

LIBYA CRISIS: NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER'S REVIEW OF CENTRAL CO-ORDINATION AND LESSONS LEARNED

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Summary

This review of “how the Whitehall machine operated and what lessons we can learn” covers the period of armed conflict in Libya from 19 March to 31 October 2011 as well as the key events leading up to military action.

This was the first new crisis involving deployment of UK military forces since the creation of the National Security Council (NSC). Overall the central co-ordination mechanisms worked well. In particular:

- the NSC sub-committee on Libya, NSC(L), successfully brought together key Ministers and officials and was an effective vehicle for driving the campaign;
- early decisions helped prevent a wide scale humanitarian crisis and encouraged action by the wider international community;
- departments moved rapidly to conflict footing and prioritised resources;
- real time military, intelligence and diplomatic assessment including from theatre gave Ministers an understanding of the detailed context in which to take strategic decisions, as well as to identify areas where further action was needed;
- the presence of the Attorney General or a representative at all meetings requiring a legal opinion meant UK action was based throughout on informed legal advice;
- an official level body (NSC)(L)(Officials) co-ordinated implementation of decisions and development of policy. It included key UK missions overseas at least once a week to allow direct input and direction across the network;
- the creation of a dedicated Libya unit in the National Security Secretariat, drawing on other Whitehall resources, helped to ensure effective preparation of Ministerial considerations at NSC(L) as well as implementation of decisions. Departments across Whitehall moved rapidly to increase staffing to operate at an increased tempo;
- establishment of an oil cell drew together expertise from across Whitehall. It enabled outreach to industry, NATO and international bodies to address shortages of oil in liberated parts of Libya while disrupting Qadhafi's attempts to supply his military machine and raise revenue through sales;
- the London Conference in March established a Libya Contact Group which provided an effective mechanism to maintain an international coalition providing political support to the Libyan people. This was further reinforced by mobilising the FCO's global network to influence partners and ensure effective implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs);
- humanitarian experts rapidly deployed to Tunisia, Libya and Egypt enabling policy and programming decisions taken by Ministers to be based on clear and timely evidence of needs on the ground;
- there was extensive planning early in the campaign for post-conflict stabilisation. A single Ministerial lead under the Development Secretary, supported by cross-Whitehall official committees helped drive delivery across government and enabled effective co-ordination between departments. The Stabilisation Unit was able to identify and deploy experts rapidly;

- the guiding principle of the UK's response planning on stabilisation was that it should be Libyan-owned and coordinated by the UN. In practice, however, the UN was limited in its ability to deploy during the conflict. Through provision of an International Stabilisation Response Team, the UK played an important interim role alongside international partners to facilitate early planning with the emerging Libyan leadership and build international support;
- HMG reported regularly to Parliament from the start of the crisis. Parliament debated the crisis and voted in favour of a motion supporting the use of UK armed forces and military assets in accordance with UNSCR 1973; and
- effective strategic communications work was central to the conduct of the campaign. A dedicated Libya Communications Team in No10 co-ordinated media work across departments and with Allies. A cross-government Strategic Communications Synchronisation Group based in the Ministry of Defence ensured a co-ordinated national and international approach to strategic communications.

Nonetheless, the campaign also highlighted a number of lessons for handling future conflicts, including:

- initial delays and other problems with the consular evacuation from Libya, which are reflected in the Review of Consular Evacuation Procedures¹ which the FCO published on 4 July. The first priority in any crisis is likely to be effecting the safe extraction of those UK nationals who want to leave, as early as possible. The FCO is taking forward the recommendations identified in its Review;
- integrating better economic analysis and policy more prominently at the early stages of conflict planning;
- establishing a clear cross-Government process on UNSCRs, led by a senior FCO official, to maximise the effectiveness of sanctions and evaluate options while retaining the flexibility necessary in fast-moving international negotiations;
- the UK should ensure that it obtains key command positions in those parts of a reformed NATO Command Structure that are most likely to be relevant to the conduct of future operations;
- being ready to review long-standing policies, such as recognition of States not Governments, even where deeply engrained;
- bringing the Strategic Communication Steering Group (SCSG) into the Cabinet Office to support the newly-formed NSC communications team;
- the importance of establishing a clear operating rhythm as quickly as possible to balance the frequency of meetings against the need for sufficient time to implement Ministerial decisions; and
- briefing situation reports to Ministers more efficiently through e.g. a single dedicated oral briefer supported by a single integrated written update.

¹ www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/consular-evacuation-review

Context

1. The Prime Minister asked the National Security Adviser (NSA) to review “how the Whitehall machine operated and what lessons we can learn”.
2. This study covers the period of international military action in Libya, from 19 March 2011 to 31 October 2011 as well as key events leading up to military action. A timeline of key events during the crisis is attached at Annex A.
3. Libya has been the first crisis involving the deployment of UK military forces since the creation of the National Security Council (NSC). The focus of this study is on how the central co-ordination mechanisms worked through the crisis and covers seven key functions:
 - Strategic direction/decision-making
 - Operational co-ordination and implementation
 - Humanitarian response
 - Stabilisation planning
 - Co-ordination with Allies
 - Informing Parliament
 - Strategic communications
4. Departments will separately be conducting lessons learned exercises into their own operations.

Strategic direction/decision-making

5. The initial cross-Government response to the situation in Libya was co-ordinated through emergency meetings in COBR. The meetings were held at both Ministerial- and official-level, and focused at first on the consular situation and safe evacuation of British nationals from Libya.
6. In the space of a few days, the UK was able to evacuate over 800 UK nationals and over 1000 other nationals from Libya, with many hundreds of FCO and other HMG staff working in Libya and elsewhere in the region. But there were delays and other problems, which are reflected in the Review of Consular Evacuation Procedures² which the FCO published on 4 July. The evacuation from Libya stretched the FCO’s crisis response capability, taking place as it did against the backdrop of a wider and unfolding crisis in the Middle East and North Africa region that had already seen evacuations of British Nationals from Tunisia and Egypt. The earthquake in New Zealand, with British Nationals among the fatalities, added to the pressure.

² www.fco.gov.uk/resources/en/pdf/consular-evacuation-review

7. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office has already acted on a number of the recommendations in the Review, including: extending the range of suppliers who we can call on to provide charter flights to support any assisted departure or evacuation; increasing staffing in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Crisis Management Department; enhancing crisis training for staff; making ever greater use of both traditional and digital channels to communicate with British Nationals in a crisis; and developing a better crisis management command and control structure within the FCO.
8. The lessons identified in the Review are being taken forward along with work co-ordinating the domestic aspects of large scale evacuations. Alongside the consular response, the FCO moved quickly to establish a Libya Crisis Unit on 21 February. The Unit established crisis systems to deal with the large volume of Libya political work and drew in over 50 officials from across the FCO. This ensured adequate staffing 24 hours a day at the height of the crisis.
9. As the Libya crisis widened the NSC met at Ministerial level more regularly. By the time military action had been authorised in Libya, Qadhafi's forces had driven through a number of Libyan towns brutally repressing the popular protests. Ajdabiyah had already been taken by force and Benghazi was under imminent threat. Use of force - as a last resort - placed a premium on rapid and effective decision-making across government, and a sub-committee on Libya was formed with effect from 20 March 2011, three days after UNSCR1973 was passed and a day after the start of coalition action.
10. This sub-committee on Libya, the NSC(L), was the central forum for collective discussion of the Government's objectives on Libya and for their delivery. It drew together key Ministers from both parties in the Coalition, to enable them to make rapid, well-informed decisions that were co-ordinated across Government.
11. Membership of the NSC(L) is set out in Annex B.
12. The Attorney General was present at all meetings in which issues requiring a legal opinion were raised and discussed. The Attorney General himself attended NSC(L) on 39 occasions, the Solicitor General on 14 occasions, and his office on 3 occasions. UK action was based throughout on Attorney General advice and on advice from departmental legal advisers.
13. NSC(L) was chaired by the Prime Minister; in his absence by the Deputy Prime Minister or Foreign Secretary. When neither the Deputy Prime Minister nor the Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change were able to attend, another Liberal Democrat Minister, such as the Chief Secretary to the Treasury, was invited in order that both Coalition parties were represented.

14. Decisions on key policy issues were taken in Cabinet, particularly the deployment of UK military forces following adoption of UNSCR 1973, which the full Cabinet formally approved on the recommendation of the NSC and in accordance with the Attorney General's advice, which was circulated to all Cabinet members. Cabinet was briefed at regular intervals during the military campaign.
15. The National Security Adviser, the Chief of Defence Staff, the Chairman of the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) and Agency Heads were invited to attend all NSC(L) meetings.
16. The intelligence picture was briefed to Ministers at NSC(L) by the Chairman of the JIC or an alternate, supplemented by the Heads of the Agencies. The Joint Intelligence Organisation (JIO) in the Cabinet Office, which is responsible for all-source intelligence assessment, including the production of papers for the Joint Intelligence Committee, produced daily written intelligence summaries and situation reports in addition to formal assessments, drawing on inputs from Defence Intelligence, FCO Research Analysts and the intelligence Agencies.
17. Real time military, intelligence and diplomatic assessment of the situation, including from theatre, gave Ministers as clear an understanding as possible of the detailed context in which to take strategic decisions as well as identify areas where further action or advice was required. Once British missions in Benghazi and then Tripoli were established, British representatives participated in Ministerial meetings by secure telephone. The role of the Chief of Defence Intelligence in providing assessment of the military situation was important in bringing HMG's wider intelligence assessment capability to bear directly in NSC(L).
18. In addition to oral and written updates, and submissions that were frequently put to individual Ministers, NSC(L) collectively considered decisions on a number of key issues on the basis of papers it had commissioned. These comprised a mix of both detailed oversight and more specific thematic papers, which corresponded to the balance between the strategic and the tactical nature of NSC(L) discussions.
19. Meetings of NSC(L) were held in COBR, enabling officials from departments to listen to discussion from neighbouring rooms in the suite. COBR had facilities to link with posts by secure VTC or telephone link.

Operational co-ordination and implementation

20. An official-level body was established under the NSC(L) to coordinate cross-Whitehall implementation of Ministerial decisions and to maintain coordination between Ministerial meetings. The NSC(L)(Officials) was chaired by the National Security Adviser or a deputy. It met on a regular basis, including on a daily basis

as necessary. It comprised the same Departmental membership as NSC(L), and often included via video teleconference key posts in the FCO network, including UKMis New York, UKDel NATO, the Embassies in Paris, and Washington and, when possible, the UK Special Representatives in Benghazi and Tripoli.

21. Implementation of decisions taken by NSC(L) was coordinated at a central level by a dedicated Libya unit established in the National Security Secretariat (NSS). This unit supplemented existing staff members with a new Director and desk officers recruited from outside the Secretariat.
22. The creation of this new unit was essential to the effective functioning of NSC(L) mechanisms by:
 - supporting the NSC, NSC(L) and the National Security Adviser (NSA) on all matters relating to Libya;
 - providing effective support to Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister with timely advice and briefing on Libya; and
 - ensuring timely implementation of NSC(L) discussion.
23. Each meeting on Libya was minuted and the record circulated to departments by the NSS Libya Unit, who provided a progress chasing function.
24. An Oil Cell was set up in early May 2011 to coordinate and lead HMG work on oil. Its purpose was to ensure both that there was not a shortage of oil in liberated Libya which could have had an impact on power generation; and that the sanctions established in UNSCRs 1970 & 1973 were effective. It was a cross-Whitehall group based in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office that provided information and recommendations to the NSS Libya Unit and NSC(L). The Head of the Oil Cell was invited to attend NSC(L) as a matter of course, ensuring this priority issue received the attention and consideration by Ministers that it merited.
25. The Oil Cell drew on existing expertise from within the FCO and was supported by additional staff from Cabinet Office and MOD to draw together information on the oil situation. The Oil Cell contacted industry experts and commercial providers to augment HMG's understanding of the emerging oil picture in Libya based on industry contacts with the NTC, and to spot opportunities for further cutting supplies to the Qadhafi regime. The Oil Cell drew on multiple sources, including diplomatic, legal, military, technical, satellite, intelligence, open source and industry expertise, to achieve its objectives. It created a clear and effective focal point for all oil issues and ensured cooperation and input from across Whitehall, NATO and other international bodies and was ultimately successful in helping to address shortages of oil in liberated parts of Libya while disrupting and constricting Qadhafi's attempts to supply his military machine and to raise revenue through sales, thereby hindering his ability to brutalise Libyan civilians.

The Cell was instrumental in working with the FCO and HMT in recommending additional ways to tighten pressure on Qadhafi were not missed.

