

# The Libyan Intervention A Question Of Leadership

Toppling Qaddafi Libya and the Limits of Liberal  
Intervention Cambridge University Press

A trio of prominent foreign policy experts present the first serious book-length appraisal of Barack Obama's foreign policy, arguing that Obama thus far has, above all, been a foreign policy pragmatist, tackling one issue at a time in a thoughtful way.

Political Rationale and International Consequences of the War in Libya focuses on the international intervention in Libya in 2011, and tries to answer two broad questions; (1) What was the political rationale for the various actors to proceed as they did in the lead-up and conduct of the military intervention in Libya?, (2) What are the consequences of the UN-authorized military intervention in Libya? R2P was the public raison d'etre of the war, and an important legitimizing factor of the intervention. Still, the humanitarian situation was a necessary, but not in and by itself an adequate precondition for intervention. A number of factors coalesced to enable the intervention. While the humanitarian situation triggered the intervention, in reality a variety of national interests governed the approach by the various international actors, and more often than not, these motives were not rooted in the particular circumstances in Libya. The book offers a combination of unique perspectives. While the perspectives of the US, France, and the UK on the Libyan Crisis/War have been well documented, the Arabic and Scandinavian political and military dynamics have been much less so. While the perspectives of NATO, the UN, and R2P have been debated, the view from the Arab League and African Union (AU) have been less in focus. The volume

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redresses that imbalance and offers the most broad-ranging analysis yet of a key moment in recent international relations.

A series of humanitarian tragedies in the 1990s (Somalia, Rwanda, Srebrenica, Kosovo) demonstrated the failure of the international community to protect civilians in the context of complex emergencies. These brought to life two norms of protection - Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Protection of Civilians (POC) - both deeply rooted in the empathy that human beings have for the suffering of innocent people. Both norms raise concerns of misinterpretation and misuse. They are developing - sometimes in parallel, sometimes diverging and sometimes converging - with varying degrees of institutionalisation and acceptance. This book engages in a profound comparative analysis of the norms and aims to serve policy-makers at various levels; practitioners with protective roles; academics and researchers; civil society and R2P and POC advocates

Libya in the Wake of Humanitarian Intervention

The NATO Intervention in Libya

Lessons learned from the campaign

The Military Intervention in Libya: Realist Or Humanitarian?

The Case of NATO in Libya

R2P and the US Intervention in Libya

Orsam Analiz Sayı:288 / The Libyan Conflict And The

Changing Position Of European Actors

This book argues that the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) the Libyan people played an important role in the U.S.'s decision to act, both in terms of how the language of deliberation was framed and the implementation of the actual intervention once all preventive means had been exhausted. While the initial ethos of the intervention followed international norms, the author argues that as

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the conflict continued to unfold, the Obama administration's loss of focus and lack of political will for post-conflict resolution, as well as a wider lack of understanding of ever changing politics on the ground, resulted in Libya's precipitation into chaos. By examining the cases of Rwanda and Darfur alongside the interventions in Kosovo, Iraq and Afghanistan, the book discusses how these cases influenced current decision-making with regards to foreign interventions and offers a triangular framework through which to understand R2P: responsibility to prevent, react and rebuild.

The destruction of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire was an unprecedented tragedy. Even amidst the horrors of the First World War, Theodore Roosevelt insisted that it was the greatest crime of the conflict. The wartime mass killing of approximately one million Armenian Christians was the culmination of a series of massacres that Winston Churchill would later recall had roused publics on both sides of the Atlantic and inspired fervent appeals to save the Armenians. *Sharing the Burden* explains how the Armenian struggle for survival became so entangled with the debate over the international role of the United States as it rose to world power status in the early twentieth century. In doing so, Charlie Laderman provides a fresh perspective on the role of humanitarian intervention in US foreign policy, Anglo-American relations, and the emergence of a new world order after World War I. The United States' responsibility to protect the Armenians was a central preoccupation of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and

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Woodrow Wilson. Both American and British leaders proposed an Anglo-American alliance to take joint responsibilities for the Middle East and envisioned a US intervention to secure an independent Armenia as key to the new League of Nations. The Armenian question illustrates how policymakers, missionaries, and the public grappled for the first time with atrocities on this scale. It also reveals the values that animated American society during this pivotal period in the nation's foreign relations. Deepening understanding of the Anglo-American special relationship and its role in reforming global order, *Sharing the Burden* illuminates the possibilities, limitations, and continued dilemmas of humanitarian intervention in international politics. By examining Libya's security architecture before and after the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention in 2011, this book aims to answer three questions. First, what were the security patterns in Libya within the Middle East security complex before the Arab Spring? Second, to what extent did the Arab Spring and the revolution and intervention processes in Libya affect this security architecture? And third, what are the implications of the Libyan revolution and the NATO intervention on regional security and on the security sub-complexes of the Middle East in the post-Arab Spring era? The author addresses these issues by providing a micro-level analysis of amity-enmity patterns, power distribution and external power interests. *Political Rationale and International Consequences of the War in Libya* focuses on the international intervention in Libya in 2011, and tries to answer two broad

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questions; (1) What was the political rationale for the various actors to proceed as they did in the lead-up and conduct of the military intervention in Libya?, (2) What are the consequences of the UN-authorized military intervention in Libya? R2P was the public *raison d'être* of the war, and an important legitimizing factor of the intervention. Still, the humanitarian situation was a necessary, but not in and by itself an adequate precondition for intervention. A number of factors coalesced to enable the intervention. While the humanitarian situation triggered the intervention, in reality a variety of national interests governed the approach by the various international actors, and more often than not, these motives were not rooted in the particular circumstances in Libya. The book offers a combination of unique perspectives. While the perspectives of the US, France, and the UK on the Libyan Crisis/War have been well documented, the Arabic and Scandinavian political and military dynamics have been much less so. While the perspectives of NATO, the UN, and R2P have been debated, the view from the Arab League and African Union (AU) have been less in focus. The volume redresses that imbalance and offers the most broad-ranging analysis yet of a key moment in recent international relations.

