



CAPACITY BUILDING FROM PAST TO FUTURE IN POST CONFLICT LIBYA

PROF. DR. SEDAT AYBAR



CAPACITY BUILDING FROM PAST TO FUTURE IN POST CONFLICT LIBYA

PREPARED BY

PROF. DR. SEDAT AYBAR ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
AFRICA APPLICATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

AUGUST 2020
ISTANBUL

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
AFRICA APPLICATION AND RESEARCH CENTER

Prepared By:

Prof. Dr. Sedat AYBAR

Design:

IAU Visual Design Coordinatorship Year of Publication: 2020

Publication: I

Place of Publication: İstanbul

E-ISBN: 978-6257783125

Web Link: <https://bit.ly/3kk9oMj> Copyright © Istanbul Aydın University

All rights of this production reserved. Texts and visual materials cannot be published wholly or partially without permission.

All rights of this book belong to Istanbul Aydın University.

CONTENTS

Post Conflict Libya Webinar Series Final Report:

Foreword.....	5
Presentation	7
Guest Speakers	8
I. Introduction	11
II. Security Issues and Future of Libya	17
III. Diplomacy in Libya, Whence and Wither.....	23
IV. The Role of NATO In Africa and Capacity Building.....	27
V. Libyan Economy and Capacity Building Needs	29
VI. Education Reform in Libya: Fundamentals of Capacity Building.....	33
VII. Media in Libya: What Role to Play between Past and Future?.....	39
VIII. Art in Libya: Helping Continuity and Change	43
IX. Healthcare in Libya: Past Experiences – Future Aspirations.....	45

FOREWORD

At Istanbul Aydın University, we have set forth to explore ideas to help resolving post-conflict social problems in Libya together with a group of academics across a variety of disciplines. A series of webinars and brain storming sessions were organised by our Africa Research and Application Center (AFRIKAM). This was a process of learning using interdisciplinary intellectual excersize. Although Turks have deep historical connections with Libya, our main motivation to carry out this work came from Turkey's relatively recent engagement with Libya's UN recognised legitimate government. Hence, we wanted to come up with an intellectual template that will help resolving problems associated with the civil war, by producing a set of guiding principles for the decision making practitioners operating in the field. The outcome is this pamphlet. It is presented hereby as a product of a team work.

War and conflict inevitably exacerbates social problems. Libya is no exception. Recent tragic period she has gone through will inevitably have a long lasting social impact. As is the case with other countries with similar experiences, poverty has increased dramatically also in Libya. This has contributed to the decline in life expectancy at birth, insecurity, displacement of large sways of population and shortages of food.

In fact fragile states account for a large part of global poverty. Poverty sky rockets in civil conflict countries. For instance, according to Borgen Report of 2020, Yemen, another civil conflict country is estimated to be the world's poorest state by 2030. Poverty rate in Somalia, another post-conflict country in sub-Saharan Africa is 73% while life expectancy is roughly 57 years. World Bank 2020 Poverty Report indicates that civil wars in North Africa and the Middle East led to doubling of extreme poverty rates between 2015 and 2018, from 3.8% to 7.2%. A variety of social problems related to increased poverty and shattered capacity needs to be urgently dealt with. These problems are mirrored also in Libya.

Immediate problems that needs to be remedied are the poor infrastructure as a result of the havoc unleashed by civil war, weak healthcare, lack of sanitation and hygiene, environmental degradation, water pollution, lack of education and institutional shortfalls, etc. Post-conflict arrangements ought to attend to these inadequacies. This has posed itself as a challenge to tackle with in the Libyan set-up, as required by many other conflict ridden countries.

The recent conflict in Libya seemingly started with the so called Arab Spring, in 2011. Ensuing skirmishes in 2015 evolved towards a foreign backed civil war. Since then civil war continued to the detriment of wealth and devastated civilian community. This was truly shocking. Particularly when we consider that Libya is a country, rich in natural resources with oil and gas in the lead, its experience with civil destruction has been appalling. Before the conflict, Libya's riches helped higher levels of education, substantially higher life expectancy, much better living conditions with improved infrastructure, access to clean water and healthcare. Today, as a result of civil war, the country is cruched with one third of its 2.2 million population now living in poverty.

As we set to uncover the damage done in Libya, it became increasingly apparent that it was not only civil war that caused all the problems there. We started to thread on a new ground that enforced us to jointly analyse few factors other than the civil war. In order to achieve a healthier capacity building we had to understand the impact of historical past of the Libyan social structures and institutional set-up, inherited from the past. Convergence of historical analysis alongside revealing the damage done by the civil war on social structures has been significant. Studying their impact upon Libyan society was seen to be part of extending a successful capacity building program into the future.

We also had to take into account Covid 19 pandemic, a new biological challenge coupled with global economic recession that reverts poverty alleviating conditions much rapidly. Additionally, slowly accelerating climate change which has extremely severe consequences for Libya had to be given due consideration. This was particularly important as far as the security and diplomacy issues are concerned. African migration and rising populism in Europe has been one of the main problems that conditioned approaches of other countries to the Libyan conflict. These issues alongside civil war has the potential to drive many people into poverty and deprivation. Dealing with such challenging issues and deriving a policy framework that would lead to a successful capacity building in a post-conflict situation requires opening up to academic lines of inquiry to which Istanbul Aydın University is committed to. We encourage interdisciplinary academic research which requires valuable inputs from a variety of faculty. Hence we are committed to produce solid work based on cutting edge research using contributions from colleagues at the national and international levels. This is particularly important for the future work and further collaborations with other partners from Turkey and abroad.

I emphasized that because by no means what we are presenting hereby is a finished work. Rather, we know we have to do much more than what we did hereby to counter all of the challenges we have listed and described above. Istanbul Aydın University is committed to continue and contribute to the efforts by expanding the research scope for a more grounded capacity building in post-conflict society set-up.

Finally, as the President of IAU, I would like to extend my gratitude to the contributing academics from Istanbul Aydın University and beyond for their valuable time and work, without which this work could not have been realised.

**Associate Professor Mustafa Aydın, (Phd),
President, Istanbul Aydın University,**

POST CONFLICT LIBYA WEBINAR SERIES FINAL REPORT: PRESENTATION

Istanbul Aydın University's Africa Application and Research Center (AFRIKAM) conducted series of webinars between 23 June – 27 July 2020, covering mainly post-conflict capacity building needs of Libya. Those, who were invited to the webinars to do presentations on the chosen topic were experts in their fields, particularly on post-conflict situations. Nine webinars in total were conducted. Those meetings attracted broad participation by audience with relevant experience. Hence, we also included their contributions to the issues discussed. Main theme of these webinars was "Capacity Building in Post Conflict Libya".

We are presenting hereby the reports and the findings obtained at these webinars. These findings are particularly important when we start thinking about Turkey's involvement in Libya. Turkey was invited by the Libyan legitimate Government of National Accord, that is recognized by the UN, to participate in stabilizing the country against a rebel force led by a fugitive general, Marshall Hifter. Turkey's involvement in Libya passed through various stages. Initially, Turkish involvement was of a military character and involved in military capacity building. In this context, discussions on "the path of post conflict Libya" started to dominate the agenda. Most believed that capacity building in the post conflict Libya will be the main international challenge. This topic began occupying the broad international public opinion. Issues focusing on "Libya's future", question of how Libya will come through its unfortunate ordeal, what kind of development strategy it will follow, how will it relate its past and future, and similar issues started to occupy the main debate on Libya.

The issue of how Libya's problems will be resolved in the future has been on Turkey's developmental debate for a long time. As of now, as balance of power between conflicting parties has achieved, military developments on the field has reached a saturation point. These military developments inevitably will activate dynamics in other areas (other than military). In the sense that the capacity building efforts in Libya are now raised to prominence that goes beyond military area.

It became clear that parties making successful capacity building can establish supremacy over other conflicting parties. Hence, crowning the successes obtained in the military area will come from the steps taken in capacity building and by obtaining tangible outcomes henceforth.

As this fact became more and more clear, we at the Istanbul Aydın University's, AFRIKAM Application and Research Center, wanted to consult and gather views of the experts on capacity building. Our aim was to determine step by step progress in such a difficult

process of capacity building especially in a post-conflict environment. We wanted to establish the route we should follow to realize such efforts. We also wanted to contribute to the creation of a guiding philosophy around which that route can be followed. It seemed imperative to draw a general framework for pioneering tangible applications and open them up for discussions. Such an action inevitably requires interdisciplinary work. Hence, we invited colleagues from other faculties and across a variety of disciplines. We completed our webinar series with contributions from Faculties of Medicine, Fine Arts, Economics and Administrative Sciences and Architecture at Istanbul Aydin University. Also, academics from other research and application centers participated in the webinars as speakers and commentators.

As we were engaged in collecting information and categorizing them, we learnt that similar type of research has been carried out by institutions in other countries. Especially Libya report of the Mediterranean Universities Union (UNIMED) to which we are also a member, is of significance since they also evaluated the case of Libya as an important challenge. This report was a result of efforts covering five years, especially focusing on capacity building in education. Similar type of research was also done by the universities in the UK.

The international interest on this topic encouraged us to carry out an additional international online Conference that included experts from many countries, including colleagues from UNIMED. This Conference was organized as a joint activity of AFRICA Application and Research Center together with EURAS on 28 July 2020. The meeting lasted almost 4 hours and completed with participants from more than 20 countries. Final report of this Conference is published on the website of AFRICA Application and Africa Research Center.

We decided to report on the findings from our Capacity Building Webinars according to their coverage and scope. We believed that systematic presentation of the findings from our webinars would be more beneficial to the readers. We deciphered the webinars and we have first published the Turkish version of our report. We prepared this additional English text to reach a broader international audience. Our coverage of the situation in post conflict Libya showed us the necessity of a conceptual - theoretical approach to capacity building research, interwoven with the gathered material. In this process, we adopted a thematic approach.

In this context, a rather innovative framework began to shape up that is applicable not only to Libya but to other post conflict capacity building countries. We established that a successful capacity building cannot be achieved in a vacuum, free of social and historical grounding. Historical background and country specific authentic historical and social conditions must be studied and taken into account for a successful capacity building. We have decided to formulate this approach around the theme of “capacity building between past and future.” In our webinar series which also included one work in the field of education, this thematic approach was formulated even more prominently. The scope, necessity and depth of this approach in education field, can be easily tracked from the statements of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydin who is a seasoned educator, an academic researching and

publishing on the discipline of education. By using this strategy and evolving around this model in other disciplines, we established an overriding philosophical approach. Perhaps the most important result of the efforts made hereby has been this outcome.

At some point, this webinar series reflects a certain learning process. The understanding that guided us and dominated our minds when we started this webinar series was the Post-Conflict Conferences on Libya's Normalization Process. Then, the focus on potential and capacity building began to take center stage. Our work became more streamlined as the process progressed, and it became clear that the past could not be thrown aside. Thus, Capacity building between the past and the future, which is our main topic, began to guide us more firmly.