26. Effective use of financial sanctions to safeguard Libyan assets for the benefit of the Libyan people and to limit Qadhafi's access to finance for his war effort was an important part of the international response to the conflict, with the UK leading at both UN and EU levels. This required significant cross-government working and use of the Libya NSC(L) and NSC L(O) processes. The FCO led international efforts to secure a UN asset freeze against Qadhafi's regime early in the conflict and identify the Libyan institutions holding these assets. This was proposed by the UK in the Security Council and was followed by EU autonomous measures one week later. HM Treasury took action to implement the UN asset freeze in the UK immediately through an Order in Council agreed at an emergency meeting of the Privy Council. This meant the freeze came into effect over the course of a weekend and was communicated to the financial sector for them to act on Monday morning. c.£12 billion was frozen in the UK – an unprecedented amount for any country sanctions regime. To maximise impact, the FCO lobbied all UN member states through posts to robustly enforce the sanctions mandated under UNSCR 1970 and 1973.
27. HM Treasury worked with other departments to ensure that the sanctions also caught a stock of unissued Libyan Dinar banknotes worth approximately £1 billion. Some of these notes were already on their way to Libya and others were held in storage in the UK. The Treasury worked with the shipping line, currency printer, BIS, FCO, HMRC and others to ensure the notes were secured here and not shipped to Libya where they risked being used by Qadhafi to fund his military campaign. Following the initial asset freeze, sanctions were extended through further designations of Libyan companies and individuals at EU and UN level. This provided greater clarity on the scope of the sanctions for the financial sector.
28. British Embassy operations in Tripoli were suspended on 26 February following the evacuation of UK nationals. On their return to the UK, Richard Northern, the Ambassador, and other members of the Embassy were incorporated into the FCO's Libya Unit, where they played an important role in providing expert knowledge to both the FCO and Whitehall, delivering messages to those elements of the Libyan government in contact with the international community, and liaising with the developing opposition, both inside Libya and abroad.
29. The FCO first sought to re-establish a presence in Libya in March. As the Foreign Secretary informed the House on 7 March a small British diplomatic team travelled to eastern Libya in circumstances, which, at the time, HMG judged required protection, to build on initial contacts and to assess the scope for closer diplomatic dialogue. The team was withdrawn after a serious misunderstanding about its role, leading to its temporary detention. This situation was resolved and

senior Arabic speaking diplomats with extensive experience of conflict situations led the FCO efforts to provide a cross-Whitehall platform in Benghazi in April and then in Tripoli immediately after its liberation in September.

30. Christopher Prentice, a former Ambassador to Baghdad, established the UK presence in Benghazi as UK Special Representative. The cross-Whitehall Mission secured a reputation as one of the best informed and best connected diplomatic presences in Benghazi. Sir John Jenkins, most recently Ambassador to Baghdad, took over leadership of the Mission and a UK office was established in Tripoli on 5 September. The UK was one of the first to re-establish a presence in Tripoli, coordinating the redeployment to Tripoli with the NTC acting Prime Minister Jibril's arrival there.
31. Experience gained in Benghazi enabled the UK to move speedily and smoothly to Tripoli to provide an operating platform which has grown to (as at 25 November) 24 staff from the FCO and other Departments. On 17 October, the Foreign Secretary formally re-opened the Embassy in Tripoli and announced the appointment of Sir John Jenkins as the new British Ambassador. He was succeeded by Dominic Asquith, formerly UK Ambassador in Cairo, in mid November 2011.
32. Throughout the deployment in Libya, the Special Representative's team brought together experts from across Whitehall, ensuring that advice back to Ministers was co-ordinated and reflected all the advice of all Departments. The rapid establishment of a diplomatic presence on the ground whilst the conflict continued was essential in ensuring that Ministers had an accurate and informed picture of the situation on the ground, and authoritative interlocutors with the Transitional National Council. It also enabled the UK to provide bilateral support in response to the practical needs of the NTC. The UK Special Representative took part in NSC(L) and NSC(L)(O) meetings by secure telephone.
33. The last meeting of NSC(L)(O) took place on 2 November, after which point the FCO assumed the lead in cross-Whitehall coordination of HMG's Libya policy. The FCO chairs regular meetings on stabilisation and ad hoc meetings on bilateral issues, including commercial, legacy, migration and other issues, which are attended by relevant Government Departments and (by video teleconference) key posts from across the FCO's diplomatic network.

Humanitarian Response

34. The UK's humanitarian response helped maintain the dignity of over 1.6 million civilians affected by the conflict.
35. DFID developed a 'Strategic Humanitarian Framework' for the Libya Crisis which clearly set out parameters of the UK's humanitarian response, focusing on

protection, assistance for survival and enabling the international humanitarian community to deliver. Contingency plans were put in place for anticipated humanitarian needs in 'Week One' following an expected fall of the Qadhafi Regime, together with plans for the political and communications challenges. Liaison with humanitarian agencies ensured that effective contingency plans by the UN and others were in place and that these could rapidly be made operational.

36. In the early stages of the crisis large numbers of people including migrant workers sought to leave the country putting great pressure on Libya's borders with Egypt and Tunisia. The UK was one of the first to respond by providing emergency shelter supplies and supporting the International Organisation for Migration to repatriate over 12,700 migrant workers. This action helped prevent a wide scale humanitarian crisis and galvanised other members of the international community to assist with evacuations and repatriations.
37. As the crisis developed, the focus shifted to civilians affected by the conflict inside Libya. The UK provided tents and blankets to give emergency shelter to people driven out of their homes by ongoing fighting. In Misrata, the UK provided essential support during a two month siege by Qadhafi's forces, including the emergency evacuation of nearly 5,000 vulnerable migrant workers and injured civilians.
38. The UK also provided humanitarian support through the International Committee of the Red Cross / Crescent (ICRC) regional appeal, both at the outset of the crisis to meet immediate humanitarian needs, and after the fall of Tripoli, to help to deal with the new challenges including on health and protection of civilians. DFID supported a range of other humanitarian partners (UNICEF, World Health Organisation and the International Medical Corps) to supply urgently needed food, medical supplies and medical personnel.
39. Post-conflict, DFID humanitarian support continues to play an important role in supporting early recovery efforts. Funding to the Mines Advisory Group is enabling the clearance of explosive remnants of war in different areas in Libya with the aim of protecting up to one million people from unexploded devices. Further support to the UN Mines Action Service for de-mining activities will enable them to expand emergency mine clearance work, including in the areas of Sirte and Bani Walid, and will contribute to assisting thousands of people to return to their homes.
40. The effective and timely humanitarian response was important in demonstrating the international community's resolve to implement UNSCRs 1970 and 1973 because it demonstrated international support for the protection of Libyan civilians.

Stabilisation Planning

41. A key lesson learned from Iraq was the importance of extensive planning on post-conflict stabilisation early in the campaign. The Stabilisation Unit (SU) which reports to the MOD, FCO and DFID was established in 2007 to coordinate and support cross government stabilisation planning and execution. SU was tasked early on (24 February) by the Ministry of Defence and Cabinet Office to facilitate early scenario planning, which later formed the basis for much of the subsequent post-conflict stabilisation and recovery planning. The Stabilisation Unit also provided papers to inform the thinking of senior officials and the NSC on early stabilisation priorities.
42. Ministerial responsibility for stabilisation and post-conflict planning was assigned to the International Development Secretary; this single, strong Ministerial lead helped to drive delivery across government. Given the cross-departmental nature of stabilisation activity, a separate subcommittee at official level (initially NSC(L)(O)(St) and later the Post Conflict Coordination Cell) was established. NSC(L)(O)(St) met on a total of 10 occasions, and the PCCC has met 16 times. These structures allowed for co-ordination of interested departments, reflecting the importance of political and security as well as economic factors in post-conflict stabilisation.
43. The guiding principle of the UK's response planning on stabilisation was that it should be Libyan-owned and UN-coordinated. Support for Libyan-led stabilisation through technical assistance, not aid, underpinned initial stabilisation support. Mobilising Libya's own significant financial resources would be a key factor.
44. As the NTC's financing need became urgent and oil revenues could not be restarted, the UK led international thinking on establishing an alternative mechanism to provide revenue for the NTC. The FCO provided the impetus to create the Temporary Financing Mechanism, including funding the consultants that put in place its operating procedures, working alongside the NTC, Qatar, US, France and others. The management of the Mechanism by an independent financial agent gave donors the confidence to give or loan money in the knowledge that there was transparent and independent oversight of the funds, and that they would be used in accordance with the relevant UNSCRs.
45. The UK worked with the NTC, US, France and others to agree operating procedures for the Temporary Financial Mechanism, which allowed donors to give or loan money with confidence that asset freezing measures were being observed. There was intense work done across HMT and FCO on how frozen assets could be released. HMG kept in close contact with the US, France and other key Member States to share ideas and best practice, but until the liberation of Tripoli the international community was unable to release large amounts of frozen assets as: the asset freeze regime applied to a wide range of entities and

individuals across the entire country; the assets belonged to various Libyan institutions and individuals, and could not be used without the express permission of their owners; and there was insufficient political agreement at the UN to release assets under exemptions. This impasse proved frustrating, given the acute need to help the NTC. HMT and FCO ensured that all options considered were within the framework of EU and UN sanctions. Eventually releasing assets was achieved under licence, following the agreement of the UN Sanctions Committee. HMT and FCO worked closely together to manage a discrete project to release the Libyan Dinar banknotes held in the UK to meet the urgent need for hard currency. Following UN approval to release the notes under licence, the FCO and MOD organised a rapid logistics exercise to arrange their safe delivery on MOD aircraft.

46. As the NTC gained increasing control in Libya, work shifted to planning for a new UNSCR to set a framework for a broader unfreezing of assets. The UK led discussions in New York to negotiate a Resolution that immediately lifted the sanctions against the oil companies to ensure there was no block to resuming oil trade and modified the freeze against key state entities so they could engage in transactions. This approach ensured there was the necessary flexibility to meet financing needs whilst managing the risks posed by wholesale unfreezing of significant state assets whilst a new government was being formed.
47. There was no provision under the UNSCRs for the UN to take forward stabilisation (as opposed to humanitarian) activities in Libya. Nonetheless, the requirement for early planning and international coordination still remained. Following discussion at the Rome Contact Group on 5 May 2011, the UK co-ordinated and provided the operating platform for an International Stabilisation Response Team (ISRT), which was deployed to Benghazi between 20 May and 9 June. Although the UK took the initiative in establishing the team, it was multinational in nature reflecting broad international consensus in favour of stabilisation and recovery in Libya.
48. The Stabilisation Unit prepared and deployed the ISRT in just over two weeks, with accommodation, support and protection. The ISRT's role was to identify the immediate challenges facing the Libyan people and suggest how the international community might support Libyan-led efforts during this transition. This would support the NTC in identifying immediate stabilisation needs and allow them to plan accordingly, until the UN and multinational organisations could be fully established
49. Experts joined the ISRT from Italy, Australia, Denmark, the US, the UK and Turkey. All advisers worked in partnership with the Libyans (including the NTC's own stabilisation planners in Dubai), multilateral and bilateral partners, to ensure

a coherent package of UK and international support. The aim was to ensure that any UK activities were aligned with NTC and UN priorities and plans.

50. Concurrently, the UK's own planning on "week one" support (i.e. immediately after the fall of the regime) was developed to ensure an effective mechanism was in place to support the NTC in the early stages of stabilisation and ensure we were ready to respond immediately after the fall of Tripoli. Ministers agreed in July to a menu of measures which could be drawn on in response to NTC-articulated needs. DFID, working with the Stabilisation Unit identified and rapidly deployed public financial management, civil society and senior police advisers who were focused on immediate stabilisation needs in "week one" and beyond. The first UK stabilisation advisers deployed to Libya on 6 April with the UK Special Representative.
51. It was also recognised that the international financial institutions - principally the IMF and World Bank – would have an important role to play in providing technical assistance, advice and support for post conflict stabilisation. The IMF in particular had a relationship with the Libyan economic and financial authorities before the crisis and some expertise in the challenges Libya would face.
52. The Conflict Pool has proved a flexible and effective source of funding for Libya stabilisation efforts. NSC(L) agreed to allocate £20.5m for Libya for FY 11/12. Decisions on spending reflected NSC(L) decisions and included practical support such as communications equipment and body armour, financial and staff support and specific technical advice on policing and public financial management.

Co-ordination with Allies

53. The campaign in Libya demonstrated how the international community – through effective bilateral and multilateral coordination – can intervene decisively to protect civilians under threat from a brutal dictatorship. The full texts of UNSCRs 1970, 1973, 2009 and 2016 are at annex C.
54. UNSCRs 1970 and 1973 provided an agreed legal framework within which the UK and the wider international community operated. UNSCR 1970 was the first unanimous UNSC referral of a situation to the International Criminal Court. It also established an arms embargo, travel ban and asset freeze in Libya. Following focused diplomatic lobbying efforts in New York and across the FCO's global network, UNSCR 1973 permitting all necessary measures for the protection of civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in Libya, establishing the no fly zone and enforcement of the arms embargo, and creating the panel of experts to oversee sanctions was adopted by 10 votes for and none against, with 5 abstentions.

