev promised to improve relations between the US and Russia.³³ Medvedev was invited to the North American Treaty Organization summit in November 2010 where talks about cooperation on security issues took place. Despite initial Russian caution, tensions with the US have lessened.³⁴

Hu Jintao serves as the current President of China. Under his government, tensions with other governments have primarily focused on trade and have not amounted to any serious conflicts. During a state visit to the US in January 2011, Hu Jintao was called by Obama in a press briefing for the situation of human rights in China.³⁵ It remains to be seen whether this will have any impact on US-Chinese relations or prompt a policy change in China. China is developing closer economic ties with Russia and has become the main source of foreign investment into the country. Both countries have adopted a similar policy on many international security issues.³⁶

Nicolas Sarkozy is the incumbent President of France. Through a close relationship with Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel, France and Germany play a leading role in the European Union.³⁷ While the previous administrations of both countries had strained relationships with the United States following the US invasion of Iraq, the relationship under Sarkozy, Merkel and Obama has vastly improved.³⁸ French relations with the Russian Federation have also improved with France now exporting military equipment to Russian.³⁹

The United Kingdom, under Prime Minister David Cameron, continues to enjoy a very close relationship with the United States.⁴⁰ Despite good relations with all European countries, Cameron has earned criticism from Sarkozy for alleged euroscepticism.⁴¹

³¹ "United Nations Security Council: Meetings Records." *United Nations*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/meetings/>

³² "The Obama Cabinet: Confirmations & Nominations." *National Public Radio*. 22 January 2009. <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=99674016>

³³ Cooper, Helene. "Promises of 'Fresh Start' for U.S.-Russia Relations." *The New York Times*. 1 April 2009. <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/02/world/europe/02arms.html>

³⁴ Reynolds, Paul. "What does NATO hope to achieve?" *BBC News*. 18 November 2010. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11790165>

³⁵ MacAskill, Ewen and Branigan, Tania. "Hu Jintao questioned by Barack Obama on China's human rights record." *The Guardian*. 19 January 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/19/hu-jintao-human-rights-obama>

³⁶ "President Medvedev's interview with China Central Television" *Sputnik International*. 15 June 2009. <https://sputniknews.com/analysis/20090615155252094/>

³⁷ Erlanger, Steven. "Europe's Odd Couple." *The New York Times Magazine*. 13 January 2011. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/16/magazine/16MerkelSarkozy-t.html>

³⁸ Knowlton, Brian. "Sarkozy, and France, Look to U.S. Visit." *The New York Times*. 28 March 2010. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/29/world/europe/29iht-sarko.html>

³⁹ "Russia to buy French warship by yearend – federal agency." *Sputnik International*. 21 April 2010. <https://sputniknews.com/russia/20100421158681963/>

⁴⁰ "US hails 'special ties' with UK." *BBC News*. 3 February 2009. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7866859.stm>

⁴¹ Phillips, Leigh. "Cameron and Sarkozy 'hand-in-hand' on Europe." *EUobserver*. 21 May 2010. <https://euobserver.com/economic/30117>



HISTORICAL UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL



2011 POPULAR UPRISING IN LIBYA

GADDAFI'S RISE TO POWER

Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi has been Africa's and the Arab world's longest-ruling, most erratic, most grimly fascinating leader; presiding for 42 years over this desert republic with vast oil reserves and just 6 million people. It is only logical that his rein has left a trail of noteworthy events.⁴²

