

الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية  
DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA  
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي  
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
جامعة عباس لغرور - خنشلة



UNIVERSITY OF ABBES LAGHROUR –KHENCHELA



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## **U.S Intervention in Post Arab Spring: Analyzing the Prospects of Biden's Policy in Libya**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in Language and Culture**

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**Academic year 2022/2023**

## **Acknowledgements**

We begin by expressing our sincere gratitude to Allah, the Almighty, for His constant guidance and blessings throughout my academic journey. Without His support, we would not have been able to achieve this significant milestone.

We extend our heartfelt appreciation to our supervisor **Ms. Baghiani Amira**, from the moment we met her, she was a teacher, a sister, and a friend. Her passion for teaching and research was infectious, your invaluable guidance, encouragement, and feedback have been instrumental in shaping our research and academic achievements, her expert advice, constructive criticism, and unwavering support have been an inspiration to us. She always believed in us, even when we doubted our selves, and urged us to exceed our own expectations. We will always cherish memories of our late-night discussions and the warm atmosphere you created in the classroom, which made us feel at home. Thank you for everything.

A special thanks to the members of the jury for their time, effort, and valuable feedback. Their critical evaluation and insightful comments have contributed significantly to the improvement of our dissertation.

## **Dedication**

To my parents, you have been my role models, my mentors, and my biggest supporters. Your unwavering faith in me, your sacrifices, and your encouragement have been the driving force behind my achievements. I am forever grateful for your love and guidance.

To my husband **Belkhir Boukhors**, you have been my rock and my constant source of strength and support. Your unwavering belief in me and your encouragement have been invaluable, I am grateful for your love and for being my partner in everything.

To my sisters **Amira** and **Sara**, my brother **Anis**, my **grandmother Noua**, and to the late memory of my **grandfather Laâbidy**, your support and love have been a constant source of motivation and inspiration. You have always been there for me, cheering me on every step of the way. Your love and support have been essential to my success.

To my uncles and my friends **Linda** and **Houria**, I dedicate this dissertation to you as a tribute to your love, support, and unwavering belief in me. I hope that this achievement will make you proud and inspire you to pursue your own dreams and goals. Thank you for being my family, my friends, and my pillars of strength. with all my love and gratitude.

**Farida**

Here I am standing on a threshold that I ran towards for five years, fell and rose again, and now I carry the torch to illuminate my success.

Dear Parents, I want to take a moment to express my heartfelt gratitude to the pure angel and my precious mother “**Sraya**” and my companion on the journey. Your love and unwavering support have been the foundation of my strength; your sacrifices and hard work have paved the way for me to become the person

To the person who support me in this life, my treasure, to the one who gave so much for this moment, my father “**Mohammed Sebti**” may God prolong his life You have been the guiding lights in my life, always supporting me through thick and thin. I am today, and I am forever grateful for everything you have done for me.

To my dear brothers “**Zaki**” and “**Tarek**”, I want to express my love and appreciation. You have been my pillars of strength and my closest confidants. Your constant support and encouragement have helped me overcome the toughest challenges in life, and I am grateful to have you both in my life.

To all the members of my small and large family ,uncles and aunts, especially my companions **Amina, Ilham, and Widad** by your unwavering support have been the driving force behind my success, and I cannot thank you enough for all that you have done for me.

I’m also grateful to my teacher “**Mr Mihoub Abidi**” for his invaluable help and support during my thesis. He has been a source of inspiration, patience, and kindness. His tireless efforts and guidance have helped me achieve my goals, and I am forever grateful for his mentorship.

The tears of my joy mixed with my graduation, and my sadness with it, my loved ones, and the place that included us is “**Abbas Laghrou University**” This is the year of life.

I do not forget to thank all my friends and classmates, whom I wish success in their lives. Here my pen will stand for a while to settle between your eyes what I wrote Perhaps these words will be a good memory so that you will remember me one day.

**Boutheyna**

### **Abstract**

This work focuses on studying the US foreign policy towards Libya after the Libyan revolution and the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime. The dissertation examines whether the US foreign policy succeeded in achieving its objectives in Libyan and whether it promoted national security and stability matters in Libya during the Biden administration. It is found that after US and NATO intervention in Libya, the country experienced a period of chaos of security breakdown. Since then it was used as center for terrorist activities. This led to a slowdown in the transitional process and stability in the country.

### **Key words:**

US, foreign policy, Libya, revolution, Gaddafi, Biden administration, NATO, terrorist activities

## **Résumé**

Ce travail se concentre sur l'étude de la politique étrangère des États-Unis à l'égard de la Libye après la révolution libyenne et la chute du régime de Kadhafi. La thèse examine si la politique étrangère américaine a réussi à atteindre ses objectifs en Libye et si elle a favorisé la sécurité nationale et la stabilité en Libye pendant l'administration Biden. On constate qu'après l'intervention des États-Unis et de l'OTAN en Libye, le pays a connu une période de chaos et de dégradation de la sécurité. Depuis lors, il a été utilisé comme centre d'activités terroristes, ce qui a ralenti le processus de transition et la stabilité dans le pays.

## **Mots clés**

États-Unis, politique étrangère, Libye, révolution, Gaddafi, administration Biden, NATO, activités terroristes.

## المخلص

هذا العمل يركز على دراسة سياسة الولايات المتحدة الخارجية تجاه ليبيا بعد الثورة الليبية والإطاحة بنظام القذافي. تتناول الأطروحة مدى نجاح سياسة الولايات المتحدة الخارجية في تحقيق أهدافها في ليبيا، وما إذا كانت تعزز الأمن القومي والاستقرار في ليبيا خلال فترة إدارة بايدن. وتبين أنه بعد تدخل الولايات المتحدة وحلف شمال الأطلسي في ليبيا، عاشت البلاد فترة من الفوضى وانهيار الأمن. ومنذ ذلك الحين، استُخدمت ليبيا كمركز للأنشطة الإرهابية، مما أدى إلى تباطؤ عملية الانتقال والاستقرار في البلاد.

## الكلمات المفتاحية

الولايات المتحدة ، السياسة الخارجية ، ليبيا، الثورة، القذافي، إدارة بايدن ، حلف الشمال الأطلسي، الأنشطة الإرهابية .

## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>Covid-19</b>	<b>Corona Virus Desease 2019</b>
<b>CTA</b>	<b>Call to Action</b>
<b>IC</b>	<b>Intelligence Community</b>
<b>ISIS</b>	<b>The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria</b>
<b>NATO</b>	<b>The North Atlantic Treaty Organization</b>
<b>PLO</b>	<b>Palestinien Liberation Organisation</b>
<b>R2P</b>	<b>Responsibility to Protect</b>
<b>RCC</b>	<b>Revolutionary Command Council</b>
<b>TMF</b>	<b>Temporary Mission Facility</b>
<b>TNC</b>	<b>The Transitional Nation Council</b>
<b>TSCTI</b>	<b>The Trans- Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative</b>
<b>UN</b>	<b>United Nations</b>
<b>US</b>	<b>The United States</b>
<b>USSR</b>	<b>The Union of The Soviet Socialist Republics</b>
<b>GNA</b>	<b>Government of National Accord</b>
<b>GNS</b>	<b>Government of National Stability</b>
<b>UAE</b>	<b>United Arab Emirates</b>

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## **Introduction**

### **Background**

The Arab Spring was not the first series of uprisings in the world, but it was one of the most significant in recent history. The Arab Spring began in Tunisia in December 2010, when protests erupted over high unemployment, corruption, and political repression. The protests quickly spread to other countries in the region; including Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria (lynch 95).

In Libya, the Arab Spring began in February 2011, when protests broke out in the eastern city of Benghazi. The protests were initially sparked by the arrest of a human rights activist, but they quickly grew into a broader movement calling for political reform and an end to the regime of Muammar Gaddafi, who had been in power for over 40 years. The Gaddafi regime responded to the protests with a brutal crackdown, which only served to fuel the momentum of the opposition movement. As the violence escalated, the United States and other countries began to consider intervention to protect civilians and support the opposition forces (“Arab spring: history, revolution, causes, effects and facts”).

In March 2011, the United States, along with several European allies, launched a military intervention in Libya, known as Operation Unified Protector. The intervention was authorized by the United Nations Security Council, and its stated goal was to protect civilians from Gaddafi's forces and to support the opposition movement. The intervention ultimately succeeded in ousting Gaddafi from power, but it also contributed to the ongoing instability and violence in Libya. Following Gaddafi's downfall, the country descended into chaos, with rival militias vying for power and control (Atlas 360).

The United States, along with other countries, has been involved in ongoing efforts to stabilize the country and support the development of a democratic government. Under the

presidency of Barack Obama, the United States played a significant role in the intervention in Libya. However, the Obama administration was also criticized for its handling of the aftermath of the intervention, particularly for its failure to provide adequate support for the development of a stable government in Libya. Under the presidency of Donald Trump, the United States largely withdrew from involvement in Libya, focusing instead on counterterrorism operations in the country. However, the Trump administration was also criticized for its lack of engagement in efforts to stabilize the country (John and Sonn 195).

Under the presidency of Joe Biden, the United States has signaled a renewed commitment to engagement in Libya. In March 2021, the Biden administration announced its support for a new interim government in Libya, and pledged to work with the international community to support the country's transition to democracy and stability (St John 132).

### **Purpose of the Study**

This research is undertaken to investigate the US policy towards Libya during and After the Arab spring uprisings, and to examine the effectiveness of US policy in achieving its goals during the Biden administration, also this study aims at deepening our understanding of the complex and multifaceted of the U.S in the post revolutionary Libyan context and to inform future policy decisions related to US engagement in the middle East and North Africa especially in Libya.

Studying the American foreign policy after the Arab spring, in the case of Libya can be important for several reasons. To start with understanding the impact of the Arab Spring since The Arab Spring was a series of protests and uprisings that began in Tunisia in 2010 and spread to other countries in the Middle East and North Africa. The movement had a significant impact on the region, including in Libya, where it led to the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi's regime. By studying American foreign policy after the Arab Spring in Libya, one can gain a better

understanding of how the movement affected the country and the region as a whole. Then to analyze U.S. foreign policy; The United States has been involved in the Middle East for decades, and its foreign policy decisions have had a significant impact on the region. By studying American foreign policy in Libya after the Arab Spring, one can analyze the decisions made by the U.S. government and their implications for U.S. interests and the region as a whole. In addition to assessing the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy; the U.S. government has pursued a range of foreign policy objectives in the Middle East, including promoting democracy, countering terrorism, and protecting U.S. interests. By studying American foreign policy after the Arab Spring in Libya, one can assess the effectiveness of these policies and their impact on the region. Last and not least, to identify lessons learned; The Arab Spring was a complex and multifaceted movement, and the U.S. government's response to it was similarly complex. By studying American foreign policy in Libya after the Arab Spring, one can identify lessons learned that may be applied to future U.S. foreign policy decisions in the region and beyond. Overall, studying American foreign policy after the Arab Spring in Libya can provide valuable insights into the impact of the Arab Spring, U.S. foreign policy decision-making, and the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East.

### **Research Questions**

Therefore, the main question that needs to be addressed is: what were the main goals of US policy towards Libya after the Arab spring? And how were these goals prioritized?

To answer this question, the research work contains of other sub questions. How did US policy towards Libya change over time? What were the factors that drove these changes? What were the key successes and failures of US policy towards Libya? To what extent did US policy towards Libya align with broader US foreign policy goals in the Middle East? What were the implications of this alignment for regional stability? This dissertation would likely answer and explore all these questions.

## **Methodological Concerns**

In order to reach the aim of this work, a qualitative research has been conducted, in which two approaches have been used, historical and critical approaches. The historical one can be a valuable tool for analyzing American foreign policy after the Arab Spring in Libya. By examining the historical context of policy decisions, identifying biases and assumptions, assessing the effectiveness of different policy approaches, and developing a more nuanced understanding of the Arab Spring, you can produce a more rigorous and insightful dissertation. Whereas the critical approach can help us to produce a more nuanced and insightful dissertation on American foreign policy in Libya. By challenging dominant narratives, examining power relations and hidden agendas, and analyzing the impact of American policy decisions, you can provide a more comprehensive and critical analysis of this important topic.

The research on the proposed issue has utilized a range of tools and sources, including a combination of primary and secondary sources. The study has assigned greater significance to primary sources such as newspapers, videos, and reports, while also considering secondary sources like books, magazine and journal articles, blogs and web articles.

## **Literature Review**

The sources used in this dissertation were of different types. The first type is the one provided in historical information to put dissertation in its context. The primary sources are sources that cover the failure of US president barrack Obama during his intervention in Libya as: newspapers made by the Atlantic. Reports made by Chairman Mike Rogers about the terrorists attacks of US in Benghazi that published by IRAQ.FAS, also Christopher M. Blanchard dealt with the US-Libyan relationships and Libya's overview during the Arab spring. Aron Lund's reports as the ones published by FOI Report that focused on the Turkish penetration in Libya and

its effects. Videos dealing with Libya after the Arab spring and the effects of internal dynamics and external agendas as on Middle East Initiative YouTube channel.

The research also uses secondary sources mainly web article, scholarly books, journal articles, magazines, blogs, and thesis. Some articles, books and blogs have been helpful for the elaboration of this work including, the book entitled “*The Obama Doctrine Grand Strategy Today*” by Colin Deuck that discussed Obama's approach to humanitarian intervention, specifically in the cases of Libya and Syria. While some have criticized Obama for not intervening more forcefully in Syria, Deuck argued that the president was hesitant to engage in another large-scale conflict in the Middle East after the experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan, and also argued that Obama’s foreign policy was heavily influence by liberal internationalism which emphasized the importance of democracy.

“The US criticizes Obama on Libya” edited by Ennahar Online. The editors argued that the members of Congress were critical of Obama's actions in Libya. However, without further information, it is difficult to determine the specific criticisms that were made. It is worth noting that the situation in Libya during Obama's presidency was complex and multifaceted, and opinions on how it was handled vary widely. Some have praised Obama's decision to intervene in Libya to prevent a massacre of civilians, while others have criticized the lack of a clear plan for the aftermath of the intervention and the subsequent destabilization of the country. In addition, the editors focused on the hidden goals and interests of Obama behind his intervention in Libyan affairs, which consisted of his desire to seize control of the country's oil resources, using the pretext that Libya posed a threat to international security and peace.

The article “Initiative and Transformation...Biden Puts His Mark on the Libyan File” by Mahmoud Rushdi that discussed the role of US President Joe Biden in the Libyan issue, and reflect the efforts that the American President is making to reshape the American role in Libya and the region as a whole, and indicate that Biden seeks to achieve new developments in US-

Libyan relations and in American policy towards Libya, with a focus on supporting a political solution to the Libyan conflict and achieving stability in the country. Also Rushdi indicated that Biden wants to put his own mark on the Libyan issue and play an active role in bringing peace to the country.

