

# Libya: military actors and militias



By Francesco Finucci

With special thanks to Lucia Polvanesi, for her editing work

## The aftermath

After Qaddafi's fall, about 200000 militiamen took to the streets. It was the end of a 40 years lasting regime. But it was also the first step towards the chaos: a country dominated by militias, fulfilled with weapons and characterized by harsh territories, where paratroops could hide themselves for months. Moreover, evidences suggest the use of this chaos in order to cover conflicts between rival tribes. Actions already blamed as war crimes.

Hope is a fundamental element to be considered in new Libya, but fear is as well. What emerged from this study is a complicated scenario, much more than expected. On the other hand, requests are numerous and often genuine. The will to build a better place to live in came to light as well as the simple effort to gain power.

Exploring this lively and intense underworld is not simple, even without being on the spot. Violence is part of this scenario as well as sense of the State. Sometimes they merge, sometimes they clash, but they never disappear. Probably, they won't do it for years, until Libya will be mature for military and political stability. After entering inside the last two years of Libyan history, we can't help hoping for this.



Francesco Finucci



Loyalty	Name		Flag/Symbol
State-affiliated Bodies	<p><b>Libyan Army</b> القوات المسلحة الليبية</p> <p>The new army risen after Qaddafi's fall seems to be partially composed by former military staff, and the detained equipment level is about the same as militias weaponry standard.</p> <p>Libyan Army has been put by Government under control of National Transitional Council, in order to assure State command on armed groups. Moreover, some groups joined semi-official structures as Libya Shield, National Mobile Force and Supreme Security Committee.</p> <p>As reported by <i>Libya Herald</i>, the Chief of Military Police Ahmed Mustafa al-Bargathi was gunned down on 18<sup>th</sup> October 2013. Libya Shield was accused by people of the murder, proving the ambiguous relationship between army and other public security agencies.</p> <p>Military and political contacts are going on with other states. Libyan troops are being trained by American, British, French, Italian and Turkish Armies. Moreover, joint operations have been signalled between Libyan and Sudanese Army.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Abdullah al-Thini: Ministry of Defence Nouri Abusahmain: Commander-in-chief</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 35000 soldiers<sup>1</sup>.</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libya Shield; National Mobile Force; Supreme Security Committee.</p> <p><b>External Support:</b> NATO; Great Britain; France; Italy; US</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Ansar al-Sharia (via al-Saiqa)</p>	
Controlled by Ministry of Defence	<p><b>Libya Revolutionaries Joint Operations Room</b> الليبي غرفة العمليات المشتركة الثوريين</p> <p>Libya Revolutionaries Operations Room was set-up by General National Congress in 2013. Its Facebook profile worked since September 2013, but no website was developed.</p> <p>On 10<sup>th</sup> October, LROR was accused of kidnapping PM Zeidan. Immediately, they refused responsibility, but they were relieved from the task of protecting Tripoli. Nuri Abu-Sahmayn, who created the LROR as GNC chairman, was fired as well. On 12<sup>th</sup> November, LROR got back the office of securing Tripoli, but under the control of General Chief of Staff.</p> <p>According to kidnapers, they acted to backlash against al-Qaeda analyst Anas al-Liby rendition in Tripoli. Other external supports could exist, considering how LROR entered with bloodless struggle in heavily guarded Corinthia Hotel.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Adel al-Tarhouni: Head of Militia</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 200-350 militiamen (underestimated)<sup>2</sup></p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libya Unity Brigade</p> <p><b>External Support:</b> al-Qaeda(?)</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> al-Zintan (Coup d'état)</p>	

<sup>1</sup> As reported by Libyan Army, volunteers should be about 13000.

<sup>2</sup> 200 Ghariyan militiamen left Tripoli on 19<sup>th</sup> November 2013 (*Libya Herald*); 150 men have been involved in Zeidan's abduction. No way to understand if they were the ones who left Tripoli later.

