

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Hamma Lakhdar University of El-Oued
Faculty of Arts and Languages Department
of Arts and English Language



The Influence of US Political Interests on the Libyan Civil War

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for Master's
Degree in Literature and Civilization**

Submitted by:

ABADI Nardjes

NEIMI Nadjla

Supervised by:

Mrs. KADDOURI Souad

Board of Examiners:

Mr. DJERIBIA Adel

Mrs. KADDOURI Souad

Mrs. MEHELLOU Zohra

President

Supervisor

Examiner

University of El-Oued

University of El-Oued

University of El-Oued

Academic year: 2021/2022

Dedication

I am grateful to Allah to complete this research after hard working and a long march.

I dedicate this dissertation to my friends and every person in my family who supported me all these years, and big appreciation to my mother and my husband and my son.

A special gratitude to my father's soul who I wished to see my graduation.

Nadjla

To the dearest people to my heart that after the Blessed from Allah and without they help I would not finish this manuscript.

To my dear parents: Mohammed Hicham and Houaria, who have shown and given me all the kind of support to complete my Master degree and have provided me with their love.

To my lovely husband: ACHOURI Hicham who stood beside me till the last moment and to my little kid Souleymane who made me stronger than I was.

To my brothers: Imad, Saci, Roumaissa and Issam, for their whole-hearted support, love, and patience.

And not to forget my second family: Abdelghani, Nacira and Baraa who encourage me to finish this work.

Nardjes

Acknowledgments

Firstly, thanks to Allah who blessed us to work and accomplish the most rewarding achievements in our lives, this Master Dissertation.

The completion of this study could not be possible without the expertise of Mrs Souad KADDOURI, our beloved advisor, and our gratitude to the Literature and Language Faculty members.

And finally, we announce that any errors or omissions are uniquely ours, and we take all the responsibility.

Abstract

It can be argued that, Libyan civil war has witnessed an involvement by the United States of America by using its foreign policy there. This study aims to discuss the issue of American policy in the Libyan civil war. The study examines economic, military and political aspect of the Libyan uprising, plus to the United States interventions in each side. This work gives information and investigations about the Arab spring and the effect of America on it, besides to Muammar Qaddafi's regime before 2011 as considered the main reasons of the 2011 protests. This work presents the events and facts of Libyan uprising, and how it started from the demonstrations till it turned to a civil war, and how the international community act toward it. Also, the governmental division from 2011 until nowadays and how the terroristic organization and the Islamic States in Iraq and Syria impacted that effect the Libya war. This work adopted tools of the descriptive analytical method and the historical method to describe, analyse and narrate data from the uprising till the current situations. The study reveals the main results of the Libyan war and the effects of the American foreign policy in the state.

Key words: Foreign Policy, Intervention, Arab spring, Libyan civil war, America

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
ETA	The Basque Separatist Movement
IRA:	The Irish Republican Army
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NTC	National Transitional Council
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
R2P	Responsible to Protect
SU	Soviet Union
TV	Television
USA	United States of America
US	United States
UNSC	United Nation Security Council

List of Figures

Figure 1. the total number of deaths in Libya civil war between February 15th to march 7th 201135

Figure 2. Mapping Libya's civil war 2014.....43

Table of Contents

Dedication	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Abstract	iii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	iv
List of Figures	v
Table of Contents	vi
General Introduction:	1

CHAPTER ONE: An overview of U.S Foreign policies

Introduction.....	6
1. policy as a concept	6
.1.1 Definition of policy.....	6
1.2. Types of policy.....	6
1.2.1Domestic policy	6
1.2.2.Foreign policy	7
1.2.3.The relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy	7

2. US foreign policy	8
3. US Policy towards the world	9
3.1. Afghanistan	9
3.2. Iran	11
3.3. Russia	12
3.4. Iraq	14
4. US Foreign Policy in the Middle East before Arab Uprising	14
5. About the Arab Uprising and US Position.....	18
2.1. Tunisia.....	18
2.2. Egypt	18
2.3. Syrian	19
2.4. Jordan Spring	21
6. The Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS/DAESH).....	22
Conclusion	25

CHAPTER TWO: The Influence of US Political Interest on The Libyan Civil War	5
Introduction.....	25
1. Libya before the uprising (Qaddafi's regime)	25
1.1. The rise and the flourish of Jamahiriya.....	25
1.2. Qaddafi's relationships with the West.....	29
1.3. Crisis of Jamahiriya	30
2. The changeable point in the Libyan Uprising.....	31
3. Libya Winter	34
3.1. UNSC Resolution 1970.....	36
3.2. No-fly zone	37
3.3. Operation ODYSSEY DAWN	38
4. Libya's situations after the death of Qaddafi (Socially, Military and Economy).....	38
4.1. Separation of powers.....	40
4.2. Libya recently	42
Conclusion	43
General Conclusion.....	43

References 45

المُلخَص 48

General Introduction

1. background of the study

The countries which witnessed the Arab spring faced many struggles, separations, and wars. Arab uprising means that peoples protest against their presidents and leaders, due to the difficult life conditions and ask for new rights. There are countries end the uprising in peace way; while others turned it to a civil war. United States of America interventions in Arab countries using its policies (politically and military) to influence on their decisions besides the government during the uprising, which that became clear in Libya in the name of Peacemaker.