Also, “Haftar’s war on Tripoli ... this how the scene has involved since the February revolution” Provided that Khalifa Haftar's role in the events that Libya has witnessed since the February 2011 revolution is significant, he formed a national army and an alternative government in the east of the country, and launched a military campaign to take control of the capital, Tripoli, in 2019. However, Haftar and his forces were defeated in that campaign and the UN-backed government forces were able to expel Haftar's forces from Tripoli. He was able to gather his forces and control areas in the east of the country, but he failed to achieve his goals in the capital Tripoli and other Libyan cities. At the same time, reports have emerged about violations committed by Haftar's army during the conflicts, which have sparked widespread criticism from the international community and human rights organizations.

Other article entitled “Fayez Al Sarraj an engineer who was unable to rebuild” edited by Maghreb voice, the editors provided that Fayez al-Sarraj acted in the best interest of Libya by focusing on rebuilding the country for the sake of stability. The editors suggested that even though Fayez Al-Sarraj may not have been successful in his efforts to rebuild, his intentions were admirable and his efforts were aimed at promoting the well-being of Libya as a whole.

### **Structure of the Study**

This dissertation is divided into three chapters; the first chapter focuses on the US Historical Relationship with Libyan Regime and the early starts of the Arab uprisings through the world. The second chapter deals with Libyan regime under the Obama administration, and

explains his military intervention in Libya and its goals. The third and the final chapter examine the Libyan situation under the Biden administration and its policy towards Libya.

## **Chapter One**

### **U.S Historical Relationship with Libyan Regime**

The relationship between the United States and Libya has been a long and complicated one, characterized by periods of cooperation, conflict, and tension. The two countries established diplomatic relations in 1954 and maintained a relatively stable relationship until the 1969 coup d'état that brought Muammar Gaddafi to power. Gaddafi's government was initially hostile towards the US, and relations worsened in the 1980s when Libya was implicated in a series of terrorist attacks targeting Americans, including the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. The US responded with economic sanctions and military strikes, further straining the relationship. However, in the early 2000s, Libya began to make efforts to improve its relations with the international community, including the United States, leading to the lifting of sanctions in 2004. Relations remained stable until the 2011 Libyan Civil War, which resulted in the overthrow of Gaddafi's regime, with US involvement in the NATO-led intervention. Since then, Libya has experienced political instability and ongoing conflict, with the US playing a role in efforts to promote peace and stability in the region.

The chapter is divided into four major sections. The first section provides an overview on US historical relationship with Libyan regime in Al- Gaddafi Era, and rogue states doctrine. The second section sheds light on US position on soviet influence in Libya, also the Eisenhower doctrine 1957, and US interests in Libya. The third section focuses on the nature of relationship between the US and Libya after the 9/11 attacks, and how Libya resists to terrorism. The last section illustrates the Arab popular uprisings and its origins and the Obama administration's reaction to this popular resentment.

## 1.1 World War II and the US Relationship with Libya

World War II was the largest and deadliest armed conflict in history, but its legacy has been largely forgotten by a generation of Americans. The British had been engaged in combat with the German and Italian forces in the Western Desert of Egypt and Libya for more than a year when the United States joined World War II in December 1941. The British had initially experienced tremendous success in repelling an Italian offensive in 1940. The British, however, experienced significant setbacks and ultimately lost almost all of their hard-won gains in North Africa when German troops joined the theater in support of their Italian ally in 1941 (Sullivan “The US Army Campaign World War II” 2). It worthy gives the attention to that US had a significant role on the North Africa, especially Libya.

Marshal Rodolfo Graziani's<sup>4</sup> Italian 10th Army attacked the outnumbered British troops in western Egypt from its strongholds in Libya on September 13, 1940, sparking the start of hostilities in North Africa. General Sir Archibald Wavell's effective British counterattack, which began on December 9, 1940, led to the Italians' loss at Tobruk in eastern Libya on January 22, 1941. German General Erwin Rommel landed in Libya on February 12 to assume leadership of the forces sent to support Germany's Italian allies. The British Eighth Army attacked Rommel's positions in Operation Crusader, driving him back into Libya and forcing him to pull back to El Agheila. Also Rommel launched Operation "Venezia" to encircle Tobruk and drive Allied forces back to the Egyptian border, but the British halted the Axis armies at El Alamein and replaced their top military commanders. Finally Rommel quickly withdrew across Libya, reaching the Tunisian border on January 23, 1943 to conserve his military troops for conflict (“Western desert campaign: Egypt and Libya”). The article discussed the impact of Rommel’s campaigns on the war in North Africa and on the larger course of the war.

In addition to that, Sullivan declared that general Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's success in Libya forced British and American staff officers to plan for American support in the Middle East, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt approved contingency measures to prepare for future support, since the Middle East was a key area of consideration in British-American strategy early in World War II, and the Egypt-Libya Campaign extended throughout the Allied Middle East Theater of Operations. In June 1942 the British Army needed time to reorganize, refit, and reinforce to gain control of Egypt and the Middle East, and was eager to obtain American heavy bombers to reinforce the RAF. On February 12, 1943, the Allied forces ultimately succeeded in forcing out all Axis troops from Libya, bringing an end to the Egypt-Libya Campaign of the U.S. Army "The US Army Campaign World War II"6). It can be noted that the North African campaign involved a coalition of allied forces, including British, commonwealth, French, and other troops.

Libya gained its independence as a monarchy on December 24, 1951, under Mohammed Idris. However, the new state was the poorest independent nation on earth because it lacked resources, an established economy, commerce, and employment. The Libyan government's most valuable tool for acquiring money was its advantageous position. The British and Americans built good military facilities during World War II, such as the US Wheeler airfield outside Tripoli and the British army's El Adam port and airbase outside of Tobruk in eastern Cyrenaica. These bases, along with a few minor ones near Benghazi, were leased to the Americans and British by the Libyan government under 20-year deals. The existence of the conservative, pro-Western administration was dependent upon it. More than half of the projected national revenue was also covered by enormous sums of foreign assistance received by the government ("Libya: World War 2 and the creation of the kingdom of Libya".30). After gaining independence in 1951, Libya has made significant efforts to develop its economy through the discovery of oil.

### 1.1.1. Al Qadhafi Era

On September 1, 1969, a group of military officers from Libya under the command of army captain Muammar al-Qadhafi<sup>2</sup> seized crucial government buildings in the eastern city of Benghazi and overthrew the monarchy. The Movement's leadership, known as the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), established power and declared that it would oversee the actions of a new government after encountering minimal internal resistance. Additionally, the RCC released remarks reiterating Libya's Arab and Islamic heritage as well as its solidarity for the Palestinian people. The RCC said that Captain Qadhafi had been promoted to Colonel and appointed commander in head of Libya's armed forces after calling the nation the Libyan Arab Republic. The RCC initially presented an anti-Soviet and reformist platform, leading to the 1969 coup (Christopher and Jim 30). The legacy of the Gaddafi era was complex and remained a subject of debate.

As he also added that Colonel Qadhafi and the RCC<sup>3</sup> placed a strong emphasis on implementing measures to protect "national independence" and solidify their control through populist and nationalist political and economic initiatives. The British and American forces were ordered to leave military bases in Libya immediately and completely, which they did on March 28 and June 11, 1970, respectively. On October 7, 1970, Italian expats were deported and their property was seized. The RCC softened its stance toward the Soviet Union and expanded Libyan support to revolutionary, anti-Western, and anti-Israeli forces, leading to a deterioration of political ties between the US and Libya (31). This lack of transparency and accountability led to widespread corruption and economic mismanagement, which contributed to the country's economic decline in the later years.

Gaddafi raised to power in 1969 when a group of army officers staged a coup against King Idris I, leading to the overthrow of the old rulers and the RCC taking control. After that

The RCC started implanting important adjustments and reforms in economic and political ties domestically and internationally, with the foreign powers, just a few days after assuming power. Throughout much of Gaddafi's rule, Libya's connections with international powers, particularly the USA, Britain, and other European nations, remained hostile, but he nevertheless managed to negotiate and build strong relationships with the Soviet Union and other African and Arab countries. After Gaddafi assumed power in Libya, his administration nationalized the oil industry (“The Gaddafi Period”). This had a significant influence on the country’s economy and growth.

Zaidan focus on his article how Qaddafi sought to unify Libya with other Arab countries, opposed negotiations with Israel, and became a leading figure in the Arab world. Qaddafi was known for his erratic and unpredictable behavior on the international scene, financing revolutionary groups and assassinating émigré opponents, leading to conflict with the U.S. government, and also how he turned over the alleged perpetrators of the 1988 Lockerbie bombing to international authorities, leading to UN and US sanctions being lifted and Qaddafi's rehabilitation. In 2009, Qaddafi's attempt to remain as AU chairman was denied due to resistance from other African countries. Anti-Qaddafi protests started in the Libyan city of Benghazi in February 2011 after anti-government demonstrations removed Presidents Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali and Hosni Mubarak from office in the neighboring nations of Tunisia and Egypt, Qaddafi's violent tactics alienated senior figures in the Libyan government, leading to the resignation of the minister of justice and a number of senior diplomats. He refused to step down and called the protesters traitors and saboteurs, claiming they were under the influence of hallucinogenic drugs (“Muammar Al Qaddafi /Biography, Death, and Facts”). Gaddafi’s legacy is controversial with some viewing him as a revolutionary hero and others as a ruthless dictator.

In BBC News Asser focused in his article about how he transitioned from being a revolutionary hero to an international pariah, a valuable strategic partner, and then back to a pariah. Gaddafi created his own political theory and published book that, in the author's opinion

at least, was more important than anything imagined by Plato, Locke, or Marx. He frequently made headline-grabbing appearances at Arab and international meetings, grabbing attention not just for his outrageous attire but also for his direct remarks and unorthodox behavior (“The Muammar Gaddafi Story”). He spent his whole life trying to reinvent himself and his movement; one Arab analyst dubbed him the "Picasso of Middle East politics," but he had pan-Arab, Islamist, pan-African and other phases rather than Blue, Rose, or Cubist phases.

In interviews with Western media on February 28, Qaddafi insisted that he was still well loved by the Libyan people and denied that the regime had used violence against the demonstrators. He repeated his claim that the opposition in Libya had been organized by al-Qaeda, in addition to how the International pressure for Qaddafi to step down increased, leading to UN Security Council sanctions, travel ban, arms embargo, and freezing of assets. But, he Qaddafi remained firmly in control in Tripoli, despite NATO air campaign. When opposition troops invaded Tripoli and took over the majority of the city in August 2011, it looked that Qaddafi's grip on power was slipping. A big symbolic victory was achieved when opposition forces seized possession of Qaddafi's Bb al-Azziyyah property on August 23. Numerous jubilant individuals desecrated the location and destroyed Qaddafi regime symbols. It remained unknown where Qaddafi was, despite the fact that he issued many audio recordings urging the Libyan populace to resist the rebels. As the rebels took over Tripoli, they intensified their search for Qaddafi and offered a \$1.7 million reward for his murder or arrest. Qaddafi was murdered on October 20, the day the rebels took over Sirte, one of the last strongholds of the government (“Muammar El Qaddafi /Biography, Death and Facts”). Gaddafi was a polarizing figure, with some Libyans supporting him and his policies, while opposed him and suffered under his regime's repression.

### 1.1.1. Libya and the Rogue States Doctrines

Rubin stated that Muammar Al-Qadhafi charisma had a significant role in the United States' perception of Libya as a failed state. Qadhafi appeared to be the epitome of a rogue government leader due to his unstable and daring behavior. He encouraged terrorism, mistreated his neighbors, and leveled the most absurd charges. The 1985 bombing of Libya was a high point in American attempts against that country. Due to his erratic conduct, Qadhafi would occasionally scale down on his radicalism before returning to it. The discussion of a settlement to the UN-mandated sanctions following the Lockerbie attack may temporarily improve ties between the United States and Libya, but Qadhafi is likely to soon resume his normal behavior (Rubin "U.S Foreign Policy and Rogue States"). The author meant that Libya is considered as a rogue states due to its support for terrorism, pursued of weapons of mass destruction, and human rights abuses under Kaddafi.

Rubin discussed the challenges of developing a consistent and effective approach to dealing with states that pose a threat to international security. In his analysis, Rubin explored the different approaches the United States has taken towards rogue states, including sanctions, military intervention, and diplomacy. He argued that changes in administrations have often led to changes in foreign policy, making it difficult to develop a coherent approach ("U.S. Foreign Policy and Rogue States"). Ultimately; Rubin emphasized the importance of continued engagement with these states in order to mitigate the risks they pose.

Schwartz argued in his article that the Libya precedent offers useful case studies for policymakers dealing with rogue states. Under this precedent, the international community, primarily led by the United States, used diplomatic, economic, and military pressure to compel Libya to give up its weapons of mass destruction program. Schwartz highlighted three key lessons from the Libya precedent. Firstly, he suggested that the use of multifaceted pressure,

which includes diplomatic, economic, and military elements, is critical in dealing with rogue states. Secondly, he argued that the international community must be willing to take robust action when necessary, including the use of force. Finally, he asserted that it is essential to have a clear and achievable objective, which can only be achieved through a coordinated and sustained international effort. Overall, Schwartz argued that the Libya precedent demonstrates that a multifaceted, coordinated approach can be effective in dealing with rogue states. Nonetheless, he also acknowledged that this approach may not be easy to replicate in other situations and that effective action may require considerable resources and political will (Schwartz "Dealing with a Rogue State": The Libya Precedent". 554). Multifaceted, coordinated approach can be effective in dealing with rogue states, but requires resources.

Klare declared that the efforts of various countries to obtain nuclear weapons and the global response to these efforts. One of the countries discussed in the book is Libya, which was seen as a potential nuclear outlaw due to its interest in acquiring nuclear weapons technology. According to Klare, Libya had been pursuing a covert nuclear weapons program since the 1970s, with the help of foreign suppliers such as Pakistan and China. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Libya came under increasing pressure from the international community to abandon its nuclear ambitions. This pressure intensified after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which made it easier for Western intelligence agencies to monitor and disrupt nuclear proliferation networks. In response to this pressure, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi announced in 1992 that his country would abandon its nuclear weapons program and cooperate with international efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation. This was seen as a major victory for the global non-proliferation regime and a sign that diplomacy and pressure could work in preventing countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. The country remains unstable, and there are ongoing concerns about the proliferation of weapons, including nuclear weapons, in the region. However, it is unclear how much progress Libya has made in rebuilding its military capabilities, including its nuclear

program, in the years since Gaddafi's downfall (Klare 84) Klare noted that The US-led invasion of Iraq suggested the use of force to prevent nuclear proliferation.

## **1.2. U.S Position on the Increasing Soviet Influence in Libya**

St John traced the political, economic, and military strategies employed by the USSR to gain influence in Libya, a country of great strategic importance due to its location and natural resources. One key theme that emerged from St John's analysis is the Soviet Union's concerted effort to infiltrate the Libyan government and society at all levels. This included providing military support to the regime of Muammar Gaddafi, developing extensive economic ties through investment projects and commercial partnerships, and establishing military bases on Libyan soil. By doing so, the Soviet Union sought to extend its sphere of influence in North Africa, gained access to Mediterranean Sea lanes, and established a foothold in the Arab world. Another notable aspect of St John's analysis is the complex relationship that developed between the Soviet Union and Libya. While both sides shared a common interest in promoting socialist ideology and opposing Western imperialism, there were significant tensions between them around economic policies, territorial disputes, and ideological differences. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union's influence in Libya was palpable and enduring, as evidenced by the presence of Soviet-trained military and intelligence personnel in Gaddafi's inner circle (St John "The Soviet Penetration in Libya"135). St John provided insights into the Soviet Union's global influence during the Cold War.