55. The UK led on Libya in New York from the beginning of the crisis to its end – from the initial press statement, to drafting and securing through negotiations UNSCRs 1970 and 1973, through to the unanimous adoptions of UNSCR 2009 establishing the UN Stabilisation Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) and adjusting the assets freeze and finally UNSCR 2016 lifting the No Fly Zone and terminating the mandate to protect civilians. Key to success at the UN was Arab League and other regional support, including the Arab League’s call for a No-Fly Zone, the defection of the Libyan Permanent Representative to the UN, and Arab and African states voting in favour of UNSCR 1973. There was intensive engagement through the FCO network with the Arab League and individual Arab countries. The Arab League’s engagement on this issue reached unprecedented levels, most notably in the support provided by Qatar and the UAE, who were central to setting the direction of the international community’s efforts, and demonstrated the benefit of sustained UK engagement.
56. The role played by NATO was also vital to the success of the Libya campaign, and the UK was an influential voice within it. Of particular importance was NATO’s ability to secure agreement amongst Allies to launch its operation quickly, to implement this decision effectively and to sustain the level of military contributions to the operation, including agreeing to extend the operation twice. The arms embargo operation was launched within six days of UNSCR 1973 being adopted and NATO assumed full operational command of all military operations in Libya within 15 days of the Resolution being passed. The fact that this operation was undertaken using NATO command and control structures was critical to securing military contributions from regional partners. The UK Delegation to NATO, supported by a concerted lobbying effort by the diplomatic network, was instrumental in securing agreement for NATO to launch the operations in Libya, in particular by setting out the key principles of demonstrable need, clear legal basis and regional support which were adopted by NATO. The FCO and MOD worked closely together to provide co-ordinated and timely instruction to the Joint Delegation to enable diplomats in Brussels to respond quickly as negotiations progressed. In response to clear tasking from NSC(L), the FCO and MOD worked closely together to ensure that the UK played an active role in ensuring that NATO’s military requirements were met throughout the operation. Contact was also enhanced with the BRIC countries to set out the rationale of our position.
57. Defence Ministers discussed Libya regularly at NATO formal and informal meetings, as did the Chiefs of Defence Staff (CHODS) at their routine NATO meetings. For the NATO Operation UNIFIED PROTECTOR, these routine meetings were supplemented by Contact Group meetings (Heads of Government / Foreign Secretaries) and specific meeting of CHODS.

58. Following UNSCR 1973's adoption, the diplomatic network was deployed to secure wide international support. In the aftermath of the summit organised by President Sarkozy in Paris, the FCO prepared the 29 March London Conference on Libya. The London Conference provided the basis for much of the political work on Libya that was to follow; it created the Libya Contact Group and sent a clear message that the international community was committed to implementation of the UNSCRs, that Qadhafi could not act with impunity and that the Libyans would determine their own future. This was re-enforced in joint opinion editorial by the Prime Minister, with President Obama and President Sarkozy, published on 14 April, which set out the essential demands of the Qadhafi regime.
59. Although the chair of the Contact Group rotated, this UK-conceived structure sustained and intensified these messages over the forthcoming months. It acted as a crucial focal point for the coordination of international political and diplomatic efforts and was the focus of much UK diplomatic effort. Its growth and that of its successor, the Friends of Libya Group, highlighted the increasing international legitimacy of the NTC and provided a valuable avenue for coordinated support to the NTC. This was supported by wider FCO bilateral lobbying of international partners across the Middle East, Africa and further afield, including BRIC nations, and work in international institutions such as the UN and EU to support implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions. The establishment of regular meetings of Chiefs of Defence helped ensure that effective coordination between key nations was conducted at a military level as well.
60. Unsurprisingly, complete international consensus was not achieved, however, as evidenced by some criticism, notably from the African Union (AU) and BRICS countries of NATO action. The UK and other allies recognised the importance of the AU, and engaged with its Commission and member states on a regular basis. This included visits by senior officials and Ministers to key member nations. Dr Jean Ping, Chairperson AU Commission, visited London twice. The Development Secretary and the Minister for Africa attended the AU Summit in Malabo in June which offered the opportunity to engage with several African Foreign Ministers and Heads of State. The AU Commission also attended the Contact Group meetings as an observer/invitee. The African Union's position remained divided: some states publicly supported NATO action, despite others remaining critical. AU Heads of State agreed a Libya road-map which contained a number of points that HMG welcomed.
61. The Foreign Secretary announced the UK's decision to recognise and deal with the NTC as the sole governmental authority in Libya on 27 July. This reflected the 15 July Istanbul Contact Group conclusions and the NTC's increasing legitimacy, competence and success in reaching out to Libyans across the country. The FCO worked with the NTC and partners to engage the wider international community to secure broad recognition of the NTC, prioritising those

international organisations which were key to stabilisation and recovery efforts. This resulted in the NTC taking up the Libyan seat at the Arab League at the end of August, contributed to the NTC's success in being accredited at the UN during UNGA and later at the AU, and in the IMF and World Bank increasing their efforts to help the NTC rebuild the Libyan economy.

62. Formal recognition was also necessary to enable the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to engage in Libya with the NTC (under their legal arrangements they continued to recognise the Qadhafi regime until a formal decision was taken by shareholders to change). The UK worked closely with IMF and World Bank staff to encourage them to engage actively with shareholders and seek views on recognition, as well as with other significant shareholders at the institutions. Following a vote of shareholders, the IMF announced formal recognition of the NTC in the margins of the Marseille Finance Ministers meeting on 10 September. An IMF-Bank mission deployed to Tripoli in early October to inform an initial needs assessment and initiate work on public financial management

63. As the conflict on the ground entered its final stages and the NTC grew in stature, the UK continued to take the lead in multilateral fora in providing the framework for effective, coordinated international support to Libya. The UK drafted and led negotiations to secure UNSCR 2009 in mid-September to lift partially the asset freeze and establish the UN Support Mission in Libya. After the fall of Sirte and the declaration of liberation by the National Transitional Council, the UK Mission to the United Nations in New York, and the UK Delegation to NATO in Brussels worked closely with the NTC and other national delegations to ensure that both organisations responded in a timely way to end the UN mandate for military action to protect civilians in Libya through a new UN Security Council Resolution (2016) and also to end NATO Operation Unified Protector. Both decisions were passed unanimously and entered into force on 31 October.

Informing Parliament

64. The Government has reported fully to Parliament since the start of the crisis in Libya in February 2011.

65. The Prime Minister delivered his first oral statement to the House of Commons on Libya on 28 February 2011, and on four separate occasions since, most recently on 24 October 2011. He has regularly answered questions on Libya at Prime Minister's Questions and before the House of Commons Liaison Committee.

66. In addition, the Secretaries of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, for Defence, and for International Development have all delivered statements, engaged in debates and answered oral and written Parliamentary Questions on Libya during this period.

67. On 17 March, the UN Security Council adopted UNSCR 1973 on Libya authorising the use of “all necessary measures” to enforce a no fly zone and to protect civilians and civilian populated areas. On 18 March, the Prime Minister made a statement to the House outlining the terms of this Resolution and on 21 March, led a debate in the House of Commons on the Resolution, at the conclusion of which a motion was passed by 557 votes to 13 supporting the use of UK armed forces and military assets in accordance with this Resolution. The outcome of the vote in favour of the Government’s motion on Libya demonstrated the overwhelming cross-party support for the UK’s intervention in Libya.

Strategic Communications

68. Effective strategic communications work was central to the conduct of the campaign, especially in a 24/7 media context. While the campaign underlined the need to ensure that actions and words were closely aligned across all national means of communication, communications activity also included co-ordination with NATO and other Allies; measures to limit the effectiveness of Qadhafi propaganda and support for the NTC; and synchronising military activity with messages aimed at weakening the regime’s intimidation of the population.

69. The Libya Communications Team (LCT), based in No10, led co-ordination of HMG’s strategic communications operation, drawing on expertise and personnel from across Whitehall. The Head of this team attended every NSC(L) and NSC(L)(O) and briefed on HMG Communications work under the relevant agenda item.

70. This team co-ordinated production of a daily script and communications activity grid to support our wider objectives through effective communications. It also provided a point of contact for the NATO media operations centre, international allies and internal and external partners with regular calls to key NATO and regional allies to share scripts and co-ordinate communications activity.

71. The role of the LCT evolved as the emphasis became less on the military operation and more on the political track, transition and stabilisation and the NTC’s capacity to govern.

72. Supporting the LCT was the Cross Government Strategic Communication Synchronisation Group (SCSG) chaired by MOD at the request of the Cabinet Office. The SCSG successfully brought together traditional communications with a range of capabilities to encourage the opposition and discourage pro-Qadhafi elements in regime-controlled areas; all synchronised with other diplomatic and military activity. The Group had access and updates from the NATO operational command and were able to influence NATO planning and decisions. The SCSG identified opportunities and key audiences and produced narratives and plans to

co-ordinate and synchronise cross-Government communications activity for key events.

73. Qadhafi and his regime used state media for propaganda and inciting attacks on civilians. The UK worked with international partners to limit broadcast of such programmes. Action included listing Libyan State TV under EU sanctions and lobbying local authorities via diplomatic channels to stop transmission. This proved a lengthy, complex and difficult process as many satellite broadcasters had complex ownership structures. One broadcaster, Al-Rai based in Syria, continued to broadcast on behalf of Qadhafi and his regime throughout the conflict. Through close co-ordination with MOD colleagues and by tasking media partners to monitor Al-Rai's broadcasts, we were able to determine the technological capabilities of Al-Rai and submit a compelling case to the relevant authorities to take the channel off air. Eventually, the NTC were able to make use of the former regime frequencies and broadcast footage of the revolution.
74. For its part, the NTC increasingly realised the importance of strategic communications and the FCO, with MOD support, led HMG efforts, in response to NTC requests, to build their capability in Benghazi and outside of Libya.

Lessons

75. Each conflict is different, and the approach adopted needs to be tailored to the circumstances. Nonetheless, there are lessons we can learn from this campaign on how the Whitehall machine operated and to guide HMG for handling future conflicts.

(a) strategic direction/decision-making

76. Overall, the central co-ordination mechanisms worked well. The new NSC structures were effective in delivering a well-coordinated UK contribution to the Libya campaign.
77. A notable feature of the conduct of the campaign was the time dedicated to collective Ministerial discussion – 62 meetings of NSC(L) alone. A clear lesson is that the conduct of modern conflicts - which require simultaneous consideration of political, humanitarian and military strands and are conducted in a 24 hour media context – requires Ministers to be abreast of the tactical as well as strategic issues.
78. In order, therefore, to use this time as efficiently as possible it will be important to:
- a. Establish a clear operating rhythm as quickly as possible to balance the frequency of meetings against the need for sufficient time for work to be undertaken to implement Ministerial decisions;

- b. Ensure that Departments move rapidly to increase staffing to operate at an increased tempo. Following the decision by Cabinet to deploy UK military assets in support of UNSCR 1973, the National Security Adviser wrote to Departments setting out the rhythm of meetings and the requirements for departments to attend. The Cabinet Secretary's office also wrote to Departments acknowledging the need for more staffing resources to be made available. This practice should be repeated in future crises to enable HMG to prioritise resources;
- c. Establish from the outset a process to produce integrated briefing for Ministers drawing on secret and open source material, and covering diplomatic, intelligence, military, and humanitarian reporting. A single expert briefing to provide an oral update at the beginning of each meeting would free up senior officials for comment and discussion. Oral briefing should be supported by a single integrated update; the Assessments Staff have been tasked with developing a template.;
- d. Make more use of the weekly NSC(O) meeting of Permanent Secretaries. Ministers could in the future task this forum for strategic advice on the campaign.

79. The continuing presence of a large number of British nationals seeking assistance was a major priority in the early stages of the crisis. Dealing effectively with consular issues will remain a key part of handling future crises. The first priority is always likely to be effecting the safe extraction of those UK nationals who want to leave, as early as possible in future crises.

80. To manage expectations our public messaging through Travel Advice and Ministerial statements needs to be clear about what help the Embassy can provide and what action UK nationals should take in response to the situation on the ground. The FCO is taking forward the recommendations identified in its Review of Consular Evacuation Procedures including: extending the range of suppliers whom we can call on to provide charter flights to support any assisted departure or evacuation; increasing staffing in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office's Crisis Management Department; enhancing crisis training for staff; making ever greater use of both traditional and digital channels to communicate with British Nationals in a crisis; and developing a better crisis management command and control structure within the FCO.

(b) Operational co-ordination and implementation

81. NSC(L)(O) provided an effective and flexible forum for preparation and implementation of NSC(L) decisions. Including key UK missions abroad by videoconference as standard at least once a week allowed direct input and direction across the network.