While writing this final report, we decided to deal with this main theme and to focus on it in every field we deal with in Libya, such as economics, security, arts and infrastructure building. Such approach protects us from two distinctive dangers: First, it enables us to remove all the common threads of mainstream approaches, especially it saves us from using "one model suitable for all", based on definitive concepts such as good management and transparency. The mainstream orthodoxy that is seen as applicable to all situations without their historical and social dimensions can become wasteful especially under a post-conflict environment. Ignoring the unique historical, cultural, geographical and anthropological features of a country by this type of approach, which is generally accepted by international institutions, and the use of an alternative approach which protects us from the risk of "rowing against the tide" proposed hereby for central control purposes of capacity building practices.

Secondly, in Libya, where conflicts are still ongoing, we are protected from the waste of resources, since capacity-building between the past and the future is more realistic and economical in order to ensure the application of a unique policies and achieve realistic results. We believe without wasting Libya 's resources, we achieved our share of contributing to building Libya 's future in this risk and return axis.

All these efforts were realized by teamwork. Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Economy and Finance Assistants Ms. Ecem Coşar and Mr. Anıl Tuğral took notes of the webinars. Ms. Merve Tombak, our colleagues form the IT Department Mr. Hanifi Volkan İslim, Mr. Kivanç Tolga Çalışan, Mr. Aziz Kadagan and Mr. Barış Çağılıcı provided a set-up to run the webinars free from technical problems. Participants from other faculties and Research and Application Center of our university, Advisors to the Board Chairman, Ms. İrem Arman, Prof. Dr. Hasan Saygın and Dean of Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Prof. Dr. Celal Nazım İrem, Vice Chancellor Prof. Dr. Yadigar İzmirli and Chairman of the Board of Trustees Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydın contributed with their help and remarks. We thank everyone who have contributed and supported this effort which I believe is very important for Turkey and our brother nation of Libya.

Prof. Dr. Sedat AYBAR, Director of IAU, AFRİKAM

GUEST SPEAKERS:

Prof. Dr. Kerem Alkin, İstanbul Medipol Uni., Faculty of Management Sciences,

Prof. Dr. Ragıp Kutay Karaca, IAU, Professor of International Relations and Vice Chairman of the Association for Research on Diplomacy

Prof. Dr. Orhan Canbolat, IAU, Vice Rector, Faculty of Medicine,

Prof. Dr. Zeynep Çiğdem Kayacan, IAU, Faculty of Medicine,

Prof. Ruhi Ayangil, ITU, Musicology Masters' Degree Program.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fahri Erenel, Retired Brigadier, İstinye University.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mevlüt Tatlıyer, İstanbul Medipol University.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ata Özkaya, Galatasaray University.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydın, İstanbul Aydın Univ., President

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ece Baban, Fenerbahçe University.

Dr. Adem Ayten, İstanbul Aydın Univ., Faculty of Communications.

Dr. Levent Yılmaz, Lecturer, Police Academy.

Dr. Aydın Nurhan, Retired Ambassador.

Dr. Savaş Biçer, Nişantaşı University.

Dr. Naim Babüroğlu, Retired Brigadier, İstanbul Aydın Univ.

I. INTRODUCTION

Destruction, devastation, civil war and segregation at an unprecedented scale in its history were Libya's share inherited from the external conflict dynamics, a process called the "Arab Spring". The claim there was to "democratize" dictatorial regimes, if need be by changing borders of many countries in the Middle East. In 2011, after toppling President Muammar Kaddafi, disturbances have started and grew to an uncontrollable level getting bigger and bigger. It has opened irreparable wounds in Libya. While the conflicts were ongoing, international community didn't care much and did next to nothing to stop this awful turmoil in Libya.

After signing Exclusive Economic Zone Agreement that limits maritime jurisdiction, between Turkey and the legitimate Mr. Serrac's government recognized by the UN, signed in 2019, international arena and diplomacy has become ever so energetic. Serrac government later called upon Turkey to provide military "know how" to the Libyan armed forces. This call came after a period of support given by a multinational alliance consisting of countries like Russia, United Arab Emirates, Egypt, France, Greece and Israel to the rebellious armed groups led by a fugitive ex general of the Libyan Army, Marshall Khalifa Hifter. His forces obtaining such international military support had some advantages that enabled him almost to capture the capital city Libya, Tripoli. When Turkey entered the scene by providing military aid, the situation changed against Hafter's forces as they receded to the Sirte – Najaf line in the East.

Turkey's military presence in Libya and her support given to the United Nations recognized legitimate government was a game changer. Sarrac government forces began to push Hafter away from the capital securing large sway of territory in in Libya. Support received from Turkey tilted the balance in Sarrac's favour. Now, when we consider future economic and social developments in Libya, we need to consider moving towards a more rational ground at the center of which politics and diplomacy is located.

Provided that an initiative seized in these areas in a post conflict Libya would support military gains even more in Turkey's favor. In Libya developments show that the main challenge faced there now is about reconstruction of the country, but not only in the field of infrastructure but across the board, in other areas as well. The military achievements in Libya, which has experienced serious traumas since 2011, help highlighting the importance of social, institutional and human capacity building.

As Istanbul Aydın University, we made series of studies for determining a road map for those efforts and analyzing developments in an academic background.

Undoubtfully, Turkey plays a significant role as much as international community in the process of capacity building in Libya. This is expected to contribute to the normalization of post conflict Libya. This role involves sharing the experience of Turkey it has gained from its own developmental process, i.e. the Turkish Model for development.

Particularly, Turkey supports petrol and natural gas rich Libya to use its own resources for future peace and prosperity of their people. Having a history of standing with the oppressed, Turkey has a different approach to the countries attempting to recover from internal conflicts. In Libya's case Turkey favors Libya to use its own resources for its advantage and for building its own future.

Military developments on the ground led Russia and Turkey to take the lead by inviting an international meeting in Moscow, which has become obsolete after Haftar's abandonment of the meeting. As Haftar left the meeting, Germany called another one and it was held in Berlin. In any case both attempts have been futile. In hindsight of today's de facto situation, it is possible to say that conflicts lost their esteem. The advance of legitimate government forces alerted Egypt as it has declared a red line on the sand. After that the scale of the conflict moved to a different stage. On the other hand, what the legitimate Serraj government can do in order to further strengthen the current situation for its own benefit is also an important issue.

Ensuring territorial integrity of Libya and strengthening the Serraj government are important aims for Turkey, particularly after signing Exclusive Economic Zone Agreement with Libya. Because the Exclusive Economic Zone Agreement signed with Libya was a game-changer an anti- Turkey alliance was rapidly established that wanted to bypass Turkey in establishing a new order in the Eastern Mediterranean. Thus, what Sarraj government and Turkey can do in Libya is still an important question that needs to be answered.

The need to make progress by mobilizing Libya's resources for future of the people of Libya, relieving it from the damages conflicts caused, building Libya's institutions, social life, public sphere and infrastructure of the country are clearly one of the most important challenges. Coordinated efforts are required for a complete capacity building.

Thus, as Istanbul Aydın University, Africa Research and Application Center we held post conflict capacity building of Libya webinars. After an intensive work, we tried to determine requirements of capacity building in Libya. We learnt from the work we have done that capacity building, ought to follow a demanding pathfinder mission through discussions on a variety of approaches to this subject, their methodologies, scope and conceptual framework.

We started to examine the dominant approach to this subject which was offering a model suitable for everyone regardless of their differences of historical, cultural and social environments. IMF and World Bank's recent approaches emphasizing the lack of unique conditions of subject countries, were examples. In the 2011 IMF report for Libya, which

was published on the day conflicts started, it was emphasized that in Libya that “there existed no big problem economically except high level of youth unemployment” and under the president who promised economic reform Libya was “a rising star of Africa under the leadership of Kaddafi”.

The main approach at point here is based on the belief that markets have their own regularity principles that punishes, awards and disciplines. Situations whereby governments did not interfere, downsized through privatization, free market economies achieve efficient use of resources in the most optimal possible level, equally throughout the world.

There is no need for consideration of differences in the use of languages, religion, culture, history, society or other country specific conditions. The policies will be carried out must reduce government intervention and liberalize markets. Under methodological individualism, market economy will work by creating rational individuals who will choose to maximize their benefits. Markets will decide what labor force the country needs, what equipment will be provided and how much resources will be allocated. Market based capacity building will prevent waste of resources.

What needs to be done if such a policy is followed is yielding to the market forces. In order to achieve this, there is no need to mention historical conditions acquired from the past, past accumulation of qualifications and country’s future needs. The understanding by this approach suggested that the nation state has become weaker that also determine the place of a country within the global division of labor. Such a strategy does not offer anything for post conflict nations such as Libya, Sudan, Mali, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen, Iraq and Syria.

As our webinars continued, it came more clear that the essential things to be done in Libya and other post conflict countries were building upon the past conditions of a future apprehension, creating a coordinated and planned capacity, building a plan around a new discoveries that evaluated acquired social, cultural and historical conditions. This condition intrinsically required much deeper intellectual activity. Studying Libya’s unique conditions that came over from the past, understanding historical and cultural background were the key elements to direct required capacity building. Although it is incomplete hereby, we gained some such insight through our intensive work.

A similar approach and application were used in building of Europe and Japan after World War II. In that period, help from the USA, coordinating and implementing capacity building were organized around a strong nation state, and sustained interfering policy applications known as the “golden age of development” on a global scale. So, it was possible for ruined countries like Germany to catch up by achieving rapid growth rates like other countries such as Japan and South Korea.

Our findings from the webinars can be summarized as the following:

1. Central government of Libya must be strengthened since it is the main instrument that will implement capacity building measures. To strengthen it, powerful tribes' affecting the direction of the central government must be diminished. Tribal social structure makes Libya unstable and easy to destabilize. Tribes can be manipulated and are open to colonial "divide and rule" policies. Thus, tribes must be weakened enough to not affect the center.
2. Territorial integrity of Libya must be defended under all conditions. East and West division cannot be accepted. This situation is institutionally not realistic and even not feasible. For example, universities in Benghazi in the East had to continue their co-operation with the universities in Tripoli in the Western part of the country. This was seen as a necessity to scale up.
3. Primarily, research and case studies must be undertaken to determine the pre-conflict situation and these studies must be carried out in a step by step manner. Thus, project-based case studies are important to determine a roadmap for future development.
4. Infrastructure work must build up the infrastructure at least to the previous levels and this is urgently important. Destroyed infrastructure services such as roads, harbors, airports, electricity, water, energy must be repaired as soon as possible.
5. Culture, art, music, archaeology and museum studies must be re-launched urgently and should be done in co-operation with international interested bodies. Those are the most important elements of being a nation and building nation-state.
6. Libya's specific place in the global order must be re-instated and Libya's special features must be emphasized more strongly.
7. Health services ought to reach to the level of international standards, as in the previous period. This work should start urgently.
8. Education system must be normalized and its conditions must be harmonized with the past experience. Universities must be open to international interaction and must be transparent. Their good governance practices must be applied in terms of international standards, education – research activities must be revived.
9. Communication channels must be opened, society's right of receive independent, true and direct news must be carried out. Reaching communication and information to large mass of people is highly important for capacity building.