Fuller argued that throughout the Cold War, the Middle East was a key battleground between the two superpowers, and that their policies in the region had far-reaching consequences for the entire world. According to Fuller, the US and the Soviet Union each pursued their own interests in the Middle East, often at the expense of the region's own stability and development. The US, for example, sought to protect its access to oil and maintain a stable balance of power among the various states, while also supporting Israel as a strategic ally in the region. The Soviet

Union, meanwhile, sought to expand its influence by supporting leftist regimes and revolutionary movements. These conflicting interests led to numerous proxy wars and interventions in the Middle East, including the Iranian Revolution of 1979, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Fuller argued that these conflicts had deep-seated roots in the region's history and culture, and were exacerbated by the superpowers' meddling. Fuller also noticed that the US-Soviet rivalry in the Middle East had a profound impact on the region's political and economic development. The two superpowers were often more concerned with advancing their own interests than with promoting democracy or human rights, and their support for authoritarian regimes and suppression of dissent contributed to the rise of extremism and terrorism in the region (Fuller "The Middle East in US –Soviet Relations"417) Fuller noted the need for a more nuanced and culturally sensitive approach to foreign policy.

During the Cold War, the Middle East became a crucial battleground for competition between the Soviet Union and the United States. Both superpowers sought to gain influence in the region, primarily through supporting and opposing various governments and militant groups. The Soviet Union's involvement in the Middle East was marked by alliances, military interventions, and arms sales, while the United States focused on protecting its interests and promoting democracy. One of the main goals of the Soviet Union in the Middle East was to spread Marxist ideology and support socialist governments. Moscow supported the Baath Party in Syria and Iraq, as well as the Communist Party of South Yemen. The Soviet Union also provided military aid to these countries, including tanks, aircraft, and other weapons. During the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the Soviet Union extended its influence in Central Asia, and worked to promote socialist and Communist governments in the region. The United States, on the other hand, focused on countering Soviet influence in the Middle East by supporting pro-Western governments and militaries. The US provided military and economic aid to countries like Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, which were aligned with the US against the Soviet Union. The US also intervened militarily in the region, such as during Cold War conflicts like the

Iranian Revolution and the Gulf War. Throughout the Cold War, the two superpowers often supported rival factions in the same country, leading to proxy wars and conflicts. In Lebanon, for example, the Soviet Union supported the leftist PLO and Syria, while the US supported Israel and pro-Western Lebanese militias. This contributed to the destabilization of the region and increased sectarian tensions, which continue to this day. The end of the Cold War saw a shift in the balance of power in the Middle East, as the Soviet Union collapsed and the United States emerged as the sole superpower (Campbell. "The Soviet Union and the United States in the Middle East".126) Conflicts, rivalries, and tensions persist among Middle Eastern states.

### **1.2.1. The Eisenhower Doctrine 1957**

In Britannica article focused on the Eisenhower Doctrine that it was a foreign policy initiative introduced by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1957. This doctrine established that the United States would provide military and economic assistance to any country in the Middle East that requested it, as a means of protecting them from Communist aggression. According to an analysis in the Britannica article, the doctrine was put in place due to concerns about Soviet expansionism in the Middle East and the potential threat it posed to American security. However, despite its broad scope, the policy faced numerous implementation challenges. Cultural differences, corruption, and competing interests among US allies in the region made it difficult for the United States to provide effective aid to Middle Eastern countries. Furthermore, the policy received criticism from both the right and left, as some viewed it as an unwarranted interference in the affairs of sovereign nations, while others believed it did not go far enough to protect US interests in the region. In summary, the Eisenhower Doctrine was a complex and controversial policy, which reflected the United States' changing priorities and interests in the Middle East during the Cold War era, but it also, faced significant challenges and limitations in practice ("Eisenhower Doctrine") The Eisenhower Doctrine was a pivotal moment in US foreign policy towards the Middle East.

Hahn highlighted the geopolitical situation in the region in the 1950s, with the rise of nationalist and socialist movements, the Suez Crisis, and the Soviet Union's increasing involvement in the region. He examined how the Eisenhower administration devised the doctrine as a response to these challenges, with the goal of protecting U.S. oil supplies and preventing Soviet expansion in the Middle East. The article also analyzes the reception of the Eisenhower Doctrine by Arab states, which were wary of U.S. intervention in the region and viewed it as a continuation of Western imperialism. It discusses how the doctrine was implemented, with the United States providing military and economic aid to friendly countries, such as Lebanon and Jordan, and intervening militarily in crisis situations, such as the 1958 Lebanon Crisis. The article concludes by assessing the impact of the Eisenhower Doctrine on U.S. policy in the Middle East (Hahn. "Securing the Middle East: The Eisenhower Doctrine 1957".38) .The doctrine marked a fundamental change in American foreign policy, foreshadowing the country's expanded engagement in the area and fueling the escalating tensions and wars that would develop in the Middle East in the decades that followed.

#### **1.2.1.1. U.S Interests in Libya**

Blum argued that:"Democracy promotion should be understood as a cover for advancing American interests, rather than a principled commitment to democratic values" (153). According to him, the U.S. uses democracy as a justification for intervention when it is convenient to do so, but ignores democratic movements in countries that do not align with U.S. interests. He argues that "democracy promotion" is often accompanied by covert operations, such as the support of opposition groups and the funding of media outlets, to create the appearance of a popular movement for democracy, and to undermine the legitimate government. Blum also criticizes the U.S. for supporting authoritarian regimes that align with U.S. interests, and for ignoring human rights abuses committed by its allies, such as Saudi Arabia and Israel. The book challenged the assumption that democracy is a panacea for global problems such as terrorism and instability,

and argues that democracy can function effectively only in societies with certain preconditions, including a strong civil society, a functioning economy, and a tradition of democratic governance. Also suggested that the U.S. should adopt a more humble and cooperative approach to foreign policy, and focused on addressing issues such as economic inequality and climate change, rather than promoting democracy through military means (153). Blum argued for a more nuanced approach to US intervention in other countries.

The US Department of State described Libya as a North African country that has undergone significant political turmoil since the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime in 2011. The country was known for its vast oil reserves, but its economy has been severely affected by the ongoing crisis. The State Department acknowledged the presence of violent extremist groups and tribal conflicts, which pose a significant security threat to the country, its people, and the surrounding regions. The United States continued to support the United Nations-led peace process and encouraged all parties to engage in dialogue towards a peaceful and stable Libya ("Libya"). The article emphasized the US government's commitment to working with the international community and the Libyan people to help the country overcome its obstacles and achieved a brighter future.

### **1.3. Libya and the U.S after 9/ 11**

Armed militias linked to terrorist groups like al- Qaida assaulted the CTA's Annex and the state Department temporary mission Facility (TMF) in Benghazi, Libya, on 9/11. Sean Smith an information officer for the state Department and Ambassador Christopher Stevens were both son slain the attacks, following the attacks, security guards from the CIA Annex in Benghazi rescued the surviving State department officers and returned them to the CTA Annex (Rogers."Investigative Report on the Terrorist Attacks on US in Benghazi, Libya" 3) the militants were reportedly affiliated with various extremist groups, including al-Qaeda in Libya

In Coordination with the American military, the CIA also sent a security squad from Tripoli to help last building secure in Benghazi and to locate the missing Ambassador Stevens and passed away. Within minutes of their arrival, two security officers Tyrone woods and Glen Doherty were killed and two others were seriously injured by a coordinated and deadly mortar assault. The CIA chief of Benghazi Base the top officer on the ground decided that the CIA Annex was no longer defensible following the mortar assault, and all American employees were evacuated to the Benghazi airport. After the Corps of Ambassador Stevens was found, two Sights to Tripoli were taken off by all American personnel (Rogers."Investigative Report on the Terrorist Attacks On US in Benghazi, Libya" 3) the author discussed the deployment of a CIA security team from Tripoli to assist in protecting Benghazi, but a mortar strike resulted in the deaths of two security personnel and the injuries of another two.

The house Permanent Selected Committee on intelligence launched an inquiry into the role of the intelligence Community (IC) before, during and after the attacks. Soon as it was 9 informed of the attacks - Nine eyewitnesses who were in Benghazi during the attacks were interviewed by the Committee. The committee also reviewed thousands of pages of intelligence reports, Cables, assessments, and emails and received responses to dozens of written questions for the record (Rogers."Investigative Report on the Terrorist Attacks on US in Benghazi, Libya" 3) the author mentioned the circumstances before and during the attacks in Libya.

Initial statements made by officials as the US government started looking into the incident were ambiguous and occasionally seemed contradictory. After the attacks, officials in the Obama administration claimed that the incident was connected to protests that day outside the American embassy in Cairo after an Egyptian. American had created an uploaded an anti-Islam Video to YouTube. However, there was no evidence to support similar demonstrations in Benghazi, and new information showed that the attacks were planned and carried out by the Al-Qaeda affiliate Anson al-Sharia- Numerous investigations into the incident blamed inadequate

bureaucratic controls for the failure to foresee and properly address the attacks. As the 2012 US presidential election approached, outgoing Secretary of state Hillary Clinton, who was in charge of the Department of state, accepted responsibility for the administrative blunders and carried out all 29 institutional reforms suggested by the department's Accountability Review Board. However, Controversy lingered over the incident as various congressional Committees Conducted their investigations (Zeidan. "2012Benghazi attacks") it means that the beginning of the investigation of those involved in the armed attacks within the help of Hillary Clinton.

### **1.3.1. 9/11 Counter Terrorism Cooperation**

Since September 11, 2011, Muammar Al Qaddafi's government has to taken steps to strengthen U.S Libyan Counterterrorism Cooperation and intelligence sharing, he denounced the terrorist attacks as "horrific and gruesome" Due to links between Al Qaeda and Libya's Islamic opposition and other foreign Jihadist groups, The Libyan government has long viewed Al Qaeda as a danger. This has made Libya more eager to increase counterterrorism Cooperation with America authorities, in well known public Comments, Qadhafi has called Al Qaeda members "heretics" and said that his government's intelligence and counterterrorism cooperation with the US is "revocable" (Blanchard "Libya: Background and US Relations"7) this means that Gaddafi tried to create peaceful ways with US to fight terrorism, especially Al- Qaeda.

According to reports, U. S officials intend to provide Counterterrorism assistance to Libya in the future through the trans-Sahara-counter terrorism initiative (TSCTI) an interagency program that currently covers all of Libya's neighbors with the exceptions of Sudan and Egypt. In addition to parts of its own Islamic opposition, Libya has taken direct action to restrict the activities of Known Al- Qaeda associates within its borders. Amari Saifi, also known as Abderrazak Al Para, the deputy Commander of the Salafist group for call and Combat (GSPC),

was transferred from Libya to Algeria in 2004 because he was wanted for terrorism -related offenses there. The rebel Chadian movement for Democracy and Justice, with Gaddafi reportedly maintains a close relationship, had been in charge of Saifi (Blanchard. "Libya: Background and US Relations"<sup>7</sup>) as it worthy mentioned the efforts made by the states, as well as Libya, to combat terrorism, and this was commendable.

#### **1.4. Libya and the US during the Arab Popular Uprising**

The wave started first in Tunisia when Mohammed Bouazizi set himself on fire to protest the police's arbitrary seizure of his vegetable stand due to a lack of a permit. So the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia was sparked by Bouazizi self-sacrificing act. After that, Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali, The nation's authoritarian president, eventually resigned to Saudi Arabia as a result of the street protests that followed in Tunis. Since Tunisia's first democratic parliamentary elections were held there in October 2011, activists in other countries in the region have been protesting authoritarian regimes that are similar to Tunisia's ("Arab Spring") the beginning of popular uprisings in Tunisia by Mohammed Bouazizi.

In Libya demonstrations against Muammar al Qaddafi government in mid -February 2011 rapidly turned into an armed uprising. In March and international coalition headed by NATO began a campaign of air sticker against Gaddafi forces as the rebels looked to be routed, Qaddafi was able to maintain control in The nation's city, Tripoli, for a number of more months, despite NATO intervention tipping The military scaled in The rebel forces Favor. After these forces seized Possession of Tripoli in August 2011, he was forced from office; Qaddafi was killed in Sirte in October 2011 as a dictator after he managed to avoid capture for several weeks (Arab Spring: Pro- Democracy Protests") as Tunisia, the Libyan started their popular uprisings against Gaddafi.

### 1.4.1. The Crisis in Libya and the Uprising's Origins

On Feb 15, 2011, an uncommon demonstration broke out in the eastern Libyan city of Benghazi, and the protesters were incensed by the detention of a human rights worker, and the police and defenders of Muammar Gaddafi, The longtime leader of Libya, reacted violently. Libya where the Arab spring pro-democracy demonstrations were already roiling the country's neighborhood, the protests spread like wildfire, and in this uprising, longtime rulers were overthrown, including Gaddafi (A. Neale. "Time Line: how Libya's Revolution Can undo") the emergence of the results and effects of the Libyan uprisings.

Zaidan stated that as fighting persisted, Qaddafi's grip on power deteriorated as Libyan military units increasingly sided with the opposition, and the anti-Qaddafi movements started to resemble an armed uprising as protesters began to arm themselves at government arsenals and bond together with defecting military troops. By Feb 23, most pro- Qaddafi forces had been driven out of the eastern port of Libya, including Benghazi, and many western towns. For the first time since the start of the war foreign Journalists were permitted entry into Libya thanks to the opening of the Libyan- Egyptian border ("2012 Benghazi Attacks".) the deterioration of the country's situation and Kaddafi's government, and the emergence of anti- Kaddafi movements.

As the Violence persisted and foreign citizens were evacuated, there was a raise in international pressure for Qaddafi to leave office, and the Qaddafi regime was subject to sanctions, , including a travel ban, a weapons embargo, and the freezing of the Qaddafi family's assets. The UN Security Council unanimously approved the measure. Additionally, the international criminal Court (ICC) won notified of the Libyan predicament by this action, also sanctions were put in place by the US, EU and several other nations ("2012 Benghazi Attacks") many countries interfere with US in Libyan affairs, and support the expulsion of Kaddafi and the suspension of his government.

After the beginning of the uprising, the national transition council of Libya, that has gained international recognition, declared that Libya had been “liberated”, and the Council was primarily made up of haphazardly organized local armed groups that had emerged in towns Like Benghazi and Misrata as the uprising's governing body (Abdessadok. “Libya Today: From Arab Spring to Failed State”) Recognition of Libyan national transition council, Libya was began to be liberated from terrorist movements.

A comprehensive list of demands, including the establishment of working justice system, a procedure for rapprochement, the disarmament of militia, the development of national security forces, the reconstruction of areas that had been destroyed, and the provision of essential services, had been pledged by the NTC. However, as a result of the economy's stagnation and the government's refusal to sign long-term agreements and ensure security, foreign investors and advisers were hesitant to return. At the time of the first free election in Libya, 2, 7 million people had enrolled to vote, following the polls, the GNC took over the NTC (Abdessadok. “Libya Today: From Arab Spring to Failed State”) the national council showed its desire to fulfill the demands of the Libyan people to win the elections.

