

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Faculty of Political Science

Belgrade, September 2021

At the meeting of the Department of International Studies, held on 3 June 2021, the Master Thesis Defense Commission (hereby the Commission) for the candidate Mohamed Alyatem was formed with the following members: prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović, prof. dr Filip Ejduš and doc. dr Goran Tepšić. The Council for the Second and Third Cycle of Studies has accepted the proposal made by the Department.

After reading the master thesis, the Commission is submitting the following report.

## **REPORT**

The master thesis of Mohamed Alyatem, entitled “Liberal Peacebuilding in Libya: From Victor’s Peace to Civil Peace” aims to analyze the liberal peacebuilding project that Libya experienced on two different occasions. The author claims that first attempt to install liberal peace was during Libya’s independence in 1951, gained through the UN act of restitution, which was “institutional peace.” The second attempt was in 2011 through “humanitarian intervention,” “victor’s peace,” which was “less gentle” than its previous attempt. The custodians used their “coercive” means to overthrow the regime of the recipient state to replace it with their peace project. Furthermore, the thesis offers a critical perspective on the liberal peace theory and its practical implications in Lybia, and it is comprised of 3 chapters, besides the Introduction, Conclusion, and the References.

The first chapter focuses on peace evolution throughout history by providing different theories, philosophies, concepts, and events that shaped the peace we know today. Starting with the “oldest understanding of peace,” which believed “peace comes from a military victory,” also known as “victor’s peace,” to its most dominant version, “liberal peace.” The thesis also delivers religion, communism, Chinese philosophy, and liberal versions and perspectives of peace and their contributors such as Darwin, Plato, Sun Tzu, and Kant. Additionally, the first chapter narrows down the aspect of peace by focusing on the most dominant version, “liberal peace,” and its components: victor’s peace, constitutional peace, institutional peace, and civil peace. It

covers each component and the events which underpinned from being a concept to the framework.

The second chapter examines liberal peace and its component by using Libya as a case study. It focuses on Libya's historical and social context and how it shaped its peace from early history to the "Arab spring." Moreover, the chapter observes the colonial period, arguing that Italy imposed "victor's peace" while subjugated the locals. Additionally, it focuses on the struggle of Libyans in gaining their independence by joining the aliens during WWII, which led to another "victor's peace" when Britain and France took over the administration of Libya, following the expression to the "victor belong the spoils." Finally, it examines Libya's independence, which was gained through the UN act of restitution, arguing that it was the cornerstone of the liberal peace project and provides reasons on why it failed. The second chapter concludes with the bloodless *coup d'état* that ended the "democratic institutional monarchy," arguing that the liberal peace project failed because it was not designed to meet the need and rights of the locals but rather favoured the custodians at the expense of the locals. Lastly, it examined the national regime's journey from "The First of September Revolution" to creating indigenous institutions through Aljamahiriya's political, social, and economic structure. Moreover, it provides evidence on the real reasons that made the West impose regime change.

The third chapter focuses primarily on the second attempt to install a liberal peace project in Libya, which started in 2011 during the "Arab spring." It starts by exploring the UN Resolutions 1970 and 1973, which called for an arms embargo, a no-fly zone, the protection of civilians, and eventually a "humanitarian intervention." It argues that those Resolutions were used as "legal cover" to overthrow the national government and install liberal peace. Moreover, NATO's operation ended as soon as they killed Gaddafi, validating the argument mentioned above. Additionally, the third chapter explores all the liberal peace components starting from victor's peace imposed through humanitarian intervention, then constitutional peace through the rush democratization. This follows by institutional peace through a marathon of "international conferences." Finally, it examines the possibility of achieving civil peace by providing local and traditional elements of reconciliation and mediation, which could potential evolve to become a framework in achieving civil peace. Lastly, it provided the obstacle the civil peace faces in Libya and argued that peace in Libya is tangible, through a hybrid version of peacebuilding, if the international invests in the local initiatives.

The last chapter is followed by conclusion, which recapitulates the whole research and its main findings. It emphasizes positive impact of different peacebuilding mechanisms, but also their shortcomings and divisions they made. Furthermore, the conclusion stresses the importance of Libya case for peacebuilding in general, both theoretically and practically.

The Commission is convinced that the candidate Mohamed Alyatem has shown good understanding of the conflict and post conflict process in Libya, and its theoretical and practical relevance for the concept of liberal peacebuilding. Also, the Commission is satisfied with the analytical contribution of the paper and the capability of the candidate to accomplish the main goal of the thesis – to identify and assess the main mechanisms of peacebuilding in Libya.

The Commission

prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović

prof. dr Filip Ejđus

doc. dr Goran Tepšić