Help for capacity building Turkey can provide in these areas are at the highest global standards.

Findings outlined above are discussed in detailed in the next sections of this report. While discussing each title we have emphasized and focused on Libya's original features relating to that topic. Capacity building policies were derived by linking the future work to the specific historical past set-up. To provide greater access and ease to the report, views of contributors at the webinars are given as summary and their capacity building proposals are specified. One note should be made here that these topics are not exhaustive, for instance we did not cover areas such as urban planning, water management, banking and finance etc., not because these areas are not important but because of time limitations. Nevertheless, topics at hand are sufficiently studied to provide us with a guiding philosophy in developing capacity building which in turn can be extended to the other areas.

II. SECURITY AND FUTURE IN LIBYA

Security, development and resource utilization are essential elements to put capacity building into action. As one of the most important dimensions of capacity building is security, it is clear at the outset that capacity building is not possible in an unsafe environment.

Especially in cases such as Libya, where the possibility of the rebel Marshal Haftar is disabled and sidelined as internal conflict evolved to a completely different place, entrance of other powers has led to the creation of a different version of security environment. This has led to increased importance of capacity building. Now capacity building appears to be the most important issue on Libya's agenda.

As far as Turkey is concerned, military developments has intertwined security space with that of capacity building. In this line thinking, capacity building is directly related to the developments in the field of security. In this respect keeping territorial integrity of Libya particularly after signing the agreement that established sea borders for economic use, since corresponding territory is in the hands of rebel forces. It is important for realisation of that agreement that the territorial integrity and control over Eastern parts of Libya remains in the hands of the legitimate government with which the agreement was signed. In this respect, it is important to include research on historical and social background and include them in the capacity building practices. In a post-conflict country like Libya, security issues are still very important. The important thing to determine on security matters is that whether chaos will continue into the future.

Within the security framework of capacity building, when it comes to Libya, taking lessons from both world wars certainly comes handy. The world's five thousand years of written history is mostly about war making. Detailing lessons learnt from these wars we can draw some conclusions for the period we live in. Analyzing countries such as Iraq, Syria, Libya, makes us seek for answers on how long wars, civil wars, territorial conflicts, rebellions in conflict ridden countries continue. If there is an internal conflict in a country, how long it will last? Correspondingly, the question of the duration of normalization process, developmental path it will follow and the route to be followed ought to be determined.

Past research suggests that internal conflicts on average lasts at least 15 to 20 years. Afghanistan where 1980's witnessed the rise of violence is very much a case in point. There, after forty years of internal conflict, skirmishes are still going on. While those conflicts underway such as the case with Afghanistan and some other countries, international organizations led by the UN, are conducting capacity building programs. In these projects resources are allocated in a wide range of areas from Human Rights to female participation

in the labor force. Similarly, when we consider Iraq, from 1990's until now, we see that issues related to security are still going on after nearly 30 years of the start of conflicts. Iraq has not been able to find a stable solution after international intervention.

Still there is no stable government in Iraq and the chaotic environment continues after the referendum in Northern Iraq. That referendum has become obsolete in 2017 and its outcome has not been put into practice. In Iraq too, similar capacity building work has been done as in Afghanistan. However, there is no lasting stability in both countries yet. Terrorist organizations such as the PKK and ISIS are trying to fill the political vacuum in the absence of a stable government. However, the work carried out by national development agencies and international organizations, in particularly by non-governmental organizations, also sought to establish supremacy in the field of security.

The situation is not different in Syria. Even under a joint management of the USA and Russia, internal conflicts are expected to last for many years. The establishment in Syria of terrorist organizations such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda, PYD -YPG makes capacity-building and re-normalization dynamics dependent, as in Iraq and Afghanistan, to the surrounding security outcomes. What comes into play as the dominant and driving factor is the security sector and struggle over power. For instance, in a greater power struggle set up, some non-governmental organizations operating for the protection of children, these institutions exist as actors with a more benevolent stance actually heavily depend on the power of the security forces. They are thus directed by the security concerns¹.

We can analyze developments in Syria and Libya that are not different fundamentally in terms of Turkey's goals respectively. In those countries, capacity building efforts, boosts Turkey's attempt to stabilize the region. These efforts must be in accordance with the overall developmental framework. The most important political aim of Turkey in Syria is defusing terror organizations such as YPG and PKK. Secondly, providing territorial integrity of Syria and thirdly providing safe return to 4 to 5 million Syrian refugees in Turkey.

¹ Turkey wages a successful struggle with the PKK that threatens internal security. In this context, when we look at the fight against the PKK, the fact that Turkey's long time strategic ally the USA providing financial support and equipment to the PYD, PKK's Syrian branch imposes challenges to Turkey in dealing with the terrorist threats from the PKK/PYD. The US support renders the situation very difficult for Turkey in its the struggle against these terrorist organisations. At this point, we can mention four step for Turkey to succeed in fighting against such terrorism. Firstly, source of the terror must be destroyed. Turkey is successful in this. Secondly, so-called leading cadre of these terrorist organizations must be made ineffective and destroyed. Turkish Armed Forces are successful in applying this policy, too. Thirdly, it is required to decrease participation of the local people to the terror organizations. It is seen that Turkey is successful also in this. Forthly and most importantly, supports (logistic, food, medicine, weapons, etc.) to terror organization must be destroyed. But, because support from the US and other allies within NATO, Turkey has difficulties to achieve this. Because these are important global powers and so-called allies within NATO. From the perspective of existing conditions, we can easily state that Turkey will continue military operations to counter terrorism in North Iraq. The main purpose of these operations is to guard the borders. While making those operations, Turkey is exercising right of self defence. The reason why Turkey aims to establish a buffer zone between Iraq and Syria is to block all entry passages there and to destroy breathing channels of the terrorist organisations, hence providing security of the country.

A situation similar to Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, started in Libya in 2011. There are two determined fronts now in Libya. One of them is Hafter front, and the other is National Consensus Government that Turkey supports and UN recognized². Looking at Turkey's political purposes in Libya, primarily it rests upon the aim of protecting the "blue country" doctrine. There is another dimension that can be summarized as providing security to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). Secondly, maintaining the military agreements between the legitimate National Consensus Government in Libya and Turkey. Thirdly, preventing partitioning and secession of Libya. In Libya, Hafter's forces are aided by Russia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, France and United Arab Emirates, while UN recognized National Consensus Government is supported by Qatar, USA and Turkey. One of the main purposes the USA calls for an urgent ceasefire call is to prevent the domination of Russia in the area and controlling North Africa and Central Africa. Russia aims to capture Sirte and Cufra. Looking at France, its companies are managing 80% of energy resources in Libya together with Italy and the USA. France does not want to lose this important share. This short statement shows how contentious geography Sirte – Cufra line is in international area.

We can pause for a second and recap what we have covered until here. Changing borders in the Middle East including Libya, and efforts of setting a new world order by re-building conflict ridden countries again are in the interest of certain countries. There are many countries that want to have a voice in reconstruction of Libya that is rich in resources especially petrol and natural gas. Those outside powers each have their own political and economic agenda on Libya. Turkey is also putting reconstruction of Libya as one of the top priority items on its agenda. One of the allies of Turkey in Libya is the USA. However, the truth about that alliance is full of problems. USA-Turkey relations in Syria are not very much aligned and carries negative potential of affecting their relations in Libya, in the future. One of the most important reasons as to why the USA stands by Turkey and taking a position against Hafter in Libya is because of Russian support to Hafter, since the USA does not like to see Russia gaining leverage in the Mediterranean. Since USA does not want Russia to expand its power and become dominant in Africa, it is engaged in friendly stance with Turkey. On the other hand, it is claimed that in Libya, Russia is not as lucky as it was in Syria. Because, Russia is not directly in Libya and it carries out its military policies in the area by its mercenaries. Thus, it seems hard for Russia to be a permanent player in Libya.

2 When we analyze the fronts Turkey struggles in, we see three fronts; firstly, the Syria front, here PYD terror organization is a threat for Turkey. Secondly the Iraq front, here Turkey struggles with PKK separatist terror organization. The third front is East Mediterranean front including Libya. The longest land border of Turkey is with Syria, Iraq and Iran follows this. Including east of Euphrates and Menbic, there is PYD terror organization that affects Turkey's sovereignty and land continuity. In the same way, in 500 km border of Turkey there are PKK and PYD terror organizations' 30.000 militants according to the official figures. The only difference between those terror organizations is their clothes. Because their leaders and areas where they are located are the same.

On the other hand, Turkey-Israel relations shaped by the developments in the region is also important. Even though Turkey's attitude on Palestinian problems is clear and supportive, adopting a more strategic stance seems to be much more appropriate vis a vis the situation in Libya. Just as the relations with the USA and Russia, Turkey can develop more fluid strategic relations in a variety of areas with Israel. This is much more meaningful if we consider the general rule that "there is no, friend and foe" in international relations. Apart from these, finally, it is probably necessary to mention the role played by the UK. Although UK is not involved directly with the political balance of power in Libya, her close ally the United Arab Emirates presence in the area, brings the UK to be part of the Libya indirectly.

Latest dynamics developed owes its kick start to the agreement signed between Turkey and the National Consensus Government in Libya on military support. This has alerted international community and pushed forward to come up with innovative ideas about the future of Libya and ending conflict there. Clashes between Haftar forces and the government halted on Sirte - Cufra line where most of Libya's hydrocarbon reserves exists. Holding Sirte - Cufra line by the National Consensus Government effectively brings Marshal Haftar's hold in Benghazi to a shaky ground. Russia, France, Israel, Egypt, UAE, Greece, Greek Administered Cyprus alliance indicated that the line drawn is their red line too as they have increased support to Haftar.

Since Russia envisages Sirte as a naval base and Cufra as a land base, these places are important for Russia. If these places are controlled by the Government of National Consensus, Haftar's forces will be dissolved much more rapidly and Haftar can no longer stay in Benghazi. If Haftar completely captures these areas, this means that his opposition will be stronger. Thus, Russia, the United Arab Emirates, France and Egypt support Haftar, explicitly or implicitly, as stated above.

Egypt's destabilising attitude to the situation crystallizes urgent need for capacity-building efforts in Libya and underlines its importance. This has become more prominent as a result of Egyptian President General Sisi's visit to an air base near the Libyan border is instructive and carries a meaningful message in this regard. Some of Libya's tribal representatives accompanied Sisi's visit,

another case with using tribal chiefs to weaken and undermine stability in a country was on the rise. Countries that want to intervene in Libya, especially Egypt, have shown that they will keep tribal card that weakens the central government in Libya and disintegrates Libya socially.