International Reactions to the Libyan Civil War, Timeline of the Libyan Civil War, Timeline of the 2011 Military Intervention in Lib

Libyan Civil War

Theory of Social Constructivism. The United Nations Security Council in Libya

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Global NATO and the Catastrophic Failure in Libya  
The Responsibility to Protect in North Africa  
Preventing Civil War Through Institutional Design  
Gambling on Humanitarian Intervention

In *Exit the Colonel*, Ethan Chorin, a longtime Middle East scholar and one of the first American diplomats posted to Libya after the lifting of international sanctions, goes well beyond recent reporting on the Arab Spring to link the Libyan uprising to a flawed reform process, egregious human rights abuses, regional disparities, and inconsistent stories spun by Libya and the West to justify the Gaddafi regime's "rehabilitation." *Exit the Colonel* is based upon extensive interviews with senior US, EU, and Libyan officials, and with rebels and loyalists; a deep reading of local and international media; and significant on-the-ground experience pre- and post-revolution. The book provides rare and often startling glimpses into the strategies and machinations that brought Gaddafi in from the cold, while encouraging ordinary Libyans to "break the barrier of fear." Chorin also assesses the possibilities and perils

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for Libya going forward, politically and economically.

A riveting, beautifully crafted account of Libya after Qadhafi. The death of Colonel Muammar Qadhafi freed Libya from forty-two years of despotic rule, raising hopes for a new era. But in the aftermath, the country descended into bitter rivalries and civil war, paving the way for the Islamic State and a catastrophic migrant crisis. In a fast-paced narrative that blends frontline reporting, analysis, and history, Frederic Wehrey tells the story of what went wrong. An Arabic-speaking Middle East scholar, Wehrey interviewed the key actors in Libya and paints vivid portraits of lives upended by a country in turmoil: the once-hopeful activists murdered or exiled, revolutionaries transformed into militia bosses or jihadist recruits, an aging general who promises salvation from the chaos in exchange for a return to the old authoritarianism. He traveled where few Westerners have gone, from the shattered city of Benghazi, birthplace of the revolution, to the lawless Sahara, to the coastal stronghold of

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the Islamic State in Qadhafi's hometown of Sirt. He chronicles the American and international missteps after the dictator's death that hastened the country's unraveling. Written with bravura, based on daring reportage, and informed by deep knowledge, *The Burning Shores* is the definitive account of Libya's fall.

It took three decades for the United States government—spanning and working assiduously over five different presidential administrations (Reagan, Bush I, Clinton, Bush II, and Obama)—to terminate the 1969 Qaddafi Revolution, seize control over Libya's oil fields, and dismantle its Jamahiriya system. This book tells the story of what happened, why it happened, and what was both wrong and illegal with that from the perspective of an international law professor and lawyer who tried for over three decades to stop it. Francis Boyle provides a comprehensive history and critique of American foreign policy toward Libya from when the Reagan administration came to power in January of 1981 up to the 2011 NATO war on Libya that

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ultimately achieved the US goal of regime change, and beyond. He sets the record straight on the series of military conflicts and crises between the United States and Libya over the Gulf of Sidra, exposing the Reagan administration's fraudulent claims of Libyan instigation of international terrorism put forward over his eight years in office. Boyle reveals the inside story behind the Lockerbie bombing cases against the United States and the United Kingdom that he filed at the World Court for Colonel Qaddafi acting upon his advice—and the unjust resolution of those disputes. Deploying standard criteria of international law, Boyle analyzes and debunks the UN R2P “responsibility to protect” doctrine and its immediate predecessor, “humanitarian intervention”. He addresses how R2P served as the basis for the NATO assault on Libya in 2011, overriding the UN Charter commitment to state sovereignty and prevention of aggression. The purported NATO protection in actuality led to 50,000 Libyan casualties, and the complete breakdown of law and order. And this is

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just the beginning. Boyle lays out the ramifications: the destabilization of the Maghreb and Sahel, and the French intervention in Mali—with the USA/NATO/Europe starting a new imperial scramble for the natural resources of Africa. This book is not only a classic case study of the conduct of US foreign policy as it relates to international law, but a damning indictment of the newly-contrived R2P doctrine as legal cover for Western intervention into third world countries.