Aims of the study

This research is going to defined the United States foreign policies in the 21st Century and its involving in the world and Middle East. Then it shall view the involvement of the United States of American in the Libyan Civil War and its effects.

2. literature review

In a journal article entitled "Libya: transition and US policy" on January 3, 2022. Christopher M. Blanchard outlines the difficulties that the Libyans face it since 2011 uprising. He addresses on role of the foreigners who rule the public affairs. He discusses the divisions of the government since more than 10 years. In this article it shows how the American diplomatic figures and US officials visiting Libya periodically to observe the decisions and the events, and how US suggested electoral grounds. He reveals the importance of US policy towards Libya (Blanchard, 2022)

In journal article entitled " From R2P to reticence: U.S. Policy and the Libyan Conflict" November 2020 in Pomona College, California. Mieczyslaw P. Boduszynski tackles the effects of the foreign intervention in general during Libyan civil war. He focusses on the existence of the foreign countries and how it turns to ideological clash in Libya. Also he mentions the primary role of U.S. in Libya which is to protect civilians from war. He speaks about the opinion of Barak Obama towards the terrorism, militias and separations, besides to the other presidents after him (Trump and Bayden). This research exposes how every country affected on the events of the conflict in Libya, and how they claim that they came to help and construct the area (Boduszynski, 2020).

In a dissertation entitled "Foreign Intervention and the Process of State Failure: Case Study on Libya" in April 2019 in New York. Islam Mohamed addresses on the relationship between the foreign intervention and the failure of the state. He focusses on the effects of the interventions on Libya in different fields. In his research, he tackles the goals that the intervened countries want to achieve. His study reveals the failure of Libya's regime during Qaddafi responsibility and after the uprising (Islam, 2019).

Cem Boke in his thesis discusses the role of the third side in the civil war and how it effects on the current situations of the country. He focusses and the internal reasons behind the intervention. In this study he addresses on the role of the foreign policy and its decisions. The research reveals the interests and the incentives of US foreign policy (Boke, 2016).

Paul Tang Abomo (2016) focused on the tackles the role of US intervention in Libya 2011 by NATO forces and on the protective roll of US towards Libya and to stop Qaddafi from mass killing. In his search he addresses on how the reasons of the military intervention in the beginning was the

protection of Libyan people and how later changed to another goal which is changing the regime and overthrowing Qaddafi. The study reveals the results of NATO's intervention and how they led the country to the worse (Abomo, The Responsibility to Protect and United States Intervention in Libyan Civil War (2011), 2016).

Based around the idea of this literary review, our dissertation concentrates on the consequences of the unsteady relationship between Libya and US before 2011 uprising. While it may be considered as the cause to intervene in the civil war, as considering Khalifa Haftar as a symbol of US foreign policy. In this sense, this is the gap that is left by the previous works and we will fulfil it.

3. Statement of the problem

After the Libyan uprising and what happened in that time till nowadays, many countries tried to impact on the situations there. The objective was to provide an explanation of the adopted method that used it U.S.A. during the civil war whether it was external or internal. In this context, the study seeks to show how America utilised its foreign policy on the war and how it influences on the events, in addition to the consequences behind those policies.

4. Research Questions and hypotheses

The actual study looks to answer a set of questions that focusses on the leverage of America in the Libyan war after 2011. The purposes of our dissertation are guided by the following questions:

1. How did the US involve in the Libyan civil war?
2. What is the real intention of America?
3. Did the prior relationships between Qaddafi and US influenced the American intervention in Libya?

To respond the suggested questions, we proposed the following hypotheses:

1. the intervention in Libya by America was through political, economic and military processes.
2. The reason is to get a profitable oil deal and sharing influence with NATO's countries.
3. Qaddafi tried to face the US before, as a result America's reaction was its involvement in the war.

5. Research Methodology

The study is carried out using a combination of descriptive analytical method and historical method, which both applied in the first and the second chapters. the descriptive method practiced to describe all the events, facts and the figures in the Libyan civil war. while the historical method used to narrate what is happened in Libya in the past besides to the sequence of the event in a chronological way.

6. Significance of the study

The significance of this research is to identify Libya pre and post the Arab Spring and to shed light on US foreign policy that it used in Libya during the civil war. the study focusses on the role of the American policy and shows its influences on the conflict in Libya.

7. Structure of the study

The Layout of the dissertation is divided into two chapters; the first chapter is theoretical and the second one is practical. The first chapter provides some clarifications that helps to understand the target topic i.e., about the foreign policy, Arab spring, ISIS and US policy in the world. The second chapter, analyses and explains the real facts that happened in Libya from rising of Qaddafi's republic till the present day, it also points out some factors US influences during the Libyan civil war plus to the NATO's involvements.