82. The creation of a dedicated National Security Secretariat Libya Unit, drawing on other Whitehall resources, should be replicated in similar future events.
83. Minutes of all NSC(L) discussion were issued by close of business the same day. Action points were issued by email immediately after meetings to officials in departments. Similar arrangements will be needed in future, to allow information to be shared among the large number of people working on a crisis.
84. Dedicated cross-Government units, such as the Oil Cell, enabled resources to be focused on critical areas and expertise to be drawn from across departments presenting a consolidated and coherent picture. The formation of similar cross-governmental team should be considered at an early stage of any future crisis to address cross-cutting issues, either reporting direct to the NSC or housed within Departments.
85. The Libya crisis underlined the importance of dealing effectively with the economic aspects of a conflict. Early cross-Whitehall engagement and clarity on objectives is key to ensuring sanctions are most effectively tailored in support of policy goals. The economic dimension should remain at the forefront of a future campaign throughout its planning and execution. Economic analysis and policy should feature more prominently at the early stages of conflict planning.

(c) Humanitarian Response

86. In accordance with the UK Government's Humanitarian Policy, humanitarian support in Libya has been provided according to need. We have provided funding through international humanitarian agencies which are best placed to deliver aid effectively on the ground and have proven experience of doing this. We have maintained a strong multilateral approach, working with the UN and NTC to coordinate an effective response, and have encouraged others to do likewise.
87. Communication of the international humanitarian response was important in maintaining confidence in the ability to manage the situation. An inclusive humanitarian response and effective communication of this approach also supported the core HMG message that the purpose of the international intervention in Libya was to protect civilians. Moreover, it helped to bestow confidence and legitimacy in the NTC and its ability to respond fairly and effectively to the needs of the Libyan people.

(d) Stabilisation Planning

88. The guiding principle of the UK's planning on stabilisation was that it should be Libyan-owned and UN-coordinated. But the Libya crisis also demonstrated that, in practice, the UN might not always be in a position to lead on planning from the outset. The UK should therefore be ready to play an interim role in facilitating early planning and then feed analysis into the UN led process as soon as

possible. In doing so it will be important to ensure that teams deployed for this purpose are closely co-ordinated with the host authority and include regional expertise.

89. The UK defined a set of principles for its stabilisation assistance including: supporting Libyan-owned and UN-led solutions; limited and proportional interventions where the UK has expertise and legitimacy to engage, and appropriate burden sharing and value for money..
90. A single Ministerial lead helped to drive delivery across government. This worked best when there was a clear line of sight to delivery and supported by lean Whitehall structures with clear reporting lines. Clarifying the division of responsibilities of specific departments from the outset avoided duplication of actions and ensured accountability.
91. Operationally the UK was also able through the Stabilisation Unit to deliver a significant multinational team which identified the immediate challenges facing the Libyan people and suggested where international support may be required. Rapid deployment of this team was a significant achievement. The NTC's strong political direction and detailed stabilisation plan ensured that international assistance addressed critical needs in a coherent way.
92. Encouraging a clear division of labour for the transition period, in particular between the UN, EU, World Bank and IMF in supporting a Coordinated Needs Assessment, has helped to avoid a duplication of activities and supported NTC leadership

(e) Co-ordination with Allies

93. UNSCRs 1970 and 1973 defined the legal framework within which the UK could act. The FCO led on these through established structures. This allowed for the agility and flexibility necessary in fast-moving international negotiations. However, a cross-Government process led by a senior FCO official would help to maximise the effectiveness of sanctions and evaluate options and strategic implications. It is particularly important to pay close attention to the impact on all parties affected by the wording of UN sanctions resolutions, and to ensure processes are in place to do this during fast moving negotiations.
94. Throughout the campaign, staff from the Cabinet Office, FCO, MOD and DFID engaged with Operation Unified Protector allies in capitals and through the permanent national delegations in Brussels (NATO), Mons (SHAPE) and New York (UN). This maintained structured dialogue on policy and military channels (for example: political mandates; military force structures). This enhanced common understanding and management of the campaign across the main lines of development and provided the opportunity to resolve issues arising.

95. With NATO in command of military operations, executive political direction was exercised through the North Atlantic Council (NAC). NATO proved flexible, reliable and capable of including five non-NATO nations to Operation Unified Protector (UAE, Qatar, Jordan, Morocco and Sweden) and very successfully combined the military assets of its members and partners into an effective force. As with other NATO operations, non-NATO countries contributing to the military operations attended the associated NAC meetings. Military operational planning was conducted in the Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe (SHAPE), with the day to day running of the operations conducted from NATO commands in Poggio and Naples for the air and maritime components respectively.
96. Notwithstanding these successes, we believe more flexibility is required in command structures to enhance communications with Allies (and partners) providing the key assets to the operation. The UK should ensure that it has better representation in NATO headquarters that are most likely to be relevant to the conduct of future operations.
97. Considerable efforts were made to engage nations and organisations, notably the African Union, that were critical of UK and NATO actions, with the FCO leading efforts to conduct a concerted lobbying campaign. In future crises, the Government should again implement a sustained campaign, using the FCO's overseas network, to explain and encourage support for the campaign objectives.
98. The UK has supported the NTC since its creation on 5 March. The UK's long-standing policy is to recognise States, not Governments. But in certain exceptional cases, such as happened with the NTC and Libya, HMG should be ready to review and adapt such policies, even where deeply engrained, where that is clearly in the UK's interests to do so.
99. Acting in consultation with the NTC and other international partners, the UK helped to ensure the NTC was fully informed of the timing and sequencing of decision-making regarding the adoption of UNSCR 2016 and conclusion of NATO's Operation Unified Protector (with NATO taking its decision after the UN SCR had been passed). The UK encouraged the NTC to write to the Security Council expressing their agreement with proposed decision. This written agreement arrived only shortly before the Security Council took its decision, which demonstrated the value of engaging early on post-conflict planning with administrations in transition.

(f) Strategic Communications

100. Good strategic communications must be an integral part of every campaign from the outset and planned for accordingly, both nationally and as an Alliance.

101. A small communications team is being established which will sit in Cabinet Office and support NSC business and its policy advisers, reporting to the National Security Adviser and the Prime Minister's Spokesman. This team should in future be able to fulfil the central coordination role, by working closely with relevant departments to identify and set up a virtual cross-Government communications team, with the appropriate skills, to ensure HMG can respond quickly and effectively to breaking news, anticipate challenges and provide strategic communications advice to the PM, NSA and relevant Ministers. The Strategic Communication Synchronisation Group (SCSG) should be chaired from the Cabinet Office to support the newly-formed NSC communications team.

Annex A: Timeline

15-18 February: Revolution begins with protests in Benghazi. Protests spread over next days to other towns in Libya.

19 February: First demonstrations in Tripoli.

23 February – 1 March: Chartered planes, military flights and military ships evacuate British nationals from Libya.

25 February: extraordinary meeting of NATO's North Atlantic Council (NAC) decides prudent military planning should continue. UN Human Rights Council votes to suspend Libya's membership because of gross human rights violations.

26 February: UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1970 refers the situation in Libya to the International Criminal Court (ICC); imposes an arms embargo and other arms restrictions; and imposes targeted sanctions on key regime figures. Operations of UK Embassy in Tripoli suspended.

28 February: NATO continues prudent planning with a focus on improving situational awareness and elaborating more coercive action such as a No Fly Zone.

2 March: the NAC meets to discuss Libya.

3 March NAC tasking on Libya produced. FCO advises against all travel to Libya.

5 March: Libyan opposition National Transitional Council (NTC) established and convenes first meeting.

6 March: Qadhafi launches a counter-offensive, retaking Ras Lanuf as well as Brega, pushing towards Ajdabiya and Benghazi.

8 March, NATO steps up its surveillance operations in the Central Mediterranean, deploying AWACS aircraft to provide round-the-clock observation of movements in Libyan airspace.

10 March: France recognizes NTC as 'legitimate representative of the Libyan people'. NATO Defence Ministers meet in Brussels and approved movement of additional maritime assets under his command into the Central Mediterranean. African Union (AU) Peace and Security Council meet in Addis, establish the AU ad hoc Committee on Libya.

11 March, NATO produces a Strategic Planning Directive for enforcing the Arms Embargo. Extraordinary European Council discusses response to Libya, Egypt and Tunisia.

12 March: Arab League requests the UNSC to impose a No Fly Zone (NFZ) in Libyan airspace.

14 March, the NATO Military Committee produces advice on the establishment of a No Fly Zone (NFZ);

17 March: United Nations Security Council passes UNSCR 1973. Imposes a no-fly zone in Libyan airspace and allows for 'all necessary measures' to protect civilians.

19 March: Paris Summit. Start of coalition action. Qadhafi's forces enter outskirts of Benghazi with tanks from the west and south.

20 March, SHAPE held a Force Generation Conference for the NFZ.

21 March: UK MPs vote by 557 to 13 in favour of military action to implement UNSCR 1973.

23 March: NATO ships and aircraft began operating in the Central Mediterranean to make sure that the flow of weapons to Libya by sea was cut off. They have the right to stop and search any vessel they suspect of carrying arms or mercenaries. The NAC considered a draft NID for taking action in accordance with UNSCR 1973 to protect civilians in Libya and enforce a NFZ.

24 March: NATO decides to enforce the UN-mandated no-fly zone over Libya. The UN resolution banned all flights, except those for humanitarian and aid purposes, in Libyan airspace in order to ensure that civilians and civilian-populated areas could not be subjected to air attack.

25 March: NATO announces that it will be taking over the command of the no-fly-zone operations.

27 March, NATO Secretary General Rasmussen announced that NATO Allies would implement all aspects of the UN resolution – “nothing more, nothing less” – in order to protect civilians and civilian-populated areas under attack or threat of attack from the Qadhafi regime.

28 March: A British diplomatic mission established headed by Christopher Prentice

29 March: London Conference on Libya. Over 40 countries attend.

30 March: Moussa Koussa, the Libyan Foreign Minister, defects and arrives in Britain. Foreign Secretary announces expulsion of five diplomats from Libyan Embassy.

31 March: NATO takes command of Coalition air operations in Libya. Subsequent operations are carried out as part of Operation Unified Protector.

4 April: Italy recognises NTC.

10-11 April: AU ad hoc Committee visit Tripoli and Benghazi.

13 April: First meeting of the Libya Contact Group in Doha. UK and Qatar co-chair. Participants agree to form a Temporary Financial Mechanism to support the NTC. Chairman's statement describes NTC as “a legitimate interlocutor, representing the aspirations of Libyan people.”

14 April: First meeting of Cairo Group of International Organizations (UN, EU, Arab League, AU and OIC). Foreign Ministers from NATO Allies and non-NATO contributors meet in Berlin. They commit to using all necessary resources and maximum operational flexibility to meet the UN mandate until such time that: all attacks on civilians and civilian-populated areas have ended; the Qadhafi regime withdraws all military and para-military forces to bases; the Qadhafi regime permits immediate, full, safe and unhindered access to humanitarian aid for the Libyan people.

15 April: Joint article in the Times from PM, President Sarkozy and President Obama underlines their joint commitment that Qadhafi must “go and go for good.”

19 April: UK announces it is sending military advisors to Libya to help the rebels improve their organisation and communications, but not to train or arm them.

30 April: NATO airstrike reported to have killed Saif al-Arab al-Qadhafi, Qadhafi's youngest son and three of his grandchildren. Subsequent attacks on British and other Embassies. UN pulls out staff from Tripoli.

1 May: FS announces decision to expel the Libyan Ambassador following attack on British Embassy premises in Tripoli.

3 May: Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan says Qadhafi must step down.

4 May: Foreign Secretary orders expulsion of two more diplomats from the Libyan Embassy in London.

5 May: Libya Contact Group meets in Rome. Qatar and Italy co-chair.

12 May: NTC Chairman Abdul Jalil visits London and meets the Prime Minister. PM calls NTC ‘the legitimate political interlocutor in Libya and Britain’s primary partner there’; and invites NTC to establish an office in the UK.

13 May: NATO Secretary General met US President Obama in Washington.

26 May: NATO warplanes bomb more than twenty targets in Tripoli. It is widely described as the heaviest attack on the city since the campaign began.

27 May: G8 Summit: Russia says Qadhafi must step down.

1 June: International Commission of Inquiry into the Human Rights situation in Libya says that both Government forces and the opposition have committed war crimes in Libya, but notes fewer reports from opposition forces.

4 June: Foreign Secretary and Development Secretary visit Benghazi.

9 June: Libya Contact Group meets in Abu Dhabi. Italy and Emiratis co-chair.

17 June: Human Rights Council “welcomes the statements made by the Libyan NTC on its commitment to uphold international human rights law”

18 June: Cairo Group meeting.

23 - 30 June: AU Summit on Libya. Development Secretary and Mr Bellingham attend for the UK and intensively lobby African nations on Libya.