<p>Controlled by Ministry of the Interior</p>	<p><b>National Security Directorate</b> مديرية الأمن الوطني</p> <p>Unit based in Tripoli, but settled also in Benghazi and Beida. It carries out duties of a conventional police force.</p> <p>On 1<sup>st</sup> September 2013, NSD Chief in Tripoli, Mahmoud Sharif denounced the lack of funds for weapons and the consequent need to buy them on black market. Consequently, NSD officers' capability to carry on their duties seems compromised.</p> <p>Their weapons are remarkably similar to guerilla arms. Among these weapons, the AK47. It is also remarkable how several NSD bases have been attacked with guerilla methods (RPG, machine guns, etc.). NSD authority seems to be weak, because of the lack of proper equipment.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Mahmoud Sharif: Chief of NSD in Tripoli.</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 7000-9500<sup>3</sup></p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>External Support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> al-Saiqa (?)</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Ansar al-Sharia</p>	
<p>Controlled by Ministry of Defence</p>	<p><b>Al-Saiqa</b> الصاعقة</p> <p>Elite force, composed by paramilitary troops and commandos. It was instituted during Qaddafi's regime. Therefore, it tends to maintain hostility toward foreign people.</p> <p>It has already been involved in clashes with Ansar al Sharia, and it's likely to become more and more important in protecting the new State from high level menaces. Consequently, it could develop in a unit serving in special military operations and counter-terrorism actions.</p> <p>The weakness of Police forces is expected to bring to frictions with al-Saiqa, now covering police role. On the other hand, al-Saiqa's Chief complained lack of equipment and absence of an Intelligence Agency, as well as NSD Chief in Tripoli.</p> <p>Relationship with Islamist forces is hard. Some events demonstrate frictions between al-Saiqa and Islamists. In 1990s, al-Saiqa helped to suppress the rebellion of Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. On the other hand, after joining the rebellion, al-Saiqa Commander, Abdel Fatah Younis was killed by Islamists.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Wanis Bukhamada: Head of Saiqa Brigade and Security Supremo of Benghazi. Former Chief of Sebha.</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> up to 5000 soldiers<sup>4</sup></p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libyan Army</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Libya Shield Force; National Security Directorate (?)</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Ansar al-Sharia</p>	

<sup>3</sup> As reported by *Reuters*, about 1000 policemen are being trained by France. A contract is being arranged to train other 1500 men; *Libya Herald* reported Libyan government will to train 7000 officers.



<sup>4</sup> A report published by *Strategy Page* during the first months of rebellion against Qaddafi claimed that the core of his supporters was in 5000 soldiers and special force members. Among them, there could be al-Saiqa, already existing during Qaddafi's regime. Moreover, al-Saiqa is highly unlikely to accept new members, being an elite corps. Therefore, their force could be estimated up to 5000 soldiers.



<p><b>Anti-crime Unit</b></p> <p>This unite operates as investigative body. It particularly focuses on drug offence, jointed with Special Deterrence Force.</p> <p>It was accused of Zeidan arrest, together with LROR. At the moment, no evidence exists to understand whether the Unit will be reintegrated or not, as happened with LROR.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Abdulkhakim Blazi: Anti-crime Department spokesman.</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> Unknown</p>
	<p><b>Allies:</b> Special Deterrence Force</p>
	<p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p>
	<p><b>Frictions:</b> N/A</p>
	<p><b>Clashes:</b> al-Zintan (Coup d'état)</p>

<p><b>Special Deterrence Force</b></p> <p>قوة الردع الخاصة</p> <p>Based in Tripoli, SDF fights drug traffic. Images on SDF's Facebook account suggest also standard anti-crime activity and control of alcohol production. Moreover, weapons and medicines are some of the goods seized by SDF.</p> <p>Clashes with other militias took place: Fire-fights with Garghour Militia were reported by SPF on its Facebook account.</p> <p>Relationship with citizens doesn't seem so simple: an attack involved SDF on 5<sup>th</sup> October 2013. A resident of Suq al-Juma (Tripoli suburbs) had been gunned down by police officers. Consequently, civilians assaulted SDF base, protesting for the killing.</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> Unknown</p>
	<p><b>Allies:</b> Anti-crime Unit</p>
	<p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p>
	<p><b>Frictions:</b> Population</p>
	<p><b>Clashes:</b> Population; Misrata (Garghour) Brigades</p>



<p>Controlled by Oil Ministry (Logistics) and Defence (Payment)</p>	<p><b>Petroleum Facilities Guard</b> النفطية وزارة الدفاع   جهاز حرس المنشآت</p> <p>Created in order to protect the main facility of Libya. Only 2000 militiamen have been trained by military, the others are former rebels with poor quality weapons.</p> <p>PFG is one of the most supported military forces in Libya. After all, it is no secret that local and foreign lobbies are investing in Libyan petrol. When port guards went on strike, GNC opened an investigation into attempted bribery that aimed to re-open ports. The man charged with this crime was GNC Energy Committee Head Najj Mukhtar.</p> <p>Even militias were involved in clashes with PFG. Attacks have been reported at Waha Oil Field and in Petroleum Facilities Guard's HQ. No way to understand who carried them on.</p> <p>Petrol facilities are becoming more and more important for the balance among regions. Using their power, rebels in Cyrenaica have already obtained the birth of a regional oil company controlled by Ibrahim Jadhnan's Cyrenaican Political Bureau.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Rasheed Mohammed Saleh Alsabri (Head). Ibrahim al-Jathran (Head of Militia).</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 18000-20000 militiamen. 17000 at least: Ibrahim al-Jathran's militia</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libyan Army</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Italy (Eni); Opec (?)</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Militias; Central Government</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Militias</p>	
<p>Controlled by Cabinet and Commander of Central Military Zone (in Misrata)</p>	<p><b>Libya Shield Force</b> قوة درع ليبيا</p> <p>Force fragmented in Islamist brigades, based mainly in Benghazi, Khums and Misrata, but also in Zliten, Bani Walid, Zawiya, Gharian, Tarhouna and Sabratha. It controls coastal area with Islamist groups, but most of its firepower comes from Misrata.</p> <p>It supported the <i>Political Isolation Law</i> with Islamists and was accused of Ahmed Mustafa al-Barghati's murder. In response, the house of the head of brigade - Wissam Ben Hamid - was burned down. In the end, LS was reportedly accused of war crimes, carried out during the siege of Bani Walid.</p> <p>Further cracks are opening between Libya Shield and Libyan Army because of the will of LS to defend revolution with arms.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Wissam Ben Hamid: Head of Brigade Muhammed Musa: Commander of LS for Central Region</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 6000-12000 militiamen<sup>5</sup> 1200 vehicles</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Government</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> al-Saiqa; Libyan Army</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Libyan Army; Warfalla tribe.</p>	