CHAPTER ONE

An overview of U.S Foreign policies

CHAPTER ONE an overview of U.S Foreign policies

Introduction..... 6

1. policy as a concept 6

 .1.1 Definition of polic..... 6

 1.2. Types of policy..... 6

.1.2.1Domestic policy..... 6

1.2.2.Foreign policy 7

1.2.3.The relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy 7

2. US foreign policy..... 8

3. US Policy towards the world 9

 3.1. Afghanistan..... 9

 3.2. Iran 11

 3.3. Russia..... 12

 3.4. Iraq 14

4. US Foreign Policy in the Middle East before Arab Uprising 14

5. About the Arab Uprising and US Position..... 18

2.1. Tunisia..... 18

2.2. Egypt 18

2.3. Syrian 19

2.4. Jordan Spring 21

6. The Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS/DAESH)..... 22

Conclusion 25

Introduction

This chapter presents definitions of the key concepts that is related to the influence of US policy in the Libyan civil war. At the beginning, there is definition of policy and its types, after that discovering US policy towards the world, plus to the Middle East, and to know how US dealt with Arab Spring. This section discusses also the facts that happened in the Arab countries during the uprising. At the end, introducing ISIS to know later about its relations to the main topic.

1. policy as a concept

1.1. Definition of policy

A set of ideas or a plan of what do in a particular situation that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organisation, a government, or a political party (Meaning of policy in English, 2022). In another word policy means the political data that comes from official members of the government to achieve a specific aim.

1.2. Types of policy

Policy has two types which every country follows and those two are: Domestic and foreign policy. These two types are different but they cannot be separated from each other:

1.2.1. Domestic policy

It is the reflection of the policies resulting from the interaction of internal environment variables. The set of decisions that a government makes relating to things that directly affect the people in its own country (Meaning of policy in English, 2022)

A set of ideas or a plan of what do in a particular situation that has been agreed to officially by a group of people, a business organisation, a government, or a political party (Meaning of policy in English, 2022).

Even though the two types of policy as the definition defined both are made for the purpose of protect each country privacy and to connect between the counties

1.2.2. Foreign policy

"Foreign policy starts where the domestic policy ends" it means the public program of action chosen by the official representatives of the international unit from among a set of available alternatives in order to achieve specific goals in the international environment. As what James N Rosenau says that the foreign policy means the authoritarian actions that the governments take or are obligated to take either to maintain desirable aspects of the international environment or to change undesirable aspects (Rosenau, 1974).

In other words, it is generally defined as the behaviour of the state towards the external surroundings. It may be a confrontation towards another country or towards units in the external environment other than states such as international organizations and liberation movements or towards a specific issue.

1.2.3. The relationship between domestic policy and foreign policy

The international unity pursues a specific domestic (internal) policy, but from a realistic point of view, this policy leads to achieving goals in the external environment. It is also noted that some foreign policies may aim to achieve goals at the internal level. (James N, 1969) In other word both of the policies are aim in the same goal, the advantage of the county and they may work together.

2. US foreign policy

The United States foreign policy is no different from the definitions that we have mentioned before and have the same principle of any foreign policy that any country may follow. The US foreign policy effected not only by the outside relation with countries, but also with other factors like the international situations that may give US more power or new affairs. the domestic priorities or in other word the national interests had also a role in the foreign policy.

According to Kaufman (2017) The foreign policies can be viewed in two categories, the First one is proactive policy which means the previous analysis and planning for applying any type of foreign policy with a clear preparation for taking the responsibility of the action. For instance, the American invasion of Iraq is the good example, the government had time and purpose to make it. At the first Americans was with the government because it will protect the world from the danger of nuclear and terrorist attacks, and that encourage the government to organize a proactive invasion on Iraq. Second category is reactive which means a policy that reflect unplanned situation in order to defence nation property like what happened in 11 September 2001. when terrorism attack the USA and the military policy that America used in order to fight Al-Qaeda.

Also, (Kaufman, Joyce P., 2014) mentioned two schools in his book that defined the US foreign policy. First school is the Realist which divide it into two types Hard power that include the use of Economic policy and military policy in order to persuade the US side whether by accepting it or changing their position. Then the soft power which use the cooperation policies in order to avoid the Coercion, by using the democracy rather that force

Thus, according to Mead (2014) a power has no single meaning, and that power can be viewed in four images military, economic, culture and hegemonic. And all together made the greatest result better than isolating each part alone. Second one is the Idealist school which sees that the whole world is one and all countries should fight for same purposes and be collective together by using foreign policies that reject competition. As results, the US foreign policy has not a single type or category, but each policy that US use with other countries is determined as foreign policy. (Kaufman, Joyce P., 2014)

The United States had used around the history four major directions of foreign policies: Isolationism, Neutrality, Unilateralism and Engagement. First Isolationism which the USA isolated from the outside world and focused in her domestic policy and developed her system, that happened in the period between the two World Wars. Second Neutrality where the US refusing take any side of the other countries and it happened in the time of second World War. Third Unilateralism which is considered with economic side like trade and commerce, this policy allows the US to choose when, why and how to be involved economically with other countries. The last one is Engagement which the United States actively engaged in all aspect of the foreign relationship including military, political and economic sides. (Kaufman, Joyce P., 2014)

3. US Policy towards the world

3.1. Afghanistan

the attacks of the trade tower September 11, 2001 were considered as the main cause that made U.S.A invade Afghanistan in order to revenge from Ben Laden and capturing him adding to the other members and the leadership of Qaeda. The previous president of the US George Bush says to the outspoken secretary Rumsfeld in his meeting with him: " the ball will be in your court" (Woodward,

2003). That's means he gave him the green light for the implementation of the invasion was by the military agencies and civilian officials.