27 June: The International Criminal Court in The Hague issues a warrant for the arrest of Qadhafi, his son Saif al-Islam and head of intelligence Abdullah Senussi.

13 July: The NAC and OUP contributing Partners have an informal meeting with Mahmud Jibril, the chairperson of the NTC and other representatives of the NTC.

15 July: Libya Contact Group meets in Istanbul. Recognises the NTC as the “legitimate governing authority in Libya.”

27 July: UK recognises NTC.

13-14 August: Anti-Qadhafi forces make significant gains in Western Libya, taking Ghariyan and much of Zawiyah, cutting the main supply routes to Pro-Qadhafi forces and pressuring Tripoli.

22 August: Tripoli falls with surprisingly little resistance from Pro-Qadhafi forces. Secretary General Rasmussen reaffirmed both NATO’s commitment to protect the Libyan people and its desire that the Libyan people decide their future in freedom and in peace. He noted that the international community, principally the United Nations and the Contact Group, will play the leading roles in post-conflict rehabilitation efforts. NATO, however, would consider supporting these post-conflict efforts – but only if asked and if needed.

23 August: Rebels seize Qadhafi's compound in Bab al-Azizia.

27 August: At Foreign Minister’s Arab League meeting, NTC take up Libyan seat.

29 August: Qadhafi’s daughter Ayesha and family cross into Algeria.

1 September: Paris Conference on Libya. Co-chaired by PM and President Sarkozy. Over 60 countries attend, alongside international organisations. Agree Operation Unified Protector would continue for as long as necessary, but not a moment longer.

5 September PM speech to Parliament on Libya notes “the future of Libya belongs to its people.” UK Special Representative arrives in Tripoli.

14 September. IMF Managing Director announces formal recognition of NTC. First staff mission to Tripoli – jointly with World Bank and UN - follows in early October.

15 September: PM and Sarkozy visit Tripoli and Benghazi. FCO Travel Advice updated so no longer advises against all travel to Libya. Instead, advises against all but essential travel to some areas of Libya, including Benghazi and against all travel everywhere else.

16 September: UNSCR 2009 agreed by consensus. Establishes a UN mission in Libya and creates a mechanism for unfreezing assets. Leaves mandate to protect civilians in place. UNGA vote in favour of NTC taking up the Libyan seat at the UN.

21 September: NATO extended Operation Unified Protector for up to 90 days, noting its intention to regularly review the necessity for sustained operations.

26 September: Lord Green visits Tripoli to discuss the UK's role in rebuilding Libya.

6 October: NATO and partners Defence Ministers meeting. Broad consensus on indicators for ending OUP.

12 October: Fighting continues in Sirte and Bani Walid.

20 October: Colonel Qadhafi and son Mutassim captured and killed in Sirte.

23 October: Liberation declared by NTC Chair Abdul Jalil in Benghazi.

27 October: UN Security Council votes unanimously on UNSCR 2016 to end the no fly zone in Libya on October 31.

28 October: NATO agrees decision to end military action on 31 October.

31 October: End of NATO Operation Unified Protector.

1 November: Abdurrahim Al-Keib voted in as new interim Prime Minister, and begins the process of forming a Cabinet.

19 November: Saif al-Islam captured.

22 November: Interim Cabinet announced

Annex B: Terms of Reference, Membership and Meetings of Cabinet, NSC, NSC(L), NSC(L)(O), NSC(L)(O)(St) and PCCC to discuss Libya

A. Cabinet

1. Cabinet has discussed the Libya campaign on 8 occasions (all PM-chaired): 18, 22, 29 March; 10, 17 May; 7, 28 June; 6 September; 11 October

B. National Security Council - NSC

2. Terms of reference:

‘To consider matters relating to National Security, Foreign Policy, Defence, International Relations and Development, Resilience, Energy and Resource Security.’

3. Membership:

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service (Chair) (The Rt Hon David Cameron MP) Deputy Prime Minister (Deputy Chair) (The Rt Hon Nick Clegg MP) Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (The Rt Hon William Hague MP) Chancellor of the Exchequer (The Rt Hon George Osborne MP) Secretary of State for the Home Department (The Rt Hon Theresa May MP) Secretary of State for Defence (The Rt Hon Mr Philip Hammond MP) Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change (The Rt Hon Chris Huhne MP) Secretary of State for International Development (The Rt Hon Andrew Mitchell MP) Chief Secretary to the Treasury (The Rt Hon Danny Alexander MP) Minister of State – Cabinet Office (The Rt Hon Oliver Letwin MP) Minister for Security (The Rt Hon Baroness Neville-Jones) (left end April)

4. NSC has discussed the Libya campaign on 11 occasions (all PM-chaired): 25, 28 February; 1, 4, 8, 15, 17 March; 12 April; 3 May; 16 August; 15 November.

C. National Security Council (Libya) - NSC(L)

5. Terms of Reference:

‘To consider matters relating to the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1973 (2011).’

6. Membership:

Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Minister for the Civil Service (Chair) (The Rt Hon David Cameron MP); Deputy Prime Minister (Deputy Chair) (The Rt Hon Nick Clegg MP); Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs (The Rt Hon William Hague MP); Chancellor of the

Exchequer (The Rt Hon George Osborne MP); Secretary of State for Defence (The Rt Hon Mr Philip Hammond MP); Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change (The Rt Hon Chris Huhne MP); Secretary of State for International Development (The Rt Hon Andrew Mitchell MP); The Chief of Defence Staff will be invited to attend. The Attorney General will also be invited to attend as necessary.

7. Note: the Home Secretary attended meetings from 31 March. The JIC Chair and SIS & GCHQ representatives attended throughout.
8. NSC(L) met 62 times. 36 were chaired by the PM, 13 by DPM and 13 by the Foreign Secretary. The Attorney General attended 39 meetings, the Solicitor General 14 meetings and senior officials at AGO attended 3 meetings. There was no AGO representation on 6 occasions.

20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31 March;
1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 26,27,28 April
5,9,12,16,19, 23,26 May
3,6,9,14,16,20,24,30 June
4,7,14,18, 21, 25, 29 July
1, 8, 10,22, 23, 24, 25, 30 August
2,8,14, 19, 28 September
6, 13, 18, 25 October

D. National Security Council (Officials) – NSC(O)

9. NSC(O) discussed Libya on 18 May.

E. National Security Council (Libya) (Officials) – NSC(L)(O)

10. There was no formal membership or terms of reference for this sub-committee. Departments represented generally reflected NSC(L) membership.

11. National Security Council (Libya) (Officials) met 82 times, as follows:

18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30 March
1,4,5,6,7,9,11,12,13,14,15,16,18,19,20,21,23,26,27,28,30 April
4,6,11,13,19,20,25,27,31 May
1, 8, 10, 15, 17, 22, 29 June
1, 6, 8, 13, 15, 20,22,27 July
3, 5, 12, 17, 19, 26, 29, 31 August
5, 7, 9, 13, 16, 21, 23, 27, 30 September

5, 7, 12, 14, 19, 21, 26, 28 October

2 November

F. National Security Council (Libya) (Officials) (Stabilisation)

12. Membership: DG Middle East and North Africa, DFID (Chair); Political Director, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; DG Sec Pol, Ministry of Defence; Deputy National Security Adviser, Cabinet Office; Managing Director (International and Europe), HM Treasury; DG Energy Markets and Infrastructure, DECC; and representatives of government communications and the Agencies.
13. The Director of the DFID Libya Team and the Head of Stabilisation Unit will also attend. Other Departments will be invited to attend as appropriate.
14. Terms of Reference: The Sub Committee on Stabilisation will oversee the UK contribution to stabilisation in Libya. Specifically this will involve:
 - a) defining UK stabilisation strategy in Libya guided by decisions taken by the National Security Council;
 - b) setting the direction for cross-Whitehall engagement with bilateral and multilateral partners in support of stabilisation planning in Libya;
 - c) ensuring a cross-Whitehall approach to stabilisation in Libya; and
 - d) tasking cross-Whitehall work and the Stabilisation Unit (SU) as appropriate.
15. NSC(L)(O)St met 10 times as follows: 20,27 April; 4,12,19,25 May; 2,8,21 June; 7 July

Post Conflict Coordination Cell

16. There is no formal membership or terms of reference for this committee. Departments represented generally reflected NSC(L) membership.
17. PCCC has met 16 times as follows, and continues to meet weekly: 18, 21 July; 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 August; 7, 14, 21, 28 September; 5, 12, 19, 26 October; 2 November.

Annex C: Texts of UNSCRs

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1970 (2011)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6491st meeting, on 26 February 2011

The Security Council,

Expressing grave concern at the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and condemning the violence and use of force against civilians,

Deploring the gross and systematic violation of human rights, including the repression of peaceful demonstrators, expressing deep concern at the deaths of civilians, and rejecting unequivocally the incitement to hostility and violence against the civilian population made from the highest level of the Libyan government,

Welcoming the condemnation by the Arab League, the African Union, and the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference of the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that are being committed in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Taking note of the letter to the President of the Security Council from the Permanent Representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya dated 26 February 2011,

Welcoming the Human Rights Council resolution A/HRC/RES/S-15/1 of 25 February 2011, including the decision to urgently dispatch an independent international commission of inquiry to investigate all alleged violations of international human rights law in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to establish the facts and circumstances of such violations and of the crimes perpetrated, and where possible identify those responsible,

Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against the civilian population may amount to crimes against humanity,

Expressing concern at the plight of refugees forced to flee the violence in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Expressing concern also at the reports of shortages of medical supplies to treat the wounded,

Recalling the Libyan authorities' responsibility to protect its population, Underlining the need to respect the freedoms of peaceful assembly and of expression, including freedom of the media,

Stressing the need to hold to account those responsible for attacks, including by forces under their control, on civilians,

Recalling article 16 of the Rome Statute under which no investigation or prosecution may be commenced or proceeded with by the International Criminal Court for a period of 12 months after a Security Council request to that effect,

Expressing concern for the safety of foreign nationals and their rights in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

Mindful of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and taking measures under its Article 41,

1. Demands an immediate end to the violence and calls for steps to fulfil the legitimate demands of the population;
2. Urges the Libyan authorities to:
 - (a) Act with the utmost restraint, respect human rights and international humanitarian law, and allow immediate access for international human rights monitors;
 - (b) Ensure the safety of all foreign nationals and their assets and facilitate the departure of those wishing to leave the country;
 - (c) Ensure the safe passage of humanitarian and medical supplies, and humanitarian agencies and workers, into the country; and
 - (d) Immediately lift restrictions on all forms of media;
3. Requests all Member States, to the extent possible, to cooperate in the evacuation of those foreign nationals wishing to leave the country;
4. Decides to refer the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya since 15 February 2011 to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court;
5. Decides that the Libyan authorities shall cooperate fully with and provide any necessary assistance to the Court and the Prosecutor pursuant to this resolution and, while recognizing that States not party to the Rome Statute have no obligation under the Statute, urges all States and concerned regional and other international organizations to cooperate fully with the Court and the Prosecutor;
6. Decides that nationals, current or former officials or personnel from a State outside the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya which is not a party to the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court shall be subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of that State for all alleged acts or omissions arising out of or related to operations in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya established or authorized by the Council, unless such exclusive jurisdiction has been expressly waived by the State;

7. Invites the Prosecutor to address the Security Council within two months of the adoption of this resolution and every six months thereafter on actions taken pursuant to this resolution;

8. Recognizes that none of the expenses incurred in connection with the referral, including expenses related to investigations or prosecutions in connection with that referral, shall be borne by the United Nations and that such costs shall be borne by the parties to the Rome Statute and those States that wish to contribute voluntarily;

9. Decides that all Member States shall immediately take the necessary measures to prevent the direct or indirect supply, sale or transfer to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, from or through their territories or by their nationals, or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of arms and related materiel of all types, including weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare parts for the aforementioned, and technical assistance, training, financial or other assistance, related to military activities or the provision, maintenance or use of any arms and related materiel, including the provision of armed mercenary personnel whether or not originating in their territories, and decides further that this measure shall not apply to:

(a) Supplies of non-lethal military equipment intended solely for humanitarian or protective use, and related technical assistance or training, as approved in advance by the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 24 below;

(b) Protective clothing, including flak jackets and military helmets, temporarily exported to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by United Nations personnel, representatives of the media and humanitarian and development workers and associated personnel, for their personal use only; or

(c) Other sales or supply of arms and related materiel, or provision of assistance or personnel, as approved in advance by the Committee;

10. Decides that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya shall cease the export of all arms and related materiel and that all Member States shall prohibit the procurement of such items from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya by their nationals, or using their flagged vessels or aircraft, and whether or not originating in the territory of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya;

