



Proposal for a Roadmap for the General National Congress (GNC) and the Government

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Preface

The majority agree that the transitional period might be one of the most significant and the most critical periods, and that the attempts to come out therefrom might take a period of over ten years, provided that the situation shall not further deteriorate to a more complicated serious extent.

Within the international political and economic changes, the extension of this period up to ten years or more, may pose a comprehensive threat to the unity of Libya and the future of its existence as a state. Therefore, simplification of the case or the assumption that the peaceful exit therefrom is an easy process, is ultimately attributed to the absence of a chronological, constitutional national roadmap, and represents a great risk to the future of Libya. It is well known that the era succeeding the epoch of the war is an era of a crisis which shall be treated with wisdom, and with a comprehensive chronological strategic plan to be carried out by a capable government under the supervision of a legislative board in order to avoid the political conflicts, in which everyone works in a safer environment without any pressure from special interest.

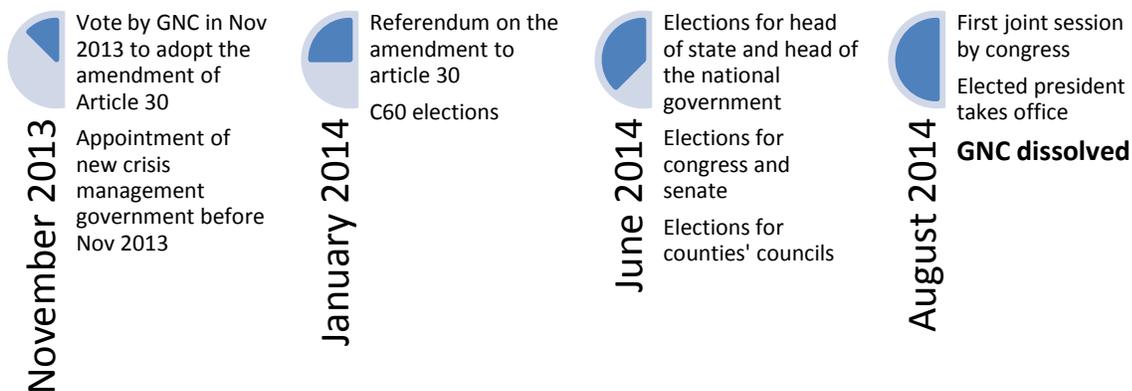
The failure of the National Transitional Council (NTC) and the Government of Mr. Abdulrahim Al-Kiebi in setting out the secure national environment and the safe climate for the GNC and the Transitional Government, in order to enable the accomplishment of the objectives of the transitional period, the most significant of which is the formulation of the constitution and the holding of the general elections, has left the GNC working under pressure applied by special interest groups aided by armed militias away from the ambitions of the majority of the Libyan people. Within the absence of security and the accumulation of security distresses that kept the GNC busy therewith ignoring its basic mission of appointing the 60 Member Committee brought about by the NTC at its late days upon amending Article 30 of the Constitutional Declaration, and NTC's amendment implying that the election of the 60 Member Committee, has created a new reality making it impossible for the GNC to achieve its goals within the time frame stipulated per the Constitutional Declaration. As a result of the distress the country is undergoing now, the Libyan citizen has become greatly anxious and worried, a matter that pushed him to show concern over the need for limiting the duration and the goals of the transitional period. This has led many of the sincere sons and daughters of the Libyan homeland to discuss and hold dialogues on the possibility of laying down a roadmap that guarantees the safe exit from this crisis. The most serious and eccentric phenomenon among these steps, is that many oil facilities have fallen outside the scope of the state's control, in addition to the security instability, and the dysfunctional methods the Government adopts to deal with the crisis.

Proposal:

Thus I am hereby presenting a proposal of the roadmap that helps the exit from this crisis phase and transition to the state of stability, as follows:

1. Resignation of the current Government and the appointment of a crisis management government in less than two months, so that this government shall assume duties as of November 2013.
2. GNC shall make a decision to freeze the political parties, entities and blocs and start the work on drafting a progressive law regulating political parties.