The bombing campaigns on Afghanistan as strategy of the second war world where by America included a little help from the international community, but it was implemented effectively and efficiently. they destroyed according to what they claim all the strategic goals and the objectives of the pentagon, as well as bombing resulted many victims and destroyed the country's natural landscapes. They were the reason of their decampment from the country. In response, the U.S. Air Force distributed more than 2 million aid supplies to the Afghan people, fearing that the media would accuse them of killing innocents. But it deemed useless.

Washington claims that its main interests have cultural and structural principles, that are being pursued by a large group of engineers, carpenters and plumbers to build an effective state in Afghanistan as what they try to show to the world a good picture and licensing of the invasion. As opposite to the military institution, the main objective of the foreign Ministry is diplomacy. It tried hard to get the support of Afghanistan's neighbours to facilitate the invasion, but before that, US tried to counter the interferences of the strangers there before the invasion. As a result, the biggest support they got was from the Pakistani president. To facilitate the achievement of their goals; the US State Department tried to form a long –term alliance, especially with the central Asian countries and the European powers. It could be said that the American projects have failed and it have been criticised by the counter-bureaucracy. After that America tried to create programs for the reconstruction of country and build multiple constructions only for getting compliments but it exposed to the criticism since their practical performance had many problems as what Stapleton (2010) said that the reconstruction teams working as a political tool rather than being effective and

with constructing purposes. Adding to the other difficulties that America faced the failure of communication and the exchange of the information, due to the distance between Washington and Afghanistan (Schirch, 2010).The US approach to reconstruction in Afghanistan appears to be both political and military hegemony, just in different ways.

At the end, in mid-December 2001, the American soldiers landed in Kabul after a decade of absence as the invasion considered successful but for a short time because they ignore the cultural, religious and political traditions of Afghanistan. while the failure of the invasion obviously refers to that the Afghans are still attached to the Taliban. Also, they were working in the field of drugs and more than that the people and women in particular, they afraid from Taliban because they were hard on them. On that time, the Americans claim that they call for the emancipation of women and their right to get education. (Conor, 2016)

3.2. Iran

The judgement of the Americans about Iran is very negative. In December 2007, USA made a survey to know which country threaten the stability of the world, while 31 per cent of the people have chosen Iran. Since America accused Iran that it is the cause of proliferation of weapon of mass destruction also US classified it as supporter of terrorism. The other accusations towards Iran were that it is racist and does not provide freedom of expression. Thus, Vali Nasr commented on the relationship between Iran and United States of America "for much of the past three decades the US and Iran have been locked in a hostile stalemate" (Wright, 2007).

On the other hand, the president George Bush expressed on the relations with Iran "we are relying on the others because we have sanctioned ourselves out of influence of Iran " (Wright, 2007)

Iran's relations with Al-Qaeda have caused America madness, according to US that Al-Qaeda is linked to the events of September 11, and it somehow supported by Iran which made caution and apprehensive about its behaviour with terrorism recently.

During the US elections of 2009, Obama spoke during the election campaigns in 2008 about his opinion about the relationships between Iran and United States of America as he considered Iran a threat to the interests of the state and the international security. He somehow favoured the military option, but he said that the war with Iran is a grave mistake. It could be considering that as attempts by Obama to work diplomatically, and a solution to resolve the disagreements between the two countries by adopting policies to reach that and settling peace, while at the same time preserving its interests (the investments, nuclear and others...).

As a result, both sides have a past and a relationship of distrust, and hard behaviours on both sides that paints the other as selfish and wrong, referring to two things that affected them. With this in mind, the United States wants a new, less radical candidate in the Iranian elections and segregates power from religion to get what it wants. (Alethia H. Cook and Jalil Roshandel, 2009)

3.3. Russia

During the Iraq war, America was at the peak of its power, but it began to retreat in the permanent domination in the world. It was considered as an exhaustion and dissipate after it was the first power in the world and a unipolar. gradually, a new power began to emerge and the beginning of Russia's recovery. Thus, the two piles began to conflict over Ukraine and Eastern Europe to fix their policy there and achieve their goals. It can be said that the previous presidents of Russia were against the American policies and its behaviours in the world and they did not accept its hegemony.

As an example, the Iraqi invasion in 2003 which Vladimir Putin publicly criticized that (Tsygankov, 2005). Hence, this was the reason of the transformation of the Russian-American relations.

During the Syrian civil war 2011, the both poles tried to permeate in the war, so Russia directly supported the Assad's regime, while America supported Sunni alliance led by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The tension between them may occur also in another dilemma, that Russia supports the regime of the president Kim the president of North Korea, while US disagree with him.

Such tensions lead to a renewal the old conflict between the United States of America and the Soviet Union and this can be called the New Cold War. Both sides almost intervened (politically, economy and military) in all the international and civil wars, which this struggle could affect on the world wholly.

To promote the foreign policy of the both poles, they have used electronic space adding to that they used espionage systems to serve their intelligence systems which Russia used that in 2014, also during the Ukrainian elections. Russia used the Cyberattack during the US elections between Trump and Hilary Clinton to discredit her. (Smith, 2019)

As an example of the American foreign policy in the world, it can be taken Ukraine as a proof of it. According to the Russian ambassador in Cairo, Georgy Boorensenko that United States is moving the Ukrainian authorities as a puppet in its hands, and using it as a mean in its conflicts with Russia, and does not care about what happens in it or what will happen in it so as a result to that, Russia will stand firmly in its face. It could be said that, the reason behind the Russian invasion that Ukraine requested to join to NATO, which was rejected by Russia disagree with that. (28 فيفري, 2022). الحكاية.