11. Calls upon all States, in particular States neighbouring the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to inspect, in accordance with their national authorities and legislation and consistent with international law, in particular the law of the sea and relevant international civil aviation agreements, all cargo to and from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in their territory, including seaports and airports, if the State concerned has information that provides reasonable grounds to believe the cargo contains items the supply, sale, transfer, or export of which is prohibited by paragraphs 9 or 10 of this resolution for the purpose of ensuring strict implementation of those provisions;

12. Decides to authorize all Member States to, and that all Member States shall, upon discovery of items prohibited by paragraph 9 or 10 of this resolution, seize and dispose (such as through destruction, rendering inoperable, storage or transferring to a State other than the originating or destination States for disposal) items the supply,

sale, transfer or export of which is prohibited by paragraphs 9 or 10 of this resolution and decides further that all Member States shall cooperate in such efforts;

13. Requires any Member State when it undertakes an inspection pursuant to paragraph 11 above, to submit promptly an initial written report to the Committee containing, in particular, explanation of the grounds for the inspections, the results of such inspections, and whether or not cooperation was provided, and, if prohibited items for transfer are found, further requires such Member States to submit to the Committee, at a later stage, a subsequent written report containing relevant details on the inspection, seizure, and disposal, and relevant details of the transfer, including a description of the items, their origin and intended destination, if this information is not in the initial report;

14. Encourages Member States to take steps to strongly discourage their nationals from travelling to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to participate in activities on behalf of the Libyan authorities that could reasonably contribute to the violation of human rights;

15. Decides that all Member States shall take the necessary measures to prevent the entry into or transit through their territories of individuals listed in Annex I of this resolution or designated by the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 24 below, provided that nothing in this paragraph shall oblige a State to refuse its own nationals entry into its territory;

16. Decides that the measures imposed by paragraph 15 above shall not apply:

- (a) Where the Committee determines on a case-by-case basis that such travel is justified on the grounds of humanitarian need, including religious obligation;
- (b) Where entry or transit is necessary for the fulfilment of a judicial process;
- (c) Where the Committee determines on a case-by-case basis that an exemption would further the objectives of peace and national reconciliation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and stability in the region; or
- (d) Where a State determines on a case-by-case basis that such entry or transit is required to advance peace and stability in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the States subsequently notifies the Committee within forty-eight hours after making such a determination;

17. Decides that all Member States shall freeze without delay all funds, other financial assets and economic resources which are on their territories, which are owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the individuals or entities listed in annex II of this resolution or designated by the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 24 below, or by individuals or entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, or by entities owned or controlled by them, and decides further that all Member States shall ensure that any funds, financial assets or economic resources are prevented from being made available by their nationals or by any individuals or entities within their territories, to or for the benefit of the individuals or entities listed in Annex II of this resolution or individuals designated by the Committee;

18. Expresses its intention to ensure that assets frozen pursuant to paragraph 17 shall at a later stage be made available to and for the benefit of the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya;

19. Decides that the measures imposed by paragraph 17 above do not apply to funds, other financial assets or economic resources that have been determined by relevant Member States:

(a) To be necessary for basic expenses, including payment for foodstuffs, rent or mortgage, medicines and medical treatment, taxes, insurance premiums, and public utility charges or exclusively for payment of reasonable professional fees and reimbursement of incurred expenses associated with the provision of legal services in accordance with national laws, or fees or service charges, in accordance with national laws, for routine holding or maintenance of frozen funds, other financial assets and economic resources, after notification by the relevant State to the Committee of the intention to authorize, where appropriate, access to such funds, other financial assets or economic resources and in the absence of a negative decision by the Committee within five working days of such notification;

(b) To be necessary for extraordinary expenses, provided that such determination has been notified by the relevant State or Member States to the Committee and has been approved by the Committee; or

(c) To be the subject of a judicial, administrative or arbitral lien or judgment, in which case the funds, other financial assets and economic resources may be used to satisfy that lien or judgment provided that the lien or judgment was entered into prior to the date of the present resolution, is not for the benefit of a person or entity designated pursuant to paragraph 17 above, and has been notified by the relevant State or Member States to the Committee;

20. Decides that Member States may permit the addition to the accounts frozen pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 17 above of interests or other earnings due on those accounts or payments due under contracts, agreements or obligations that arose prior to the date on which those accounts became subject to the provisions of this resolution, provided that any such interest, other earnings and payments continue to be subject to these provisions and are frozen;

21. Decides that the measures in paragraph 17 above shall not prevent a designated person or entity from making payment due under a contract entered into prior to the listing of such a person or entity, provided that the relevant States have determined that the payment is not directly or indirectly received by a person or entity designated pursuant to paragraph 17 above, and after notification by the relevant States to the Committee of the intention to make or receive such payments or to authorize, where appropriate, the unfreezing of funds, other financial assets or economic resources for this purpose, 10 working days prior to such authorization;

22. Decides that the measures contained in paragraphs 15 and 17 shall apply to the individuals and entities designated by the Committee, pursuant to paragraph 24 (b) and (c), respectively;

(a) Involved in or complicit in ordering, controlling, or otherwise directing, the commission of serious human rights abuses against persons in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including by being involved in or complicit in planning, commanding,

ordering or conducting attacks, in violation of international law, including aerial bombardments, on civilian populations and facilities; or
(b) Acting for or on behalf of or at the direction of individuals or entities identified in subparagraph (a).

23. Strongly encourages Member States to submit to the Committee names of individuals who meet the criteria set out in paragraph 22 above;

24. Decides to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council consisting of all the members of the Council (herein "the Committee"), to undertake the following tasks:

(a) To monitor implementation of the measures imposed in paragraphs 9, 10, 15, and 17;

(b) To designate those individuals subject to the measures imposed by paragraphs 15 and to consider requests for exemptions in accordance with paragraph 16 above;

(c) To designate those individuals subject to the measures imposed by paragraph 17 above and to consider requests for exemptions in accordance with paragraphs 19 and 20 above;

(d) To establish such guidelines as may be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the measures imposed above;

(e) To report within thirty days to the Security Council on its work for the first report and thereafter to report as deemed necessary by the Committee;

(f) To encourage a dialogue between the Committee and interested Member States, in particular those in the region, including by inviting representatives of such States to meet with the Committee to discuss implementation of the measures;

(g) To seek from all States whatever information it may consider useful regarding the actions taken by them to implement effectively the measures imposed above;

(h) To examine and take appropriate action on information regarding alleged violations or non-compliance with the measures contained in this resolution;

25. Calls upon all Member States to report to the Committee within 120 days of the adoption of this resolution on the steps they have taken with a view to implementing effectively paragraphs 9, 10, 15 and 17 above;

26. Calls upon all Member States, working together and acting in cooperation with the Secretary General, to facilitate and support the return of humanitarian agencies and make available humanitarian and related assistance in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, and requests the States concerned to keep the Security Council regularly informed on the progress of actions undertaken pursuant to this paragraph, and expresses its readiness to consider taking additional appropriate measures, as necessary, to achieve this;

27. Affirms that it shall keep the Libyan authorities' actions under continuous review and that it shall be prepared to review the appropriateness of the measures contained in this resolution, including the strengthening, modification, suspension or lifting of the measures, as may be needed at any time in light of the Libyan authorities' compliance with relevant provisions of this resolution;

28. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Annex I

Travel ban

1. Al-Baghdadi, Dr Abdulqader Mohammed

Passport number: B010574. Date of birth: 01/07/1950.

Head of the Liaison Office of the Revolutionary Committees. Revolutionary Committees involved in violence against demonstrators.

2. Dibri, Abdulqader Yusef

Date of birth: 1946. Place of birth: Houn, Libya.

Head of Muammar Qadhafi's personal security. Responsibility for regime security. History of directing violence against dissidents.

3. Dorda, Abu Zayd Umar

Director, External Security Organisation. Regime loyalist. Head of external intelligence agency.

4. Jabir, Major General Abu Bakr Yunis

Date of birth: 1952. Place of birth: Jalo, Libya.

Defence Minister. Overall responsibility for actions of armed forces.

5. Matuq, Matuq Mohammed

Date of birth: 1956. Place of birth: Khoms. Secretary for Utilities. Senior member of regime. Involvement with Revolutionary Committees. Past history of involvement in suppression of dissent and violence.

6. Qadhaf Al-dam, Sayyid Mohammed

Date of birth: 1948. Place of birth: Sirte, Libya.

Cousin of Muammar Qadhafi. In the 1980s, Sayyid was involved in the dissident assassination campaign and allegedly responsible for several deaths in Europe. He is also thought to have been involved in arms procurement.

7. Qadhafi, Aisha Muammar

Date of birth: 1978. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Daughter of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

8. Qadhafi, Hannibal Muammar

Passport number: B/002210. Date of birth: 20/09/1975. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

9. Qadhafi, Khamis Muammar

Date of birth: 1978. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Command of military units involved in repression of demonstrations.

10. Qadhafi, Mohammed Muammar

Date of birth: 1970. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

11. Qadhafi, Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar

Date of birth: 1942. Place of birth: Sirte, Libya.

Leader of the Revolution, Supreme Commander of Armed Forces. Responsibility for ordering repression of demonstrations, human rights abuses.

12. Qadhafi, Mutassim

Date of birth: 1976. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

National Security Adviser. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

13. Qadhafi, Saadi

Passport number: 014797. Date of birth: 25/05/1973. Place of birth: Tripoli,

Libya.

Commander Special Forces. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Command of military units involved in repression of demonstrations.

14. Qadhafi, Saif al-Arab

Date of birth: 1982. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

15. Qadhafi, Saif al-Islam

Passport number: B014995. Date of birth: 25/06/1972. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Director, Qadhafi Foundation. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Inflammatory public statements encouraging violence against demonstrators.

16. Al-Senussi, Colonel Abdullah

Date of birth: 1949. Place of birth: Sudan.

Director Military Intelligence. Military Intelligence involvement in suppression of demonstrations. Past history includes suspicion of involvement in Abu Selim prison massacre. Convicted in absentia for bombing of UTA flight. Brother-in-law of Muammar Qadhafi.

Annex II

Asset freeze

1. Qadhafi, Aisha Muammar

Date of birth: 1978. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Daughter of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

2. Qadhafi, Hannibal Muammar

Passport number: B/002210. Date of birth: 20/09/1975. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

3. Qadhafi, Khamis Muammar

Date of birth: 1978. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Command of military units involved in repression of demonstrations.

4. Qadhafi, Muammar Mohammed Abu Minyar

Date of birth: 1942. Place of birth: Sirte, Libya.

Leader of the Revolution, Supreme Commander of Armed Forces.

Responsibility for ordering repression of demonstrations, human rights abuses.

5. Qadhafi, Mutassim

Date of birth: 1976. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

National Security Adviser. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime.

6. Qadhafi, Saif al-Islam

Passport number: B014995. Date of birth: 25/06/1972. Place of birth: Tripoli, Libya.