3. Amendment of Article 30 of the Constitutional Declaration to specify the remaining period of the GNC and the entry into a second transitional period. The amendment shall be in accordance with the below stipulation of this memo (amendment of the Constitutional Declaration). The said amendment shall be completed before the end of November 2013. The amended Constitutional Declaration shall be observed as the Interim Constitution and shall be effective for a duration of not more than 2 years or until the 60 Member Committee concludes formulating the Constitution which shall be approved by the majority of the Libyan people in a general referendum.
4. General referendum on the proposed amendment in conjunction with the elections for the 60 committee (January-February 2014).
5. General elections for the local governors, counties' councils, congress, senate and the head of the state, which is also the head of the national government, before the end of June 2014. All elections shall be for individuals away from any sort of influence from tribes, ideologies or foreign entities.
6. The GNC shall be dissolved in the first joint session of congress and senate, whereby the parliament shall assume and take over its legislative duties from GNC. This shall be at the beginning of August 2014.
7. The crisis management government shall run the state until the elected president appoints the ministers following the approval of the congress and senate. This shall be by October 1st, 2014.
8. If the 60 Member Committee fails to reach a permanent constitution approved by the Libyan people before June 2016, other general elections shall be held in July 2016, where the second elected parliament shall take charge of the legislative duties on August 1st, 2016, while the elected president shall take charge of his sovereign duties besides heading the government on October 1st, 2016.



Appointment of a crisis management government

A top priority for any government is to provide security and safety for its citizens. A government that fails to achieve security, or at least improve it, is a failed government. The failure of the TG to at least maintain the same level of security when it was first appointed is abundantly clear. The level of dissatisfaction of the Libyan citizen with the TG and GNC has reached high levels. In order to restore some confidence in the transitional process, the GNC has to dismiss this Government, and to assign a crisis management government composed as follows:

1. Prime Minister
2. Minister of Interior
3. Minister of Defense
4. Minister of Justice
5. Foreign Minister
6. Finance Minister
7. Minister of Health
8. Minister of Education

The success of the crisis management government depends on the capabilities, skills and expertise of the Prime Minister in management. National figures fulfilling the following requirements shall be appointed.

1. A high-level experience in business administration including practical skills in financial, economic, security, defense and political affairs
2. Successful experience in the management of executive teams
3. Effective leadership experience
4. Accurate and deep knowledge of the security, economic and political situation the country suffers
5. Clear and balanced view and comprehensive executive plan to manage this crisis phase
6. Independency from any partisan, tribal, sectarian, ideological or international biased influence
7. Knowledge and connections with the different categories of the Libyan society including the civil society organizations, revolutionary organizations, student unions, religious, social and political leaders, private sector and cultural components
8. Understanding and knowledge of geopolitical matters
9. Strong track record of positive initiatives and achievement of tangible results
10. Real affiliation to the 17th February Revolution and actual understanding of the Libyan people's inspirations and objectives to achieve justice and freedom for all Libyans, in addition to the political, economic and social stability and the preservation of achievements thereof

The main tasks of the crisis management government:

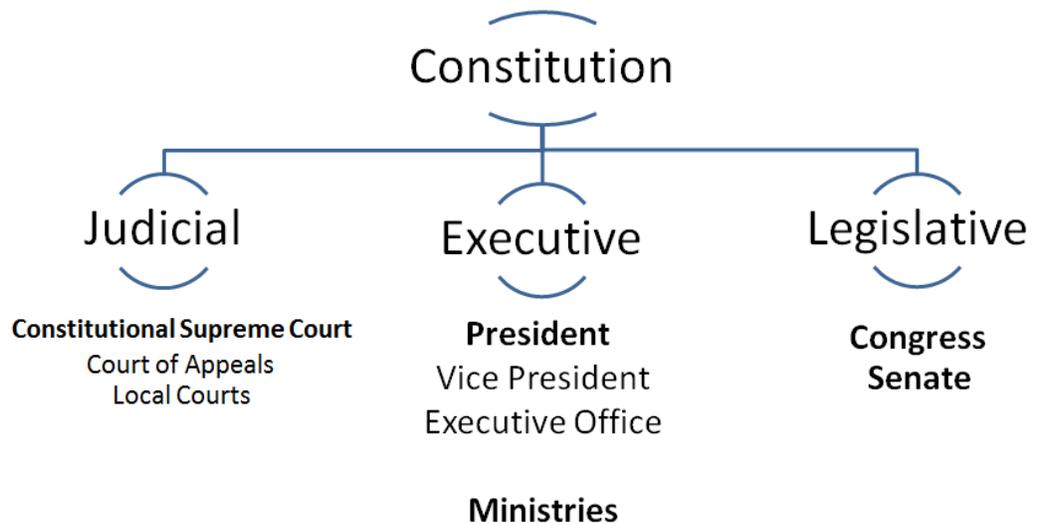
1. Management of the national dialogue and reconciliation
2. Achievement of the transitional justice
3. Collection of medium and heavy arms and ammunitions
4. Recruitment of the Revolutionaries and armed militias in the public and private bodies