The main purpose Sisi's discourse that "Turkey's policy is not proper and they can interfere if necessary", is actually based on fear that tribal structure might be dissolved in the area and hence he feels like he needs to stand by them. Sisi in the same time knows very well that, in taking his armed forces into Libya carries the highly probably risk of losing his strength at home. It is clear that Egypt wouldn't be able to attain its integrity at home,

if Sisi behaves in accordance with the discourse of the United Arab Emirates, France and Saudi Arabia.

On the other hand, it appears that the US and Turkey have agreed to walk together in Libya. The big problem here is related to the continued US support to the YPG/PYD, will US continue helping them in Syria? Will the US lean to a more complete security or will stick with a partial type of security measures, prone to flaring up skirmishes in the future? Will it suspend possible sanctions against Turkey, for instance as with the case of contentious S400 missile purchases by Turkey from Russia, that prompted US decision to sanction Turkey by suspending her from F35 fighter jet project? Responses to these questions are important for the future of Libya. They will determine whether these allies will be walking into the future together or apart. If, Turkey can ensure continued support of the US for capacity building efforts and for development of Libya, their ongoing differences on the problems faced in Syria should also be brought forth to the negotiating table in this context. In other words, any international effort scrutinized around capacity building efforts should provide further guidance for other conflict torn countries' future settlements, for instance as with Syria being the case in point.

If we re-visit Turkey's involvements and aims for restructuring Libya in co-operation with the Government of National Consensus, the restructuring of the army and starting of oil and gas exploration seems to have priority importance. Turkey's involvement in Libya is not primarily economic. More important than that relates to Turkey's defense and security in the Eastern Mediterranean. A stable Libya provides Turkey with vital leverage in that respect. Thus, the relationship between Turkey and a stable Libya, for the time being with the Government of National Accord is extremely important. To rivet this situation in favor of the legal government, from health, to education, from art to the infrastructure works, Turkey ought to help normalization and standing up of Libya. While doing this, the specific social conditions, national sovereignty, history, culture and social structures of Libya must be kept in mind. Libya's specific historical and social relations has always provided Turkey with certain leverages in the past since that relationship has a unique character. To set capacity building in motion programs by keeping such relationship requires a particular philosophy, an innovative approach that is agreed upon by international partners.

THE LESSONS TAKEN FROM WORK ON SECURITY:

1. Security is a precondition for development and capacity building, in turn capacity building and development supports progress in the field of security. There exists a mutual tradeoff between the two,
2. Capacity building requires a holistic approach, in order to promote territorial integrity and a safe environment in Libya must be attained,
3. In order for capacity building to be successful and for it to contribute a safer Libya, its specific social, historical and cultural conditions of must be taken into account,
4. A critical requirement for having positive outcomes from capacity building activities is the execution of interdisciplinary, case-based, field studies. Field work employing multiple disciplines, should be done by considering different phases of past development,
5. The power of tribal divisions, the traditional colonial weapon to affect social dynamics, must be reduced. Efforts must concentrate in favor of strengthening the central government. Main purpose and driver of capacity building must be gradual elimination of tribal social structure.

I. DIPLOMACY BETWEEN THE PAST AND THE FUTURE IN LIBYA

Diplomacy is the most important contributor to Libya's security and capacity building. In this regard, Libyan diplomats must be supported, international soft power must be engaged and effective steps must be taken. No doubt, in Libya there exists an extremely rich diplomatic heritage and history that can be traced in its African and global reflexes. It is important to assess past diplomatic experience of Libya before looking at how it can be put into action to obtain positive contribution of capacity building.

After Spanish invasion, the leaders of Libya in 1500s obtained help from the Ottoman Empire. This is a diplomatic achievement and a development for the future security of Libya. Until Treaty of Ouchy in 1911, Libya was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire worked through a mechanism known as the "Dayı System" in Libya. "Dayı" is the local governor, acting independently though in close contact with the central Ottoman administration. They were obedient servicemen of the Ottoman Empire. This System continued without serious problems until 1911.

After 1911, Italy occupied the region, applying an active "Italianization" policy. Many Italians in Libya acquired Libyan citizenship and their minority status was protected. Italy brought nearly 80,000 Italian citizens to Libya to work on Libya's agriculture and reaching out to its raw materials. Italian impact in the region and in Libya continued to this day. In this sense any capacity building effort in Libya should seek Italian involvement to produce tangible outcomes. In this regard, particularly studying through Italian historical archives would prove incredibly valuable to establish past and future continuity.

In 1946, after the 2nd World War, Italy lost its dominant position to the Senussi movement in Libya. This shows that the period of the kingdom began in 1946 as the third experience in Libya. Under leadership of the Senussi, a constitution was declared to form an administrative structure that recognized the king and his relatives as the rulers of Libya.

Colonel Gaddafi came to power as a result of a military coup in Libya. During his rule, Libya followed a different kind of domestic and foreign policies. In Libya, there were important social developments in this period and people in general were contented with his policies. When we look at this period, we see that the tax rates were very low, electricity and water need of the people were provided free of charge. Students received high amounts of grants and scholarships. But Gaddafi's foreign policy was not as successful as his domestic policies. This proves the importance of diplomacy in a country's performance on its development. Hence building diplomatic capacity is of great importance, and Libya is in need of that.

In particular, the Gaddafi administration pursued a policy that were calling in discourse of conflict with the Western world. His administration faced many difficulties in diplomacy. Libya was left alone in the international arena because it could not manage these problems well. Pan Am plane flying to New York was shot down on Lockerbie in Scotland; a disco was attacked in Berlin, apparently on the orders from Colonel Gaddafi are cases in point. As evidence linked these incidents to the Gaddafi regime, sanctions and restrictive policies were put in place internationally against Libya.

The United Nations initiative brought the Gaddafi regime to an end in an operation it coordinated with NATO. Gaddafi regime was already losing public support that was slowly leading to the rise of internal strife. International isolation and the Arab Spring process affected Libya socially and badly. Tribes took their independent stand during post-Gaddafi period; we want to call it the fourth period. Tribes were not able to get together despite foreign interference wanted to bring them together and tried to establish a unified tribal structure in Libya.

United Nations, NATO, tribes, many other states and terror organizations such as the ISIS, are all trying to have a voice in the future of Libya. This cacophony is creating an unresolvable situation in Libya. Chaos rules with no hope for a peaceful future. The presence of Turkey in Libya seems to have triggered many dynamics. These are somehow prone to some positive international outcomes as other international actors are also following in the footsteps of Turkey.

Any capacity building effort in Libya should not leave out its tribal reach. It is clear from the outset that leaving tribes out of capacity building efforts will not produce successful outcomes to strengthen the central bureaucracy. Capacity building policies ought to be implemented by taking the tribes into account. Turkey should be prepared to answer tribal context too. To move forward regarding this, meetings must be organized urgently with the media and think tanks in Libya. In graduate and doctoral dissertations at universities, more focus should be given to the study and research on those topics. As mentioned before, development of ideas relating to the tribes in Libya it is necessary to carry out focused research. The participation of diplomacy is very significant in figuring out how foreign states are exploiting the tribal systems in Libya.

For example, Saudi Arabia believes that policies it is pursuing in Libya will become successful if an agreement between tribes and central government is reached. Be it as it may, Turkey might also incline to choose a similar policy. However, this would be extremely wrong as this type of policy ultimately might lead to a total failure, since conflicting interests of individual tribes and central government sooner or later might choose to follow different paths of development. Syria can provide some indication in this regard. Areas under Turkish influence are relatively much more peaceful when comparing to other parts of Syria. Market is given great importance and rate of unemployment is rather low in those regions. If similar situation were reflected to the citizens of Libya this can produce effective

results. It is important in that sense that diplomacy should be put into action to recognize other countries' capacity building efforts, to co-ordinate and come up with suggestions for new strategies, important part of which ought to aim to the increasing of the power of central government.

Extent of Turkey's diplomacy contribution in capacity building may include; for example, educating military officers in its own military colleges that would in turn help developing stronger military framework of Libya. In addition, training of students in Libya and providing them with training in Turkey would a positive contribution. Trade and investments between Turkey and Libya can be best serves through a diplomatic corps capacity of which has been enhanced through training.

The most fundamental contribution that diplomacy can make in those areas will be through its ability to understand what other countries' intentions are about protecting the territorial integrity of Libya. Turkey's policies pursued in Libya depend very much on the successes achieved on the progress on above mentioned areas. Territorial integrity of Libya and protection of territorial division of state, which tends to challenge what is very necessary in terms of capacity building. Although Russia's Libyan strategy is influenced by its position in Syria, it is well established that United States is trying to prevent Russia from having an advantage by standing against Russia in Libya. At this point, it is very important for the diplomatic circles of Turkey to understand precisely what the United States has been trying to do and to act accordingly. For Turkey, US plan should be considered potentially risky. Turkey should, for instance, beware on the intentions of Russia and Greece. It is clear that these positions would disrupt capacity building.

Azerbaijan is an important experience card for Turkey. Turkey played an active role in creating state structure in Azerbaijan. Firstly, the process of education began in Turkey as nearly ten thousand students studied there. The young people who studied in Turkish universities in this period are now occupying important positions in Azerbaijan.

Moreover, Turkey has been actively interested in the education of lieutenants in the Azerbaijani army. It is very critical for capacity building in Libya too. Turkey's experience of capacity building in Azerbaijan proves to be very important and need to be passed onto Libya. It is known that Turkey is in the process of establishing two large army bases in Libya. Diplomacy should contribute to this initiative in the field of security. This must be known that Turkey is willing and ready for giving training agreements and provide military training to support the country.

Moreover, the pandemic conditions with the spread of Covid 19, brought forth another significant strength of Turkey, that is in the health sector. Turkey's support in Libya's health system is also important in this regard. Within this context, it is possible to create a Turkish hospital operated by Turkish doctors or by a Turkish university in Libya. But on such topics, there is also a need for the historical information. As Turkey does not have faculties

of medicine and hospitals that can help Libya for its specific needs, there is room for international co-ordination and co- operation.

We also know that the number of academic studies related to the economic geography are very low. While Turkey is building capacity in other countries, in the meantime, has to constitute its own academic capacity building especially for Asia and Africa. This will decrease dependence upon foreign resources and it will help taking national priorities to the forefront.