#### **1.4.2. Obama’s Military Intervention in Libya**

According to Harris, Barack Obama claimed that American military action in Libya had stopped a massacre, asserting that Muammar Gaddafi's rule would eventually come to an end, the US president also urged those who was still behind him to turn on him .Obama also declared: “we will deny the regime Weapons, cut off its cash flow, support the opposition and went with other nations to hasten the day when Gaddafi leaves power. And as a severely wounded Gaddafi tries valiantly to retain power, it might not happen immediately, but everyone in Libya should be aware that history is not on Kaddafi’s side, including those who surround him” (“Barack Obama Defends US Military Intervention in Libya”) It is mentioned that Obama’s intervention in Libya

was in order to eliminate the massacres, and Gaddafi is a source of threat to the international peace.

In a speech to the nation that was broadcast on Television, Obama defended the country's participation in a military operation against Gaddafi's regime in Libya; Obama stated that he would not wait until he saw images of the massacre of people before acting. He said also the air campaign led by the west had halted Qaddafi's advances and stopped a massacre that could have shaken the stability of an entire region and stained the conscience of the entire world (“Obama Defends Military Intervention in Libya”). Obama's admission that he wants Gaddafi to step down from power and overthrow his government, whatever the cost.

The R2P standard was unanimously endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly in 2005, and Obama's manner of expressing his new points is entirely consistent with it in the security Council, The US has consistently backed The R2P standard. Obama's personal views should not be misunderstood, but what actually transpired in 2011 should not be misunderstood even more so (“Western Intervention in Libya to Overthrow Qaddafi”) the US supports the R2P decision and tried to convince other countries about Obama's personal view for not being misunderstood.

All of Obama's claimed about Libya were false, but he lifts out an important fact that was also false and has so far hardly ever been acknowledged by western officials or Commentators namely “NATO” made. The decision early on to overthrow the Gaddafi regime in addition to protecting “civilian and civilian populated areas” in accordance with The UN security Council's explicit directive. Although it was reasonable to assume that this support would have continued had France, The US, and UK stayed within the parameters of the UN mandate, there was clear support from members of the security council for an initial military action that unquestionably saved the lives of thousands of innocent people in Benghazi (“Western

Intervention in Libya to Overthrow Qaddafi”) this meant that thanks to Obama’s decision supported by NATO, the lives of thousands of residents have been protected.

To protect civilians and civilian populated areas under Threat of attack has been the most frequently cited justification, which is also authorized by UN Security Council resolution 1973. However, in addition to this constrained mandate, a further set of overlapping justifications have been presented, both prior to and since the intervention began on March 19. Cruise missiles were fired at Bob al Azizia, Muammar Gaddafi’s Tripoli compound, on The second day of the bombing Campaign, Although killing Gaddafi was the stated military goal in an effort to end The curd war quickly, the immediate intention was to undermine The Common and control of Loyalist forces (Zenko. “Libya: justifications for intervention”) Focus on mentioning the justifications and reasons that promoted Obama to intervene in Libya and kill Gaddafi.

The Arab Spring which started in Tunisia's neighbor and spread throughout North Africa and into the Middle East, The larger context in which the uprising in Libya and The subsequent civil war took place. Many people thought that by intervening to try to stop the brutal repression practiced by The Gaddafi regime, it would serve as a warning to other dictators not to follow suit. The transitional Nation Council (TNC), the self-declared leadership of the Libyan rebels since their establishment on 5 March , has been successful in courting western support despite the fact that they have been unable to overthrow Qadhafi, also The TVC his consistently presented itself as Western educated, committed to democratic principles, and hostile to Islamist influences by utilizing the expertise of international public relations firms like the harbor group and bell pottinger. The official website of the TNC, whose motto is “Freedom, Justice, Democracy” offers positive updates on the War's development as well as in depth coverage of each foreign official who visits Benghazi (Zenko. “Libya: justifications for intervention”) the intervention aimed to stop repression and establish the transitional national council.

### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization was created in 1949 by the United States, Canada, and several Western European nations to provide collective security against the Soviet Union. NATO was the first peacetime military alliance the United States entered into outside of the Western Hemisphere. After the destruction of the Second World War, the nations of Europe struggled to rebuild their economies and ensure their security. Office of the historian.com.web.03.05.2023.>[https://history.state.gov/milestones/19451952/nato?fbclid=IwAR3HeN\\_uU5mkttk-5aAE1JYnwLx7\\_Jk3F-s-oEcBvgjsJbBVo\\_V\\_Gh4kbc](https://history.state.gov/milestones/19451952/nato?fbclid=IwAR3HeN_uU5mkttk-5aAE1JYnwLx7_Jk3F-s-oEcBvgjsJbBVo_V_Gh4kbc)

<sup>2</sup> Muammar El Qaddafi: “Qaddafi removed the U.S. and British military bases from Libya in 1970. He expelled most members of the native Italian and Jewish communities from Libya that same year, and in 1973 he nationalized all foreign-owned petroleum assets in the country”.Network.Apr.06.2023.web03/05/2023

<<https://www.britannica.com/biography/muammar-al-qaddafi>>

<sup>3</sup> Marshal Rodolfo Graziani: In the 1920s, Graziani commanded the Italian forces in **Libya**. He was responsible for pacifying the Senussi rebels. During this so-called “pacification“, he was responsible for the construction of several concentration camps and labor camps, where tens of thousands Libyan prisoners died, if not killed”.March,12,2011.Web.03/05/2023.

<<https://cambridgeforecast.wordpress.com/2011/03/12/libya-as-italian-colony-graziani-against-omar-muktar/>>.

## Chapter Two

### **Explaining Obama's Military Intervention in Libya: Interacting Interests or Seeking Democracy?**

In 2011, former U.S President Barack Obama ordered military intervention in Libya as part of a larger NATO coalition. This intervention was a response to the ongoing civil war between the Libyan tyrant Muammar Gaddafi and opposition forces seeking to overthrow him. There were conflicting views on whether Obama's motive for ordering the intervention was based on interacting economic interests or seeking democracy. Some proponents argued that Obama's decision to intervene was based on interacting economic interests. At the time, Libya held significant oil reserves, and the U.S was a major consumer of oil. Therefore, there were concerns that the instability in Libya could lead to a disruption in oil production, which could lead to a rise in oil prices. By intervening, the U.S would be able to stabilize the country, secure its oil reserves and maintain its oil supply. On the other hand, some critics argued that the U.S intervention was driven by Obama's desire to promote democracy in Libya. The U.S has traditionally been a strong advocate of democratic values, and the oppressive regime of Gaddafi went against this ideology. Obama argued that the intervention was in line with the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) doctrine, which aims to protect civilians from atrocities. In conclusion, it is evident that Obama's decision to intervene in Libya was driven by both interacting economic interests and seeking democracy. While the U.S may have had economic interests in stabilizing Libya, Obama also prioritized the protection of civilians and promoting democratic values.

This chapter is divided into four main sections; the first section presents and justifies the humanitarian intervention in Libya that ruled by Obama, the second one is related to how Obama intervene Libya, and how it ends in failure. The third one is about what happened after the

intervention under the Obama doctrine and its limits, the fourth and the last one examines the real truth behind the Obama’s intervention in Libya if it is just for achieving democracy or seeking interests.

## 2.1. Justifying Humanitarian Intervention in Libya

Over the past three decades, “state failure”<sup>3</sup> has become a defining pattern for many Arab countries, and there is no doubt that foreign intervention has been a decisive cause of many such failures, as it is stated by Hehir that “On 26 February the Security Council invoked its Chapter VII powers and passed Resolution 1970. The Resolution referred the situation to the ICC and imposed an arms embargo, travel ban and asset freeze against the Libyan authorities. Given that significant protests had begun only eleven days earlier, and China and Russia's historically conservative approach to external involvement in intra-state conflicts” (Hehir.5) the state failure became one of main reasons of humanitarian intervention in Libya.

**Table 2.1. Did you favor or oppose NATO’s military intervention in Libya in 2011?**

	Favor	Oppose	Don’t Know/Refused
<b>Somaliland region</b>	26%	72%	2%
<b>Algeria</b>	14%	70%	16%
<b>Comoros</b>	33%	67%	1%
<b>Palestinian Territories</b>	21%	62%	17%
<b>Mauritania</b>	41%	57%	2%
<b>Egypt</b>	13%	52%	35%
<b>Lebanon</b>	29%	41%	30%
<b>Yemen</b>	22%	41%	38%
<b>Tunisia</b>	33%	40%	26%
<b>Moroco</b>	12%	26%	62%

**Source:** “NATO Intervention in Libya Unpopular in Arab World” .The Gallup Center for Muslim Studies. 5. May.2023.Web. May 31, 2012

<https://news.gallup.com/poll/154997/snapshot-nato-intervention-libya-unpopular-arab-world.aspx>

The possibility of NATO intervention in Syria has resurfaced following French President Francois Hollande's recent comments suggesting a willingness to consider military action. A majority of respondents from nine Arab nations surveyed, as well as the Somaliland region, expressed opposition to NATO intervention in Libya. According to a survey, residents of several North African countries, such as Morocco (12%), Egypt (13%), and Algeria (14%), expressed the lowest levels of support for NATO intervention. In Tunisia, where the late Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi publicly denounced the region's first successful revolution, opinions were more evenly divided, with 33% in favor and 40% opposed to intervention (“NATO Intervention in Libya Unpopular in Arab World.”).

For the first time, the UN Security Council specifically authorized the use of force against a functioning state to avert impending atrocity crimes in Resolution 1973, which authorized military involvement in Libya. While some celebrated the resolution and the ensuing action in Libya as victories for the idea of the “responsibility to protect” (R2P) of the international community, others anticipated the concept's early demise, Kuperman made a case for a more nuanced understanding of how the intervention in Libya has affected discussions on R2P. And as he demonstrates the intervention in Libya both highlighted new and persistent areas of dispute within the international community regarding the proper use of force to defend populations. All this reflected when kuperman stated that: “

Western media and politicians praised the intervention as a humanitarian success for averting a bloodbath in Libya's second largest city, Benghazi, and helping replace the

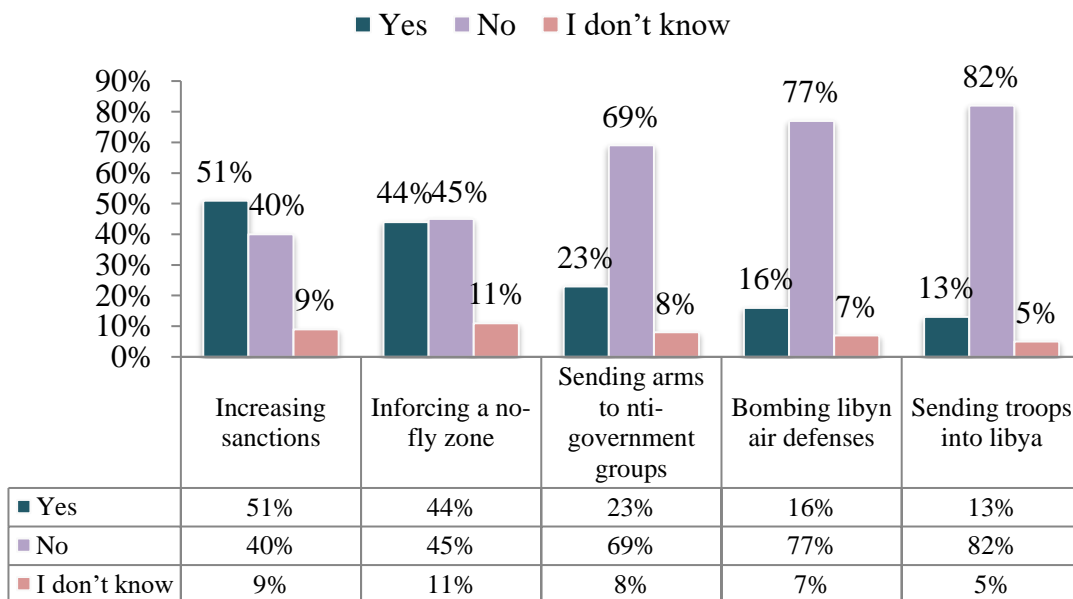
dictatorial Qaddafi regime with a transitional council pledged to democracy. Based on this ostensible success, many experts no cite Libya as a model for implementing the humanitarian principle known as the "responsibility to protect" (R2P). Before such conclusions are embraced, however, a more rigorous assessment of the net humanitarian impact of NATO's intervention in Libya is warranted". (qtd.in Kuperman. "A Model Humanitarian Intervention, Recessing Nato's Libya Campaign.115).

This quote highlighted the need for a critical evaluation of the humanitarian impact of the Libya intervention, despite the initial praise it received from Western media and politicians.

Heinze and Steele highlighted the significance of the Libya intervention, which occurred in 2011 when a coalition of Western countries led a military campaign to overthrow the government of Muammar Gaddafi. He suggested that this intervention represented a shift in thinking among states, where there was now a widespread recognition that when a government is abusing its citizens, other countries have a responsibility to intervene to protect them. This idea is often referred to as the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P), which is a concept in international law that holds that the international community has a duty to intervene to prevent atrocities such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. While there is some debate about the effectiveness of R2P and the legitimacy of interventions such as the one in Libya, also highlights the potential significance of this principle for preventing human rights abuses around the world, all this reflects when they stated: "...the Libya intervention has been characterized as an 'unprecedented moment' that is indicative of a new commitment and consensus by states that they have an obligation –indeed, a responsibility to protect people who are being grossly abused by their own government..."(A.Heinze And J.Steele. 130) the 2011 Libya intervention played a critical role in shaping and defining the Responsibility to protect principle while highlighting its limitations.

Ramoin argued that the 2011 military intervention in Libya by NATO forces was justified. The intervention aimed to protect civilians from the brutal repression of their government during the Arab Spring uprising, which posed an ethical dilemma for the international community. Ramoin supports his argument by drawing on the principles of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), a United Nations doctrine that outlines the responsibility of states to protect their citizens from mass atrocities, and the need to uphold international law. Ramoin also argued that the intervention was necessary to prevent a humanitarian crisis in Libya, which was not only a domestic issue but had the potential to destabilize the entire North African region. The author acknowledged that the intervention was not perfect and resulted in unintended consequences such as the power vacuum that led to the rise of armed groups and the subsequent destabilization of the region. However, Ramoin still maintains that the intervention was necessary to prevent a greater harm to the Libyan people (“Why intervention in Libya was justified”) Ramoin’s article provides an ethical and legal perspective on the Libyan intervention, arguing that the decision to intervene was justified under the principles of R2P and the need to prevent a humanitarian crisis.

**Figure 2. 1** 2011 military intervention in libya.



**Source:** “2011 military intervention in Libya” 19.Sep.2022. Web.25.05.2023.

<https://alchetron.com/2011-military-intervention-in-Libya#2011-military-intervention-in-libya-2e4c0e9f-df3d-4bc6-baec-55096fa6a5c-resize-750.png>.