5. To effectively start the process of building the army, the police and other bodies upon which the national security relies
6. To jumpstart the economy in order to provide employment opportunities and put an end to unemployment
7. The effective start of building the infrastructure capable of ending administrative and financial corruption
8. Implement the transitional period's program including the elections
9. The effective start in building the local governments and to put an end for centralism
10. Achievement of a tangible improvement in the security situation, education and health all over the Libyan territories, and the continuation of delivery of the state's public services at an acceptable rate above the medium level

Amendment of Article 30 of the Constitutional Declaration

Ruling regime:

- **The national government:** shall be of three absolutely independent and balanced braches with a power gained from the nation and the institutions.
 - **The executive branch:** The president and vice president who shall be elected in public elections run every four years. The President shall take charge of the executive duties through the ministries besides the head of state duties. The President shall nominate the Ministers while the Parliament shall confirm all of them, individually



- **The legislative division:** Composed of congress and senate, the Parliament shall be in charge of the legislative duties and the parliamentary oversight on the executive branch of the government

- **The judicial branch:** The Supreme Constitutional Court

Absolute authority of the national government:

- Defense and national security
- Foreign affairs and international relations
- Natural resources such as oil
- Borders and entry points

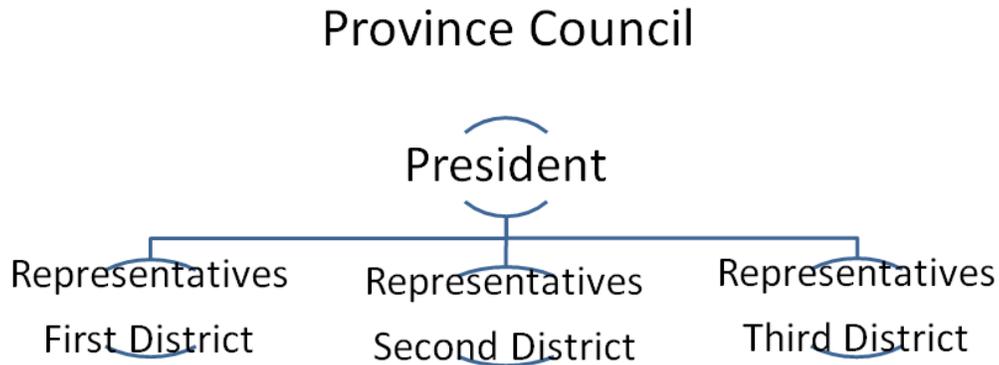
It is within the order that the missions of service ministries such as the ministries of education, health and transport will be minimized into the following:

- Executing of national policies according to the legislations by parliament, and delivery thereof to the appropriate departments of the counties by way of executive regulations
- Conducting national strategic studies and submission of the legislative reports and proposals to the Parliament for legislation
- Inspection of departments of the counties and submission of relevant technical and financial reports to the Parliament for audition and parliamentary oversight