Three countries are playing a very important role for the future of Libya. One of them is Turkey. The next one is Italy and it is very important for Libya's future too. Because Italy is both near to Libya geographically, but also economically and historically. There are many Italian companies operating in Libya. Also, Italy has a long and deep history in Libya. The third country is Egypt. Actually, the way of persuading Egypt must be by using common social points as cultural structure and religion. But even than it is not very easy for Egypt to get involved in Libya, partly because of its own fragilities. Because of governmental priorities a need to reconcile Turkey and Egypt is a very hard task to achieve. Turkey and Italy should prevent Egypt from blocking their activities in Libya. Diplomacy here is required and will be handy to help this out.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM DIPLOMACY WEBINAR:

1. Diplomacy must be used to help continuing developments in capacity building in Libya.
2. Diplomacy capacity must be strengthened by drawing on previous experiences of Libya.
3. Diplomacy must help to determine how tribes are used by foreign countries. Fieldwork must be done to remove their impact on decreasing the power of government.
4. Turkey must support development of security and creative capacity of Libya, particularly in military academies and universities, and diplomacy must determine and support entrepreneurship in this field with other countries.
5. As in the field of education, diplomacy must determine other countries' tendency in helping the development of trade, economy and capacity building.
6. Third countries in Asia and Africa can boost their collaboration with Libya in the health sector. Turkey can use its superior administrative side of the health sector. In such coordination and efforts, diplomacy can make important contribution.
7. Understanding and managing intraregional entrepreneurship with countries like Egypt, Italy, Russia and the USA, diplomacy occupies an important place for capacity building programs.

IV. CAPACITY BUILDING AND THE ROLE OF NATO IN AFRICA

Within the context of capacity building, while emphasizing security and diplomacy, role of NATO to which Turkey is a member must be considered. More recently, NATO provides a platform for global outreach in military and diplomacy, in Africa as well as in Libya. NATO, a foundation of international military alliance as well as providing a continues peace in Europe has also made important contributions for capacity building after World War II. Being the only, unrivalled and unique security organization with an unmatched firepower in military field across the global scale. Its past experiences in capacity building can make many positive contributions both in Libya and in Africa generally. At one point, NATO is diplomatic constitution that can play a role in improving the capacity and enhancement of human capital beyond military field, that helps development of Libya's security architecture. It must be evaluated independently from results of recent past practices in Libya and positive contributions it can make must be put into action.

Especially, NATO is needed to lead a struggle for defeating the tribe based social structure of Libya. The fact that countries are trying to boost their hold by using these tribes, ensuring territorial integrity of Libya every now and then might require military interventions. This international organization can provide the central government with necessary leverage to deal and co-operate with the tribes and perform capacity building to the benefit of central government. Here, global security also comes to the forefront.

At this point NATO must assume the role of a political organization in Libya. NATO can fill the security gaps in Libya. When implementing policies of NATO in Libya, one of the countries where trust can be laid with is Turkey. Also, NATO's recognition of national consensus government and seeing it as a legitimate state, is an indication that it can take important steps in Libya in a strong co-ordination with Turkey.

Moreover, NATO assists Libya in the growth and extension of its security capability. There are certain commitments NATO promised to Libya. Some of these commitments are aimed to improve defensive capability of Libya. Absence of the European Union's global initiatives, NATO's importance in providing capacity building mission is much more significant. From this perspective, role of NATO in Libya's future is very important.

Turkey is carrying out important policies in Libya towards its national interests. Turkey accepted UN recognized government of national accord as a legitimate partner to implement capacity building policies. For example, in Libya, when we evaluate France, activities of France in Chad, Niger and Mali make Libya a rather destabilized country. France uses in Ghana its foreign legion unit to control the region. Similar tactics are used by the US

in Nigeria. In short, imperialism is every where and countries carry out such activities for their own national interests.

On the other hand, “there is no permanent friend and foe” in international relations. For example, countries facing each other in Syria are side by side in Libya. There are many joint works that Turkey and the United States carry out in many countries. Such works can also be brought to Libya.

Creating their own impact area efforts of the above mentioned competing and conflicting forces, can intellectualize capacity building efforts with participation of international organizations such as NATO. Besides, as member countries they see the capacity building efforts of NATO as positive contribution for themselves. In a win-win competition, a platform such as NATO makes it possible to obtain positive outcomes from such co-operation.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM NATO STUDIES

1. In Libya, military / diplomatic international organizations such as NATO can play an important role on balancing local, national and international power conflicts, by reducing them and by targeting capacity building.
2. For positive outcomes, it is important for these institutions to be ready by preparing detailed programs.
3. Organizations such as NATO can provide an environment that the legitimate government can strengthen itself through capacity building.
4. Turkey in accordance with NATO in this region are able to eliminate a number of risks to be encountered in the eastern Mediterranean, such as preventing irregular migration from sub-Saharan Africa.
5. Successful results can be achieved by using the capacity building experiences of NATO from past to present in Libya.

V. CAPACITY BUILDING AND THE ECONOMY OF LIBYA

Economy is perhaps the most important determining area in capacity building. Not only economists, but also decision makers are deeply concerned with economic development, economic policies and efficient use of resources. Within the confines of economic sphere some significant decision-making parameters exists. Particularly in resource rich yet administratively poor countries like Libya development and wealth of the country would heavily depend on post-conflict capacity building that would help reaching its potential in using economic resources and capital.

Covid 19 pandemic also introduced a number of challenges in Libya. Contraction of the world economy reflected itself upon many different areas creating uncertainties for the future. Although strong statements have been made about the future of neo-liberal agenda and globalization these are still imposing serious challenges and discussed. Main challenge comes from deepening of unequal distribution of income. The widening of the gap between financial and real sectors contributes to this and the need to reform both in a way to help serving a more equitable economic growth is vitally important.

It is clear that even if the armed conflict ends in Libya, resource sharing disputes will continue for a long time. Khalifa Haftar does not want to leave Sirte where most of resources in Libya are located. Haftar's financing of his activities comes from the sale of resources from this region. Trading oil from Sirte is important financial resource for Haftar's forces. This is illegal as far international law is concerned since funds earned from Sirte's oil and gas should belong to the Tripoli centered government.

Libya was the largest oil producer in Africa and the ninth biggest oil producers in the world, before 2011. There was 1.8 million barrels of oil production per day and enough oil reserves to be self-sufficient for 63 years. Per capita income was 15,000 dollars. In 2012, rate of literacy was 90% in adult males, 84% in adult females, and 100% in the age range 15-24. Libya's wealth of resources was not limited to oil reserves. There are also natural gas resources, rich iron and gypsum sources.

Since the outbreak of civil war in Libya it became increasingly apparent that there is a strong need for government intervention to carry out economic and political duties. Such intervention is badly needed for providing effective resource management. Consequentially, forward looking plans for Libya must start with proposal on building its political system, then should expand into the economic sphere establishing ways in which efficient use of resources for re-constructing the country can be done. In other words, there is need for an effectively run government that uses the wealth of the country for building its own future.

To achieve this kind of state structure, a determined capacity building is required. In this sense, one of the important challenges of resource management in Libya is in the area of capacity building.

It is easier said than done. This obvious target can prove to be more demanding when policies for capacity building efforts has put into practice. As there are many countries that want to have a voice in the region, competition is rampant. While Italy's 10 million cubic meter natural gas is provided from Libya, the oil that France procures increases day by day. Thus, these countries want to have stronger voice over Libya's future and its capacity building too.

Some other countries' view on Libya is to prevent it from becoming an oil power in the world. For instance, before he was overthrown, Colonel Gaddafi wanted to increase oil production in the country. These attempts alarmed the other producers and the West. Hence his decision in this area might have prepared the end of Gaddafi. We see that oil production in Libya fell after the turmoil started. Other neighboring countries are meeting the gap in demand for oil.

After the ending of the conflict and returning back to normalization in Libya, one of the biggest economic concerns relates to the "oil revenue shock", yielding Dutch Disease. Increase in earnings after Libya re-join to the world market as an oil and natural gas producer this would lead to directing of its increased earnings to the non-tradables sectors. This would prevent resources from flowing into capacity building and product diversification; this can set off a typical "Dutch disease" in its economy. Consequently, it must be considered that the country faces with the risk of de-industrialization and moving away from production.

As far as using its own experience with capacity building, Turkey might play an important role in Libya to prevent a "Dutch Disease" outcome. Turkey can undertake capacity building mission to provide Libya with needed direction in its production diversification and marketing through Free Trade agreements. However, this future looking application should serve to the fraternity of nations in the region and to contribute to live in peace. Shortly these capacity building efforts should be carried out in full contrast with the colonialist mindset around a new model of development to which Turkey should also contribute.

In other respects, there are certain areas that Turkey can easily undertake in reconstruction of Libya. Reconstruction process includes infrastructure works such as water, electricity and highway to education and private investment. Turkey can be part of rebuilding infrastructure in these areas with its long history of infrastructure projects in Libya, dating back to early 1970s. Turkey benefits from a resurrected and stabilized Libya. There are reasonable expectations from a stable Mediterranean since disturbance there also affects Turkey directly and negatively.

Especially, as mentioned above, Turkish construction companies has been in the forefront in Libya and carried out business since 1972. Up until now, \$29 billion dollar worth of projects, made Libya one of the most important trading partners of Turkey in Africa. In Libya, after the conflicts started in 2011, Turkish companies had problems. A check list to resolve these problems was prepared, and as a result of negotiation under Turkish Minister of Commerce Ruhsar Pekcan and Libya National Consensus Government Minister of Planning Taher Cuheyemi, a memorandum of understanding was signed in 12-13 August 2020 in Ankara.

The mentioned Memorandum of Understanding was signed in order to avoid failure to realize results of the negotiations between the workers and the management of the businesses. It is agreed that government of Libya will take resolution of disputes and ensure that all related institutions will be mobilized to contribute to this process. With the Memorandum of Understanding, it is agreed to settle Turkish companies' billed debts, compensate for their damaged equipment, construction sites etc. It is also decided to update price increases and provide with the continuation of the projects. Terms of reference with the liquidation and termination processes of discontinued projects with the Libyan contracting authority will be decided.

Besides, resources and production must be increased in Libya. Turkey can provide important contributions in economic administration of Libya and assume education in economic policy management.

The construction of essential infrastructure like docks, harbors, ports, airports, roads should involve Libyan the Ministry of Defense. In this sense Turkey's security apparatus must be brought into such projects since these are also defense related projects. The upside of such involvement relates to professional capacity of Turkish Armed Forces in undertaking such projects elsewhere,

Somalia, Afghanistan etc. Similarly, it is also important to invest in the field of education. Moreover, mutual trade between Turkey and Libya should go beyond financial gains and focus on helping to overcome economic fragilities.

Since Turkey is in a much more stable position in technology production, mutual win-win strategies will contribute to Libya. This is despite the Western involved parties being much more advanced in technology, Turkey's complementarity with the Libyan productive sectors seems to be stronger because of close proximity in the level of development in both countries. Also, Turkey is in a good position in providing technology when compared to other Middle East countries.

Turkey is an energy dependent country. In this regard signing an agreement with Libya will help Turkey to overcome this restrictive element. This will help building up towards the mentioned win-win strategy. Each country can achieve mutual benefit with collective action.

In addition to these, there is another issue that Turkey must be careful about. It is known that basic needs such as electricity and water were supplied by the Libyan state, in the past under Colonel Gaddafi. Developing market principles in these areas might trigger off certain criticism and popular disdain. This kind of issues should be considered while future plans are drawn as these contentious areas might lead to loss of popular support for economic reform efforts.