Director, Qadhafi Foundation. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Inflammatory public statements encouraging violence against demonstrators.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 (2011)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6498th meeting, on 17 March 2011

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011,

Deploring the failure of the Libyan authorities to comply with resolution 1970 (2011),

Expressing grave concern at the deteriorating situation, the escalation of violence, and the heavy civilian casualties,

Reiterating the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population and reaffirming that parties to armed conflicts bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of civilians,

Condemning the gross and systematic violation of human rights, including arbitrary detentions, enforced disappearances, torture and summary executions,

Further condemning acts of violence and intimidation committed by the Libyan authorities against journalists, media professionals and associated personnel and urging these authorities to comply with their obligations under international humanitarian law as outlined in resolution 1738 (2006),

Considering that the widespread and systematic attacks currently taking place in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya against the civilian population may amount to crimes against humanity,

Recalling paragraph 26 of resolution 1970 (2011) in which the Council expressed its readiness to consider taking additional appropriate measures, as necessary, to facilitate and support the return of humanitarian agencies and make available humanitarian and related assistance in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Expressing its determination to ensure the protection of civilians and civilian populated areas and the rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian assistance and the safety of humanitarian personnel,

Recalling the condemnation by the League of Arab States, the African Union, and the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference of the serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that have been and are being committed in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Taking note of the final communiqué of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference of 8 March 2011, and the communiqué of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union of 10 March 2011 which established an ad hoc High Level Committee on Libya,

Taking note also of the decision of the Council of the League of Arab States of 12 March 2011 to call for the imposition of a no-fly zone on Libyan military aviation, and

to establish safe areas in places exposed to shelling as a precautionary measure that allows the protection of the Libyan people and foreign nationals residing in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Taking note further of the Secretary-General's call on 16 March 2011 for an immediate cease-fire,

Recalling its decision to refer the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya since 15 February 2011 to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, and stressing that those responsible for or complicit in attacks targeting the civilian population, including aerial and naval attacks, must be held to account,

Reiterating its concern at the plight of refugees and foreign workers forced to flee the violence in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, welcoming the response of neighbouring States, in particular Tunisia and Egypt, to address the needs of those refugees and foreign workers, and calling on the international community to support those efforts,

Deploring the continuing use of mercenaries by the Libyan authorities,

Considering that the establishment of a ban on all flights in the airspace of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya constitutes an important element for the protection of civilians as well as the safety of the delivery of humanitarian assistance and a decisive step for the cessation of hostilities in Libya,

Expressing concern also for the safety of foreign nationals and their rights in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Welcoming the appointment by the Secretary General of his Special Envoy to Libya, Mr. Abdel-Elah Mohamed Al-Khatib and supporting his efforts to find a sustainable and peaceful solution to the crisis in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya,

Determining that the situation in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Demands the immediate establishment of a cease-fire and a complete end to violence and all attacks against, and abuses of, civilians;

2. Stresses the need to intensify efforts to find a solution to the crisis which responds to the legitimate demands of the Libyan people and notes the decisions of the Secretary-General to send his Special Envoy to Libya and of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union to send its ad hoc High Level Committee to Libya with the aim of facilitating dialogue to lead to the political reforms necessary to find a peaceful and sustainable solution;

3. Demands that the Libyan authorities comply with their obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law, human rights and refugee law and take all measures to protect civilians and meet their basic needs, and to ensure the rapid and unimpeded passage of humanitarian assistance;

Protection of civilians

4. Authorizes Member States that have notified the Secretary-General, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, and acting in cooperation with the Secretary-General, to take all necessary measures, notwithstanding paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011), to protect civilians and civilian populated areas under threat of attack in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, including Benghazi, while excluding a foreign occupation force of any form on any part of Libyan territory, and requests the Member States concerned to inform the Secretary-General immediately of the measures they take pursuant to the authorization conferred by this paragraph which shall be immediately reported to the Security Council;

5. Recognizes the important role of the League of Arab States in matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security in the region, and bearing in mind Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, requests the Member States of the League of Arab States to cooperate with other Member States in the implementation of paragraph 4;

No Fly Zone

6. Decides to establish a ban on all flights in the airspace of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in order to help protect civilians;

7. Decides further that the ban imposed by paragraph 6 shall not apply to flights whose sole purpose is humanitarian, such as delivering or facilitating the delivery of assistance, including medical supplies, food, humanitarian workers and related assistance, or evacuating foreign nationals from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, nor shall it apply to flights authorised by paragraphs 4 or 8, nor other flights which are deemed necessary by States acting under the authorisation conferred in paragraph 8 to be for the benefit of the Libyan people, and that these flights shall be coordinated with any mechanism established under paragraph 8;

8. Authorizes Member States that have notified the Secretary-General and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, to take all necessary measures to enforce compliance with the ban on flights imposed by paragraph 6 above, as necessary, and requests the States concerned in cooperation with the League of Arab States to coordinate closely with the Secretary General on the measures they are taking to implement this ban, including by establishing an appropriate mechanism for implementing the provisions of paragraphs 6 and 7 above,

9. Calls upon all Member States, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, to provide assistance, including any necessary overflight approvals, for the purposes of implementing paragraphs 4, 6, 7 and 8 above;

10. Requests the Member States concerned to coordinate closely with each other and the Secretary-General on the measures they are taking to implement paragraphs 4, 6, 7 and 8 above, including practical measures for the monitoring and approval of authorised humanitarian or evacuation flights;

11. Decides that the Member States concerned shall inform the Secretary-General and the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States immediately of measures taken in exercise of the authority conferred by paragraph 8 above, including to supply a concept of operations;

12. Requests the Secretary-General to inform the Council immediately of any actions taken by the Member States concerned in exercise of the authority conferred by paragraph 8 above and to report to the Council within 7 days and every month thereafter on the implementation of this resolution, including information on any violations of the flight ban imposed by paragraph 6 above;

Enforcement of the arms embargo

13. Decides that paragraph 11 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall be replaced by the following paragraph : “Calls upon all Member States, in particular States of the region, acting nationally or through regional organisations or arrangements, in order to ensure strict implementation of the arms embargo established by paragraphs 9 and 10 of resolution 1970 (2011), to inspect in their territory, including seaports and airports, and on the high seas, vessels and aircraft bound to or from the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, if the State concerned has information that provides reasonable grounds to believe that the cargo contains items the supply, sale, transfer or export of which is prohibited by paragraphs 9 or 10 of resolution 1970 (2011) as modified by this resolution, including the provision of armed mercenary personnel, calls upon all flag States of such vessels and aircraft to cooperate with such inspections and authorises Member States to use all measures commensurate to the specific circumstances to carry out such inspections”;

14. Requests Member States which are taking action under paragraph 13 above on the high seas to coordinate closely with each other and the Secretary-General and further requests the States concerned to inform the Secretary-General and the Committee established pursuant to paragraph 24 of resolution 1970 (2011) (“the Committee”) immediately of measures taken in the exercise of the authority conferred by paragraph 13 above;

15. Requires any Member State whether acting nationally or through regional organisations or arrangements, when it undertakes an inspection pursuant to paragraph 13 above, to submit promptly an initial written report to the Committee containing, in particular, explanation of the grounds for the inspection, the results of such inspection, and whether or not cooperation was provided, and, if prohibited items for transfer are found, further requires such Member States to submit to the Committee, at a later stage, a subsequent written report containing relevant details on the inspection, seizure, and disposal, and relevant details of the transfer, including a description of the items, their origin and intended destination, if this information is not in the initial report;

16. Deplores the continuing flows of mercenaries into the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and calls upon all Member States to comply strictly with their obligations under paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011) to prevent the provision of armed mercenary personnel to the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya;

Ban on flights

17. Decides that all States shall deny permission to any aircraft registered in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya or owned or operated by Libyan nationals or companies to take off from, land in or overfly their territory unless the particular flight has been approved in advance by the Committee, or in the case of an emergency landing;

18. Decides that all States shall deny permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in or overfly their territory, if they have information that provides reasonable grounds to believe that the aircraft contains items the supply, sale, transfer, or export of which is prohibited by paragraphs 9 and 10 of resolution 1970 (2011) as modified by this resolution, including the provision of armed mercenary personnel, except in the case of an emergency landing;

Asset freeze

19. Decides that the asset freeze imposed by paragraph 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall apply to all funds, other financial assets and economic resources which are on their territories, which are owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by the Libyan authorities, as designated by the Committee, or by individuals or entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, or by entities owned or controlled by them, as designated by the Committee, and decides further that all States shall ensure that any funds, financial assets or economic resources are prevented from being made available by their nationals or by any individuals or entities within their territories, to or for the benefit of the Libyan authorities, as designated by the Committee, or individuals or entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, or entities owned or controlled by them, as designated by the Committee, and directs the Committee to designate such Libyan authorities, individuals or entities within 30 days of the date of the adoption of this resolution and as appropriate thereafter;

20. Affirms its determination to ensure that assets frozen pursuant to paragraph 17 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall, at a later stage, as soon as possible be made available to and for the benefit of the people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya;

21. Decides that all States shall require their nationals, persons subject to their jurisdiction and firms incorporated in their territory or subject to their jurisdiction to exercise vigilance when doing business with entities incorporated in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya or subject to its jurisdiction, and any individuals or entities acting on their behalf or at their direction, and entities owned or controlled by them, if the States have information that provides reasonable grounds to believe that such business could contribute to violence and use of force against civilians;

Designations

22. Decides that the individuals listed in Annex I shall be subject to the travel restrictions imposed in paragraphs 15 and 16 of resolution 1970 (2011), and decides

further that the individuals and entities listed in Annex II shall be subject to the asset freeze imposed in paragraphs 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011);

23. Decides that the measures specified in paragraphs 15, 16, 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall apply also to individuals and entities determined by the Council or the Committee to have violated the provisions of resolution 1970 (2011), particularly paragraphs 9 and 10 thereof, or to have assisted others in doing so;

Panel of Experts

24. Requests the Secretary-General to create for an initial period of one year, in consultation with the Committee, a group of up to eight experts ("Panel of Experts"), under the direction of the Committee to carry out the following tasks:

(a) Assist the Committee in carrying out its mandate as specified in paragraph 24 of resolution 1970 (2011) and this resolution;

(b) Gather, examine and analyse information from States, relevant United Nations bodies, regional organisations and other interested parties regarding the implementation of the measures decided in resolution 1970 (2011) and this resolution, in particular incidents of non-compliance;

(c) Make recommendations on actions the Council, or the Committee or State, may consider to improve implementation of the relevant measures;

(d) Provide to the Council an interim report on its work no later than 90 days after the Panel's appointment, and a final report to the Council no later than 30 days prior to the termination of its mandate with its findings and recommendations;

25. Urges all States, relevant United Nations bodies and other interested parties, to cooperate fully with the Committee and the Panel of Experts, in particular by supplying any information at their disposal on the implementation of the measures decided in resolution 1970 (2011) and this resolution, in particular incidents of non-compliance;

26. Decides that the mandate of the Committee as set out in paragraph 24 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall also apply to the measures decided in this resolution;

27. Decides that all States, including the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, shall take the necessary measures to ensure that no claim shall lie at the instance of the Libyan authorities, or of any person or body in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, or of any person claiming through or for the benefit of any such person or body, in connection with any contract or other transaction where its performance was affected by reason of the measures taken by the Security Council in resolution 1970 (2011), this resolution and related resolutions;

28. Reaffirms its intention to keep the actions of the Libyan authorities under continuous review and underlines its readiness to review at any time the measures imposed by this resolution and resolution 1970 (2011), including by strengthening, suspending or lifting those measures, as appropriate, based on compliance by the Libyan authorities with this resolution and resolution 1970 (2011).

29. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

Annex I: Travel Ban

1 QUREN SALIH QUREN AL QADHAFI

Libyan Ambassador to Chad. Has left Chad for Sabha. Involved directly in recruiting and coordinating mercenaries for the regime.

2 Colonel AMID HUSAIN AL KUNI

Governor of Ghat (South Libya). Directly involved in recruiting mercenaries.

Annex II: Asset Freeze

1 Dorda, Abu Zayd Umar Position: Director, External Security Organisation

2 Jabir, Major General Abu Bakr Yunis

Position: Defence Minister Title: Major General DOB: --/--/1952.

POB: Jalo, Libya

3 Matuq, Matuq Mohammed

Position: Secretary for Utilities DOB: --/--/1956. POB: Khoms

4 Qadhafi, Mohammed Muammar

Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime

DOB: --/--/1970. POB: Tripoli, Libya

5 Qadhafi, Saadi Commander Special Forces. Son of Muammar Qadhafi. Closeness of association with regime. Command of military units involved in repression of demonstrations

DOB: 25/05/1973. POB: Tripoli, Libya

6 Qadhafi, Saif al-Arab Son of Muammar Qadhafi.

Closeness of association with regime

DOB: --/--/1982. POB: Tripoli, Libya

7 Al-Senussi, Colonel Abdullah

Position: Director Military Intelligence

Title: Colonel DOB: --/--/1949. POB: Sudan

Entities

1 Central Bank of Libya

Under control of Muammar Qadhafi and his family, and potential source of funding for his regime.

2 Libyan Investment Authority

Under control of Muammar Qadhafi and his family, and potential source of funding for his regime. a.k.a: Libyan Arab Foreign Investment

Company (LAFICO) Address: 1 Fateh Tower Office, No 99 22nd Floor, Borgaida Street, Tripoli, Libya, 1103

3 Libyan Foreign Bank

Under control of Muammar Qadhafi and his family and a potential source of funding for his regime.

4 Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio

Under control of Muammar Qadhafi and his family, and potential source of funding for his regime.

Address: Jamahiriya Street, LAP Building, PO Box 91330, Tripoli, Libya

5 Libyan National Oil Corporation

Under control of Muammar Qadhafi and his family, and potential source of funding for his regime.