<sup>5</sup>Evaluation issued on 1200 vehicles entered in Tripoli on 11<sup>th</sup> August 2013. Images provided by *Libya Herald*, *Reuters* and *Yahoo News* suggest a use of heavy (10 passengers) and light vehicles (5 passengers). Consequently, soldiers entered in Tripoli should be not less than 6000, not more than 12000. No available data of other militiamen in Libya, but *Wikipedia* reports that, during the Siege of Bani Walid, 12000 Libya Shield members were involved in fightings. Consequently, the number of LS members could be underestimated.

**Joint security operations room**

غرفة العمليات الأمنية المشتركة

Based in Tripoli and Benghazi, on 13th August 2013 JSOR was instituted by Government in Misrata as well.

JSOR often aggregates different forces in order to coordinate them. Consequently, it took position in important events during the last months. It provided gates during the clashes with Ansar al-Sharia forces, in order to prevent militias from entering the battlefield; and supported civilians protesting in Tripoli because of the use of violence against pacific protesters in Abu Salim.

**Leaders**

Ibrahim al-Sharaa: Spokesman since 20<sup>th</sup> November 2013.

Abdullah Saiti: Commander of Benghazi's Joint Security Room.

**Force:** 1500<sup>6</sup>**Allies:** al-Saiqa; Libyan Army**External support:**  
Unknown**Frictions:** Ansar al-Sharia**Clashes:** N/A

<p>Key Militias</p> <p>Controlled by Ministry of Defence</p>	<p><b>Al-Zintan Revolutionaries' Military Council</b> المجلس العسكري آل الزنتان الثوريين'</p> <p>Settled in Zintan (50000 people), Zintan Military council was founded in November 2011. It controls 23 Zintani militias, and it's part of a loose alliance of Bedouin groups from the desert interior.</p> <p>Zintan Military Council controls some of the most powerful militias in Tripoli. It has been involved in the control of some important facilities in Libya, as the international Tripoli airport, managed by ZMC until 20th April 2012.</p> <p>They only accept people who can demonstrate they aren't related to Qaddafi's regime in any way. Therefore, militia structure is strong and effective. Moreover, the mix of civil volunteers and former members of Libyan Army composing the armed group is highly hierarchical.</p> <p>Despite ZMC stays one of the strongest actor in the area, shameful accuses involved it. In February 2012, Human Rights Watch accused the militia of torture and homicide of former ambassador in France for Libya, Mr Omar Brebesh. Moreover, ZMC has took part in fighting with Libyan Army, before reaching an agreement on control of Tripoli's airport.</p> <p>In the end, it was involved in fire-fights with neighbouring el-Mashasha tribe. A video shared on YouTube analyses crimes carried on by ZMC against Almshashya tribe. Its reliability is unknown.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b>          Muhammad Ali Madani: Founder, killed on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2011.          Osama al-Juwali: Member and Minister of Defence since 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2011          Mukhtar Kalifah Shahub: Head</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 4000 or more<sup>7</sup></p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libyan Army (?)</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Misrata Militia; National Army; Tripoli Military Council.</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Libyan Revolutionaries Joint Operations Room (coup d'état); Libyan Army; el-Mashasha Tribe.</p>	
	<p><b>Al-Qaqaa Brigade</b> آل القعقاع واء</p> <p>al-Qaqaa Brigade is based in Zintan, in the West, but took part in Militias withdrawal from Tripoli. It is consequently likely to have set roots in the capital city.</p> <p>It's considered one of the most powerful Islamist brigades in Libya, and has been associated with Mahmud Jibril, leader of the liberal National Forces Alliance.</p> <p>Cooperation with government is not as remote as it could seem: on 21st November 2013 al-Qaqaa handed over Yarmouk Camp. However, methods stay brutal, as testified by execution videos.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b> Othman Mlekta: Head</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 18000</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> National Forces Alliance; Ansar al-Sharia (?); al-Saaqa</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Alawites<sup>8</sup></p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Unknown</p>	

<sup>7</sup> Evidences suggest that ZMC could control other militias based in Zintan area. Its force is difficult to be estimated, but it is likely to be high, according to the opinion of important journals that analysed the role of paratroops in Libya.