هل تتحمل أمريكا مسؤولية غزو أوكرانيا؟ اعرف رد السفير الروسي بالقاهرة [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJ93ZnGsOdo>

3.4. Iraq

The US invasion of Iraq in 2003 is considered the pinnacle of American hegemony and its arrogance. As this invasion condemned by several members of the international community like entering Iraq was not only political but also militarily because it did not accept the international inspections in order to make sure that the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein dismantled the weapons of mass destruction after Gulf War in 1991. So, the American president George W. Bush decided at that time to respond on that and to remove Saddam's regime, but in order to justify entering Iraq, they did not find sufficient evidence contenting with unconvincing reasons. So, the invasion was condemned by many peoples, especially when they Knew that they did not have weapons also were able to punish Iraq or impose international sanctions on it. It is obvious that there is no clear reason for the invasion but they justified that the president Saddam Hussein is linked to Al-Qaeda and possesses weapons of mass destruction. (Lebovic, 2019)

4. US Foreign Policy in the Middle East before Arab Uprising

In an interview with *The New York Times Magazine* in 2008 George W. Bush touched upon what he hoped his Middle East legacy would be:

I think history will say George Bush clearly saw the threats that keep the Middle East in turmoil and was willing to do something about it, was willing to lead and had this great faith in the capacity of democracies and great faith in the capacity of people to

decide the fate of their countries and that the democracy movement gained impetus and gained movement in the Middle East. (Tristram, 2019)

In the period of president Bush, his relation with the Middle East was not that good. He was believed that the Middle East are the source of the groups of terrorism around the world and facing it is one of the jobs of US president, in his administration which called the Bush Doctrine he tries to defeat any kind of terror may attack or destroy the peace inside the US and its allies (Augustyn, 2020). Bush used democracy as foreign policy as way to be involved in the system of government and to defeat any kind of terrorist may face his states, like Taliban organisation or what called Al Qaeda which were the responsible of 11/9 attacks that the United States had faced (Augustyn, 2020). The president saw that this organization must destroy and the sources of it must cut because he saw the Middle East is more danger to the security of his country and he must make a new strategy to return the peace and trust of his people again. Also, he continued his policy in Iran and Libya claimed that this two were supporting the terrorist and it is going to be discussed in the next title in details. (Tristram, 2019) .

Bush supports repressive, undemocratic regimes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia like it access to the World Trade Organization, and proposed a new Middle East Free Trade Area, Jordan, and several countries in North Africa. The credibility of his democracy campaign was short-lived also, he made a support for the of woman and ask for their right, free election and democracy regimes of government. (Peace in the Middle East, 2008)

Kaufman (2014) describe the United States foreign policy as soft power after the World War II and specially in the period of the president Barak Obama (2009-2017) who says in his words: ‘Know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future

of peace and dignity, and that we are ready to lead once more”, and tried to take responsibility of the legacy policy that George W. Bush left for him and to make the world peaceful. Obama had also used the policy of fight the terrorist around the world like the organization of “Al Qaeda” and he never stopped fighting till destroyed it and killed the main person on it, the leader “Osama Bin Laden” in 2nd May, 2011, the president makes his promise and announced it to his people saying that:

Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world, the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama bin Laden, the leader of al Qaeda, and a terrorist who’s responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women, and children. (p. 170)

Obama knew that the Middle East is antagonism toward the United States and the West in general because of Israel and Palestine case. He won Nobel Peace Prize in 2009 because of his foreign policy that aim to get rid from the nuclear weapons around the world, but this policy had faced only the middle east countries like Libya, Iran and Syria ... which lead us to wonder why the United States always choose Middle East even though that the president is changed?

Due to strategic position and the value that the countries of the Middle East own; all the foreign countries interest are focused in it, besides to the goals that the west wants to achieve in the region. Barak Obama (2020) mention in his book A Promised Land that his reaction on the Arab Uprising that his main goal is to protect the region from the disturbances adding to the problems, and he added that these efforts was late, because in Tunisia the protests was started already. And later he talks to Hosni MUBARAK on phone warning him about the uprising may extend to Egypt but Mubarak excluded that. In the other hand Hellen Clinton also predicted that the angry wave would spread to other Arab countries because of the large number of the unemployed, plus to that the

poverty and other social problems that had swept to society and she noted that America is in the side of the protesters. (Clinton H. R., 2014)

In other word, the people of these countries are in doubt, and they have unclear idea whether America is on their side or on the side of the leaders; however, the US in that period was pressuring on the Arabs governments by reducing the price of the oil, threatening to withhold aids and the seizure of individual's bank accounts because US thought that they are supporting terrorism. While America defends opponents to rebel against their governments just for serving the purpose of splitting and dismantling the Arab countries in order to restructuring it.