To summarize what we have covered so far, any kind of investments and entrepreneurship coming from outside of Libya must avoid being short sighted. Instead of drawing strategies that aim making quick money without helping the people of Libya, projects should be put in place that will provide production and consumption gains for the people. If projects are welcoming by the people of Libya, this would provide foreign capacity building with advantages for their successful completion. Other countries' actions in the region and Turkey's relations with these countries are also important. On the other hand, Turkey's soured relationship with Egypt is likely to continue into the future. It will be very difficult to come up with a working relationship with a leader who came to power as a result of a coup while an elected President died in prison. Turkey will continue to see a possible alliance with a coup leader in Egypt for the future of Libya which is recovering from another coup leaders conducts.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM ECONOMY WEBINAR

1. Economic principles around which post-conflict developmental programs will be conducted in Libya should be carefully evaluated. In this sense, analyzing the dynamics of public - private interaction and the role of the market is important.
2. Libya is at risk of facing the Dutch disease. In order to avoid this, it is necessary to carry out research on production chains and to discover potential of sectoral diversification. This should help developing a program of industrialization.
3. Providing training to the technical team who will run economic programs is also important. Enhancing existing capacity through training economists, statisticians, econometricians and computer programmers is a necessity.
4. As is the case with many Turkish companies, to resolve legal problems and to restart businesses that came to a halt in 2011, developing a modern banking and insurance environment, building their capacity and strengthening legal structures is of uttermost importance.
5. Preparing database in compliance with international standards and building capacity to collect and manage data requires urgent attention. This would enable policy makers to make more precise and healthy decisions by working through statistics.
6. Companies must be supported with credit mechanisms. Stock Market development complementing the banking system in mobilizing savings must be carried out and necessary regulations must be drawn by drawing on best practice examples.

VI. EDUCATION REFORM AND CAPACITY BUILDING IN LIBYA

We can trace Libya's educational background to 1951 when Sheikh Idris declared his kingdom to be an independent state. Educational reform of this UN recognized newly independent state has been a difficult area, open to conflicting views on how to progress with improving educational needs of the country. Until the coup that brought Colonel Kaddafi assumed power in 1969, disputes over educational has not been settled. The period between 1969 - 2011, known as the Kaddafi period, witnessed a troubled relationship with the West. Sometimes this relationship was close and sometimes distant and hostile. This reality also reflected on the area education as implementation of educational arrangements followed and collided with the Western applications. Kaddafi's power ended in 2011 as a result of people's uprising, since then Libya's educational arrangements are in chaos.

Problems in developing a coherent educational system in Libya partly relates to its demographic structure. Focusing on Libya's demographics reveal that Berbers constitute the majority of the 6.5 million strong population. Also, apart from Bedouins living in the desert, there are Turks who are the remnants of the Ottoman period. There are about 150,000 foreigners living in Libya. This population's educational needs are served by 3000 elementary schools, 1600 secondary schools and nearly 20 higher education institutions (college, university, vocational school). While 10% of the young people receive higher education, literacy rate is 64% in the country.

The civil war since 2011, affected the education sector badly. There are reports that schools are targeted and bombed from time to time. On the other hand, some positive developments are also taking place within the educational sector. In the sense that academic relations between Eastern and Western universities remaining interrupted is a bonus for building up the future of inter- university networks. This is probably because most of the universities are in the Western region of the country. Lesser number of universities are located in the East where Haftar's forces are dominant. More recently, students from Libya choosing to travel abroad to receive education. A thorough analysis is in order to understand how Libya's educational set-up is evolving. No doubt that there exists a need to upgrade and develop Libya's educational system and to integrate it with the world. Thus, there is an emergency plan needed for educational reform in Libya.

Turkey helped Libya to succeed in military conflict. Now, what is required is to establish such success in the educational area. In this regard sequencing is important. In other

words, first of all, it is very important to determine what the country needs in the short term and then to determine what can be done in the medium and long term.

The plan to be made here primarily requires the establishment of a student-orientated approach. Then an approach focused on training academic staff and to successfully develop Research and Development Capacity would be in order. In what area and to what extent human resources are needed must be primarily determined. As a facilitator step to achieve better outcomes, collaboration of Libyan universities with the best universities in Turkey can be promoted during this period. It is appropriate to establish joint projects and organize them around a partnership system between universities can become handy.

Determining, matching and diversifying the curriculum between universities in Turkey and Libya must be done pretty rapidly, and this should include online teaching systems. Same activities must be done physically as well as online and the blending (hybrid) model must be applied here. In fact, what is necessary is not to restructure the education system in Libya, but to take necessary steps to improve the existing system.

Every country has a distinctive nature. This means it is difficult to apply one model to all. Thus, education plans related to Libya must be established according to Libya's specific conditions. In such a country that gained independence in 1951 and came to this day with political instability, it is normal to have weaknesses in its educational system. However, ignoring the specific conditions that came into being throughout its history and constructing an education from the scratch does not make sense.

Also, regarding the reconstruction of education, studies on education must be started straight away. A significant source of funding must be allocated for education reform. Turkey has the potential to use such sources properly and act upon the specific needs of the Libyan education. Universities in Turkey have accumulated knowledge and capacity to manage such reform processes. In the long run, these efforts should be supported financially and politically so that permanent solutions can be brought into the area of education.

Also, there is an additional issue about education relating to studying abroad. Usually, students studying abroad have good feelings for the country where they have studied and spent their most dynamic years. These feelings are established independent of foreign relations. One can trace the benefits of studying abroad for home and host country from the narratives they about on their return home. Mostly, they tell people good things about their experience abroad.

As result, a time framework is necessary for a successful educational reform. Primarily, the current situation must be investigated and channels required to determine the needs must be constituted. Subsequently, issues that will be focused on and the countries that will be cooperated must be determined. Right after that, plans for implementation must be determined.

Our efforts at Istanbul Aydın University to contribute to the understanding of the needs for capacity building during normalization process in Libya will continue. We will

continue our study on capacity building to help normalization process in Libya in many areas, including education.

1. We have organized a series of “webinars” with the aim of developing new ideas that may supplement the existing system. This would also help to the initiatives Turkey has engaged in Eastern Mediterranean and removing the challenges encountered successfully by discussing these issues in an academic environment.
2. These webinars held in a variety of topics in order to mapping up the mindset that is required for the capacity building process in Libya. The questions of how to manage it and what scope it should have has been discussed with valuable experts from a variety of disciplines and different faculties of IAU.
3. In these webinars, we learnt that, to develop a clear road map for reconstruction of Libya in a post-conflict normalization process, Turkish universities are required to mobilize their own capacity in collaboration with their Libyan and international counterparts.

Contributions of Turkey for Post-conflict institutional and social capacity building, collaboration especially with the universities in Libya is important.

The capacity building also requires enhanced role of women in politics, economics, education, informatics, communication, art, archeology, city planning, energy and society and in the security area. In social organization, challenges in the security arena, threatening through tribal and traditional religious cults are particularly important and must be eliminated. Here, dismantling traditional tribal structures that served as useful instruments for the colonial powers will be the greatest contribution to the normalization process of Libya and female liberation.

Thus, in reconstruction of Libya in post-conflict normalization process, it is important for Turkey and other international partners to have a clear road plan. Contributing to provide rational harmony for the future projections of Libya, academics both in Turkey and elsewhere are required to come forth making related efforts as their own priorities and using their abilities. This type of rational and efficient preparation will in turn help creating a win-win outcome for all partners.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM THE WEBINAR ON EDUCATION

Capacity building in education field is the most important practice for maintaining achievements in economic, political and military fields in Libya. Starting from elementary schools to universities, all education levels must be reviewed for contribution after post conflict normalization and increasing capacities to international standards, promoting good governance, independent and critical thinking, contributing to the innovations,

creativity and entrepreneurship. Development of human capital depends on strengthening IT infrastructures of universities and schools as well as improved syllabus configurations. Contributions on the educational sector must be critically detailed and coordinated with international partners.

- Requirements for capacity building in the short, medium and long terms must be determined and implemented through a clearly prepared plan. It is extremely necessary not to waste time. Preparing a road map and to perform tasks according to this is an absolute necessity.
- Formation of basic philosophy of education for Libyan capacity building must begin by the considering the system existed before. Interdisciplinary work supplemented by fieldwork research is a must. The philosophy of education should be focused on avoiding past errors as a starting point, maintaining consistent continuation of educational institutions. Future improvement on the educational system should take into account dynamics inherited from the past.
- A focused study on previous experiences of the education system, which evolves in compliance with Libya's specific dynamics should be established to respond to the needs of the country. During the war, the education system in Libya was isolated from the world. International interactions fell near zero.
- The education system in Libya, like other areas, had serious blows. Schools were bombed and students were killed. Military schools training commanders for armed forces in Libya were also bombed and their students were killed. Thus, the most important step that needs to be in Libya is to determine dimensions of the damage done and to establish to what extent the situation effected Libya's education system. A reality check is in line.
- The first university in Libya was established in 1955. Universities are mostly located in the capital Tripoli but also in the east and the south of the country. These universities somehow continued with their academic solidarity. This is when we examine the education system in Libya closely, we saw that while the country seemed to be divided into two parts, universities in Libya were not separated from each other and they continued their cooperation.
- Students in 3000 elementary schools, 200 vocational high schools and around 15-20 colleges and universities, continued their education under difficult conditions. While schooling rate of girls was very low in 1951 when Libya gained independence, today, female students form 42% of the university students. Literacy rate in Libya is 64% today, and only 10% of the youth can have university education.
- According to the conditions of Libya and its human resource needs, primary, secondary and higher education must be reformed. It is necessary to determine the manpower needed by Libya and to arrange educational system accordingly. The

most significant fact revealed by the work we have done is that in the short run, education must be student centered. Libya must develop a student-based education system and aim to raise urgently needed human power of the country. This is especially true for improving professional needs. In short term, education system of Libya, starting from universities, must focus on “applied” (vocational) education.

- In the medium term, education should be planned to provide training academic staff. It is necessary to implement academic staff exchange programs to be successful in this field. Academics in Libya can be brought into an exchange program with Turkey and foreign academics can travel to Libya for training purpose if that is easier. Otherwise, online systems can be put into practice.
- Long term goal is to build research and development capacity of Libyan universities.
- Universities in Turkey and Libya must take mutual cooperation seriously. Turkish universities with high standard departments specializing in certain fields must improve their cooperation with universities in Libya. A mutual system must be established as international partners provide exchanges with universities in Libya while also establishing their presence there. Around 220 universities in Turkey must contribute to the cooperation on issues relating to health, technology, language, humanities and many different areas. Legislation must be prepared to facilitate these efforts.
- The most important constraint in Libyan education system is relating to is static nature and outdated syllabus. Syllabus in Libya must be reorganized rapidly, according to the country’s realities and requirements. Diversifying syllabus, working in the way that is supportive of creativity are extremely important and urgent.
- It is necessary to develop blended education in Libya, to organize online education systems as well as on campus education and adopt to a hybrid system. It has been revealed how important online and internet-based education in Libya, as is the case with other conflict environments. Online education applications in Libya must be developed, updated and blended quite rapidly.
- In addition to ensuring the use of existing stock of wealth in Libya, which has been badly battered during the conflict, uncovering, preserving, updating and reconstructing its cultural assets are also extremely important. Their significance requires breakthroughs in the educational infrastructure and using them in capacity building efforts. Universities in Turkey can contribute to the restructuring of these damaged areas such as the one in Al Jufra archaeological site and present it to the world cultural heritage. Such efforts are not necessarily help merely resurrecting the cultural sphere but they also have important implications in the process of building a successful nation state. In other words, issue is not an isolated cultural one but it is also relating the future politics of the country.