<sup>8</sup> Executions carried on by al-Qaqaa involved alawite people (a religious group near to Shi'a movement). Religious demography in Libya shows a high percentage of Sunni muslims, while Shia faithfuls are few. By cross-checking those two data, we may expect strong antagonism by Qaqaa troops toward Shi'a muslims.



**Al-Sawaiq Brigade**

كتيبة الصواعق للحماية

Militia based in Zintan, in the west of Libya. It took part in Tripoli assault in September 2011 and was rapidly incorporated in Libyan Army. Once incorporated, it became a Security apparatus (asked also to protect French embassy in Tripoli), and assured fidelity to Government, asking for a responsible behaviour of Militias.

At a first glance, al-Sawaiq statement could be considered reliable. It accords to a first screening of al-Sawaiq's Facebook account, fulfilled with symbols referring to the concept of State. Moreover, several elements suggest the placement of this militia in a discipline leading environment.

Uniforms owned by al-Sawaiq Brigade are the same as the ones used by Libyan Army. Therefore, they're likely to have the same equipment and weapons<sup>9</sup>.

**Leaders**

Isam al-Traboulsi: Head<sup>10</sup>

**Misrata Brigades**

كتائب مصراتة

Misratan Union of Revolutionaries has been instituted in November 2011, registering 236 militias. It has been categorised as "revolutionary militia" by *Small Arms Survey*.

Brigades composing MUR gained power in Misrata by requisitions of weapons stocked between Tripoli and Sirte. With time, arms have been handed out to 40000 troops in Misrata, where residents are barely 300000.

Misratan militias have been involved in crimes during Siege in Bani Walid. Consequently, they're facing the same accuse of war crimes that involves Libya Shield.

**Force:** 2000 militiamen

**Allies:** Libyan Army

**External Support:** Unknown

**Frictions:** Unknown

**Clashes:** Unknown

**Force:** 40000 militiamen<sup>11</sup>  
800 tanks  
2000 light and heavy vehicles  
up to 30000 light weapons<sup>12</sup>

**Allies:** Libya Shield

**External support:** Unknown


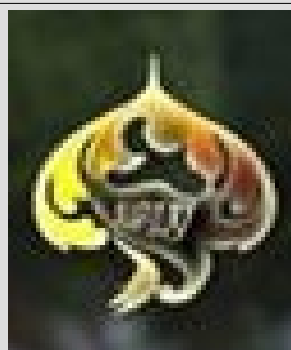
**Frictions:** Warfalla tribe

**Clashes:** Special Deterrence Force



<sup>9</sup> Several sources – using *BBC News* data – underline how al-Sawaiq owns anti-aircraft devices. Images provided by al-Sawaiq FB Account show Nimr vehicles with anti-airgun weapons. As reported by *Army Technology*, they were acquired in 2009, signing a contract with UAE weapon producer Bin Jabr.

<sup>10</sup> Different sources use several names: Emad Trabelsi, Eyad Traboulsi, Isam al-Traboulsi. They are supposed to be the same person.

<p>Controlled by Ministry of Defence (payment)</p>	<p><b>17 February Martyrs Brigade</b>  كتائب شهداء 17 فبراير</p> <p>One of the best armed militias in Eastern Libya. It owns light and heavy weapons, as well as training facilities. It operates in Benghazi.</p> <p>Two militias now having an important role in Libya originated from 17 February Martyrs: Ansar al-Sharia and Rafallah al-Sahati. Frictions are supposed to exist, but unlike Ansar al-Sharia, 17FMB believes in coexistence of Islam and Democracy.</p> <p>However, both international observers and local authorities are suspicious of 17FMB and of its leader, Fawzi Bukatef, member of Libyan branch of Muslim Brotherhood. In May 2013, John Rosenthal underlined on <i>Transatlantic Intelligence</i> how 17 February Martyrs Brigade sympathized for al-Qaeda. Rosenthal referred to images published on 17FMB's Facebook account, asking why a militia having images of Ansar al-Sharia (near to al-Qaeda) could have been engaged to defend US embassy in Benghazi.</p> <p>Such a problem was born because of what Eli Lake had discovered in May, after the attack perpetrated in Benghazi against US embassy: an agreement between 17FMB and CIA officers, hidden behind State Department cover.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b>  Fawzi Bukatef: Head</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 1500-3500</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>External support:</b> CIA (?); Muslim Brotherhood (?)</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> Ansar al-Sharia; Rafallah al-Sahati</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Unknown</p>	
<p>Controlled by Ministry of Defence</p>	<p><b>Rafallah al-Sahati Brigade</b></p> <p>The Rafallah al-Sahati Brigade is a jihadist group settled in Benghazi, splitted from 17 February Martyrs Brigade. It operates in Eastern Libya and Kufra and has been officially integrated in Libyan Army. It's considered one of the three most powerful militias in Eastern Libya.</p> <p>Clashes occurred in September, when protesters tried to enter in Rafallah al-Sahati's base in Benghazi. Nine protester were shot dead. After those facts, six militiamen were executed in order to vindicate the killings. Other protests followed the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2013 attack, but PM Zeidan assured that al-Sahati, 17FMB and Libya Shield Force are legal forces under state control.</p> <p>In September 2012, Salahadeen Bin Omran became Commander in Chief, standing in for Ismail al-Sallabi. However, Sallabi immediately declaired that he would have maintained an important role in Rafallah al-Sahati.</p> <p><b>Leaders</b>  Ismail al-Sallabi: leader  Salahadeen Bin Omran: military commander-in-chief</p>	<p><b>Force:</b> 1000 militiamen</p> <p><b>Allies:</b> Libyan Army (?)</p> <p><b>External support:</b> Unknown</p> <p><b>Frictions:</b> 17 February Martyrs Brigade</p> <p><b>Clashes:</b> Benghazi's population</p>	