Fighting in Libya ended in late October following the death of Muammar Gaddafi, and NATO stated it would end operations over Libya on 31 October 2011. Libya's new government requested that its mission be extended to the end of the year, but on 27 October, the Security Council voted to end NATO's mandate for military action on 31 October. (“2011 military intervention in libya.”).

Blomdahl sought to unpack the decision-making process that led President Obama to intervene in the Libyan civil war in 2011. He argued that the decision was guided by a combination of strategic, ethical, and domestic political considerations, and that understanding these interests and how they interacted is crucial to understanding the decision. Blomdahl began by noting that the decision to intervene in Libya was not an obvious or straightforward one, and that President Obama had previously expressed a reluctance to involve the US in another foreign war. However, as the conflict in Libya escalated and violence against civilians increased, Obama faced mounting pressure from both domestic and international actors to take action. Blomdahl identified four primary interests that influenced Obama's decision-making: strategic interests, including concerns about regional stability and the potential for terrorism; ethical interests, including a desire to prevent mass atrocities and protect civilians; political interests, including the need to maintain domestic and international support and avoid criticism; and personal interests, including Obama's own moral convictions and sense of responsibility as a global leader (“Interacting Interests: Explaining President Obama’s Libyan Decision”) Blomdahl explored Obama's Libyan war decision, highlighting strategic, moral, and domestic factors.

Blomdahl also argued that these interests all interacted in complex ways, influencing one another and shaping Obama's decision-making process. For example, while Obama's ethical concerns about civilian protection were a driving force behind his ultimate decision to intervene, they were also shaped by strategic and political considerations, such as concerns about the impact of a humanitarian crisis on regional stability and the need to maintain diplomatic relationships with key allies. Ultimately, Blomdahl argues that understanding the interaction between these interests is the key to understanding Obama's decision to intervene in Libya (“Interacting Interests: Explaining President Obama’s Libyan Decision”) Blomdahl suggested we can gain a deeper understanding of the complex geopolitical forces that shape decision-making and international relations.

In addition to what it is mentioned before, Cabatic declared that: “The involvement of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Libya has sparked heated controversy”. Cabatic meant that the effectiveness of NATO's action and its true role are questioned due to contradictory activities during the intervention. It is important to define Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and regime change before analyzing NATO's role. NATO's involvement in the civil war, while assisting in regime transition, resulted in the organization being seen as more aligned with aiding the rebel cause than peacekeeping (“An Indefensible Intervention A Foreign State”) this article aimed to explore the political factors that led NATO to modify its operational mission from peacekeeping to actively supporting the rebels in the Libyan civil war.

Xypolia explored how humanitarian intervention is justified in Libya in the post-colonial context. She argued that the concept of the “white man's burden” has been replaced with the idea of the “responsibility savior”, where Western powers see themselves as the protectors of human rights and democracy. Xypolia first traced the roots of humanitarian intervention to the colonial era, where Western powers believed they had a moral obligation to “civilize” and uplift so-called “uncivilized” societies. This ideology was based on the premise that the "white man"

had a duty to bring progress and enlightenment to the "dark continent" and other parts of the world. However, in the post-colonial era, the idea of the white man's burden has been replaced with the concept of the "responsibility savior." This new ideology views Western powers as global protectors of human rights and democracy. According to Xypolia, this shift in thinking is rooted in the rise of human rights discourse and the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the case of Libya, Xypolia argues that the responsibility savior paradigm was used to justify humanitarian intervention. The international community saw the violent crackdown by Muammar Gaddafi's regime on pro-democracy protesters as a violation of human rights and a threat to regional stability. Western powers, led by France and the UK, invoked the concept of the "responsibility to protect" (R2P) to justify their intervention in Libya. Xypolia noted that while R2P is a noble concept, it is often used selectively and inconsistently. Certain countries that violated human rights, such as Saudi Arabia or Israel, are often given a free pass by the international community. Meanwhile, interventions in countries like Iraq and Libya have led to significant destabilization and chaos ("From the White Man's Burden to the Responsible Savior: Justifying Humanitarian in Libya") Xypolia's article highlights the complexities and contradictions of humanitarian intervention in the post-colonial era. While the concept of the "responsibility savior" might appear benevolent on the surface, it is often used by Western powers to pursue their own geopolitical interests.

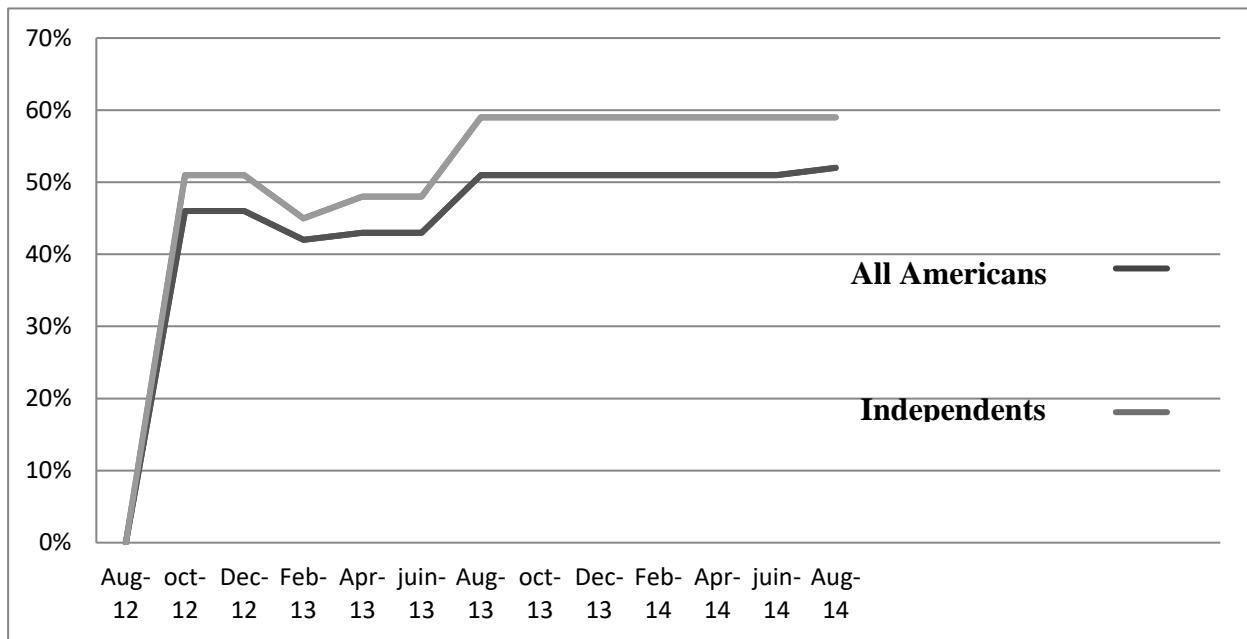
## **2.2. How Obama's Intervention Ended in Failure**

Kuperman focused on how President Obama authorized military intervention in Libya in 2011 to protect civilians from the violent crackdown by the Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi and to support the wider Arab Spring movement for democratic change in the region. The intervention was controversial and led to both the overthrow of Qaddafi and the destabilization of the Libyan state, with ongoing concerns about security and violence in the country, by stating:

...Obama explained, was to save the lives of peaceful, pro-democracy protesters who found themselves the target of a crackdown by Libyan dictator Muammar Qaddafi endanger the momentum of the nascent Arab spring, which had recently swept away authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt, but he also was poised to commit a bloodbath in the Libyan city where the uprising had started (qtd.in“Obama’s Libya Debacle”) Obama’s military intervention happened for two reasons, to protect the citizens and to overthrow Gaddafi.

In an interview with CNN's Anderson Cooper in June 2015, former US President Barack Obama admitted that the worst mistake of his presidency was his administration's failure to prepare for the aftermath of the 2011 military intervention in Libya. Obama explained that while he believed the intervention was necessary to prevent a massacre of civilians by Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi's forces, his administration did not adequately plan for the aftermath of Gaddafi's fall. The lack of planning led to chaos and instability in Libya, which in turn fueled the rise of extremist groups like ISIS. Obama acknowledged that the situation in Libya was one of the biggest challenges of his presidency and that the US and its allies did not do enough to help stabilize the country after Gaddafi's ouster. The former president also expressed regret that the US did not do more to address the humanitarian crisis in Syria, which has been ongoing since 2011. He admitted that he struggled with finding a solution to the conflict, which has resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths and displacement of millions of people. In the interview, Obama emphasized the importance of learning from mistakes and taking responsibility for them. He suggested that his administration's shortcomings in Libya and Syria could serve as lessons for future policymakers (“Obama Admits Worst Mistake of his Presidency”) what can be said is that all of Obama's moves are deliberate, so either his plan will succeed or fail.

**Figure 2.2** 52% Disapprove of President Obama's Job Performance, 53% Disapprove of Foreign Policy Handling



**Source :** Emily Ekins . “most americans disapprove pf obama attitudes:hold steady”.

| 8.14.2014 .web.30.May.2023.

<https://reason.com/2014/08/14/52-disapprove-of-president-obamas-job-pe/>

The figures mentioned indicate that a majority of people surveyed disapproved of two aspects of President Obama's performance: his overall job performance and his handling of foreign policy. Specifically, 52% of respondents indicated that they disapproved of the job that President Obama was doing, while 53% disapproved of his handling of foreign policy issues. It's important to note that these figures are based on a specific survey or poll, and that opinions on political figures and policies can be highly subjective and influenced by a range of factors.

In March/April 2015 issue of foreign affairs, Alan J. Kuperman wrote: “not only did Qaddafi endanger the momentum of the nascent Arab Spring, which had recently swept away authoritarian regimes in Tunisia and Egypt, but he also was poised to commit a blood bath in the Libyan city where the uprisings had started”. Also Obama stated: “we understood that if we

wanted one more day, Benghazi a city almost the size of Charlotte could endure a bloodbath that would have echoed across the region and soiled the conscience of the world". Then stated in his Rose Garden address following Gaddafi's killing, "without sending a single US service person on the ground, we achieved our objectives". "The global and the US were presented with a decision", Obama said this in a speech on March 28 at the National Defense University in Washington. When it comes to Qaddafi's people, he vowed to have "no mercy" and warned that he would visit their homes and lash out at them, likening them to vermin ("Obama's Libya Debacle") the success of Obama's plans to eliminate Gaddafi the dictator man.

The Washington Post newspaper published a question regarding the causes of the failure of US President Barack Obama's intervention in Libya and it thought that just failing to do so would provide the Republicans with very solid cause for attacking Obama, especially if recent events there proved the truth of this failure. Were represented in the selection of a new prime minister following a vote in Parliament; he will be the sixth individual to hold the job since Colonel Muammar Qaddafi was overthrown in 2011 with the aid of America and NATO forces, and he will succeed former Prime Minister Ali Zaidan. Pro-Western leader who resigned when his administration failed to stop armed militias from loading a tanker with stolen oil ("The Failure of US President Barack Obama's Intervention in Libya") the Attempts by NATO and the US to support Ali Zaidan to take power in Libya after the killing of Gaddafi serves the interests of civilians.

Zaidan noticed that he had only recently come to terms with the reality of the situation in his nation, where there is government without an armed army with the power to extend its rule over hundreds of armed militias that have proliferated amid the post-revolutionary security vacuum that divided the nation into spheres of influence and paralyzed the economy. Extremist organization like Ansar al-Sharia<sup>2</sup>, who took part in the attack in Benghazi 2012, and the facilitation of the sale of illegal weapons continued unabated. The Obama administration and its

NATO allies according to the Washington Post, are solely to blame for this chaos because they intervened to support the opposition is overthrow of Qaddafi and then swiftly withdrew without helping the Libyans impose security political system . The Us Congress is expected to discuss the reasons for Washington’s agreement to send Libya into a state of chaos, despite the speed at which it did so, in the near future. Additionally, I stated that house speaker John Boehner recently said he would request the government to form a Committee to investigate the Benghazi attack and the alleged US government effort to hide and obfuscate the reasons for the Killing (“The Failure of US President Barack Obama’s Intervention in Libya”) Ali’s failure to manage militias in Libya, led to congress’s intervention to find solutions.

The US President Obama admitted to France24 by channel that “when I wonder why things book a bad turn, I realize that I was convinced that the Europeans would be more concerned with the follow-up process, given Libya's geographical proximity to them: “Noting that British Prime minister David Cameron “was later distracted by other things”. Also Obama has admitted time and time again that the US and its allies could have done more following the intervention in Libya in 2011, when airstrikes were launched by a Coalition led by France and Britain later joined by NATO (“ The Legacy of Obama’s Worst Mistake”) Recognition of Obama that the interests of EU were hidden, and they tried to achieve them at the expense of US.

### **2.3. After Intervention: the Obama Doctrine and its Limits**

Obama's fatalistic outlook was influenced by the failure of the 2011 intervention, his administration launched in Libya. that intervention was made to stop Muammar Qaddafi, the dictator of the nation at that time, from carrying out his threats to massacre the residents of Benghazi .Joe Biden, his first term defense secretary Robert Gates, and others advised Obama to avoid getting involved in that Conflict. Obama did not want to do so .However, a powerful and current within the national security team .Including secretary of state Hillary Clinton and Susan

Rice; who was the ambassador to the UN, as well as Samantha Power, Ben Rhodes, and Anthony Blinken, who was then Biden's national security adviser, the Citizens of Benghazi witness the dropping of American bombs. In addition to that, Obama declared that: "The social system in Libya has collapsed, you see widespread protests against Qaddafi, and you have tribal groups inside Libya. Benghazi is one of the centers of the opposition against the regime. And Qaddafi is moving his army towards Benghazi and he said: "we will kill them like rats" (Tierney. "Obama's Worst Mistake") Obama was right when he said that his intervention in Libya was the biggest mistake during his doctrine.