VII. MEDIA IN LIBYA BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

Undoubtedly, as a means of spreading information widely in a country, the media, newspapers, press, radio and television does deepen consciousness and thus, it is the most important element that can contribute to the capacity building. In addition to good management in this area, it is important for press and media to serve this purpose by increasing employee efficiency, deepening of professionalism, applying international standards and freedom of press. Making sure that the freedom of criticism in the media is a way to deal with imbalances of information in a nation, thereby would help stopping manipulation and misinformation of the public.

When we analyze history of Libya's media, we see that the first press establishments in this country occurred during Ottoman period. Al-Munaqqib was the first published newspaper in the whole of North Africa as province law was introduced in 1860s, province newspapers were started in the Ottoman Empire.

Tripoli province newspapers were the first to be published. These newspapers provided Ottoman provincial geography with much needed information. In Tripoli, locally produced province newspapers helped spreading separatist movements' ideologies. These papers especially benefitted from encouragement in Europe for greater Arabic autonomy and independence.

For the first time in many provinces, province newspapers were important as periodical publications. It is seen that important steps were taken to educate the masses via the press, along with the provincial newspapers. Weekly newspapers generally published irregularly. It took several years for some province newspapers to become regular sources of information as some continued to be published until the final days of the Empire.

The Tripolitania newspaper was an irregular newspaper and was published until the Italian occupation. The newspaper was published in Turkish and Arabic, had a circulation of 500 copies. The paper did not have professional journalistic approach and its page design was not in line with its contemporary European newspapers.

In 1897, Al-Teraggi, the first private Arabic newspaper, was published in Libya. This newspaper was thought to be published under the influence of Committee of Union and Progress (Young Turks) ideology. Italians captured and controlled the press during the Italian occupation in 1911. They began printing newspapers in Italian and Arabic. An example was Jaridat Al Italia. There was a really important challenge for the revolutionary press in Libya during that period since the press operated under strict rules of the Italian occupation. The leader that led this challenge was Idris as- Senussi who has an important

place in Libyan history. Newspapers were separated into three category; socialist, capitalist and Nasserist (Arab nationalist) newspapers during Sheikh Idris period.

Colonel Gaddafi's rule started in 1969 and ended in 2011. His famous green book also referred to the press and provided basic publication guidelines during that period. The press was than described as an instrument not for the benefit of individuals or the elite but as a tool of free expression, serving the society. Green Book logically and democratically, emphasized that the elites and individuals cannot be the owners of the press. During Gaddafi's rule, press in Libya in large part was owned by the state; as professional national or local/regional media. Publication language was Arabic, English, French and Italian. The media was used to provide coverage on cultural, educational and informational spheres to inform the people of Libya. This was promoting educational role of the media.

Private satellite television channels were started in 2004. These were state supported channels. Access to the Internet was increased later on. Saif Al – Islam, Gaddafi's son, was a pioneer force for these developments. Many TV channels and newspapers set up as part of Libya's Al Ghad program, positive steps were taken providing for a greater freedom for the opposition media. There was a brief publication boom in the media with the termination of Gaddafi's power in 2011.

In this brief period of time, Libyan people were optimistic about the future of freedom of press. This optimism continued until the elections in 2012. After than many journalists were kidnapped or killed and media outlets were targeted for their criticism of the government and other groups.

1. Press in Libya Today

Today, the most important newspaper in Libya is Al-Shuruq. Al-Wasat is another important publication. Looking at the television, Libya TV is the prominent one. TVs unconditionally support the government. In the same way, looking at radio broadcasting, Libya FM and Al-Wasat Radio are the most prominent ones. Press freedom in Libya is described within the confines of the law as a constitutional right. However, it is clarified as to how the law can guarantee the press freedom.

Digital media and social media also need to be mentioned. While there were 10.000 internet users in 2000, it has reached almost 3 million between 2008 - 2017. This constitutes 60% of the population. The prominent social media is the Facebook. Also, El Kul is one of the most widely followed page. As Opensooq advertisement site is pretty popular and is important. Youtube is also one of the most used social media platforms after Facebook. Internet is mostly used for socializing and receiving information. To ensure and deepen the understanding on free press and media, an EU supported "Deutsche Welle Akademie" has coordinated a project which was active between 2013- 2016.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM THE MEDIA WEBINAR

1. Libya's media is separated between conflict sides and featuring partisan media.
2. Improving the quality of employees, focusing on media-communication education, creating economic mechanism that supports autonomy and independency of press are required for professionalism in media field and perfection of vocational applications.
3. Press must focus on cultural, creative and enterprising infrastructures required for social build up. For example, internet and telecommunication nets must be extended.
4. Media professionals can have journalism education in Turkey. Freedom of thought and expression must be described within democratic freedoms.
5. Online systems must be strengthened.

VIII. ART IN LIBYA BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

Undoubtedly, a nation's most important identity formation area is fine arts. National art under all circumstances is not a monotone and a homogenic area. On the one hand, it contains folk culture that develops from within the people's habits and traditions and on the other, it covers managed, formal art. Both areas complement each other and determines the role of "art in nation building". In a country like Libya where art has a rich history its role in nation building is even more fundamental. In Libya, as an integral part of national heritage it is essential to preserve, for instance, cave paintings and other historical sites from antiquity. But producing music and other works of art corresponding to the realities of the contemporary world is also required. In this respect Libya needs to engage in capacity building efforts in these areas, preservation and production of art.

Especially when we consider difficult times that came about after 2011 following the overthrow of Gaddafi and civil unrest and conflict created by Hafter's rebellion, capacity building in the sphere of arts seems to be more demanding. Turkey taking sides in Libya for conflict resolution also wants to contribute for building its own future. The purpose here must be to avoid Libya falling prey to the imperialist ambitions of other involved forces. Furthermore, unlike other countries, Turkey is burdened with protecting its own cultural past left over from its presence there. Hence Turkey has a role to play in rebuilding what has been already there from the past rather than carrying expansionist policies.

Relations of Turkey with this region goes back deep into history. Regions where Libya is located are places where the first Islamic states came into being. These are also the lands where prominent Muslim thinker Ibn Haldun was raised. Even though there has been little cultural exchange between Turkey and Libya, there exists historical connections, such as the tomb of Turgut Reis, Admiral of the Ottoman Fleet. It is one of the important cultural heritage sites in Libya from when Libya was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. Long lasting presence of the Ottoman Empire in Libya owes its longevity to the legal and cultural practices it has followed. Tolerance and encouraging works of art and cultural engagements strengthened Ottoman presence in Libya.

Turkey's recent involvement in Libya should not be seen as a part of its expansionist policy. Turkey has never been part of a racially charged, colonialist expansionism. Here, what is required to protecting cultural and art history can be provided by the missions assigned by countries like Turkey through educational activities. These would help protecting cultural heritage of Libya through capacity building of relevant institutions and staff working thereby.

As a result of Turkey having relations with the Western world for many years in history, we can underline that correlating the East with the West culturally could come to mean a break away from the East. This thought however, has been proven to be wrong through Turkey's cultural experience between the West and the East. It can be correct to say that Turkey has been between the east and the west culturally for many years and cannot constitute a good example for Libya. But this must be considered as an advantage instead of a disadvantage. At this point, for example, Turkey has important experience to share in Libya.

However, responsibility is upon Turkey to share Libya's historical past, cultural structures and artistic experience through its own strong capacity in arts and cultural management. In this sense Turkey can contribute to the capacity building of Libya's art and cultural management.

LESSONS DRAWN FROM ART WEBINAR

1. Social resurrection requires breakthroughs in the arts and cultural spheres in Libya. Art is a competitive and productive field and should be carefully managed particularly when we consider its contribution to nation building.
2. Cultural organizational structures must be established, structural capacity of Libya must be increased in every sphere such by building music halls, art faculties, reforming archaeological sites. These are necessary steps for Libyan society to stand up on its own feet.
3. Turkey can contribute to Libya by sharing its own experience in reaching out to contribute global values in the basis of its shared past.
4. Turkey can contribute for a creative, innovative enterprises voluntarily in Libya and help expanding technology in arts and cultural sphere. Turkish universities and the art world can cooperate with Libya in its global efforts.
5. Mechanisms to help in providing equipment for education and personal development can be established.
6. Cultural industries must be supported and developed in order to provide economic development and economic variety. Universities and industry cooperation will be important for the building capacity in this field.

IX. HEALTH IN LIBYA BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE

Sphere of health is the one that capacity using is tested the most. Undoubtedly, duration of life expectancy at birth is the most important developmental measure of a country. This is directly connected to eating, drinking and corporate capacity of healthcare system. Rich and wealthier societies are healthy societies that live longer as a rule. During times of conflict, health related arrangements differ from those of the times of peace. In Libya health sector was inevitably affected negatively as a result of conflicts that have started in 2011.

Libya is an important country for Turkey and there are historical reasons for that. It has been part of the Ottoman Empire. Founder of modern Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was in Libya in 1911, fighting against occupying Italian forces. After World War II, Libya invited Turkish experts and relations between the two countries continued. Besides, looking at the economic relations between Turkey and Libya, we see that there are many Turkish companies and their Turkish employees in the country. Also, there are newly developing relationships within the health tourism sector between the two countries. It is known that Libya receives support from Turkey especially in orthopedics, eye, childcare and other spheres.

It was in 2011 when healthcare services began to deteriorate just like many other sector in Libya. When we analyze Libya's condition before and after 2011, we can observe important differences. Before 2011, there was a rather positive stance in healthcare systems. Hospitals were equipped well and community targeted healthcare employees were well trained and systematically operated. The rate of vaccination for preventable diseases increased from 85% to 98% between 1985-2012. While maternal death rate in Libya was 0.39 in 1990, it was 0.68 in Turkey. While infant mortality rate was .021% in 2009, it was .025% in Turkey. The number of Libyans with no access to clean water was 3% in 1998, while those with no access to proper sewage system was 2%.

According to the National Health Law, community health sector was responsible for providing protection, healing and rehabilitation services as well as free vaccination and medicine to all citizens. Also, there was a retirement and social insurance system.