**Ansar al-Sharia**

أنصار الشريعة

Ansar al-Sharia is a jihadist brigade based in Darnah and Benghazi.

There is rivalry between Ansar al-Sharia, 17 February Martyrs Brigade and Libya Shield; on the other hand, jihadists stay strictly linked with Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia. Support actions have already been reported.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2013, it was involved in clashes with Libyan Army and even civilians. Moreover, Ansar al-Sharia is considered the perpetrator of the Embassy assault in Benghazi. Witnesses confirm the presence of jihadist group's logo on vehicles used for the attack.

American broadcasters as *Fox News* reported claims of responsibility published by Ansar al-Sharia on Facebook and Twitter. Even the State Department believed in this claim, as testified by emails leaked by *Fox News* itself. On the other hand, a reliable source as *Foreign Policy* underlines that the video shared by Ansar al-Sharia praises the attack but emphasizes that it was not organized by the jihadist group.

**Leaders**

Muhammad al-Zahawi: founder and charismatic leader.

**Omar al-Mukhtar Brigade**

لواء عمر المختار

The brigade takes its name from Omar al-Mukhtar, hero of Libyan resistance during the Italo-Turkish War (1911-1912) and Italian colonial effort in 1935-1936.

It's settled in Darnah, Benghazi and Ajdabiya, and is thought to be near to Ansar al-Sharia, with which it shares the same goals.

**Leaders**

Abdelmonem Mukhtar Mohammed: former head, killed on 15<sup>th</sup> April 2011. Former member of the opposition movement known as Libyan Islamic Fighting Group. Before the civil war, he had lived in Afghanistan, getting in touch of former al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden.

Ziyad Balaam: Head of Brigade

**Force:** 300-5000 militiamen

**Allies:** Omar al-Mukhtar Brigade

**External support:** Ansar al-Sharia in Tunisia; al-Qaeda; AQIM (?)

**Frictions:** 17 February Martyrs Brigade

**Clashes:** Saiqa Brigade; National Security Directorate; Population

**Force:** 200 militiamen  
10 trucks

**Allies:** Ansar al-Sharia (?)

**External support:** al-Qaeda (?)

**Frictions:** Population (?)

**Clashes:** Unknown

لا إله إلا الله



كتيبة انصار الشريعة



11 An interesting estimate allows us to see the internal structure of Misratan Militias. They're composed by students (41%), private sector workers (38%), public sector employees (11%), professionals (8%) and unemployed people (2%).

12 Estimate developed by *Small Arms Survey* for Misratan brigades. Consequently, the number of weapons detained by MUR could be lower.

13 Symbol provided is often associated both to Rafallah al-Sahati and Ansar al-Sharia. On the other hand, it's not recognizable as one of Ansar al-Sharia main symbols. It is quite likely to be Rafallah al-Sahati image. At least, it seems to be the one utilised for propaganda.