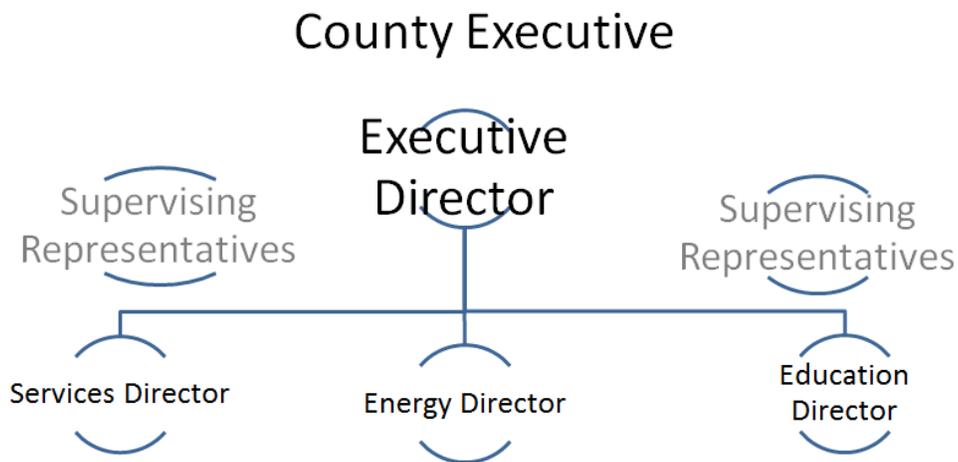
The Local Government:

- The counties' council, legislative and oversight elected on the level of the counties from all districts based on population ratios
- The counties' executive management is appointed by the county council under an administrative and a technical contract

The County Council:



The Executive Management of the County:



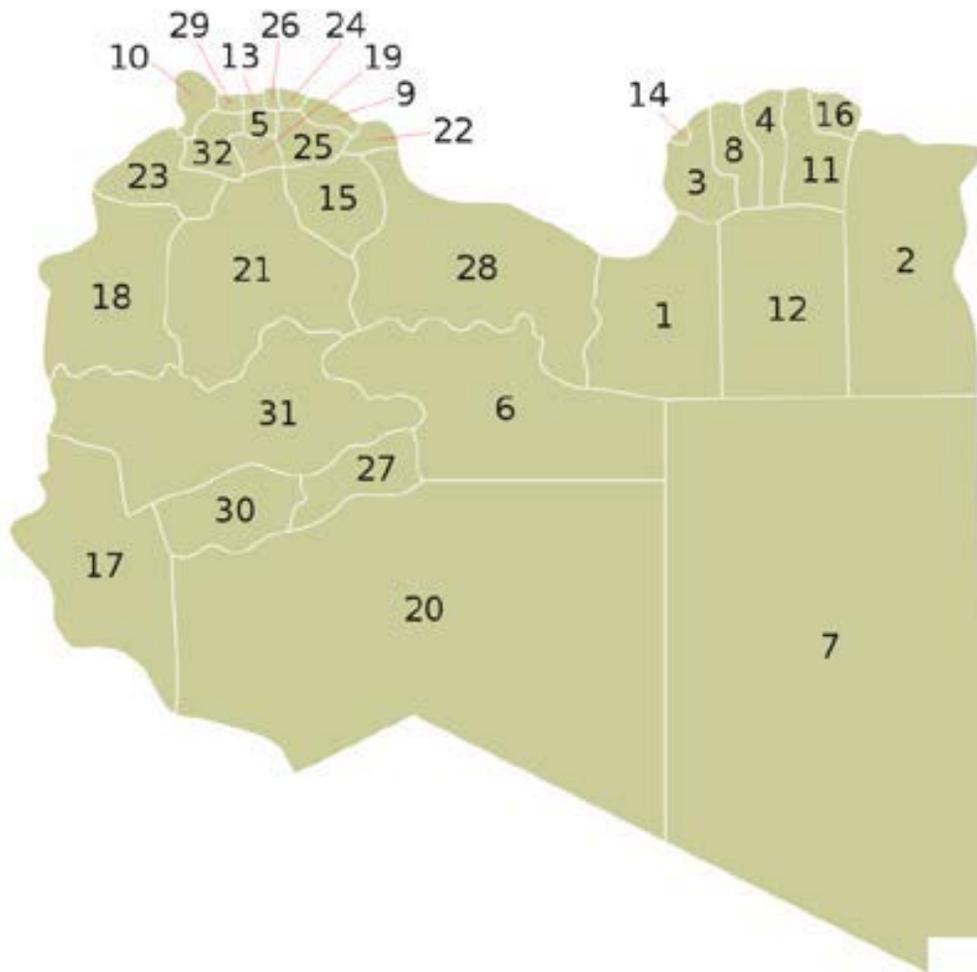
All counties shall bear the administrative and financial burdens of their management including the manpower recruited thereunder. Personnel whose duties relate to offering of services to the counties shall be deemed as the personnel of their counties, the national government shall not be responsible for them neither administratively nor financially.