Gaddafi was born in 1942 to nomad farmer parents in the coastal area of Sirte. He attended the Benghazi University to pursue a degree in geography, but later dropped out to join the army. In August of 1969 King Idris of Libya sought medical treatment in Turkey. On September 1st, 1969, a group of 70 junior Libyan military officers led by Gaddafi took the opportunity to stage a bloodless coup d'état. The crown prince, Sayyid Hasan ar-Rida al-Mahdi as-Sanussi, Idris' nephew, was placed under house arrest by members of the Libyan Signal Corps. Following the coup, the Free Officers Movement, as the coup leaders were referred to, declared an end to monarchy in Libya and officially renamed the country the Libyan Arab Republic⁴³. The Movement quickly evolved into the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). On September 7, 1969, the RCC announced that it had formed a cabinet to conduct the business of the government of the new republic. Shortly after, the RCC promoted Captain Muammar al-Gaddafi to colonel and appointed him commander in chief of the Libyan Armed Forces, making him the new de facto head of state⁴⁴. Upon seizing power he followed an anti-imperialist, pan-Arab philosophy, which was fused with aspects of Islam. While he permitted private control over small companies, the government seized control over the larger ones. Gaddafi's ruling style was greatly inspired by the Egyptian leader Gamal Abdel Nasser and his Arab national socialist ideology: Colonel Gaddafi envisioned a federation that was to unite Libya with Egypt and Syria. His attempts to complete his vision failed, alongside his wishes to join Libya with Tunisia.⁴⁵

In 1977, he decided to change the country's name to the Great Socialist Popular Libyan Arab Jamahiriya (State of the Masses) and called upon his people to express their views at people's congresses. Many critics, however, deemed his leadership no more than a military dictatorship and accused him of repressing his people and ruthlessly crushing any opposition. According to the Human Rights Watch, his regime is said to have imprisoned hundreds for violating his laws; some are even said to have received the death sentence.⁴⁶

In the West, Gaddafi has often been associated with terrorism and even accused of supporting various armed groups, including the IRA in Northern Ireland and FARC in Colombia. The bombing of the Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, is one of the most famous and

⁴² "Profile: Muammar Gaddafi." *Al Jazeera*. 22 August 2011.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201122117565923629.html>

⁴³ Muedini, Fait. "Libyan Civil War." *InternationalRelations.org*. Accessed on 8 October 2018.

<http://internationalrelations.org/libyan-civil-war/>

⁴⁴ "Q&A: Libya crisis explained." *Al Jazeera*. 22 January 2015. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2015/01/qa-libya-crisis-explained-20151228920570334.html>

⁴⁵ "Profile: Muammar Gaddafi." *Al Jazeera*. 22 August 2011.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/201122117565923629.html>

⁴⁶ Muedini, Fait. "Libyan Civil War." *InternationalRelations.org*. Accessed on 8 October 2018.

<http://internationalrelations.org/libyan-civil-war/>

controversial international incidents, which Gaddafi has been linked. He faced UN sanctions for his actions, although he continued to deny his involvement for many years.⁴⁷

In 2003, Gaddafi relinquished his arsenal of Weapons of Mass Destruction in order to end Libya's isolation from the West. The following year, US President George Bush ended the trade embargo imposed upon Libya following the incident of the Lockerbie bombing. The mended relations with Western powers allowed the Libyan economy to prosper.⁴⁸

During Gaddafi's first visit to the US in 2009, he made an appearance at the UN General Assembly. The Libyan leader held a speech that exceeded his allotted time by an hour and a half, during which he tore up a copy of the UN charter and accused the SC of being a terrorist body similar to al-Qaeda. He further demanded 7.7 trillion US dollars as compensation to be paid to Africa for its colonial past.⁴⁹

Similarly, during a visit to Italy in August 2010, Gaddafi's invitation to hundreds of young women to convert to Islam overshadowed the two-day trip, which was intended to cement the growing ties between Tripoli and Rome.⁵⁰

TIMELINE OF EVENTS

FEBRUARY 14

Only three days after the fall of Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian President, multiple sources on the social media platform, Facebook, called for peaceful demonstrations against Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. Having ruled the country for more than four decades, Libya's leader publicly voiced support for Mubarak during the Egyptian crisis.⁵¹

FEBRUARY 15

Anti-government rallies were held in Benghazi following the arrest of human rights lawyer, Fethi Tarbel, on February 15, 2011. The protesters called for Gaddafi to step down and for the release of other political prisoners. A number of protestors were injured when Libyan security forces used water cannons and rubber bullets against the crowds. To further suppress the demonstrations, the Libyan government orchestrated a pro-government rally, which was later broadcasted on state television.⁵²