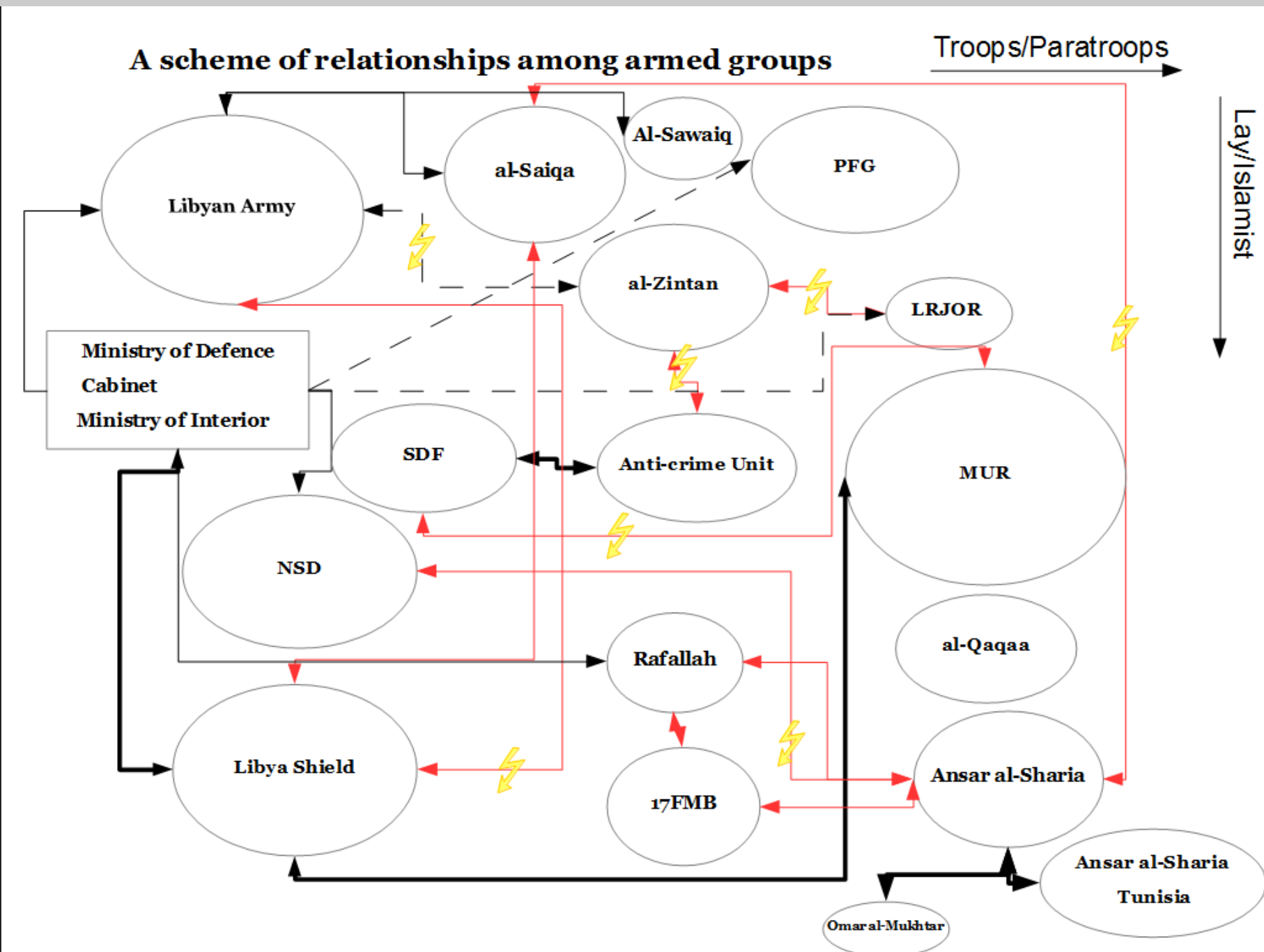
# Militias in new Libya

Informations available on the net show a really complicated scenario. Not infrequently, allied armed groups have clashed (e.g. Al-Zintan and Libyan Army). Consequently, the map reporting relationships between militias has been simplified in order to avoid confusion. The scheme goes from top to bottom showing the involvement of militias in Islamic thought; it goes from left to right indicating the strength of relationship between militia and the State.

- Ellipses (dimension indicates strength)= armed group
- Rectangles = Institution
- Unidirectional black arrow = dependence
- Bidirectional black bold arrows = alliance
- Bidirectional Black arrows = relationship
- Bidirectional red arrow = friction
- Bidirectional red arrow + lightning = clash

As can be seen on the scheme, the principle often sustained that Islamism influence has always to be related to subversion and terrorism is false. The interconnection between political and religious thought is endemic in Islamic society. Therefore, groups that can be considered part of State force (e.g. Libya Shield) have often strong Islamic identity. Moreover, even Democratic thought is not perceived in the same way by Islamist groups: it is completely refused by Ansar al-Sharia, but more or less accepted by 17 February Martyrs Brigade.

It will be fundamental to find a balance between political requests, religious groups and military forces. This effort must be oriented toward the neutralization of frictions bringing to clashes as the ones with Ansar al-Sharia, and declarations of illegality (as happened in Egypt). Otherwise, the consequent crack could divide Libya, pulling Islamic oriented community toward armed organization. This happened in Israel in 1980's. Since then, the situation has no more changed.



# Weapons in new Libya

"My men are scared. They go in to check a complaint and a man comes out with a Kalashnikov", Mahmoud Sharif said. He is Tripoli police chef. Therefore, no other words are necessary to explain military situation in Libya. Gaddafi's arsenal is looked with concern, but also with yearning. Weapons composing the arsenal were mainly produced in Russia, and included chemical weapons.