This book unveils the myth of humanitarian intervention in the Libya war in 2011 that was advertised as NATO doing a favour to the Libyan people. Nonetheless, This book has argued that the key countries involved in the Libya war specifically France, Britain and the United States were driven by core national interest. It was economic interest and the refugee crisis that largely motivated France and Britain whereas the United States were driven by their ambition to spread the branch of AFRICOM in the African continent. Libya, the Responsibility to Protect and the Future of Humanitarian

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Intervention

The Road to War

Toppling Qaddafi

From Revolution to Insecurity

Towards a Post-Interventionist Era? The

Military Intervention against the

Islamic State

The Case of Chad

Precision and Purpose

*Each of Africa's countries has a different constitutional design, is characterized by a unique culture and history, and faces different stresses that threaten to undermine political stability. Presenting the first database of constitutional design in all African countries, along with seven original case studies, Constitutions and Conflict Management in Africa explores the types of domestic political institutions that can buffer societies from destabilizing changes that otherwise increase the risk of violence. With detailed comparative studies of Burundi, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, and Zimbabwe, contributing scholars identify key turning points at which a state's political institutions either mitigated or escalated the effects of economic, environmental, demographic, and political shocks. They find that stability can be promoted by various constitutional designs—not only by accommodative institutions that encourage decentralization and multiculturalism, but also by the integrative, centralized designs that characterize the constitutions of most African countries. The greatest danger may arise from partial or inequitable accommodation that can exacerbate societal tensions, culminating in violence up to and including civil war and genocide. Accordingly, Constitutions and Conflict Management in Africa cautions against the typical international prescription for radical reform to replace Africa's existing constitutions with accommodative designs, instead*

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*prescribing more gradual constitutional reform to strengthen liberal institutions, such as strong judiciaries and independent electoral commissions. This detailed and methodical volume provides vital lessons for fostering democracy and reducing civil conflict via constitutional reform in Africa and beyond.*

*Contributors: Justin Orlando Frosini, Gilbert M. Khadiagala, Alan J. Kuperman, Karly Kupferberg, Eli Poupko, Eghosa E. Osaghae, Andrew Reynolds, Filip Reyntjens, Arame Tall, Hillary Thomas-Lake, Stefan Wolff, I. William Zartman.*

*Please note that the content of this book primarily consists of articles available from Wikipedia or other free sources online.*

*Pages: 132. Chapters: International reactions to the Libyan civil war, Timeline of the Libyan civil war, Timeline of the 2011 military intervention in Libya, Timeline of the Libyan civil war and military intervention (19 March - May), Timeline of the Libyan civil war and military intervention (June - 15 August), Timeline of the Libyan civil war before military intervention, International reactions to the 2011 military intervention in Libya, Timeline of the Libyan civil war and military intervention (16 August - 23 October), Aftermath of the Libyan civil war, International reactions to the death of Muammar Gaddafi, Casualties of the Libyan civil war, National Transitional Council.*

*Excerpt: The international reactions to the Libyan civil war were the responses to the series of protests and military confrontations occurring in Libya against the government of Libya and its head of state Muammar Gaddafi. Many states and supranational bodies condemned Gaddafi's regime over its attacks on civilian targets within the country. Virtually all Western countries cut off diplomatic relations with Gaddafi's government over an aerial bombing campaign in February and March, and a number of other countries led by Peru and Botswana did likewise. The regime's use of the Libyan Air Force to strike civilians led to the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1973 to create a Libyan no-fly zone on 17 March, though several*

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*countries involved in the resolution's enforcement have also carried out regular strike missions to degrade the offensive capacity of the Libyan Army and destroy the regime's command and control capabilities, effectively acting in de facto support of anti-Gaddafi forces on the ground. Many members of the international community, including the United Nations, the Arab League, and the African Union, explicitly recognized...*

*Does humanitarian military intervention save lives as intended? Or does it perversely embolden rebels and ignite the spiral of violence that it seeks to prevent? Such questions lie at the heart of a new and lively controversy in international politics. "Gambling on Humanitarian Intervention" explores whether the emerging norm of intervention backfires in conflicts such as Kosovo, exacerbating the ethnic cleansing and killing of innocent civilians. Leading academics investigate this problem, including when and where it is most likely to occur, and how to avert the unintended consequences without abandoning intervention. Sceptics weigh in as well, pointing out potential errors in blaming intervention for civil violence, and offering alternative explanations. Several authors conclude with prescriptions to ensure that future interventions mitigate violence, as intended, rather than tragically worsening it. This book was previously published as a special issue of "Ethnopolitics".*

*Seminar paper from the year 2014 in the subject Politics - International Politics - Topic: Peace and Conflict Studies, Security, grade: 1,3, University of Bamberg, language: English, abstract: The United Nations (UN) in international relations is considered to be a supranational organization. Currently the UN consist of 193 Member States and it stresses out four main purposes, which are maintaining peace and security, developing friendly relations amongst states, helping states to work together and being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations (cf. [www.un.org/en/aboutun](http://www.un.org/en/aboutun)). Additionally the UN is seen as a collective security system, which offers states to settle down any*

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*disputes and for solving social, economic, humanitarian and ecological problems on international level (cf. Gareis/Varwick 2006: 85). According to this purposes, the UN has acted and authorized multilateral interventions in many states, which were affected by conflicts. The Libyan conflict in 2011, as an example, was one of the cases where the UN has responded to. The actions and the multilateral intervention in Libya leaves questions. How does the UN shape the behavior of its Member States and why does the UN act in general? The theory of social constructivism by Alexander Wendt, can provide an explanation to these questions. The theory defines balances of power between states and explains the behavior of states. Furthermore it claims that international relations are social and the international system is constituted by ideas (cf. Jackson/Sorensen 2006: 162). But the main question which shall be discussed in this term paper is therefore: „How can the theory of social constructivism explain the actions by the United Nations Security Council in Libya?“ First of all core assumptions of social constructivism has to be discussed in order to explain further analysis of this term paper. After the illustration of the core assumptions of social constructivism, the powers and functions of the UN Security Council shall be described, because the Security Council, as one of the most important main body of the UN, is the only executive body that act regarding any threat of peace and security. Thereafter the situation in Libya, as the empirical example have to be mentioned. What exactly happened in Libya and what did the UN especially the Security Council do? Altogether with the core assumptions of social constructivism, the theoretical knowledge of the Security Council and the information of the Libyan conflict, the main question shall be answered. At the end the conclusion shall summarize the term paper ?s outcome of the analysis.*