In 2011, life expectancy in Turkey was 74 and in Libya it was 74.5. While 0-5 age death rate was 0.017% in Libya, it was 0.023% in Egypt and 0.066% in Qatar and 0.011% in Turkey.

After the starting of the civil war in 2011, many indicators reflected a deteriorating situation in Libya. According to the Global Human Assistance Report published in 2018, Libya was one of the most "helpless" country in the world. This condition worsened with the recent internal conflicts. Sixty-one health facilities are damaged from April 2019 up-

to date in Libya. Fourteen of them are completely closed. Also, twenty-six ambulances were targeted, thirteen healthcare professionals died, thirtysix injured. Libyan Ministry of Health reports that in 2014 only 8% of the health system was functional. In addition to these, it was remarked in the report that as vaccine stocks has decreased, surveillance could not be made, precautions could not be taken, warning systems did not work, there was danger of epidemics. In the same report, it was especially emphasized that there was need of qualified doctors and nurses in branches such as intensive care, anesthesia, orthopedics, plastic/reconstructive surgical therapy for young and productive male population that have war wounds, expert staff for physical therapy-rehabilitation. Number of damaged and not repaired buildings and areas of health services from 2011 until now increased substantially.

On the other hand, because of qualified health workers migration from the country due to the war, a large vacancy occurred in this sector. Besides qualified healthcare professionals and especially doctors are not efficiently functioning. Inexperienced civil surgeons take charge in much needed war surgery and lack of equipment (orthopedic equipment) and medicine (anesthesia medicines, narcotics) were some of the negative sides that persists in basic healthcare services. Therefore, ongoing war conditions in the country disrupted a normal functioning of the health system.

In addition to these, according to the 2018 report of Libyan Ministry of Health, healthcare professionals graduated between the years of 1970 - 2017 were as follows;

- 21.000 doctors
- 15.000 dentists
- 30.000 nurses
- 30.000 technician/lab technician
- 9.000 pharmacist

Number of doctors in Libya was 19.5 in 10.000. This rate is 23.9 in Saudi Arabia and 29 in Kuwait. Libya also was in good condition in its area in dentistry and pharmacology. With its nursing rate at 0.071%, it is in a better condition than some other countries. However, there are big vacancies now in these areas of healthcare. According to the same 2018 report, vacant positions for nurses is 20,055 in the country while 7800 nurses are employed. Thus, Libya's healthcare system is facing an important shortage of nurses.

Besides, Ministry of Education that trains health sector's labor force, and the Ministry of Health that runs the system lack coordination between these two ministries. There are severe shortages of academics in all levels of medical faculties as the number of professors/associate and assistant professors in most of departments are not sufficient to serve the needs of Libya. The biggest shortage seemingly exists in basic medical training. Dentistry faculties and nursing faculties are also under similar conditions. Number of permanent staffs in these areas are not sufficient.

As result of these conditions of the healthcare services in Libya, it is difficult to obtain reliable information about the effects of Covid-19 pandemic in the country. A data reported that on 9 June 2020, the number of cases was 1268 and number of deaths were 36 in Libya. Unfortunately, some hospitals where Covid-19 infected patients were treated was targeted by Hafter forces in April. For instance Hadra Hospital with 550 beds including coronavirus infected patients was evacuated as a result of shelling from Hafter forces. Fate of the evacuee patients is unknown.

LESSONS TAKEN FROM HEALTH CHARETTE

1. Institutional capacity building and strengthening of human capital of the health-care system in Libya is extremely important.
2. Constructing capacity in the health system requires international cooperation. Libya collaborates with the World Health Organization (WHO) in many areas including community healthcare, preventing/controlling infectious and non-infectious diseases, mental health, healthy diet problems, lifelong health insurance, strengthening of healthcare systems, continuous surveillance and action plans. The contribution of this collaboration for the pandemic period is undeniable.
3. Looking at 2014 dated suggestions by the WHO, it is seen that there are support projects (Doctors Without Borders in maternity wards, foreign CSOs) for continuation of protective services. Some of these are sanitation, vaccination, obstetrics and birth services, maternal and infant health and dialysis services. Also, an important point recommended by the WHO is to decide on the areas where public - private partnerships (PPP) will be achieved. Another recommendation by the WHO was, through the UN example, introducing performance related payment for doctors.
4. As a result, cooperation between WHO and the Ministry of Health was recommended in educating health care professionals. According to these recommendations, in order to enhance capacity of healthcare system in Libya, in the short run, plans must be prepared to receive increasing support from international academics for basic medicine studies. This would also target to fill in the shortage of nurses. In medium and long term, it is emphasized that increasing the number of experts, educating academics by sending them abroad, career encouragement for building up human capital through education in medicine and enhancing institutional quality/accreditation applications are important.
5. Turkey is one of the leader countries in healthcare in the world today. Turkish health system has the potential to educate health care professionals that can serve in global scale. Thus, Turkey is the country that can shoulder important tasks in reconstructing the healthcare system in Libya.
6. The question “what can Turkey do for enhancing health in Libya?” is important. At this juncture, Turkey can send volunteering academic staff to Libya. Also, accepting students to the medicine faculties is one of the areas in which Turkey can contribute in educating doctors and nurses in Libya. As health service, medical

equipment and medicine support can be provided via Kızılay. Also, specialist physician and nurse support can be provided in orthopedics, surgical, plastic surgery, physical medicine and rehabilitation, intensive care and anesthesia clinics. Hospital informatics and expert data processors supports can be provided in information system.

7. Also, an integrated health system in Libya must be established. Health tourism must be promoted, for instance patients from Libya can come to Turkey. Health-care managers can be trained in Turkey since it has that kinds of capacity. Turkish hospitals can be opened in Libya. In such issues, primary and pioneer investments of the state would be beneficial. In the long run, the existing system can be strengthen with investments from private sector. Initially, sustainability of the system is important and that should be ensured by social welfare state applications as it was in Libya before 2011. Providing for healthcare will no doubt contribute to peace and prosperity of Libyans.



23 Haziran 2020

19:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | @iaukampus



Speaker
Dr. Naim Babüroğlu
İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
IAU AFRICA Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Müdürü

Çatışma Sonrası Libya'da Normalleşme Konferansları

LİBYA'DA GÜVENLİK VE GELECEK



Meeting ID: 910 1465 6428
Password: 4441428



Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferansları Serisi

KÜRESEL EKONOMİ ve LİBYA'NIN GELECEĞİ



Konuşmacı
Prof. Dr. Kerem Akin
İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi, HSP Düşünce Vakti



Konuşmacı
Doç. Dr. Ata Özkaya
Gataşazary Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi



Konuşmacı
Doç. Dr. Mevlüt Tatlıyer
İstanbul Medipol Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi



Konuşmacı
Dr. Levent Yılmaz
Pols Akademisi öğretim üyesi



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
IAU, Ekonomi ve Finansal Bölge Başkanı

30 Haziran 2020

14:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | @iaukampus



Meeting ID : 984 9152 7012
Password : 4441428



24 Haziran 2020

18:30

www.aydin.edu.tr | @iaukampus



Konuşmacı
Doç. Dr. Eco Baban
Fenerbahçe Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi



Konuşmacı
Prof. Dr. Kutay Karaca
IAU Öğretim Üyesi, Diplomasi Çalışmaları Derneği Bşk. Yrd.



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
IAU AFRICA Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Müdürü

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferansları Serisi

LİBYA'NIN GELECEĞİ VE GÜVENLİK 2



Meeting ID : 957 1434 2328
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

30 Haziran 2020
19:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | f @ iaukampus



Konuşmacı
Dr. Savaş Bicer
Nisantasi Üniversitesi, Öğretim Üyesi



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
AFRİKAM Araştırma Merkezi Md.

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferans Serisi

LİBYA'NIN GELECEĞİ : SAHRAALTI AFRİKA'DA NATO'NUN ROLÜ



Meeting ID : 973 8259 1281
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

01 Temmuz 2020
19:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | f @ iaukampus



Konuşmacı
Doç. Dr. Mustafa Aydın
İAU, Mütavelli Heyet Başkanı



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
AFRİKAM Araştırma Merkezi Md.

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferans Serisi

LİBYA EĞİTİM REFORMUNUN TEMEL DAYANAKLARI



Meeting ID : 923 0628 1783
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

04 Temmuz 2020
17:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | f @ iaukampus

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferansları Serisi

Geçmişle Gelecek Arasında Libya'da Diplomasi



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
İAU AFRİKA Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi Müdürü



Konuşmacı
Doç. Dr. Fahri Erenel
İzmirli Üniversitesi Öğretim Üyesi



Konuşmacı
Murat Bilhan
Eski Libya Büyükelçisi



Moderator
Dr. Aydın Nurhan
Emekli Büyükelçi



Meeting ID : 966 5399 3299
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

05 Temmuz 2020
17:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | [f](#) [i](#) [t](#) [i](#) [a](#) [u](#) [k](#) [a](#) [m](#) [p](#) [u](#) [s](#)



Konuşmacı
Dr. Adem Ayten
IAU İletişim Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
AFRİKAM Araştırma Merkezi Md.

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferans Serisi

Geçmişle Gelecek Arasında Libya'da MEDYA



Meeting ID : 912 1844 0922
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

05 Temmuz 2020
19:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | [f](#) [i](#) [t](#) [i](#) [a](#) [u](#) [k](#) [a](#) [m](#) [p](#) [u](#) [s](#)



Konuşmacı
Prof. Ruhi Ayangil
İTÜ Müzikoloji YL. Prog. Öğ. Ü.



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
AFRİKAM Araştırma Merkezi Md.

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferans Serisi

LİBYA EĞİTİM REFORMUNUN TEMEL DAYANAKLARI



Meeting ID : 926 2235 3685
Password: 4441428



AFRİKAM
İSTANBUL AYDIN ÜNİVERSİTESİ
AFRİKA UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

13 Temmuz 2020
19:00

www.aydin.edu.tr | [f](#) [i](#) [t](#) [i](#) [a](#) [u](#) [k](#) [a](#) [m](#) [p](#) [u](#) [s](#)



Konuşmacı
Prof. Dr. Orhan Canbolat
İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi Rektör Yrd.
Tıp Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi



Konuşmacı
Prof. Dr. Zeynep Çiğdem Kayacan
İstanbul Aydın Üniversitesi
Tıp Fakültesi Dekan Yrd.



Moderator
Prof. Dr. Ahmet Sedat Aybar
IAU AFRICA Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi
Müdürü

Çatışma Sonrası Libya Konferansları Serisi

Geçmişle Gelecek Arasında Libya'da Sağlık



Meeting ID :
Password: 4441428

Handwriting practice lines consisting of 24 horizontal dotted lines.

CAPACITY BUILDING FROM PAST TO FUTURE IN POST CONFLICT LIBYA

PROF. DR. SEDAT AYBAR



**ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY
PUBLICATIONS**

ISBN 978-6257783125



9 786257 783125