The protesters were not deterred by these actions and demonstrators were quick to take control of Benghazi. As the unrest started to spread to Tripoli, the government started using lethal force against the protestors: the demonstrators were attacked with live ammunition and tanks. Communication was restricted as the government blocked internet connection and a disrupted the telephone services throughout the country.⁵³

⁴⁷ "Libya profile – Timeline." *BBC News*. 3 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13755445>

⁴⁸ "Profile: Muammar Gaddafi." *Al Jazeera*. 22 August 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/2011/02/2011122117565923629.html>

⁴⁹ "Libya profile – Timeline." *BBC News*. 3 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13755445>

⁵⁰ Cutler, David. "Timeline: Libya's uprising against Muammar Gaddafi." *Reuters*. 22 August 2011. <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-events-idUSTRE77K2QH20110822>

⁵¹ "Timeline: Libyan civil war (February 15 – October 20, 2011)." *Global News*. 20 October 2011. <https://globalnews.ca/news/168180/timeline-libyan-civil-war-february-15-october-20-2011/>

⁵² "Libya profile – Timeline." *BBC News*. 3 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13755445>

⁵³ "2011 Libya Civil War Fast Facts." *CNN Library*. Accessed on 30 August 2018. <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/20/world/libya-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html>

A few days later, one of Gaddafi's sons, Saif al-Islam, addressed the public on state television, blaming outside agitators for the unrest. He warned that the protest could result in a civil war and solemnly vowed that the regime would fight 'to the last bullet'. A number of Libyan embassies around the world began to fly Libya's pre-Gaddafi flag, signalling their support for the uprising.⁵⁴

FEBRUARY 17/18

The Revolution officially started as more and more protests broke out across the country. The multitude of reports of demonstrations being held in Benghazi, Ajdabiya, Darnah and Zintan, among others, marked the 17th as the official 'day of revolt'. News outlets, such as Al Jazeera, report that Gaddafi released dozens of prisoners from the country jails and bribed them to fight against the protestors. Furthermore, mercenaries were reported to have been hired to supplement Gaddafi's security forces in order to further suppress the demonstrations.

As the situation escalates the Libyan state television depicts images of men chanting pro-Gadhafi slogans, waving flags and singing around the Libyan leader's limousine as it creeps through Tripoli. Whilst in Benghazi, various human rights activists and protesters allege that they are under attack by pro-government security forces. Reports leak of 20 killed and a further 200 casualties as protests continue.⁵⁵

FEBRUARY 19

The demonstrations lead to more bloodshed; however, the death and injury toll remains unclear. Eye witnesses report the use of tear gas and bullets used by soldiers against the protestors in Benghazi. Demonstrations have erupted across multiple cities in Libya. Human Rights Watch reports that the death toll has risen to 84 in Libyan demonstrations since February 15.⁵⁶

FEBRUARY 20

Violence surges in Benghazi where a witness says protestors have taken control of the city and much of Tripoli. Gadhafi's son Saif al-Islam Gadhafi warns demonstrators on state television that the country could fall into civil war if their protests do not subside.⁵⁷

FEBRUARY 21

The warnings do not quench the outcries of the protestors and the Libyan newspaper Quryna reports that the country's justice minister has resigned to protest what he calls a "bloody situation and use of excessive force" by security forces against protestors.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ "Timeline: Libyan civil war (February 15 – October 20, 2011)." *Global News*. 20 October 2011.

<https://globalnews.ca/news/168180/timeline-libyan-civil-war-february-15-october-20-2011/>

⁵⁵ Cutler, David. "Timeline: Libya's uprising against Muammar Gaddafi." *Reuters*. 22 August 2011.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-events-idUSTRE77K2QH20110822>

⁵⁶ The CNN Wire Staff. "A timeline of the conflict in Libya." *CNN*. 24 August 2011.