*Consequences for Peace*

*The United Nations and International Intervention in Libya  
Norms of Protection*

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*Arab Spring, Libyan Winter*

*Sowing Chaos*

*Barack Obama's Foreign Policy*

In this paper, I critically analyse the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP), as it relates to the responsibility of intervening forces towards the people they claim to protect and the challenges that the situation in Libya now poses in the region and for the African Union (AU). I focus most of my attention on the coercive elements of the RtoP framework (Pillar III). This is the most contested element in the framework. Three questions guide this article: were there legitimate grounds to justify an external intervention in Libya? In the words of Hugh Roberts in *Who Said Gaddafi Had to Go*, '[w]hat if anything has Libya got in exchange for all the death and destruction that have been visited on it' since 2011? What are the practical implications and consequences of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervention, led by the United States (US), for regional peace? I discuss the problems surrounding the US-NATO intervention, followed by an analysis of the various positions and narratives leading up to the intervention, the framing and justifications provided for the intervention, and an analysis of the AU's proposal for the resolution of the Libyan crisis. I analyse the various debates that took place in the US (Pentagon/White House), at the United Nations, among scholars in the West and in Africa, and among various actors who tried to broker

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a ceasefire in Libya before and during the intervention. I conclude with a discussion of the implications for regional peace.

An original reconstruction of the evolution of and international diplomatic response to the 2011 Libyan crisis, which draws on a diverse range of sources including in-depth interviews with politicians and diplomats to understand the real-world application of the UN's 'Responsibility to Protect' principle.

The international intervention after the 2011 Libyan uprising against Muammar Gaddafi was initially considered a remarkable success: the UN Security Council's first application of the 'responsibility to protect' doctrine; an impending civilian massacre prevented; and an opportunity for democratic forces to lead Libya out of a forty-year dictatorship. But such optimism was soon dashed. Successive governments failed to establish authority over the ever-proliferating armed groups; divisions among regions and cities, Islamists and others, split the country into rival administrations and exploded into civil war; external intervention escalated. Ian Martin gives his first-hand view of the questions raised by the international engagement. Was it a justified response to the threat against civilians? What brought about the Security Council resolutions, including authorising military action? How did NATO act upon that authorisation? What role did Special Forces operations play in the rebels' victory? Was a peaceful political settlement ever possible? What post-conflict planning was undertaken, and should

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or could there have been a major peacekeeping or stabilisation mission during the transition? Was the first election held too soon? As Western interventions are reassessed and Libya continues to struggle for stability, this is a unique account of a critical period, by a senior international official who was close to the events.

This book contributes to an increasingly important branch of critical security studies that combines insights from critical geopolitics and postcolonial critique by making an argument about the geographies of violence and their differential impact in contemporary security practices, including but not limited to military intervention. The book explores military intervention in Libya through the categories of space and time, to provide a robust ethico-political critique of the intervention. Much of the mainstream international relations scholarship on humanitarian intervention frames the ethical, moral and legal debate over intervention in terms of a binary, between human rights and state sovereignty. In response, O'Sullivan questions the ways in which military violence was produced as a rational and reasonable response to the crisis in Libya, outlining and destabilising this false binary between the human and the state. The book offers methodological tools for questioning the violent institutions at the heart of humanitarian intervention and asking how intervention has been produced as a rational response to crisis. Contributing to the ongoing academic conversation in the critical

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literature on spatiality, militarism and resistance, the book draws upon postcolonial and poststructural approaches to critical security studies, and will be of great interest to scholars and graduates of critical security studies and international relations.

Exit the Colonel

Military Intervention in the Middle East and North Africa

Political Rationale and International Consequences of the War in Libya

The Positions of Germany in Nato towards the issues of The Arab World

The Three-Decade US Campaign to Terminate the Qaddafi Revolution

Presidential Commitments Honored and Betrayed

The Hidden History of the Libyan Revolution

*In early 2011, Libya came under attack by NATO countries purporting to engage in a humanitarian intervention to protect the Libyan people. In actuality, this was part of a larger-scale Western strategy to redesign the entire Middle East to suit its interests. This book addresses Libyan history of the last hundred years, from the main phases of the Italian military occupation (1911-1943) to the dramatic events of our own times, including an account of the post-war monarchy, Gaddafi's rise to power, the air strikes on Tripoli and Benghazi ordered by Reagan in 1986, and the Lockerbie affair. Sensini exposes the 2011 misrepresentations by the mainstream media, major NGOs and even the International Criminal*

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*Court that sought to legitimize the NATO attack. He takes a close look at the Western organized and financed “rebels” in Benghazi who provided the pretext for UN approval of Resolution 1973 embodying the new so-called “responsibility to protect” (R2P) doctrine. This criminal intervention devastated Libya, unleashing a civil war unlikely to cease in the near future. Sensi sheds light on the role of Hillary Clinton and the 11 September 2012 murder of American Ambassador Chris Stevens. The R2P upshot? Untold waves of migrants seeking to flee the continental chaos, leading to thousands of deaths and drownings across the Mediterranean, and the potential destabilization of Europe. “Dismissing the claim that the West’s Gaddafi-killing intervention in Libya, which played a big role in the chaos in the Middle East, was for humanitarian reasons, this book explains the real reasons. Of special interest is the author’s discussion of the central role played by “the ever-destructive Hillary Clinton.” – David Ray Griffin, In 2011, former Congresswoman and 2008 Green Party candidate for President, Cynthia McKinney, took a delegation of observers to Libya to monitor NATO’s purported humanitarian intervention. Prefaced by Ramsey Clark, this collection of essays includes scholarly and legal analysis, as well as personal accounts by witnesses to the NATO assault on a helpless civilian population it had a UN mandate to protect, and the massive media propaganda*