Deuck discussed Obama's worldview and the intellectual influences on his foreign policy. He argues that Obama's foreign policy was heavily influenced by liberal internationalism, which emphasizes the importance of democracy and the promotion of human rights and democracy (Deuck.13) Deuck provides a comprehensive and insightful analysis of the foreign policy of Obama administration

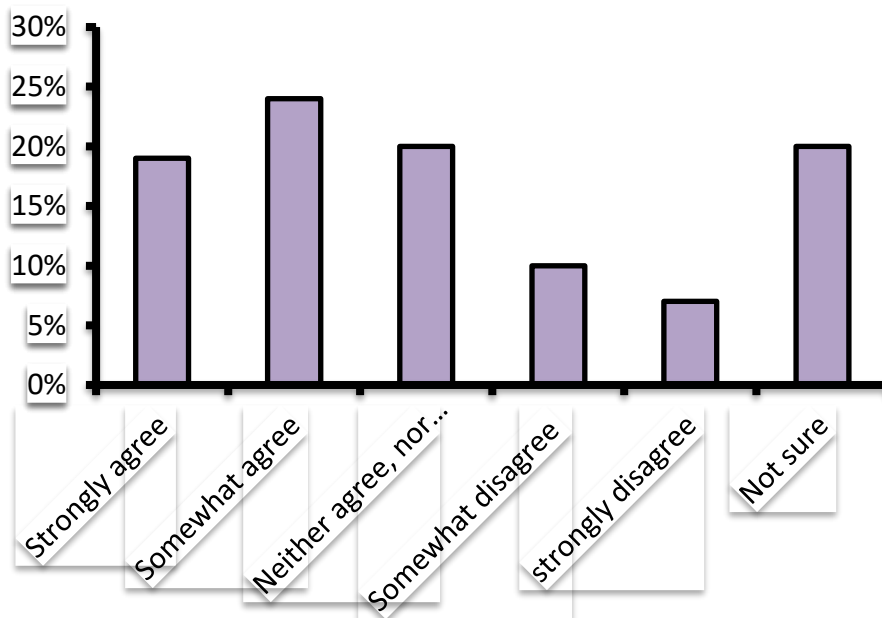
Walt claimed that Obama recognized the limits of American power and was cautious about intervening militarily in conflicts, and Obama's approach was shaped by desire to avoid costly and counterproductive military interventions which of the Iraq war ("Barack Obama was a Foreign Policy Failure") Walt provided a nuanced view of the Obama doctrine and its emphasis on the limits of military intervention

Joyner discussed the Obama administration's approach to the conflict in Libya in 2011, which was based on the principle of the responsibility to protect. The US relied on a capitulation of NATO allies and regional partners to take the lead in the intervention, with the US playing a supporting role, while the intervention was successful in protecting civilians. It also exposes some limitations of the R2P doctrine and led to further destabilization of the country ("Libya

Won an Obama Doctrine”) Joyner argued that the intervention highlighter the challenges and complexities of implementing the R2P doctrine in practice.

Marwan Bishara stated that the ongoing Crisis in Libya and the lack of action by the international Community to address the issue, Bishara also argues that the as under the leadership of Obama has adopted a policy of indifferences towards the Arab world as a whole, which has led to a lack of action on pressing issues such as the Libyan crises, he stated that : “Obama is well aware that reality tells as that he cannot reach final solution in any of the three tracks but he hopes to pave the way for progress in future” (“The Obama Doctrine and American Indifference to the Arab World”). It means that Obama's administration resulted in a hands-off approach toward the Arab world which has led to inaction on critical issues.

**Figure 2. 3 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The Libyan army is one week that the United States could easily impose a No-fly over Libya.**



**Source:** “Agree that as the U.S is already fighting two wars against Muslim Countries, it should not get involved in a third”.19.Sep.2022.Web. 4. May.2023.

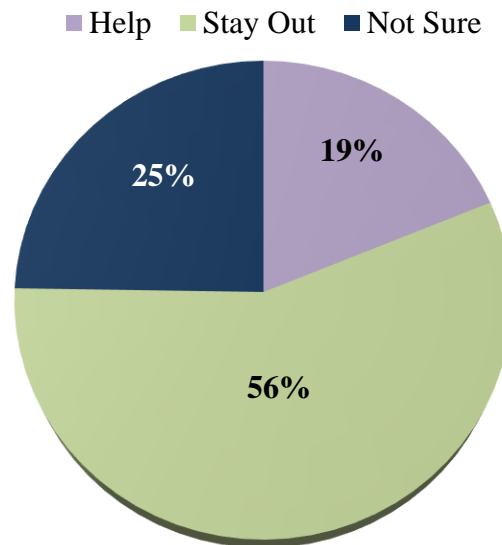
<https://alchetron.com/2011-military-intervention-in-Libya/2011-military->

[Intervention -in-Libya-2e4c0e9f-df3d-4bc6-baec-54096fa6a5c-resize-756.png](https://alchetron.com/2011-military-intervention-in-Libya-2e4c0e9f-df3d-4bc6-baec-54096fa6a5c-resize-756.png).

This figure suggests that the Libyan army is weak and that the United States could easily impose a no-fly zone over Libya within a week. However, this claim is a subjective assessment and may not be entirely accurate. While the United States may have the military capability to impose a no-fly zone over Libya, it is not a decision that can be made unilaterally or easily. It would require careful planning, coordination, and consideration of the potential consequences.

#### **2.4. Seeking Interests Rather than Democracy in Libya**

The article discussed the strong criticism leveled by the US Congress against President Barack Obama for the military intervention carried out by the United States in Libya to enforce the resolution issued by the United Nations Security Council, which calls for the protection of civilians in Libya. The Congress<sup>2</sup> considered Obama's decision to intervene militarily in Libya a threat to the US Constitution, and that the matter should be returned to Congress to make the final decision on it, according to Article II of the US Constitution that grants Congress the authority to declare war. The article noticed that Congress considered Obama to be trying to ignore the constitutional role of Congress in this regard, and that he should cooperate with Congress to find diplomatic solutions to the crisis in Libya (“The US Congress Strongly Criticizes Obama on Libya”) the article concluded that Congress should work to increase its role in determining US foreign policy and that it should be given greater authority to make important decisions related to wars and international conflicts.

**Figure 02: Libya: Don't Send Troops**

**Source:** Politics & current affairs. “Libya: Don't Send Troops” 16. Mar 2011 .

web.25.May.2023.

<https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2011/03/16/libya-dont-send-troops>.

Americans don't want the United States to intervene militarily in Libya even though many believe that imposing a no fly zone would not be difficult. In the latest *Economist/YouGov* Poll, most Americans reject the argument that the United States has a responsibility to intervene in trouble spots around the world and simply want to stay out of the fighting between the government and rebels there (“Libya: Don't Send Troops”).

A number of members of the US Congress criticized the administration of President Barack Obama regarding the US strikes in Libya, expressing their fear that it would be the beginning of a long-term conflict and the possibility of Libyan reprisals. Michael Honda<sup>4</sup> claimed such attacks "send to the world the message that American democracy is suspended" since, in accordance with the American constitution, only Congress has the authority to declare war. The Ministry of Defense, he said, made its decision "based on considerations related to energy security, which is clear when we know that Libya has the seventh largest global oil

reserves," compared to Ivory Coast, which lacks oil resources ("The US Congress Strongly Criticizes Obama on Libya") Ultimately the Obama administration defended its actions in Libya, arguing that they were necessary to protect the lives of Libyan civilians and prevent a massacre.

Muammar Gaddafi criticized the current US President Barack Obama, accusing him of interfering in the Libyan civil war, he declared that: "All the people in the Arab and Islamic world and in Africa applauded this man when he talked. They welcomed him and prayed for him. But we were the first to be harmed by him. He said he was a friend of Africa. Why did he interfere in our affairs?" .US-Libya relations were greatly affected by the issue of oil, as Libya is a major oil supplier in the world and the United States was interested in maintaining good relations with Libya. However, the relations between the two countries turned into tension and conflict after the United States accused the Libyan regime of supporting terrorism and violating human rights. In the last years of Gaddafi's rule, the Libyan regime improved its relations with the West, especially the United States. However, the Libyan uprising in 2011 and the role played by the United States in the air campaign against Libyan forces led to the deterioration of relations between the two countries ("Gaddafi Describes the United States Dictator Ship and Criticized Obama") The intervention eventually led to the overthrow of the Gaddafi government and his death. However, the conflict has also contributed to the ongoing instability in Libya and has been the subject of sustained debate and criticism.

The article talked about the statements of former US President Barack Obama about the situation in Libya, in which he emphasized that the departure of the late Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi was inevitable and could not be ignored, he stated that: "Time is not on Gaddafi's side". He has no control over his country. The opposition formed a legitimate and trustworthy transitional council." he added that: "When Gaddafi inevitably leaves or is forced to leave power, decades of provocation will end and Libya's transition to a democratic state can move forward". Indicating that the international community was taking measures to achieve this and

the United States was concerned about the situation in Libya and sought to work with its allies in the region to end the conflict there. This statement comes in light of the events that took place in Libya during the year 2011, when the Libyan revolutionaries led an uprising against the Gaddafi regime and managed to overthrow it. Obama also indicated that the United States was concerned about the situation in Libya and sought to work with its allies in the region to end the conflict there. This statement comes in light of the events that took place in Libya during the year 2011, when the Libyan revolutionaries led an uprising against the Gaddafi regime and managed to overthrow it (Logan and Zengerle. "Obama Say That Gaddafi's Departure from Libya is Inevitable") as it becomes clear in this article that Obama's pursuit was to overthrow Gaddafi and he charted a path to kill him as threats to Libya and himself as well.

Logan and Zengerle also focused on some other comments Obama made about the situation in Libya, "If we had not acted with our NATO allies and regional partners in the coalition, thousands would have been killed," he stated. Where he indicated that the United States and its allies were actively working to end the conflict in the country and provide assistance to the Libyan people. At the same time, Obama expressed his concern about the political and security divisions in Libya, and called for work to achieve stability and unity in the country. It is noteworthy that the civil war in Libya that broke out in 2011 resulted in the fall of the former regime and the killing of Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi, but the country has suffered since then from clear political and security divisions, in addition to the spread of violence and terrorism in some areas. Efforts are still continuing to stabilize the country and to hold democratic elections in preparation for ending the current crisis ("Obama Say That Gaddafi's Departure from Libya is Inevitable") throw his writings, the writer claims that the only goal of the US and its allies is to reduce conflicts and divisions and achieve the internal peace in Libya.

## End notes

<sup>1</sup> Ali Zaidan: “has been Libya’s prime minister for nearly one year, having been appointed by the General National Congress last October. He took office on November 14 after Congress approved his cabinet nominees.” <<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/network.2013.10.10/profile-ali-zeidan>> web.04.05.2023

<sup>2</sup> Ansar Al-Sharia: “(AAS) groups in Libya emerged following the 2011 Libyan revolution. Their goal is to establish Sharia and to remove US and Western influence from Libya”. <[https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/ansar\\_al\\_sharia.html](https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/ansar_al_sharia.html)>.

<sup>3</sup> Failed State: “a state that is unable to perform the two fundamental functions of the sovereign nation-state in the modern world system: it cannot project authority over its territory and peoples, and it cannot protect its national boundaries”. <<https://www.britannica.com/topic/failed-state>>web.04.05.2023/network>.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Honda: The left-wing member of the Democratic Party, “<<https://www-ennaharonline-com.translate.google/>>.

## Chapter Three

### Biden's Policy in Libya: Back to Intervention?

Biden's potential policy towards Libya is closely tied to his broader foreign policy goals, which prioritize diplomacy and multilateralism. As such, he may seek to work with international partners to push for a political settlement to the conflict, rather than relying solely on military intervention. One key challenge for the Biden administration is balancing the competing interests of different actors in the Libyan conflict. The country is split between two rival governments, each supported by different regional and international powers, including Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. Finding a path towards reconciliation and stability will require navigating these complex dynamics. Additionally, Biden has expressed concern about the ongoing humanitarian crisis in Libya, including the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people and reports of human rights abuses. Addressing these issues will likely be a priority for his administration if they choose to engage more deeply in Libya. Overall, while Biden's potential policy towards Libya remains unclear, it is likely that he will take a more active role in addressing the conflict and pursuing stability in the region.

In this chapter, three major are going to be discussed; the first section is about the events that Libya is expected to face after the Libyan crisis, the second section is related to the internal conflicts and how the Libyan government split into two parts, one part of Fayed Al- Sarraj and the other part of Haftar. The last section presents the position of Biden administration on the Libyan situation; in addition to the penetration of other external agendas in Libya.

#### 3.1. What Lies ahead after the Libyan Crisis

Vandewelle declared that in the two years since the Arab world's revolutions began, Libya stands out as one of the most prosperous nations to do so. A transitional administration in

charge of the nation did not exclusively employ force, Libya would have to outcome the effects of more than decades of authoritarian rule, during which Gaddafi had blocked the growth of true national institutions, in order to create a functioning state (Vandewelle 8) The writer pointed out that Libya, after Kaddafi dictatorship, has become hopeful that it will become an independent and successful country.

At the country's first free parliamentary elections, which were marred by incidents of violence and vandalism in the east, Libyans chose the national council on July 7, 2012; the General National Congress received the NTC4s authority one month later. At that time also the most foreign embassies shuttered their doves and their staffs left the country after two attacks on the US and France emphasis, the first of which resulted in the deaths of 4 Americans, including Ambassador Christopher Stevens, and two French guards ("The Most Important Political Stations in Libya, A Decade After the Overthrow of Qaddafi Regime") The best thing the Libyans have done is to plan for elections, to rebuild the Libyan state again.

After that, France 24 stated that two rival government against military Islamism organization in eastern Libya, retired major general Khalifa Haftar<sup>1</sup> announced the beginning of an operation in May 2014, he establish the "Libyan National Army", and officers from the eastern region enlisted. A new parliament was in June 2014, with the bulk of the candidates being anti-Islamists who abstained from voting. Nevertheless, at the end of August, the "Libya down" alliance, which was made up of numerous armed groups, including Islamist organization, took control of Tripoli and resurrected the outgoing parliaments and two administrations ("The Most Important Political Stations in Libya, a Decade after the Overthrow of Qaddafi Regime") One of the drawbacks of the elections is the emergence of two competing governments for power, which seeks to achieve its goals in any way.

A new parliament was in June 2014, with the bulk of the candidates being anti- Islamists who abstained from voting. Nevertheless, at the end of August, “The Libya down” alliance, which was made up of numerous armed groups, including Islamists organization, Took control of Tripoli and resurrected the outgoing parliament, the "general National Congress". Following weeks of violent fighting, there is now a government; this government was formed from the parliament that had relocated to the east of the nation, giving Libya two parliaments and two administrations (“The Most Important Political Stations in Libya, a Decade after the Overthrow of Qaddafi Regime”) The failure of the elections in Libya and the return of the old parliament was a gateway to a new war for the Libyan state.

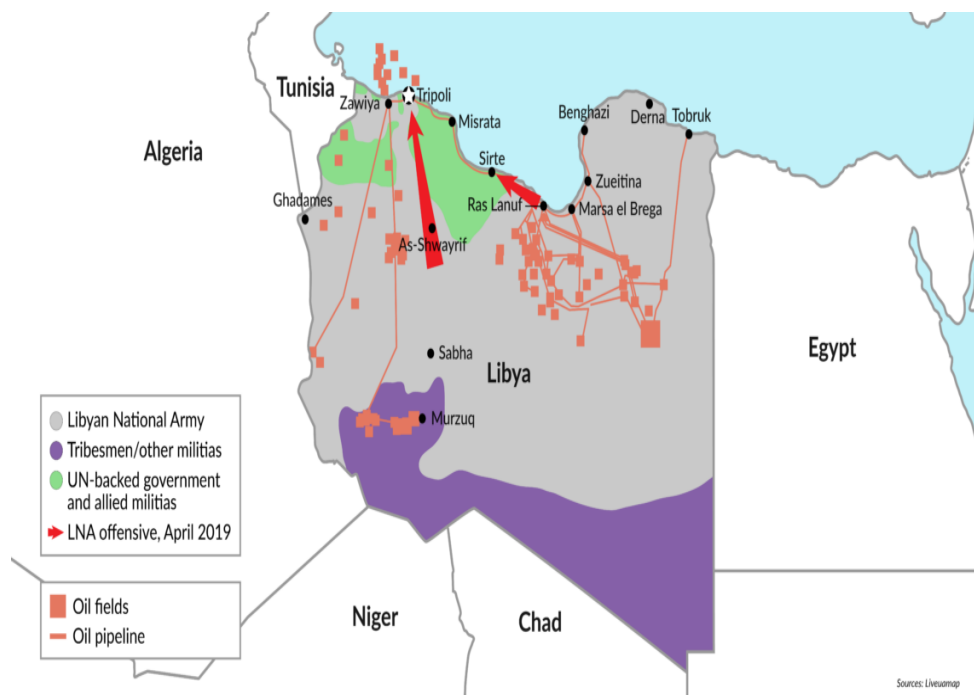
Al-Gomati stated that the challenges that Libya faced during the transition period after the fall of Gaddafi’s regime in 2011. The lack of a strong Central government, the proliferation of armed groups, and the failure of the international Community to provide adequate support, hindered the Country's progress towards democracy and development. Despite these challenges, El-Gomati remains hopeful about Libya’s future but emphasize the need for a collective effort from all stakeholders to support the Country's transition towards democracy and development (“Libya: 12 years of unfinished transitions”) Al-Gomati sheds light on the difficulties faced by Libya during its transitional period.