Obama's point of view about the Arab spring is that the regimes deprived the people from working and from their freedom of expression plus to that to have a better life and to choose their own leader; to confirm this words, back to an old speech by the president Obama, he talked about the revolution that it represents the right self -determination for people, he said "the countries of the Middle East and North Africa gained their independence a long time ago, but their people have not achieved it in many places, there is honest judiciary that hears their complaints, no independent media outlets whose voice is heard, or no free and fair elections in which it chooses its leader". This is the real lack of the right to self-determination. At the end US claimed that their interests are facing terrorism and stopping the spread of nuclear weapons, securing the free flow of commerce and save guarding the security of the region. (Kaufman, Joyce P., 2014)

5. About the Arab Uprising and US Position

2.1. Tunisia

It is considered to be the first flame of the Arab revolutions and what so called "Jasmine Revolution". It started in December 17, 2010 when a vegetable vendor called Mohamed Bouazizi burned himself in Sidi Bouzid to express his anger for not giving him the confiscation of the vegetable handcart. So, that what made the Tunisian people to come out in solidarity with him and to express on their demands and their bad living situations. In that time the president of Tunisia Ben Ali talked to the people and presents vows but it was useless. That what made him after time to step down from the presidency chair and flees the country to Saudi Arabia by Libyan assistance in January 01, 2011. As consequence, this revolution left hundreds of damages. (Britannica, 2022)

Obama had reacted about what happened in Tunisia, he was condemned and denounced the use of violence against the civilian in Tunisia who express their opinion peacefully, praising their courage as he confirmed that in his book "The United States of America stands with the people in Tunisia, and supports the democratic aspiration of all people" (Obama B. , 2020). On the other hand, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described her visiting to Tunisia and said that US is in the side of human rights and freedom of people (Clinton H. , 2014)

2.2. Egypt

The revolution started after Jasmine Revolution in January25, 2011. The Egyptian people began quickly to collect themselves and walked out to the streets to protest. They have selected the police day as starting point. The progress of protesting was caused by their miserable life conditions and to defend on their legal and political rights. The government tried to control the protesters, but it failed.

After clashes between people and the security, the Egyptian army announced that they would not use power; that was the transition point. In February 11, 2011, it was announced that Hosni Mubarak had given up his position (Khalil, 2012).

The reaction of Obama about the Arab Uprising in Egypt appeared after his assembly with Hosni Mubarak, Obama left the meeting with impression that the presidents dwelling in their castles, running with insensitive workers to interact with the people who cannot know their personal interests. Obama knew about the risks when he pushed up Mubarak to step down from presidency to protect Egypt peace. (Obama B. , 2020)

2.3. Syrian

After what happened in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen civil war in the name of Arab spring, the turn goes to Bashar al-Assad and Syria. After the success in reforming the system and defeating the presidents in Egypt and Tunisia, the Syrian got the courage to go in peaceful protests in March 15th 2011 to stand against the corruption and the inequity in Syria. The protest started after arresting 15 teenagers who were writing a graffiti in the support of the Arab Spring “the people want to topple the regime.” As a response from the government, hundreds of people had been arrested and killed. This murder was the reason of starting the fire and demanding for liberty. In July 2011, a group from army’s rebellious announced a new step which is Free Syrian Army that is with the protest. Syrian Civil War had built a conflict situation in the country that each side claim for making a peaceful country. The first side was Syrian Arab Republic under the control of Bashar Al-Assad fought against the interim government or what called the Syrian opposition that take side of the Islamic state and others. Many counties have involved in this war whether directly or indirectly, but the United State was the main supporter and effective in this war. (Jenkins 2014)

At the beginning of the civil war, the United States under the leadership of Barak Obama sent a warn to the president of Syria to leave. Nevertheless, Bashar stood for his point of view and believes. So, the US stood in the side of Syrian opposition and the free Syrian Army and helped them by food and supplies. Next, US started Pentagon program which help Syrian rebels to train and fight against Bashar system and gave them money. Also, it sent about 2000 soldiers from the private forces to support the Anti-Assad side. In August 2012, Obama argued that Bashar had created a situation that needs the intervention of the US as he called it the “red line” declaration and mentioned that the use of chemical fight against the Syrian people had changed his position from using soft power to military foreign policy. Unfortunately, the fight between the Syria regime and the rebels did not stop yet. In August 21, 2013 the US Military forces unleashed a Sarin nerve gas attack against rebel-held areas in the Damascus suburbs on, that left about 1400 deaths from civilians. In the same side, Donald Trump had attacks Syria in many times in the name of restore peace in the world. According to United States reports, around 350,000 people died in Syrian civil war. It seems that the United States had used the support policy first in this Syrian Uprising. (Syria’s war explained from the beginnig, 2018)

2.4. Jordan Spring

Jordan King Abdullah II says:

Quite honestly, at one point towards the end of the first ten years, I got frustrated of fighting against the system. I think we were about to become complacent. But what saved us all was the Arab Spring. I think that was the root shock that I particularly needed again to move the process forward. So, in Jordan we saw that in the Arab Spring there was an opportunity to move the political process forward. (RYAN, 2018, p. 21)

The Jasmine wave spread in Jordan too, but not like other countries they had asked for reforming the system but not necessarily changing of the Hashemite Kingdom's regime. The protests wanted to bond the access and power of their king. Jordan Spring started on Friday 24th January, 2011 in the name of changing. The protesters were divided in many sides, some were hoping that the king will lead the process of reforming the system. Others were hoping that the king would thwart this latest round of reform efforts and grassroots activism and the rest were blaming for those protests and called it as kind of disorder and mess "fitna" and demand for keeping the regime of the Hashemite Kingdom and obey for the king. Later this uprising changed into civil war in 2014. (RYAN, 2018)