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*campaign that made it possible. It responds to the many questions left unanswered by a complicit mainstream media, such as: ♦ Why Libya, not Bahrain, Yemen or Egypt? ♦ What was life in Libya like under Qadhafi? ♦ What is the truth about the so-called ♦Black Mercenaries"? ♦ What was the role of Western NGOs and the International Criminal Court? ♦ What about Africom♦s Plans for Africa? ♦ What did it have to do with Liby♦a independent central bank, its oil, its plans for an African currency, its efforts to free African states from the coils of the Bretton Woods Institutions? Cynthia McKinney and other contributors to this volume were in Libya during the period of the NATO bombardment of Libyan cities, and were among the few independent voices to report on the tragedy.*

*New essays on philosophical, legal, and moral aspects of armed humanitarian intervention, including discussion of the 2011 bombing in Libya.*

*This book critically analyses the 2011 intervention in Libya arguing that the manner in which the intervention was sanctioned, prosecuted and justified has a number of troubling implications for the both the future of humanitarian intervention and international peace and security.*

*All Necessary Measures?*

*Anatomy of a Failure*

*The Libyan War 1911-1912*

*United States Intervention*

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## *Bending History*

### *Destroying Libya and World Order*

#### *Libya since 1969*

*The world watched as the bud of the Arab Spring was buried under the cold darkness of the Libyan Winter.*

*The intervention in the political processes in Libya of some EU countries, especially France, Italy and Germany, has recently gained a new dimension, and has become clearer in the following period when Abdul Hamid Dbeibeh was appointed as the Prime Minister of the Libyan Government of National Accord. In this sense, the appointment of transitional administrative staff to lead the country to the elections of 24 December at the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum held between 1-5 February 2021 in Geneva under the auspices of the United Nations (UN) has been a turning point with regard to EU countries' attitude in Libya. The Head of the Presidential Council, Mohamed al-Menfi, and the Dbeibeh government, which received a vote of confidence from the parliament on 10 March, attracted significant attention from the European Union (EU) countries in the last two months, particularly from Italy and Greece. While a similar interest was also shown by countries such as France, Germany and Malta in reshaping their relations with the legitimate government in Libya, the situation paved the way for the EU countries to implement new strategies in Libya.*

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*Expressing at every opportunity their support for Libya's reconstruction process and the newly established Government of National Unity (GNU), the EU countries have intensified their diplomatic contacts with Libya while focusing on their own political and economic gains. While some of these countries consider Libya as a security area where they can control the flow of irregular migrants to Europe via the Mediterranean, others aim to provide opportunities for their companies to meet the needs in the reconstruction of Libya. Apart from security and economic approaches, states such as Greece and France tried to balance Turkey in political and military terms and undermine its gains due to concerns over its growing influence in Libya and the security and maritime jurisdiction agreements signed with the UN-supported Government of National Accord (GNA) on 27 November 2019. While Turkey's position remains the same in the face of these initiatives, Ankara maintains its good relations with the GNA in various areas. Recent activism and transforming policies toward Libya of the EU countries directly or indirectly involved in the Libyan issue are important in revealing these countries' motivations in Libya. This study focuses on the motives behind the recent Libya policies of countries such as Greece, Germany and Malta, as well as Italy and France, which have a colonial past in Libya, and on what level these countries' Libya*

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*policies can be discussed within the context of regional alliance or competition. The study also examines which foreign policy priorities these countries have in the context of Libya, based on their previous Libya policies and in the light of recent developments in the region.*

*Libya is one of the most important regional actors in the Middle East and North Africa region in terms of its geographical location and geostrategic importance. In 2011, Qaddafi was ousted from power raising the hopes of the Libyan people for a democratic regime. Unfortunately, Libya, one of the most interesting fronts of the Arab insurgencies and revolutions, has disintegrated into a severe civil war and a regional crisis. The reasons behind this are both internal and external. While the clash between the state, non-state, and armed actors within Libya have threatened the internal stability, the intervention of some regional and global actors has incited the conflict further. Authoritarian regimes and pro status-quo states such as the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Saudi Arabia, and Egypt have been against the Arab uprisings as they did not want the will of the people to be reflected in the Middle East and Arab countries' administrations. Within this context, these states did not allow the emergence of an encompassing and pluralist political structure in Libya. Furthermore, most international and regional powers such as*

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France, Russia, and the United States have also been supporting this authoritarian coalition. Haftar, who had little influence during the revolution and lived outside of Libya for a long time, attempted a military coup in 2014 by rejecting the authorities of legitimate political actors in the country, with the support of these states. The Government of National Accord (GNA), which is recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Libyan state and people by many international institutions, most notably the United Nations, suppressed Haftar's coup attempt. However, the abovementioned states continue to invest in Haftar's forces. After having amassed enough armed forces with the support of a large coalition of states, Haftar launched a comprehensive military attack to take over the capital city of Tripoli in April 2019, to offset-up another autocratic regime in Libya. While everyone saw the capital Tripoli passing into the hands of Haftar as inevitable and only a matter of time, turning a blind eye to the situation, Turkey stepped in and upset all the calculations. As a result, Turkey increased its presence in Libya after two memorandums of understanding (MoUs) were signed with the GNA in November 2019. With these two memorandums, Turkey has determined and declared its sea border in the Eastern Mediterranean and made a commitment to the GNA. Accordingly, when needed and requested by GNA, Turkey is ready to provide