<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/08/18/libya.timeline/index.html>

⁵⁷ "Libya in crisis – Monday 21 February." *The Guardian*. 21 February 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/feb/21/libya-uprising-middle-east-protests>

⁵⁸ "Battle for Libya: Key moments." *Al Jazeera*. 30 April 2017.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/libya/2011/10/20111020104244706760.html>

ORIGIN OF THE CONFLICT

The conflict in Libya is part of a greater trend in the Arab world. It follows other protest movements and uprisings in the region, in particular in its neighbouring countries Tunisia and Egypt.⁵⁹ While every movement has its unique demands and goals, the reasons for the protests are similar: government corruption, widespread poverty, lack of security and rule of law, bad education, unemployment, few civil rights and no democratic participation.⁶⁰ In Egypt and Tunisia, economic reasons were a major trigger for the protests; the economy of Libya, however, recovered quickly from the 2008 financial crisis. In Libya, the authoritarian rule of Gaddafi is named as the main reason by the protestors.⁶¹

The protest movements first started in Tunisia. On December 17, 2010, 26-year old Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire outside a municipal office in central Tunisia to protest excessive government corruption; He later died of his injuries and became a symbol of the desperation of the Tunisian people. Inspired by him, street protests broke out all over the country.⁶² The protests were met with violence by police and security forces. Despite the death of several protestors, the riots did not die down. Eventually, President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali changed strategy and announced concessions to the protestors on 13 January 2011; when the announcement failed to slow down the protests and additional violent clashes happened, he resigned and fled the country the next day.⁶³ As of now, Tunisia is governed by an interim government. There has been an amnesty for political prisoners, and members of former president Ben Ali's party have been purged from cabinet positions.⁶⁴ The apparent success of the uprising in Tunisia served as inspiration for the other movements in the region.⁶⁵

Days after the success of the revolution in Tunisia, protests erupted in Egypt against President Hosni Mubarak. On 25 January 2011, the first day of the protests, thousands of people took to the streets of Cairo.⁶⁶ The movement was initially started independent from the political opposition parties in Egypt, but opposition groups, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, started to participate after a few days.⁶⁷ Mubarak's government attempted to control the protests through mass arrests and curfews.⁶⁸ On 28 January, violence escalated with the police using tear gas and rubber bullets against thousands of protestors. In response, police stations and government buildings across the country were attacked by protestors and set on fire or devastated.⁶⁹ Mubarak deployed the army to protect government buildings in Cairo, after which, much like Ben Ali, Mubarak attempted to calm the protests through concessions. On state television, he announced the dismissal of his cabinet and social reforms. However, he

⁵⁹ Ogbonnaya, Ufiem M. "Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya: A Comparative Analysis of Causes and Determinants." *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2013).

⁶⁰ Ogbonnaya, Ufiem M. "Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya: A Comparative Analysis of Causes and Determinants." *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2013).

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Rifai, Ryan. "Timeline: Tunisia's uprising." *Al Jazeera*. 23 January 2011.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/tunisia/2011/01/201114142223827361.html>

⁶³ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Jasmine Revolution." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Jasmine-Revolution>

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Shenker, Jack. "Cairo protesters in violent clashes with police." *The Guardian*. 26 January 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/25/egypt-protests-mubarak>

⁶⁷ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Mubarak regime." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Egypt/The-Mubarak-regime>

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

intended to remain President, which did not satisfy the protestors.⁷⁰ In a desperate move, Mubarak then turned to the military by appointing several high-ranking officers to his new cabinet. With the army announcing their neutrality on 31 January 2011, this move was unsuccessful as well.⁷¹ Violence continued, as Mubarak still had supporters that engaged with protestors in violent altercations. At the centre of the movements was Tahrir square in Cairo, where many protestors camped day and night.⁷² Finally, Mubarak fled the country on 11 February and the military announced that he had stepped down.⁷³

CURRENT SITUATION IN LIBYA

The situation in Libya is already more severe than it has been in Tunisia and Egypt. The death toll is much higher and the armed forces have directly been used against protestors.⁷⁴ Reports indicate that even the air force of the country has been used against demonstrations; two Libyan fighter pilots have fled to Malta claiming they were ordered to bomb protestors.⁷⁵ Libyan diplomats across the world, including the deputy ambassador to the United Nations, have defected as of today and are calling for international action against the Gaddafi rule.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, the demonstrators have managed to take control of entire areas in Libya, including the city of Benghazi. If weapons are captured there, it is not unlikely that the protests could soon turn into armed resistance against the government. In a televised speech Gaddafi delivered earlier today, he denied having used force against the protestors, but denounced them as traitors and vowed to use violence from now on.⁷⁷