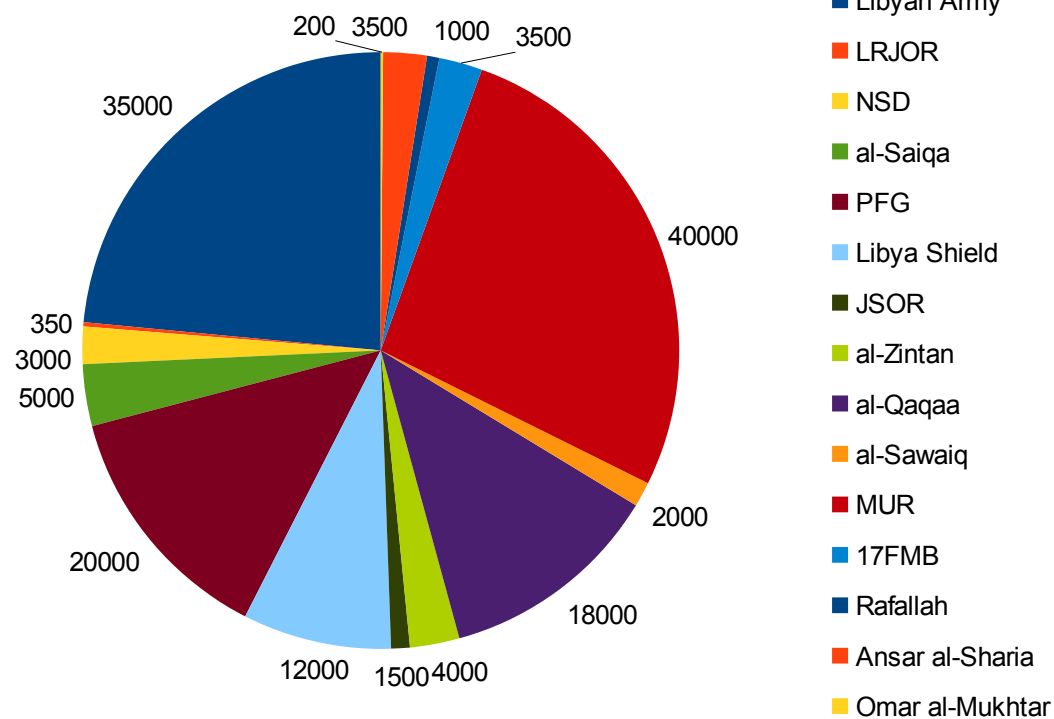
The amount of arms is impressive. They include:

- helicopters: Mi-14, Mi-17, Mi-24
- tanks: Shilka ZSU-23, T34, T55, T62, T72, 155 Palmaria
- amtrack: BTR 80, BRDM-2, BPM-1, BPM-2, BPM-3
- surface-to-air missiles
- anti-aircraft devices: DSHK, ZPU-1
- rocket launchers: BM-21 Grad, Type 63
- recoilless rifles: Carl Gustav, M40
- heavy machine-guns: Vladimirov KPV
- light weapons: PK

However, other weapons are being used. Among them, the AK-47. The AK-47 is basically one of the most common weapons in conflicts involving poor countries. It's well known for its reliability, but its presence in war scenarios simply lies on ease of purchase and use and on low price. On the other hand, Libyan Army owns also modern technologies, more interesting as it concerns the support it receives from other countries engaged in the stability of country and in trading weapons. Some of these weapons are:

- FN F2000: assault rifle produced by Belgium
- Nimr: military vehicle produced by United Arab Emirates
- Puma 4x4: military vehicle produced by Italy
- Humvee: military vehicle produced by the United States

# Who's Who? Military force and political consensus in new Libya



As previously underlined, State control over the country is really weak. Some militias are even more powerful than the Army itself (MUR). Others detain the same power (PFG and Rafallah).