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*all kinds of military support. Especially since January 2020, Turkey has supported the GNA militarily and financially in its struggle against Haftar. The GNA forces supported by Turkey defeated the Haftar troops and forced them to withdraw from a large area in the Western part of the country. Turkey, which has altered the whole balance of power in Libya within a short time with the new dynamics, has changed the course of the crisis and the civil war in the country. Haftar and his supporters, who preferred only military methods, had to declare a unilateral ceasefire and to sit down at the diplomatic negotiation table. At the same time, Turkey persuaded some countries that are flirting with both sides to strengthen their relationship with the GNA. Developments in Libya directly influence Turkey, since Libya is a very important country for Turkey in the context of both the history of bilateral relations as well as the regional balance of power. Therefore, since the first days of the revolution, Turkey has been in close relations with the legitimate actors in order to protect the territorial integrity and political independence of the Libyan state. With its support both in the conflict area and at the negotiating table, Turkey ensured that the GNA remains an effective actor. Thus, Turkey has prevented the persons and groups which are under the control of the anti-Turkish coalition during the post-Arab spring period. On the other*

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hand, Turkey has negated all anti-Turkey moves, formations, and processes within the newly emerged strategic regional equation. In this sense, the legitimate Libyan government came to the fore as a regional actor that it can work with. After signing a ceasefire agreement in October 2020, in Geneva, the political peace talks started under the auspices of the United Nations acting envoy to Libya, Stephanie Williams, and the warring sides have reached a preliminary agreement to a roadmap for elections. The two rival sides have agreed to hold both parliamentary and presidential elections in December 2021. If the process is completed successfully, the future of the country will be determined after these elections hopefully with an end to the discord in the country. The Libyan issue is a complex crisis with which many local, regional, and global actors have become involved. Therefore, the resolution of the crisis will only be possible with international consensus. In order to solve the crisis, a negotiation process must begin after securing a sustainable ceasefire agreement, all segments of the Libyan society must be included, and the two sides must reconcile on civil and democratic principles. Only then can a reconstruction of the state and a reform process in political, economic and security spheres be initiated. This issue of Insight Turkey focuses on underscoring both promises of internal reconstruction and challenges fueled by different external

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actors intervening in the Libyan crisis. This latest issue includes five commentaries and three insightful research articles that explore the Libyan conflict from different perspectives. While some pieces focus on the role of different actors in the crisis, others analyze the reconstruction efforts. While the civil war has pitted Libyans against each other, foreign interventions have hindered the resolution of the civil war. In this regard, Yahia H. Zoubir's commentary presents a coherent framework of the foreign powers involved in the Libyan conflict and their interests. Zoubir argues that unless those foreign powers have achieved their goals in Libya, an end to the civil war anytime soon remains unlikely. Talha Köse and Bilgehan Öztürk provide a rigorous analysis of the external interventions in Libya and the logic behind each intervention, between offensive, defensive, opportunistic, or ideological. Understanding the full picture in Libya requires us to fully grasp the Turkish role and motivation for the Libyan conflict. To do so, ?smail Numan Telci underlines the factors and challenges that made it difficult for Turkey to implement its peaceful plans in Libya and argues that Turkey will continue to be an active supporter of peace and stability in the country. Tarek Megerisi briefly analyzes Europe's relations with post-revolutionary Libya and European policies on Libya to conclude by stating that a

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continuing struggle between the EU member states over how to handle the new world, that is emerging in the wake of the pax-Americana, is also exposed in European policy on Libya. Ali Bakir's article aims to discuss the United Arab Emirates' interventions in Libya in terms of their nature, extent, motives, goals, and repercussions. Bakir tries to answer the questions of why Abu Dhabi has been able to act with impunity in Libya despite being the top foreign player fueling the war there for many years, and whether it will be able to achieve its goals and continue its interventions in Libya or not. France, while actively allying with the UAE, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia, has aggressively confronted Turkey and undermined the internationally recognized Libyan Government of National Accord. On this basis, Timothy Reid seeks to examine the premises of the French policy toward Libya and its real intentions behind these actions. Guma el-Gamaty highlights the strong foundations and drivers for the Turkish-Libyan strategic alliance which allowed Turkey eventually to provide timely and decisive support for the legitimate Government of National Accord. He argues that the Turkish strategic relationship and cooperation with Libya over the coming decades will contribute to lasting peace as well as institution and state-building. Based on empirical evidence, Shatha Sbeta and Mohamed Abufalgha advocate for a comprehensive framework to address the

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political, economic, and social challenges facing Libya. Their proposal draws a clear roadmap that begins with establishing trust and extending the authority of the government across the Libyan territory. Murat Aslan, focusing on state, non-state, and armed actors, analyses Libya's post-Qaddafi fragile state structure and struggles to build the internal order. He argues that these actors pose a repeating and paradoxical dilemma in which the root causes can be scrutinized by investigating the security culture inherited from Qaddafi's regime. Four off-topic manuscripts conclude this issue of Insight Turkey. This issue places a special emphasis on the insurmountable deadlock that tackled the Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict resolution process. Farid Shafiyev and Vasif Huseynov in their off-topic commentary assert that this deadlock is due to the failure of the peace negotiations brokered by different actors to deliver any progress as well as the constant provocations of Armenian military and political leaders, which eventually led to the outbreak of an almost full-scale war on September 27, 2020. As the COVID-19 pandemic continues, refugees are in constant danger because they live in highly congested environments. Within this context, Mahmood Monshipouri, Burcu Akan Ellis, and Cassidy Renee Yip call for a new approach to cope with the pandemic while arguing that helping refugees to curb the spread of the current coronavirus cannot be divorced from social