The legislative branches of the government:

- The state shall organize all of the 30 counties as well as the cities and the administrative divisions previously recognized in 2001 with some amendments to suit the current reality
- The National Assembly (the Parliament) shall be composed of the Congress and the Senate

- The number of representatives in the congress shall be 230 representing the 30 counties according to the population ratio, along with 10 seats allocated for the cultural components (Amazigh, Tabu and Tawariq)
- The number of Senators shall be 60 (two senators for every county)
- The members of congress and the senators shall be elected by their relevant counties in the general national election
- The Parliament shall not adopt any decisions unless debated within the congress and the senate and after obtaining 50% plus one majority vote of the senate which shall approve the decisions of the congress with 50% plus majority, and shall not be rejected but by two thirds plus one ($\frac{2}{3}s+1$)

County and administrative divisions:

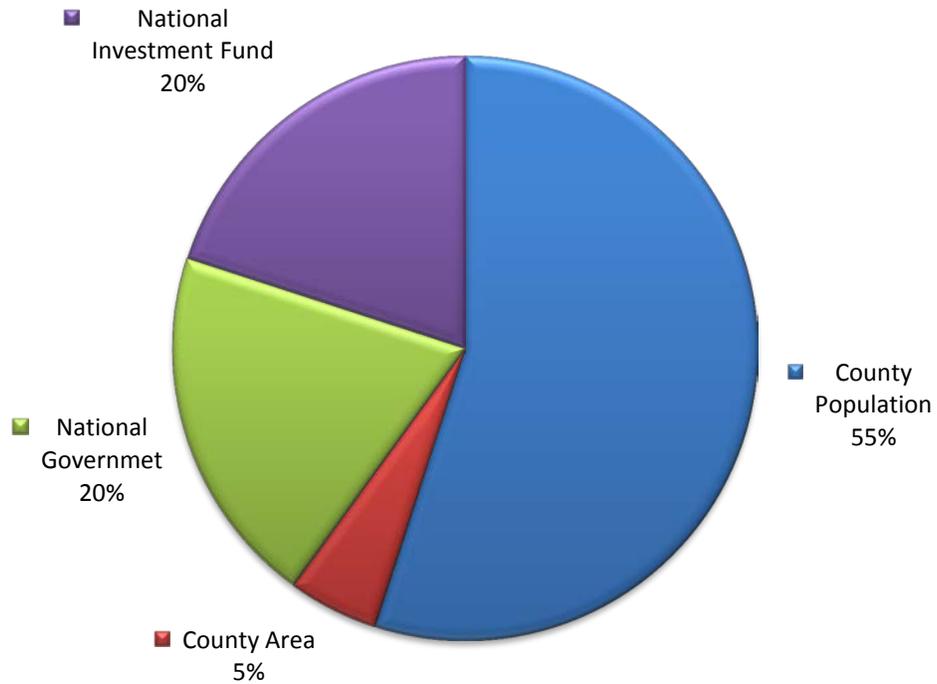


Counties and their allocated seats in congress:

County No.	County	Population	Population Ratio	No. of Congressional Representatives
1	Ajdabiya	191,875	3.0%	6
2	Tubruk	167,217	2.6%	6
3	Al-Abyar & Gmens	125,951	1.9%	4
4	Al-Baydaa	224,671	3.5%	8
5	Al-Ezezziya	334,765	5.1%	11
6	Jufra	52,200	0.8%	2
7	Al-Kufra	59,508	0.9%	3
8	Al-Marj	134,580	2.1%	5
9 A	Al-Khoms	270,623	4.2%	9
9 B	Zletin	194,854	3.0%	7
10	Zuwara	241,759	3.7%	8
11	Al-Quba	108,636	1.7%	4
12	Al-Wahat	33,850	0.5%	2
13	Al-Zawia	404,599	6.2%	14
14	Benghazi	736,998	11.3%	25
15-25B	Tarhuna and Bani Walid	278,576	4.3%	9
16	Dernah	93,918	1.4%	3
17	Ghat	26,345	0.4%	3
18	Ghadames	21,983	0.3%	2
19	Geryan	186,749	2.9%	6
20	Murzuk	79,506	1.2%	4
21	Mezda	47,988	0.7%	2
22	Musrata	417,122	6.4%	14
23	Nalut	100,428	1.5%	4
24-26	Tripoli	1,330,496	20.5%	45
27	Sebha	146,487	2.3%	5
28	Sirte	180,942	2.8%	6
30	Wadi Al-Hayat	83,983	1.3%	4
31	Wadi Al-Shattie	89,324	1.4%	4
32	Yefrin	136,117	2.1%	6
TOTAL		6,502,050	100%	230

Distribution of the national income:

This system puts the responsibility of providing of the service program of the counties in the hands of the counties authorities, as it minimizes the duties and budgets of the national government. The missions of the ministries in the national government are consultative and coordinative between the counties and the parliament. This shall not apply to the sovereign ministries such as the ministries of interior, justice, foreign affairs, defense and finance which carry out the national program. Based on this, I propose that 55% of the national income shall be shared between the counties at the ratio of the population, 5% to the counties on the basis of the geographic area, and 20% shall be allotted for the national government program, while 20% to be allocated for the national investment fund.



The counties budgets based on the ratios of the population and geographic area:

The following subdivision was laid down on basis of 55% of the general budget to be allocated to the counties according to the population ratio and 5% based on geographic area ratio, e.g. assuming that the budget is 65 billion Libyan Dinars.

Table of budget distribution on the counties (in billions of Libyan Dinars):

County No.	County	Geographic Area	Population	Budget (Billion LD)
1	Ajdabiya	5.18%	3.0%	1.22
2	Tubruk	4.74%	2.6%	1.07
3	Al-Abyar & Gmens	0.72%	1.9%	0.72
4	Al-Baydaa	0.44%	3.5%	1.25
5	Al-Ezezziya	0.11%	5.1%	1.84
6	Jufra	6.64%	0.8%	0.50
7	Al-Kufra	27.35%	0.9%	1.22
8	Al-Marj	0.57%	2.1%	0.76
9 A-25A	Al-Khoms	0.18%	4.2%	1.49
9 B	Zletin	0.07%	3.0%	1.07
10	Zuwara	0.30%	3.7%	1.34
11	Al-Quba	0.83%	1.7%	0.62
12	Al-Wahat	6.15%	0.5%	0.39
13-29	Al-Zawia	0.09%	6.2%	2.23
14	Benghazi	0.05%	11.3%	4.05
15-25B	Tarhuna and Bani Walid	1.11%	4.3%	1.57
16	Derna	0.28%	1.4%	0.53
17	Ghat	4.11%	0.4%	0.28
18	Ghadames	2.93%	0.3%	0.22
19	Geryan	0.26%	2.9%	1.04
20	Murzuk	19.79%	1.2%	1.08
21	Mezda	4.08%	0.7%	0.40
22	Musrata	0.16%	6.4%	2.30
23	Nalut	0.75%	1.5%	0.58
24-26	Tripoli	0.02%	20.5%	7.32
27	Sebha	0.87%	2.3%	0.83
28	Sirte	4.39%	2.8%	1.14
30	Wadi Al-Hayat	1.80%	1.3%	0.52
31	Wadi Al-Shattie	5.50%	1.4%	0.67
32	Yefrin	0.53%	2.1%	0.77
TOTAL		100%	100%	39.00