Unlike US position to others Arab uprising, The United States supports the Jordan King Abdullah II regime and took his side. It considered Jordan as one of its allies in the Middle East and as an example of good relationship between Arab and Israel. Because Jordan signed a Israel-Jordan peace treaty in 26th October 1994 known as Wadi Araba Treaty. The US had given a money support

for the king decisions and gave a warning to the king to allow the Jordans to express their claims as long as they kept it peaceful protests as they called it “Hirak”. (Sharp, 2021)

6. The Islamic State in Syria and Iraq (ISIS/DAESH)

ISIS consists of different nationalities from all over the world and settling in every place especially the Arab and the Islamic countries, who consider themselves the caliphs of the Islamic state and follow the system of caliphate and the system of princes. However, the Islamic religious repudiates them from their impure behavior and thinking. On November 15, 2015, ISIS released a video clip in the areas of Tripoli, Libya, where 21 Egyptian Christians appeared in the video, who were executed at that time to deliver a message to all the Christians in the world just to threaten them (Moore, 2015).

ISIS violates all the religious, moral and social principles as they consider themselves the defenders of Islam, so they used the Qur'an and Sunnah to justify their recruitment and jihad, while they imposed punishments against Muslims and non-Muslims. ISIS can be considered the grandson of the Muslims Brotherhood. In June 2014 a highest extremist group declared on formation of caliphate settled in Iraq and Syria, while they used old religious terms from the days of the prophet Muhammed (Bayt al-Herb/ Dar al-Salam) (Gaberiel, 2002, 2015).

Nevertheless, there are a significant number of questions; who supports ISIS? From where they gain the weapons? And other kinds of questions; as that the former US Vice President Joe Biden when he highlighted to Harvard students about the role of US allies Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirate in the Syrian conflict then he kept quiet about the role of United States in it. During a discussion session after the symposium, Biden said that the American allies posed a biggest

problem in the region: "what did the Turks, Saudis, and Emiratis do? They were so bent on overthrowing Assad" The allies distributed hundreds of millions of dollars and thousands of tons of weapons to everyone who was ready to fight against Assad. Biden's conclusion is that "the people who were equipped were from Nusra, Al-Qaeda and other extremists from other parts of the world" (Vice President Biden to Deliver Remarks on Foreign Policy, 2014).

What is certain is that ISIS was stronger than what was it supposed to be, it could be said that the fight against it lasted too long and caused too many casualties. That because foreign powers were exporting weapons to the region and they ended up in the hands of ISIS. It is noteworthy that with the beginning of the emergence of ISIS, the finger of accusation in its financing pointed to some foreign donors from the Gulf; they were suspected of financing this fledgling organizations. But with its control over large areas of Iraq and Syria, ISIS militants made most of the money from the areas that were under their control.

During the heyday of the group's rule and power in 2014, experts estimated the value of its assets at more than two billion dollars. The Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University in California, USA, concluded that " the money that the organization confiscated in the areas under its control, in addition to its sales of natural resources and money obtained from taxation and criminal activities, made it the richest terrorist organization in the world. (Stanford, 2021)

The United States has imposed sanctions on several individuals suspected of helping to transfer funds to the organization. Last October, the Iraqi authorities announced the arrest of Sami Jassem AL Jubouri, a prominent leader in ISIS, who was dubbed the "money man", as he is suspected of being the organization's finance responsible (Katherine Shayer\ M A, 2022).

Al-Sayed Zahra in his article "ISIS and America" talked about some historical facts that today, this statement applies to the version announced by US President Trump about the killing of ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi that he will not live here much on what many analysts said who raised doubts about the American narrative and demanded that concrete evidence be presented to confirm it. This is despite the fact that these doubts are justified. Trump's account of the killing of Al-Baghdadi and what happened in it contains many contradictions and ambiguous aspects, and raises many questions. This is not important now anyway.

President Trump spoke about the killing, and how it was a very great victory of America and the whole world. On the grounds that, it was a decisive turning point in the war on terrorism and terrorists in the world. The strange thing here is that Trump, in a way that can never be accepted by any standard, described al-Baghdadi as just a dog and killed. How can killing a "dog" be a great victory for the largest military power in the world?

It is very brief that the facts here say that ISIS is to a very large extent, an American manufacture, and Al-Baghdadi and other leaders of the organization are the creation of America. The organization was formed and its leaders were prepared in Bocca prison in Basra, which was run by the American occupation forces in the wake of the invasion and occupation of Iraq, and the American Intelligence was never far from the organization's plans and its project in the in the region. In the end, the organization was one of the biggest tools of the strategy of chaos and destruction for the Arab countries; This is nothing new in US strategy.

America had created, in a direct literal sense, Al-Qaeda organization in Afghanistan and it was the one that financed and armed it. It was the American intelligence that formulated the religious, political and media discourse that promoted the organization as a Mujahid organization in the face of

the soviet occupation. It was also the American intelligence that presented Osama Bin Laden to the world as a mujahid fighting the "infidel" soviet occupation. when Osama Bin Laden performed his mission and Al-Qaeda exhausted its purposes, they killed Osama and threw his body into the sea. It is the same scenario that is being repeated today with ISIS (Zahra, 2022).