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contexts. Lukáš Tichý, Jan Maza?, and Zbyněk Dubský present a modified concept of the EU actorness in energy relations and deals with the identification of its criteria. Based on a predefined methodology, the article also analyses dimensions of actorness in the external energy relations with Algeria. Written by Shamkhal Abilov, Ceyhun Mahmudlu, and Natig Abdullayev, the last research article focuses on the dispute between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan over the delimitation of the Caspian Sea. This article aims to find out whether the new Convention of 2018 on the status of the Caspian Sea resolved the long-standing dispute and to assess the potential of implementing the Trans Caspian Pipeline under the new conditions. With one more year coming to an end, we are pleased to present to our readers yet another insightful issue of Insight Turkey that aims to bring the Libyan crisis to the attention of the politicians, intellectuals, and academicians. With the hope that you will find this issue informative and interesting, we are looking forward to providing you with more next year. This book explores the causes and implications of the Libyan crisis since the anti-Gaddafi uprisings of 2011 from the perspective of the EU and NATO. It asks the question of why those organizations failed to stabilize the country despite the serious challenges posed by the protracted crisis to European and transatlantic stakes in the

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*region. This book argues that such failure originated in a twofold problem common to both organizations: their prioritization of legitimacy over strategy, and their path dependence – the insufficient degree of adaptation to meet the different needs of the crisis. Through a critical and integrated analysis of official sources and extensive interviews with EU, NATO, UN, and national government officials and militaries, as well as from NGO personnel, Libyan institutions and civil society, and media, the volume brings the perspective of both state and non-state actors to the fore. It reveals how wrong assumptions and centrifugal forces within the EU and NATO hampered initiatives, and how the inability to use hard power judiciously in an increasingly complex and multifaceted scenario worsened the crisis, which allowed for unprecedented influence of regional and global competitors such as Egypt, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Turkey and Russia in the richest African country. This book will be of key interest for scholars and students of Libya and North Africa, NATO, the European Union, security and conflict studies, Middle East studies, migration, terrorism, peacebuilding and more broadly to international relations.*

*The Illegal War on Libya*

*Inside the Battle for the New Libya*

*The Misguided and Mismanaged Intervention in Libya*

*Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*

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*The Armenian Question, Humanitarian Intervention, and Anglo-American Visions of Global Order*

*The Ethics of Armed Humanitarian Intervention  
Libya in the Arab Spring*

**When the Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings erupted in Africa, in the first two months of the year 2011, with the chant, 'the people want to bring down the regime', there was hope all over the continent that these rebellions were part of a wider African Awakening. President Ben Ali of Tunisia was forced to step down and fled to Saudi Arabia. Within a month of Ben Ali's departure, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was removed from power by the people, who mobilised a massive revolutionary movement in the country. Four days after the ousting of Mubarak, sections of the Libyan people rebelled in Benghazi. Within days, this uprising was militarised, with armed resistance countered by declarations from the Libyan leadership vowing to use raw state power to root out the rebellion. The first Libyan demonstrations occurred on February 15, 2011, but by February 21 there were reports that innocent civilians were in**

**imminent danger of being massacred by the army. This information was embellished by reports of the political leadership branding the rebellious forces as 'rats'.**

**This edited volume provides the first fully comprehensive evaluation of Libya since the Qadhafi coup in 1969.**

**Throughout the different chapters the authors explore the rise of the military in Libya, the impact of its self-styled revolution on Libyan society and economy.**

**Studienarbeit aus dem Jahr 2016 im Fachbereich Politik - Internationale Politik - Allgemeine und Theorien, Note: 1.7, Freie Universität Berlin, Sprache: Deutsch, Abstract: Has the world of international intervention come to a turning point? Many observers claim that the interventions in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) have left Western societies tired and exhausted. Casualties and considerable material costs in combination with sobering results are said to have led to a growing uneasiness in Western societies when it comes to sending troops abroad. Against this background the hypothesis is put**

**forward that future interventions will be harder to legitimize and are likely to differ in their character. Academia is debating this development vividly. The 2012 conference of the Bundeswehr Institute for Social Science in Berlin for instance brought up the issue using the title “The Armed Forces: Towards a Post-Interventionist Era?”. How will future interventions look like? Some point at the 2011 NATO-led military campaign in Libya, which differed from earlier missions in several aspects, and argue it might herald a new type of intervention. But there might be more change in the world of international intervention. Scholars like David Chandler argue that the Libyan case illustrates a shift towards a post-interventionist discourse. This discourse, Chandler claims, evolves around the paradigm of resilience and moves away from liberal internationalist claims of Western securing or sovereign agency towards a concern with empowering those held to be vulnerable. The conflict between sovereignty and intervention becomes discursively dissolved this way.**