### **3.1.1. The Internal Dynamics**

Fathallah stated that “since the retired major general Khalifa Hafter announced in an audio recording his war on the Libyan Capital, Tripoli, on the fourth of April and his forces fought battles on its outskirts, a question arises about how these forces arrived without warning to the outskirts of Tripoli”. Mid-February 2014, saw the beginning of Khalifa Hafter's rise to prominence as a significant player in the Libyan scene when he made an announcement on an Arabic satellite channel broadcasting from the United Arab Emirates about the suspension of the

general National Congress and the freezing of the constitutional Declaration the country's governing constitution. After that Haftar launched two military operations, one declared to combat terrorism and the other one undeclared to control Libya with international and regional support, so the "Benghazi Revolutionaries shura council" formed in response to the bottles in Benghazi between the forces of Haftar and fighters from the City - A Counter-military operation began in Western Libya, known as “Down of Libya”, targeting Haftar loyalists (“Haftar’s War on Tripoli... This is How the Scene Has Involved since the February Revolution”) Haftar’s desire to gain power was a sufficient reason for him to commit and launch a war in Libya under other reasons, which is the fighting against terrorism.

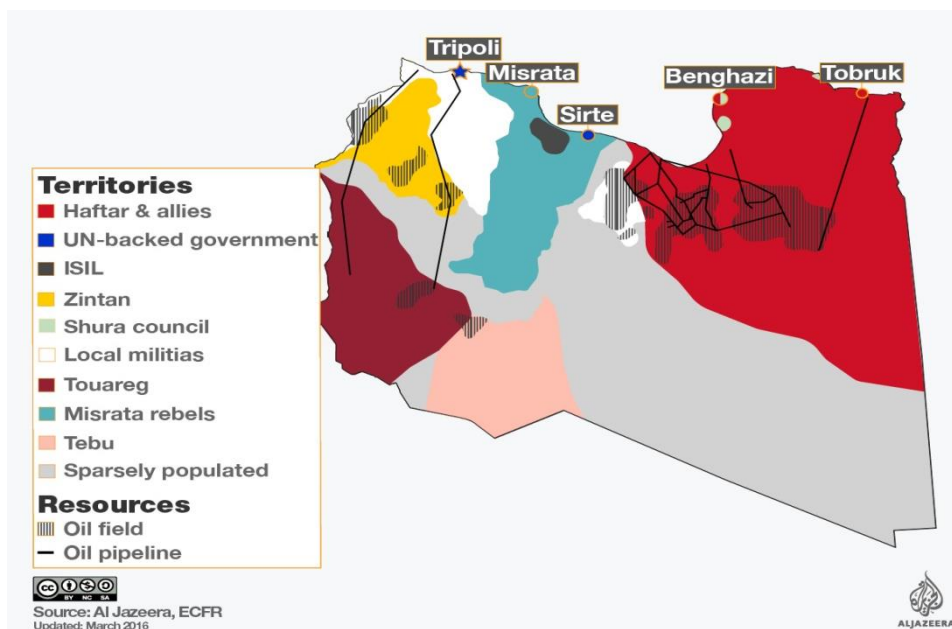
**Figure 3. 4** Khalifa Haftar’s left hook through the desert to Tripoli was supposed to be a knockout. Blow in Libya’s protracted civil war.



This figure suggested that Khalifa Haftar's military strategy was a crucial moment in the Libyan civil war, with the potential to end the conflict. However, it also implied that the outcome of this maneuver did not go as planned, and the conflict in Libya continues to this day.

BBC As also stated that when Haftar's forces advanced to seize Tripoli, the seat of the internationally recognized Libya on government, the assumed the role of Libya's strongman and dominated news Coverage of the country. Hafter has been active in Libya's political scene for more than 40 years, occasionally shifting his allegiance. Also the article added that the new parliament appointed him as commander in "Libyan National Army" in to 15 after he had left the colonel Gaddafi regime. This the army is not recognized by government of National Accord, which is backed by the UN, and it is necessary for all military and armed formations in the country to be included under its Command. After that the start of the Gaddafi rebellion in 2011, Hafter returned to Libya and rose to prominence as one of the key figures in the opposition forces that were emerging in the in the country's east ("Who Supports Khalifa Haftar Commander of The Eastern Forces Of Libya").The beginning of the military operations in Libya, led by Haftar, was aimed to achieving the power at the expense of the people.

**Figure 3. 5** Libya : who controls what?.



**Source:** "Libya : who controls what?".web.16.May.2023.

[https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/3/22/libya-who-controls-what.](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/3/22/libya-who-controls-what)

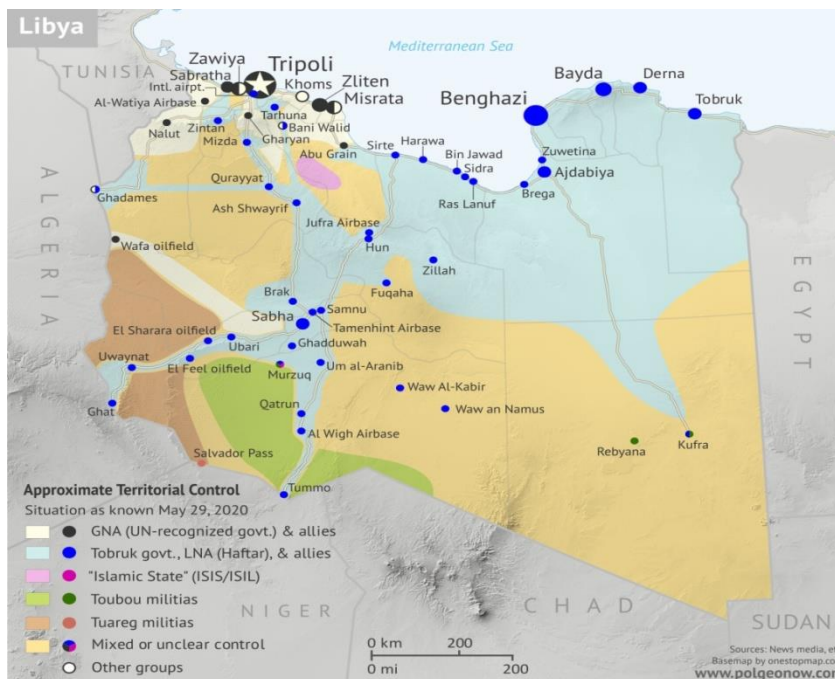
Libya is politically and militarily fragmented since the overthrow of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011. The country is currently divided between the UN-backed Government of National Accord (GNA) based in Tripoli and the Libyan National Army (LNA) led by General Khalifa Haftar, which is based in Tobruk. Additionally, there are various armed groups and militias controlling different parts of the country. The situation in Libya was complex and constantly changing.

Ghobachi stated that “Haftar had no choice but to accept entering a political track that the UN sponsored after signing a launch agreement”, one of the strong candidates for the Libyan presidential elections is Haftar. He benefited from the current electoral laws, which allow him to ignore the question of nationality (he is an American Citizen), and from the fact that he was a serving member of the military, because of the ongoing security chaos, political division and lack of a notional unity government, the crises in Libya getting worse. Among the reasons for this crisis is the government of Fayeze Siradj (“Libyan Presidential Elections: Failed Marshal Khalifa Haftar...From American Exile to Strong Man in The East”) with the support of the United States Haftar joined the political issues in Libya, and this is a big mistake, which may lead to the lives of many innocent people.

Al-Arabi declared that General Khalifa Haftar and Prime Minister Fayeze al-Sarraj reached an agreement to form a Council of State in Libya, the Council of State will consist of 120 members, and the Council of State will serve as an advisory body to the Presidential Council and will have the power to veto legislation passed by the House of Representatives. This agreement is seen as an important step towards achieving political stability in Libya, General Haftar and Al-Sarraj have been involved in long standing conflict over the control of Libya (Haftar and Al-Sarraj Agreement to Form the Presidency Council of the State in Libya) Al-Arabi argued that the agreement is a positive step towards political stability in the country.

According to Maghrib Voices :“At the head of the Libyan government of National Accord, Fayeze Al-Sarraj<sup>3</sup> who announced his willingness to hand over power before the end of October 2015 ,sought to rebuild his country mired in chaos, but this engineer, Known for his independence, collided with the lack of recognition of his legitimacy". Armed groups ruled the nation's capital, Tripoli, and fighting struggles in Libya four years after Gaddafi was toppled. He moved from Tunisia, where he was residing, to Tripoli tow as a sign of the magnitude of the task that lay ahead of him, and was the forget of an assassination attempt in 2017 (Fayeze al- sarraj “an engineer who was unable to rebuild) What Faiz sarraj did was the right thing, as he focused on the interests of Libya before and showed readiness to relinquish power for the sake of stability in the country.

**Figure 3. 6** Libyan Civil War Map & Timeline - May 2020



**Source:** *“In Light of the Talks About the Convergence of Haftar and Al-Dabaiba.. What are the Scenarios for Settling the Libyan Crisis? . web.18.May. 2023. Alestiklal.net .<https://www.alestiklal.net/ar/view/18402/dep-news-1684843555>.*

This figure is a useful resource for understanding the current state of the conflict in Libya as of May 2020. However, it is important to note that the conflict is ongoing and the situation on the ground may have changed since that time, also this map provides an important visual representation of the Libyan civil war, which can help to deepen our understanding of the conflict and its complexity.

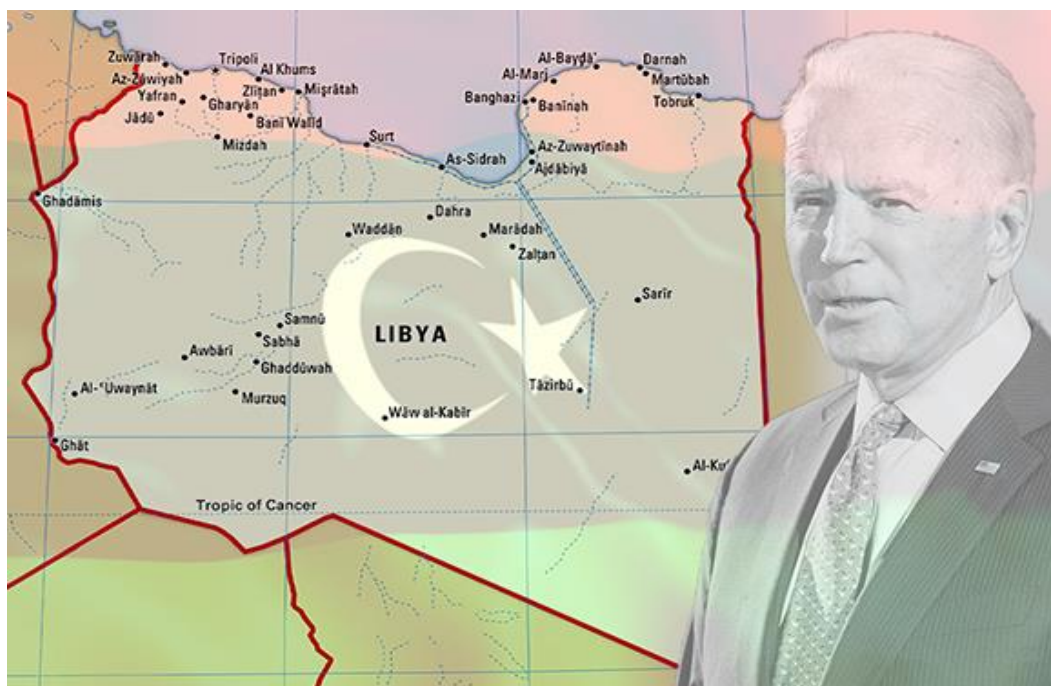
### **3.2. The Biden Administration Position on the Libyan Situation**

Fisherman claimed that, although President Biden’s team first concentrated on Iran and Yemen, Libya continues to which it claims it will pay less attention in the coming phase. But by viewing the war in Libya s a question of Mediterranean security, team Biden can better support the new Libyan government and show its dedication to reviving partnerships (“Re-Defining Libya’s Framework for the Benefit of a Reluctant US Administration”) the best thing that President Biden has done is directly his attention to Libya after Yemen and Iran, with the aim of creating new reforms to spreading peace.

According to Rushdi, Before significant negotiations regarding plans for the transitional period in the Country that has been torn apart by political military battles since the fall of Gaddafi's under the auspices of the UN, President Biden's administration made references to the Libyan file .The Call by Richard Mills Jr, head of the US mission to The UN, to immediately begin withdrawing Turkish and Russian forces from Libya, including all mercenary elements and foreign military delegates, Represents a notable change in the administration's policy from that of former President Donald Trump. This is due to the fact that it specifically requests that “all

external parties, including Russia and Turkey recognize Libyan sovereignty and immediately cease all military action in Libya”, it was the first of its kind to be released by the current administration, which has always used evasive and unclear language when referring to foreign participants in the Libyan file (“Initiatives and Transformation ... Biden Puts his Mark on the Libyan File”) it can be considered that president Biden is among the best presidents who supported the Libyan issue and tried to impose stability by anyway.

**Figure 3. 7** Biden’s Challenges in Stabilizing Libya



**Source:** “Biden’s Challenges In Stabilizing Libya.” Doha Institute

04Jan.2021.Web.06..May.2023..<https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/politicalstudies/pages/biden-challenges-in-stabilizing-libya.aspx>

This figure represented that there are significant challenges that President Biden must overcome in order to stabilize Libya. These challenges may include navigating complex political alliances, addressing security concerns, and promoting economic development in the country,

also it represents the complex challenges facing the Biden administration as it seeks to bring stability to Libya.

The Libyan dialogue round is having trouble balancing the interests of different participating Libyan personalities because many of them are still linked together in alliance with regional and international powers that have always been in control of the effects of the Libyan crisis. The list released by the UN contains influential local political tribal, and security figures from the country's west and east. The two main power contesting regions as well as others from the south, which is regarded as region of balance and influence. Particularly sensitive in light of the complex neighborhood in Africa (Early Steps from the Biden Administration in Thorny Terrain of the Libyan Crisis”) regardless of Biden’s efforts to impose stability, the Libyan crisis is still ongoing due to different international interests.