While the protestors have strong popular support in some areas of the country and have even pushed government influence out of Benghazi, no clear leadership or self-proclaimed alternative governments exist as of now.⁷⁸ The ambassadors of Libya to the United Nations have retained their position for now, despite many defecting from the government.⁷⁹

REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE

Overall, the uprisings have generally been well received by the international community. Many states and supranational bodies have condemned Gaddafi for his actions and virtually all Western countries have cut off diplomatic relations with Gaddafi's government. International efforts to respond to the Libyan crisis are gathering pace under US leadership after a still-

⁷⁰ "Timeline: Egypt's revolution." *Al Jazeera*. 14 February 2011.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/01/201112515334871490.html>

⁷¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Mubarak regime." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Egypt/The-Mubarak-regime>

⁷² *Ibid*.

⁷³ Kirkpatrick, David D. "Egypt Erupts in Jubilation as Mubarak Steps Down." *The New York Times*. 11 February 2011.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/12/world/middleeast/12egypt.html>

⁷⁴ "Arab uprising: Country by country – Libya." *BBC News*. 16 December 2013. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-12482311>

⁷⁵ Scicluna, Christopher. "Two Libyan fighter pilots defect, fly to Malta." *Reuters*. 21 February 2011.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-protests-malta/two-libyan-fighter-pilots-defect-fly-to-malta-idUSTRE71K52R20110221>

⁷⁶ "Libyan diplomats defect en masse." *Al Jazeera*. 22 February 2011.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122275739377867.html>

⁷⁷ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Libya Revolt of 2011." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Accessed on 20 September 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Libya-Revolt-of-2011>

⁷⁸ Black, Ian. "Gaddafi urges violent showdown and tells Libya 'I'll die a martyr'." *The Guardian*. 22 February 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/22/muammar-gaddafi-urges-violent-showdown>

⁷⁹ "Libya's UN ambassador defects: diplomat." *The Sydney Morning Herald*. 26 February 2011.

<https://www.smh.com.au/world/libyas-un-ambassador-defects-diplomat-20110226-1b8x9.html>

defiant Muammar Gaddafi launched counterattacks to defend Tripoli against the popular uprising, which is now consolidating its hold on the liberated east of the country.⁸⁰

According to a White House spokesperson, President Obama plans to call British Prime Minister David Cameron and French President Nicolas Sarkozy in order to discuss possible actions. Suggestions of a potential no-fly zone or sanctions to force Gaddafi to stop his violent counter strike against the protestors could be discussed. Switzerland is said to have frozen Gaddafi's assets in the country.⁸¹

Prime Minister Cameron has stated to take personal charge of efforts to set up convoys, protected by the military, able to evacuate British and other citizens stranded in camps in the Libyan desert amid growing fears that they could be taken hostage. Many other countries are following suit to ensure that their nationals are evacuated safely.⁸²

POTENTIAL DEBATE QUESTIONS

- Do the guidelines for the Responsibility to Protect apply?
- Would interfering help or worsen the situation?
- What form should an interference take?
- What are possible motivations for other actors to intervene?
- Is it within the scope of the UN Charter to take action?
- Should Gaddafi be forced to stand trial at the ICJ? If not, what other consequences should follow his actions?

⁸⁰ "Libya in crisis – Monday 21 February." *The Guardian*. 21 February 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/feb/21/libya-uprising-middle-east-protests>

⁸¹ "Battle for Libya: Key moments." *Al Jazeera*. 30 April 2017.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/spotlight/libya/2011/10/20111020104244706760.html>

⁸² "Libya in crisis – Monday 21 February." *The Guardian*. 21 February 2011.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/blog/2011/feb/21/libya-uprising-middle-east-protests>