**The war between Italy and the Ottoman**

**Empire for possession of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania was a crucial event both for Italian domestic and foreign policy and for the contemporary European balance of power. For Italian society the Libyan conflict was in many ways a dress rehearsal for the First World War. The propaganda campaign for the occupation of Libya, orchestrated around the myth of the “Grande Italia” and the “Grande proletaria” had an important impact on the Italian political system, even more than the military operations, testing its stability and leading to violent debate not only between the parties, but also inside the parties themselves. The essays brought together in this book illustrate the attitude of the political forces that were the main supporters of the Italian intervention in Libya, and the international context in which the war between Italy and the Ottoman Empire came about. Using new sources or re-reading the sources already known with the insight gained from the passage of a hundred years, the authors reflect on a conflict that had profound repercussions for Italian and European politics and contributed to ending the Belle Époque,**

**raising in the minds of both the Italian and European public the specter of a new war in Europe.**

**R2P**

**The EU, NATO and the Libya Conflict  
Insight Turkey 2020/04 - The Future of  
The Libyan Crisis**

**Qadhafi's Revolution Revisited  
Constitutions and Conflict Management  
in Africa**

**Intervention in Libya**

**Responsibility to Protect, Protection of  
Civilians and Their Interaction**

*The present work tries to point out the importance of the role played by NATO in recent decades through military intervention in the internal affairs of many countries of the world and the errors committed by this alliance under the name of (Humanitarian Intervention) through its policies that described by analysts as a failure and moved away from the objectives of the alliance's core. This intervention has left a legacy of destruction and killing of civilians and destroying of the infrastructure of the countries. In addition, the importance of this work emerges through helping us to better understand the motives of German foreign policy on the one hand, and then facilitate the prediction about its external behavior or positions within NATO towards the Libyan crisis*

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*and towards any issues and regional or global issues that may occur in the future, on the other. This work aims to explain the theoretical frameworks of the determinants of foreign policy of Germany that are related to the structure of the international system and NATO, including Germany, and explore the impact of these determinants on the German foreign policy. Not since Pearl Harbor has an American president gone to Congress to request a declaration of war. Nevertheless, since then, one president after another, from Truman to Obama, has ordered American troops into wars all over the world. From Korea to Vietnam, Panama to Grenada, Lebanon to Bosnia, Afghanistan to Iraq—why have presidents sidestepped declarations of war? Marvin Kalb, former chief diplomatic correspondent for CBS and NBC News, explores this key question in his thirteenth book about the presidency and U.S. foreign policy. Instead of a declaration of war, presidents have justified their war-making powers by citing "commitments," private and public, made by former presidents. Many of these commitments have been honored, but some betrayed. Surprisingly, given the tight U.S.-Israeli relationship, Israeli leaders feel that at times they have been betrayed by American presidents. Is it time for a negotiated defense treaty between the United States and Israel as a way of substituting*

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*for a string of secret presidential commitments? From Israel to Vietnam, presidential commitments have proven to be tricky and dangerous. For example, one president after another committed the United States to the defense of South Vietnam, often without explanation. Over the years, these commitments mushroomed into national policy, leading to a war costing 58,000 American lives. Few in Congress or the media chose to question the war's provenance or legitimacy, until it was too late. No president saw the need for a declaration of war, considering one to be old-fashioned. The word of a president can morph into a national commitment. It can become the functional equivalent of a declaration of war. Therefore, whenever a president "commits" the United States to a policy or course of action with, or increasingly without, congressional approval, watch out—the White House may be setting the nation on a road toward war. The Road to War was a 2013 Foreword Reviews honorable mention in the subject of War & Military.*

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*Between March and October 2011, a coalition of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member states and several partner nations waged a war against Muammar Qaddafi's Libyan regime that stemmed and then reversed the tide of Libya's civil war, preventing Qaddafi from crushing the*

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*nascent rebel movement seeking to overthrow his dictatorship and going on to enable opposition forces to prevail. The central element of this intervention was a relatively small multinational force's air campaign operating from NATO bases in several countries, as well as from a handful of aircraft carriers and amphibious ships in the Mediterranean Sea. The study details each country's contribution to that air campaign, examining such issues as the limits of airpower and coordination among nations. It also explores whether the Libyan experience offers a potential model for the future.*

*The Burning Shores*

*Libya and the Limits of Liberal Intervention*

*NATO's Failure in Libya: Lessons for Africa*

*Challenges and Opportunities in Light of the Libyan Intervention*

*Sharing the Burden*

***This book explores 'lessons learned' from the military intervention in Libya by examining key aspects of the 2011 NATO campaign. NATO's intervention in Libya had unique features, rendering it unlikely to serve as a model for action in other situations. There was an explicit UN Security Council mandate to use military force, a strong European commitment to protect Libyan civilians, Arab League political endorsement and American engagement in the***

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***critical, initial phase of the air campaign.***

***Although the seven-month intervention stretched NATO's ammunition stockpiles and political will almost to their respective breaking points, the definitive overthrow of the Gaddafi regime is universally regarded as a major accomplishment.***

***With contributions from a range of key thinkers and analysts in the field, the book first explains the law and politics of the intervention, starting out with deliberations in NATO and at the UN Security Council, both noticeably influenced by the concept of a Responsibility to Protect (R2P). It then goes on to examine a wide set of military and auxiliary measures that governments and defence forces undertook in order to increasingly tilt the balance against the Gaddafi regime and to bring about an end to the conflict, as well as to the intervention proper, while striving to keep the number of NATO and civilian casualties to a minimum. This book will be of interest to students of strategic studies, history and war studies, and IR in general.***

***A highly readable look at the role of the US and NATO in Libya's war of liberation, and its lessons for future military interventions.***