Address: Bashir Saadwi Street, Tripoli, Tarabulus, Libya

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2009 (2011)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6620th meeting, on 16 September 2011

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Libya,

Reaffirming its previous resolutions 1674 (2006) and 1894 (2009) on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, 1612 (2006), 1882 (2009), 1998 (2011) on children in armed conflict, and 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009) 1889 (2009), and 1960 (2010) on women, peace and security,

Recalling its decision to refer the situation in Libya to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, and the importance of cooperation for ensuring that those responsible for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law or complicit in attacks targeting the civilian population are held accountable,

Strongly condemning all violations of applicable human rights and international humanitarian law, including violations that involve unlawful killings, other uses of violence against civilians, or arbitrary arrests and detentions, in particular of African migrants and members of minority communities,

Also strongly condemning sexual violence, particularly against women and girls, and the recruitment and use of children in situations of armed conflict in contravention of applicable international law,

Considering that the voluntary and sustainable return of refugees and internally displaced persons will be a critical factor for the consolidation of peace in Libya,

Stressing that national ownership and national responsibility are key to establishing sustainable peace and the primary responsibility of national authorities in identifying their priorities and strategies for post-conflict peace-building,

Recalling the letter of the Secretary-General of 7 September 2011 (S/2011/542) and welcoming his intention to dispatch, at the request of the Libyan authorities, an initial deployment of personnel, to be led by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General,

Taking note of the letter of 14 September 2011 from Dr. Mahmoud Jibril, Prime Minister of the National Transitional Council of Libya, to the Secretary-General,

Expressing its gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Libya, Mr. Abdel-Elah Mohamed Al-Khatib, for his efforts to find a sustainable and peaceful solution in Libya,

Reaffirming that the United Nations should lead the effort of the international community in supporting the Libyan-led transition and rebuilding process aimed at

establishing a democratic, independent and united Libya, welcoming the contributions in this regard of the Secretary-General's 26 August high-level meeting of regional organisations and the 1 September Paris Conference, and welcoming also the efforts of the African Union, Arab League, European Union and the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation,

Expressing concern at the proliferation of arms in Libya and its potential impact on regional peace and security,

Recalling its resolutions 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011 and 1973 (2011) of 17 March 2011,

Recalling its determination to ensure that assets frozen pursuant to resolutions 1970 (2011) and 1973 (2011) shall as soon as possible be made available to and for the benefit of the people of Libya, welcoming steps taken by the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1970 (2011) and Member States in this regard, and underscoring the importance of making these assets available in a transparent and responsible manner in conformity with the needs and wishes of the Libyan people,

Mindful of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, and taking measures under its Article 41,

1. Takes note of the developments in Libya, welcomes the improved situation there, and looks forward to stability in Libya;
2. Looks forward to the establishment of an inclusive, representative transitional Government of Libya, and emphasises the need for the transitional period to be underpinned by a commitment to democracy, good governance, rule of law and respect for human rights;
3. Emphasises the importance of promoting the equal and full participation of women and minority communities in the discussions related to the political process in the post-conflict phase;
4. Welcomes the statements of the National Transitional Council appealing for unity, national reconciliation and justice, and its call for Libyans of all beliefs and backgrounds to refrain from reprisals, including arbitrary detentions;
5. Encourages the National Transitional Council to implement its plans to:
 - (a) protect Libya's population, restore government services, and allocate Libya's funds openly and transparently;
 - (b) prevent further abuses and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law and to put an end to impunity;
 - (c) ensure a consultative, inclusive political process with a view to agreement on a constitution and the holding of free and fair elections;

- (d) ensure the safety of foreign nationals in Libya, particularly those who have been threatened, mistreated and/or detained; and
- (e) prevent the proliferation of man-portable surface-to-air missiles, small arms and light weapons, and meet Libya's arms control and non-proliferation obligations under international law;

6. Notes the National Transitional Council's calls to avoid acts of reprisals including against migrant workers;

7. Calls upon the Libyan authorities to promote and protect human rights, including those of people belonging to vulnerable groups, to comply with their obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law and human rights law, and calls for those responsible for violations, including sexual violence, to be held accountable in accordance with international standards;

8. Strongly urges the Libyan authorities to ensure the protection of diplomatic personnel and premises in accordance with Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961;

9. Expresses its resolve to assist the people of Libya to achieve these goals, and urges all Member States to assist the people of Libya as appropriate;

10. Urges all Member States to cooperate closely with the Libyan authorities in their efforts to end impunity, in accordance with Libya's international obligations;

11. Calls upon the Libyan authorities to comply with the international obligations of Libya, including obligations set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with international law, and further calls upon the Libyan authorities to honour extant contracts and obligations, in accordance with this and other relevant resolutions, and the law applicable to such contracts and obligations;

UN Mandate

12. Decides to establish a United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), under the leadership of a Special Representative of the Secretary-General for an initial period of three months, and decides further that the mandate of UNSMIL shall be to assist and support Libyan national efforts to:

- (a) restore public security and order and promote the rule of law;
- (b) undertake inclusive political dialogue, promote national reconciliation, and embark upon the constitution-making and electoral process;
- (c) extend state authority, including through strengthening emerging accountable institutions and the restoration of public services;
- (d) promote and protect human rights, particularly for those belonging to vulnerable groups, and support transitional justice;
- (e) take the immediate steps required to initiate economic recovery; and
- (f) coordinate support that may be requested from other multilateral and bilateral actors as appropriate;

Arms Embargo

13. Decides that the measure imposed by paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 (2011) shall also not apply to the supply, sale or transfer to Libya of:

- (a) arms and related materiel of all types, including technical assistance, training, financial and other assistance, intended solely for security or disarmament assistance to the Libyan authorities and notified to the Committee in advance and in the absence of a negative decision by the Committee within five working days of such a notification;
- (b) small arms, light weapons and related materiel, temporarily exported to Libya for the sole use of United Nations personnel, representatives of the media and humanitarian and development workers and associated personnel, notified to the Committee in advance and in the absence of a negative decision by the Committee within five working days of such a notification;

Asset Freeze

14. Decides that the Libyan National Oil Corporation (LNOC) and Zueitina Oil Company shall no longer be subject to the asset freeze and other measures imposed in paragraphs 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) and paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011);

15. Decides to modify the measures imposed in paragraphs 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) and paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011) with respect to the Central Bank of Libya, the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank (LAFB), the Libyan Investment Authority (LIA), and the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio (LAIP) as follows:

- (a) funds, other financial assets and economic resources outside of Libya of the entities mentioned in this paragraph above that are frozen as of the date of this resolution pursuant to measures imposed in paragraph 17 of resolution 1970 (2011) or paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011) shall remain frozen by States unless subject to an exemption as set out in paragraphs 19, 20 or 21 of that resolution or paragraph 16 below;
- (b) except as provided in (a), the Central Bank of Libya, the LAFB, the LIA, and the LAIP shall otherwise no longer be subject to the measures imposed in paragraphs 17 of resolution 1970 (2011), including that States are no longer required to ensure that any funds, financial assets or economic resources are prevented from being made available by their nationals or by any individuals or entities within their territories, to or for the benefit of these entities;

16. Decides that in addition to the provisions of paragraph 19 of resolution 1970 (2011), the measures imposed by paragraph 17 of that resolution, as modified by paragraph 15 above and paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011), do not apply to funds, other financial assets or economic resources of the Central Bank of Libya, the LAFB, the LIA and the LAIP provided that:

- (a) a Member State has provided notice to the Committee of its intent to authorize access to funds, other financial assets, or economic resources, for one or more of the following purposes and in the absence of a negative decision by the Committee within five working days of such a notification:
 - (i) humanitarian needs;
 - (ii) fuel, electricity and water for strictly civilian uses;
 - (iii) resuming Libyan production and sale of hydrocarbons;

- (iv) establishing, operating, or strengthening institutions of civilian government and civilian public infrastructure; or
- (v) facilitating the resumption of banking sector operations, including to support or facilitate international trade with Libya;
- (b) a Member State has notified the Committee that those funds, other financial assets or economic resources shall not be made available to or for the benefit of the individuals subject to the measures imposed in paragraph 17 of resolution 1970 (2011) or paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011);
- (c) the Member State has consulted in advance with the Libyan authorities about the use of such funds, other financial assets, or economic resources; and
- (d) the Member State has shared with the Libyan authorities the notification submitted pursuant to this paragraph and the Libyan authorities have not objected within five working days to the release of such funds, other financial assets, or economic resources;

17. Calls upon States to exercise vigilance when acting pursuant to paragraph 16 above and to give due consideration to the use of international financial mechanisms to promote transparency and prevent misappropriation, in light of the challenges that yet remain for the Libyan authorities;

18. Requests the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to work with the Libyan authorities on an assessment of Libya's public financial management framework, which would recommend steps to be taken by Libya to ensure a system of transparency and accountability with respect to the funds held by Libyan governmental institutions, including the LIA, LNOC, LAFB, LAIP and Libyan Central Bank, and further requests that the Committee be informed of the results of that assessment;

19. Directs the Committee, in consultation with the Libyan authorities, to review continuously the remaining measures imposed by resolutions 1970 (2011) and 1973 (2011) with respect to the Central Bank of Libya, the LAFB, the LIA and the LAIP, and decides that the Committee shall, in consultation with the Libyan authorities, lift the designation of these entities as soon as practical to ensure the assets are made available to and for the benefit of the people of Libya;

No Fly Zone and Ban on Flights

20. Takes note of the improved situation in Libya, emphasises its intention to keep the measures imposed by paragraphs 6 to 12 of resolution 1973 (2011) under continuous review and underlines its readiness, as appropriate and when circumstances permit, to lift those measures and to terminate authorization given to Member States in paragraph 4 of resolution 1973 (2011) in consultation with the Libyan authorities;

21. Decides that the measures in paragraph 17 of resolution 1973 (2011) shall cease to have effect from the date of this resolution;

Cooperation and Reporting

22. Requests the Secretary-General to report on implementation of this resolution in 14 days from adoption, and every month thereafter, or more frequently as he sees fit;

23. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 2016 (2011)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6640th meeting, on 27 October 2011

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1970 (2011) of 26 February 2011, 1973 (2011) of 17 March 2011, and 2009 (2011) of 16 September 2011,

Reaffirming its strong commitment to the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and national unity of Libya,

Taking note of the National Transitional Council's "Declaration of Liberation" of 23 October 2011 in Libya,

Looking forward to a future for Libya based on national reconciliation, justice, respect for human rights and the rule of law,

Reiterating the importance of promoting the full and effective participation of members of all social and ethnic groups, including the equal participation of women and minority communities in the discussions related to the post-conflict phase,

Recalling its decision to refer the situation in Libya to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court, and the importance of cooperation for ensuring that those responsible for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law or complicit in attacks targeting the civilian population are held accountable,

Reiterating that the voluntary and sustainable return of refugees and internally displaced persons will be an important factor for the consolidation of peace in Libya,

Expressing concern at the proliferation of arms in Libya and its potential impact on regional peace and security, and also expressing its intention expeditiously to address that issue further,

Expressing grave concern about continuing reports of reprisals, arbitrary detentions, wrongful imprisonment and extrajudicial executions in Libya,

Reiterating its call to the Libyan authorities to promote and protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including those of people belonging to vulnerable groups, to comply with their obligations under international law, including international humanitarian law and human rights law, and urging respect for the human rights of all people in Libya, including former officials and detainees, during and after the transitional period,

Recalling its decisions in resolution 2009 (2011) to:

- (a) Modify the provisions of the arms embargo imposed by paragraph 9 of resolution 1970 to provide for additional exemptions,
- (b) Terminate the asset freeze imposed by paragraphs 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) and paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011) with respect to

the Libyan National Oil Corporation and Zueitina Oil Company, and to modify the asset freeze imposed by paragraphs 17, 19, 20 and 21 of resolution 1970 (2011) and paragraph 19 of resolution 1973 (2011) with respect to the Central Bank of Libya, the Libyan Arab Foreign Bank, the Libyan Investment Authority, and the Libyan Africa Investment Portfolio, and

(c) Cease the measures imposed by paragraph 17 of resolution 1973 (2011),

Recalling also its intention to keep the measures imposed by paragraphs 6 to 12 of resolution 1973 (2011) under continuous review and to lift, as appropriate and when circumstances permit, those measures and to terminate authorization given to Member States in paragraph 4 of resolution 1973 (2011), in consultation with the Libyan authorities,

Mindful of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations,

Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations,

1. Welcomes the positive developments in Libya which will improve the prospects for a democratic, peaceful and prosperous future there;

2. Looks forward to the swift establishment of an inclusive, representative transitional Government of Libya, and reiterates the need for the transitional period to be underpinned by a commitment to democracy, good governance, rule of law, national reconciliation and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms of all people in Libya;

3. Strongly urges the Libyan authorities to refrain from reprisals, including arbitrary detentions, calls upon the Libyan authorities to take all steps necessary to prevent reprisals, wrongful imprisonment and extrajudicial executions, and underscores the Libyan authorities' responsibility for the protection of its population, including foreign nationals and African migrants;

4. Urges all Member States to cooperate closely with the Libyan authorities in their efforts to end impunity for violations of international human rights and international humanitarian law;

Protection of Civilians

5. Decides that the provisions of paragraphs 4 and 5 of resolution 1973 (2011) shall be terminated from 23.59 Libyan local time on 31 October 2011;

No-Fly Zone

6. Decides also that the provisions of paragraphs 6 to 12 of resolution 1973 (2011) shall be terminated from 23.59 Libyan local time on 31 October 2011;

7. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.