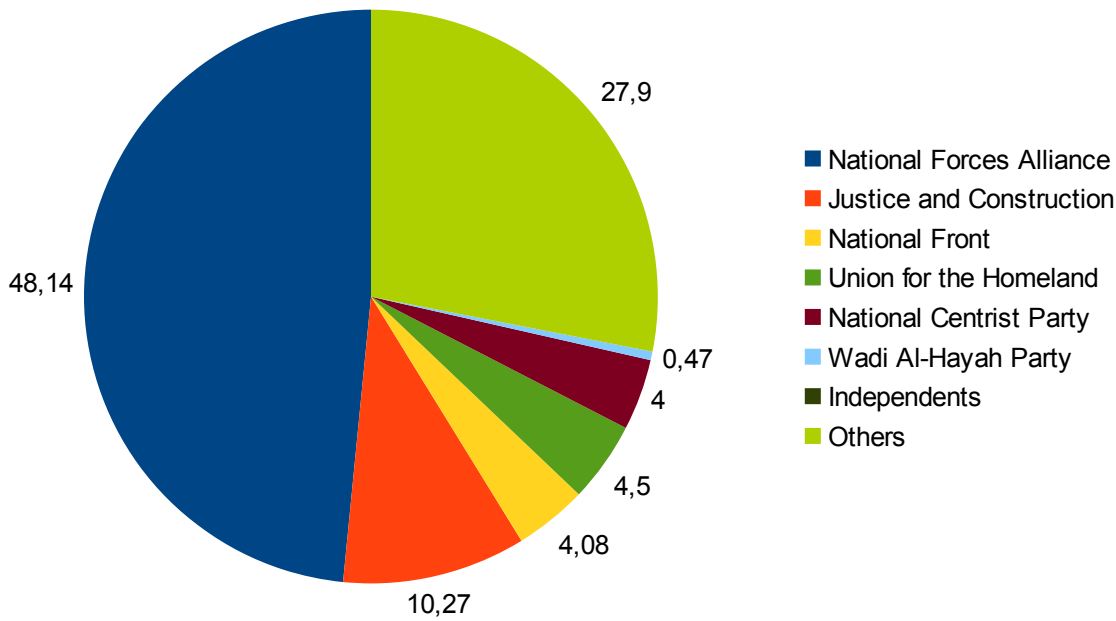


## Votes on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2013

Political forces are introduced in Libyan parliament (General National Congress) with an intelligent strategy. Libyan authorities opted for a unicameral parliament; the vote system is proportional, in order to assure to each party a role in legislative power.

As a further guarantee, 120 seats on 200 are assigned through cumulative voting in multi-member districts: a system adopted in order to avoid extra-parliamentary forces to put a strain on the Congress.

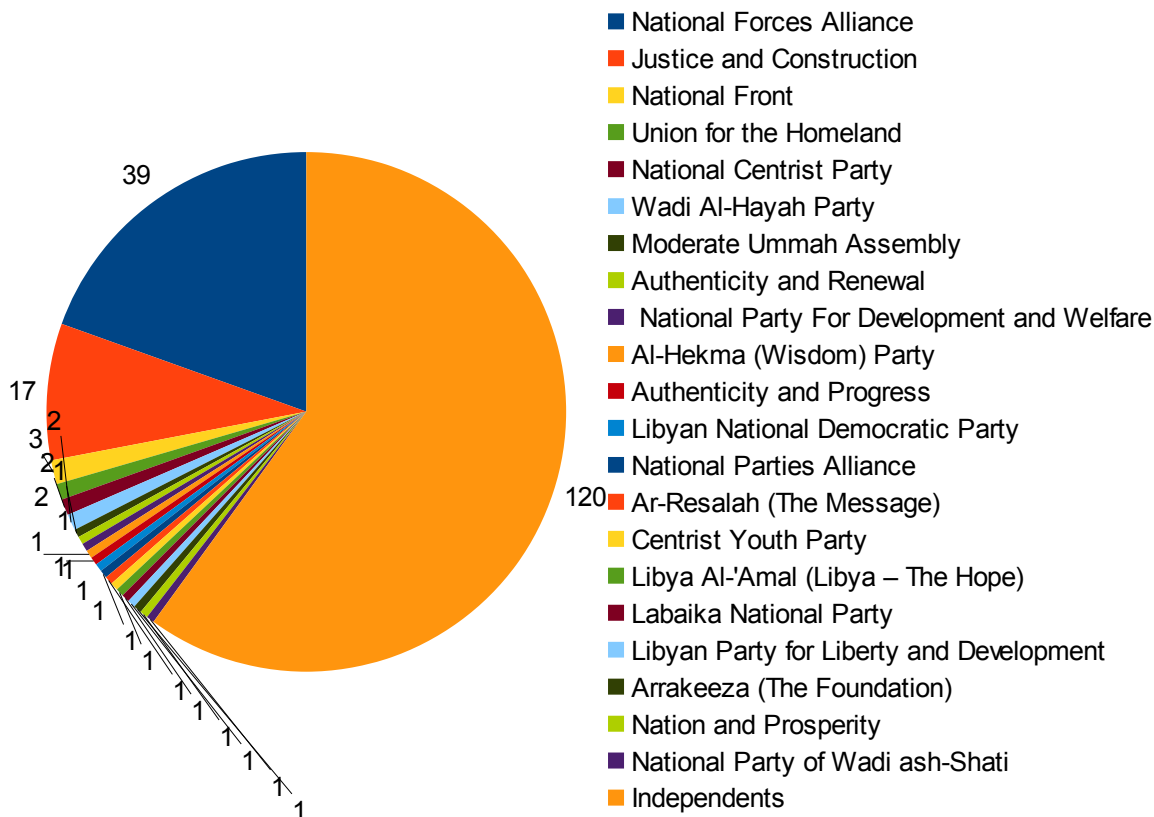
The result given by the vote could bring confusion inside the parliament (other parties detain 27,9% of votes).



## Composition of Parliament

A high number of parties entered the parliament on 7<sup>th</sup> July 2013, but the link between votes and seats has been visibly adulterated. Even a strong alliance between NFA and Justice and Construction might not be enough to govern the country.

However, such a diverse parliament could really promote open and effective dialogue with minorities and local institutions. Some forces in Libya operate in order to assure control of territory, without transforming military force in praetorianism. They must be supported.



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