### **3.3. Other External Agendas in Libya**

Al- Ghwell announced in his article that due to Libya’s abundant hydrocarbon resources, close closeness to Europe, and absence of an official state security infrastructure, it served as a breeding ground for extremist organizations as well as the nefarious geopolitical aspirations of both its neighbors and distant powers. It became expected to hear exaggerated predictions that Libya would become the next Somalia while others imagined a destiny far worse than Syria. Also Al- Ghwell added focus on how Marshal Haftar's unilateral escalation led to a successful counteroffensive, preventing Libya from falling to another strong-man dictator, and that a stable Libya is essential to combat human trafficking and solve the migrant and refugee crisis, and US President Joe Biden's<sup>4</sup> election win has increased support for UNSMIL's peace-making efforts (“Hope Back on the Agenda for Libya’s Future”) despite expectations that spread fear about the Libyan’s situation which will get worse, President Biden promises to make efforts to ensure the security.

In a discussion hosted by Former Prime Minister of Tunisia Dr. Youssef Chahed the other featured panelists<sup>2</sup> discussing that the agenda Libya is still struggling to unify institutions and agree on a constitution, with no fixed date for elections to ensure economic well-being, social stability, and equitable distribution of wealth. In recent years, Libya has also been the scene of foreign incursions from a variety of states that have exploited Libya's brittleness and engaged in proxy conflicts that have greatly irritated the Libyan populace. International efforts to find a solution were difficult, and despite significant resources being used, the UN's optimistic road plan was ultimately unsuccessful. Following the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, the Libyan issue is being postponed on the global ("Libya after the Arab Spring: between Internal Dynamics and External Agendas") Unfortunately, after all the efforts made by Biden, stability in Libya has become impossible, especially with the emergence of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which caused the Libyan issue to be postponed for a later time.

Macron called a UN-sponsored meeting in Paris to secure elections and commitments from the country's fighting factions, but the militiamen refused to attend, and the most powerful figures in western Libya rejected the gathering. Elections may have unexpected effects, such as ushering in a new period of political polarization. National reconciliation in Libya is challenging to accomplish due to the role played by international actors' national interests in further splintering the country. And this is confirmed by Varvelli's statement that the meeting that France is hosting on May 29 does not appear to be exempt from this defect. Despite the fact that the 13 ideas put forth by the Macron administration are generally agreeable. As Italy, Great Britain, and the US are absent, along with Libya's domestic players, the French plan is ineffectual and undermines the UN negotiation process. As Italy, Great Britain, and the US are absent, along with Libya's domestic players, the French plan is ineffectual and undermines the UN negotiation process. In order to identify the key components of a true "state-building" process, Europe must gather together the nations that can have an impact on the stabilization

effort and engage with Libyan parties. The Presidential Council should provide financing to groups to create a stronger link between financial support and internal reconciliation in order to achieve a lasting and successful agreement (Libya's Crisis: What Agenda, Who's Agenda?") it can be considered that the intervention of European countries in Libya will worsen the situation especially after many attempts to create ways of agreement between the Libyan militias, which were unsuccessful.

### **3.3.1. Russia in the Spotlight**

In the Center For Strategic And International Studies article focus on the purpose of the Russia is to make sure that Russia is genuinely acknowledged as a major power, comparable to the US or China, whose advice is once more sought on international problems. A historical sense of entitlement and resentment over Western intrusion into post-Soviet territory and the decline of Russian power overseas is what motivates Putin's grand plan. The majority of Russian elites share Putin's perception of Russia's grandeur and his grievances with the West, which are based on a distinctive view of Russian dominance that dates back to the Congress of Vienna. The image of a centrally controlled but strategically nimble foreign policy engine is created by Putin's comparatively straightforward vision, which gives freedom to a variety of entrepreneurial players free from bureaucratic constraints ("Exploiting Chaos: Russia in Libya") Russia seeks to obtain international status and become third power after China and the US, and this is considered a big mistake that it seeks to make a deal at the expense of Libya.

The article added that Russia's interests in Libya are fourfold: developing Khalifa Haftar, revitalizing stalled investments in the energy sector, securing basing along NATO's Southern Flank, and using its presence to embarrass, pressure, and remind the West of its global reach. Even a token presence in Libya embeds Russia into regional politics and provides opportunities to exploit Europe's migrant crisis, similar to Qaddafi's refugee blackmail ("Exploiting Chaos:

Russia in Libya”). This meant that Russia has many hidden reasons to reach and the most important one is the exploitation of the Libyan state to serve its personal interests

Dockery has stated in his article that Mattia Toaldo sees Libya as part of a greater Middle East strategy on behalf of the Kremlin. President Vladimir Putin seeks to improve his country's stake in Libya as a means to bolster alliances with other Arab countries such as Egypt, which is led by President Abdel Fatah El-Sissy by saying: “Libya is important for Sissy, Sissy is important for Putin and therefore Putin will do what he can to strengthen Sissy’s hand in Libya. This means supporting Haftar while paying lip service to UN resolutions”. It is clear why Putin would support El-Sissy and Haftar equally. Both the Egyptian president and Haftar have military backgrounds and hold organizations like the Muslim Brotherhood that promote political Islam in poor regard. Dockery added that even though there are no confirmed rumors that Moscow is going to follow through with an agreement, Toaldo agreed that a Russian military base in Libya could help Moscow strengthen its power in the Middle East (“Russia seeks influence in Libya”) Putin’s exploitation of the Egyptian president to achieve his interests in the Libya is contrary to international principles, and this is a mistake against Libyan people.

### **3.3.2. Turkish Domination**

Bishara reported in al-Jazeera that the Turkish parliament has approved a bill authorizing the deployment of Turkish troops to Libya in support of the UN-recognized government. The vote comes after Turkey signed a security and military cooperation agreement with Libya in November 2019. The article also mentions that Turkey has already been providing military support to the Libyan government, including drones, weapon systems, and training. The new bill allowed for an expansion in the scope and scale of the Turkish intervention and authorizes the deployment of troops and military equipment. The article quoted Turkish President Erdoğan, who argued that the move is necessary to protect Turkey's interests in the

region and to support the legitimate government against the forces of General Khalifa Haftar, who is leading a military offensive against the capital Tripoli. The article highlighted the reactions of other countries to the Turkish intervention, with some expressing concerns that it could escalate the conflict and undermine efforts to find a peaceful solution (Turkey Parliament Approves Military Development to Libya) the article notes that Turkey's actions have been criticized by rival powers, including Russia and the United Arab Emirates.

Lund focused on his report how Turkey was initially with financial support and support plans in Libya, financial support and welcome support after the fall of Gaddafi's rule and the end of NATO (Britain, Italy and the United States). In 2014, Libya was divided into two opposition camps, the GNS led by Haftar and the GNA led by Sarraj<sup>3</sup>. In April 2019, Erdoğan supported the GNA government against Haftar. In order for this support not to fail, Turkey invited Sarraj on November 26-27, 2019 to Istanbul to conclude an agreement aimed at security-military cooperation. Between the two countries, this extended until 2021 (Lund.49) Turkey's efforts to financially support Libya and cooperation between the two countries continued until 2021.

El Gomati stated in his article that: "Turkey's decisive military power determined the outcome of Libya's last civil war, with bilateral agreements leaving a lasting imprint on both countries whilst transforming the regional order and balance of power in the process". He also claimed that since the Gaddafi government was toppled in 2011 as a result of the Arab uprisings, Libya has experienced a significant social, political, and economic change. Libya has experienced civil conflicts as a result of power grabs by retired General Khalifa Haftar supported by the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Egypt, France, and Russia, despite early assurances of an orderly transfer of power following elections in 2012. The high-profile military assistance Turkey provided to the previous Government of National Accord (GNA) in the 2019 civil war, however, completely changed the geopolitical balance of power that existed before their involvement ("How Turkey Transforms Libya") despite turkey's supported for the Libyan

government of national accord, Haftar seized power, and this negatively affected Libya and its policy.

A discussion between Prime Minister Fayeaz al-Sarraj of Tripoli and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan further solidified bilateral relations between Turkey and Libya. Erdoğan claimed that Turkey and Libya have decided to strengthen their relations, including in the Eastern Mediterranean, during a news conference with al-Sarraj in Ankara. Before agreeing this week to resume cease-fire negotiations, the Government of National Accord (GNA), which has its headquarters in Tripoli, and Turkish support achieved a number of wins in Libya against rival forces commanded by Khalifa Haftar in late May. At the news briefing, Erdoğan informed the reporters: "History will judge those who cause bloodshed and tears in Libya by supporting put schist Haftar" ("Why is Turkey Involved in Libya Conflict") among the best that Turkey has done for the Libyan state is its endeavor to spread stability and strengthen relations between the two countries.

In addition to what it is mentioned before, Sahinkaya focused on what exactly Turkey wants from Libya, Nigar Goksel, Turkey director at the International Crisis Group, said in an interview with VOA news that: "Turkey's main motivation has been to prevent Libya from falling under the sway of Egypt and the UAE, which would have been a blow to Ankara's geostrategic and economic interests not only in Libya itself but also in the East Mediterranean", the author mentioned some of the interests like geostrategic ones which appeared when Turkey and the Government of National Accord signed an accord on the demarcation of maritime authority regions in the Mediterranean in order to gain from water research, also ideological motivation Erdogan's government is at odds with the leaders of Arab nations like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), who see the rise of Islamist parties as a threat to their power. Turkey said to have supported the Muslim Brotherhood in the past to gain a foothold in the GNA, and many other interesting Turkish interests (Sahinkaya. "Why is Turkey

Involvement in Libya Conflict”) although Turkey seeks to achieve its geostrategic interests in Libya, it has tried hard to create ways to defend Libya and protect it from Egypt, the UAE and Russia.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> General Khalifa Haftar: General Khalifa Haftar is a former Gaddafi loyalist turned CIA-backed enemy who in the past year became Libya's most prominent "rogue general" and is now head of the Libyan national army.

<<https://newafricanmagazine.com/18642/>>. network12/05/2023.web.12/04/2019.

<sup>2</sup> for this discussion will be: Stephanie T. Williams, former SG special representative for Libya and Head of the UN Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL); Frederic Wehrey, Senior Fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for Peace's Middle East Program; Khaled Kaim, former Deputy Foreign Minister of Libya; and Mohamed Mansour Kikhia, Chairman of the Libyan Democratic Institute.<

<sup>3</sup> Fayeze el-Sarraj : Fayeze Al Sarraj is the chairman of the Presidential Council of Libya, a position by virtue of which he also holds the office of Prime Minister and therefore leader of the provisional government that was formed in Tripoli in March 2016 following the Skhirat agreement.Web.4/10/2019.Network.12/05/2023

<<https://www.insideover.com/schede/politics/who-is-fayeze-al-sarraj.html>>

<sup>4</sup> Joe Biden: President Biden represented Delaware for 36 years in the U.S. Senate before becoming the 47th Vice President of the United States. As President, Biden will restore America's leadership and build our communities back better.<  
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/administration/president-biden/>>.web.12/05/2023.

## Conclusion

The aim of the studying American foreign policy after the Arab spring in Libya was to analyze the role of the United States in the post-revolutionary Libyan state building process, including the methods used by the U.S to achieve their policy objectives, the effectiveness of these methods in promoting U.S interests, and the impact of U.S foreign policy on the broader region.

American foreign policy after the Arab spring in Libya has been characterized by the Arab spring has been characterized by a focus on achieving stability and democracy while balancing domestic political pressures and competing global interests. The US was initially hesitant to become involved in Libya's civil war, but ultimately played a significant role in supporting international efforts to depose Muammar El- Gaddafi and establish a new government .The study would examine the US response to the Libyan revolution, including intervention, diplomatic institutions. It would analyze the factors that drove U.S policy, such as concerns over regional stability, oil resources, and terrorism. It would also explore how U.S policy intersected with the actions of other regional and international actors, including the United Nations and NATO.

This dissertation would further investigate the outcomes of U.S policies, including the establishment if new government, the stabilization of the security situation, and to process of nation building, it would also assess the enduring impact on U.S foreign policy in the region.

Furthermore, the Arab spring uprisings in the Middle East and the North Africa posed significant foreign policy challenges for the United States. In Libya, the Obama administration's decision to intervene military reflected a desire to support the Libyan rebels and prevent a humanitarian crisis. However, the intervention also raised questions about the purpose, scope, and effectiveness of U.S foreign policy in the region. The aftermath of the invention showed that

U.S efforts to support were undermined by ongoing violence, political fragmentation, and an inability to build effective institutions. Overall, this case study illustrates the complexity of American foreign policy in the aftermath of the Arab spring and the ongoing challenges of promoting democracy and stability in a volatile region.

Joe Biden, as the vice president in the Obama administration, endorsed the Libya intervention and played a key role in shaping U.S foreign policy towards the North Africa country. He advocated for a diplomatic approach in supporting stability to the country. Biden also pushed for the U.S to work more closely with its allies in Europe and NATO to prevent the emergence of another civil war or violent conflict in Libya.

Overall, Biden's foreign policy doctrine emphasized a multilateral approach that prioritized diplomacy and cooperation with US allies in foreign affairs. The objective was to achieve stability and promote democracy in Libya and other parts of the Middle East region.

Although the Arab spring began in late 2010 and early 2011, its effects are still being felt throughout the Arab world today, and it continues to be a topic of debate and discussion among policymakers, academics and the general public. The uprisings were characterized by mass mobilization, social media usage, and the desire for greater freedoms, democracy, and economic equality.

The future of Libya was a complex issue that is difficult to predict. While the country has made some progress since the overthrow of the Gaddafi regime in 2011, it still faces significant challenges in terms of political stability, security, and economic development. The ongoing conflict between rival factions and the presence of armed groups continue to hinder the efforts of the Libyan people to establish a functioning and inclusive government. However, there have also been some positive developments that offer hope for the future. The formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in March 2021 marked a significant step towards political reconciliation, and the international community has expressed its support for the new

government. The ceasefire agreement signed in October 2020 and the subsequent reopening of the coastal road between eastern and western Libya also represent important steps towards peace and unity in the country. Despite these positive developments, there are still many challenges that need to be addressed before Libya can achieve long-term stability and prosperity. The country's economy has been severely affected by the conflict and the Corona Virus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic, and there is a need for sustained efforts to rebuild infrastructure and create job opportunities for the Libyan people. The security situation remains fragile, with the presence of armed groups and the risk of terrorist attacks. In order to overcome these challenges and secure a better future for its citizens, Libya will require continued support and cooperation from the international community. This includes support for the GNU and its efforts towards political reconciliation, as well as ongoing efforts to promote economic development and security. It is also important for the Libyan people to come together and work towards a common vision for their country, one that is based on democratic principles, inclusivity, and respect for human rights. In summary, while the path towards stability and prosperity in Libya is long and challenging, there are also reasons for hope and optimism. With sustained efforts and cooperation, it is possible for Libya to overcome the obstacles that it faces and establish a more peaceful, democratic and prosperous society for its citizens.

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