Conclusion

In this part of this research submitted the meaning of the major concepts in order to understand the chosen elements, and appeared the US ideology that it used in the world and gave knowledge about the real facts that the Arabs witnessed in the uprising. In this sense, shown the reactions of the world and America in specific towards the Arabs.

CHAPTER TWO:

The Influence of US Political Interest on The Libyan Civil War

CHAPTER TWO: The Influence of US Political Interest on The Libyan Civil War

Introduction..... 25

1. Libya before the uprising (Qaddafi's regime): 25

1.1. The rise and the flourish of Jamahiriya:..... 25

1.2. Qaddafi's relationships with the West:..... 29

1.3. Crisis of Jamahiriya: 30

2. The changeable point in the Libyan Uprising..... 31

3. Libya Winter 34

3.1. No-fly zone 36

3.2. UNSC Resolution 1970..... 36

3.3. Operation ODYSSEY DAWN 38

4. Libya's situations after the death of Qaddafi (Socially, Military and Economy) 38

4.1. Separation of powers..... 41

4.2. Libya recently 42

Conclusion 43

Introduction

The Libyan civil War is considered as one of the most important periods in the history of Libya. This chapter will focus on the achievements during the regime of El Qaddafi and the way Arab Uprising emerged and developed in Libya. Also, it will concentrate on the American intervention in the Libyan civil war.

1. Libya before the uprising (Qaddafi's regime)

1.1. The rise and the flourish of Jamahiriya

After the overthrow of the king Mohammed Idris Al-Senussi, the Libyans were perplexed, wondering who would be on the place of the king. An elite from leaders of the revolution appeared, other than those who flourished during the reign of; the king, and that elite were from a middle and poor class or sons of nomads, including Muammar Qaddafi.

Muammar Qaddafi was born in a small Bedouin village in Qasr Bu Hadi, locates in the south of the coastal city of Sirte. He was the only and the youngest son of his father Abu Minyar, his mother Aisha bin Niran and there are three older sisters. He received his education with difficulty, because he was from illiterate family, and of course because of that he exposure to a lot of scorn and bullying by his colleagues, and that what made him work harder and harder. In his youth, he was fascinated by Gamal Abdel Nasser the Egypt president and he was trying to imitate him or delivering his speches in the square of the school.

The coup against the king and his regime was led by Qaddafi on September 1, 1969 for establishing the Libyan Arab Republic. The coup was his plan from the beginning and it was done by a group of his fellow revolutionary leaders. Unfortunately, Qaddafi and his colleagues were a

group of novices who had no political or military experience because they had not been studied. But they were able to convince the people to revolt due to the virtue of the national link and their closeness to the people, meaning that they are from the common people.

After the coup and its success, the external public opinion was surprised by what happened, especially Gamal Abdel Nasser, so he sent his advisor Mohammed Heikal, to Benghazi to verify what happened and checking the correctness of the events. Mohammed Heikal informed Gamal Abdel Nasser that he saw the purity and the innocence of the new Libyan leaders appears clearly on their faces. Qaddafi asked Heikal to tell the president Abdel Nasser that they had implemented this revolution and that his turn then to tell them what should happened next and what should they do (Pargeter, 2012, p. 68)

Referring to reasons after the meeting between Qaddafi and Abd Abdel Nasser were to include the new fledgling state under the wing of Egypt. As Egyptian president sent his forces to curb any counter-coups and sent his special advisor, Fathi El-Deeb to guide the new leaders in all aspects. After the coup, the revolutionaries began to hold accountable those loyal to the king and arrested several members from the loyal family and some officials and army and police officers and humiliated them by broadcasting their trials on television, also the execution to those who remained outside the country absentia. That means they tried to clear the remnants of the former regime and get rid of the past, also building the present and creating a civil government. When the cabinet was formed, Qaddafi promoted himself to the rank of colonel and a commander of the armed forces, so that the military committee would be the main axis of power, so that he was stronger than the rest of members of the leadership, adding to that his opinions and decisions were second to none. The goal of the revolutionaries was to deport foreigners, and that what actually happened as the last British

forces left in March 1979, and then the Americans evacuated their base in country after a few months and expelled the Jewish, as well as the Italian settlers.

On the economic side, the country has been cleansed from the foreign influence and securing the oil distribution networks and this what made the people feel proud with approving these measures. It is only then; Libyan people felt a sense of the actual independence.

In 1972, Libyan Revolutionary Command Council closed casinos and nightclubs, banned alcohol, and incorporate Shari 'a into a secular legal system and established the Islamic Call Society to promote Islam and Libya internationally. Qaddafi worked on Arab unity, so he visited Algeria and met the president Houari Boumediene and made agreements with him. The idea of Arab unity on the heart of Qaddafi was highly valued and he would achieve it whatever it costs by various means. There were a multiple number of issues and problems within RCC. They were a little angry on Qaddafi because of his haste and his arrogance as he was acting from his own without referring to them. as they asked him to submit his resignation, nevertheless he said that he would not submit it to them, but to the people who trusted and believed on him, regardless of the apparent shock on all sides (Pargeter, 2012, p. 77). Qaddafi was strong and impulsive, as he made a breakthrough in the revolution after the problems that occurred, as he hired the people in all governmental posts to create a popular revolution. There were supporters on his side from his old friends and there were opponents from organizations and associations.

Qaddafi was working to find a middle ground between communism that he criticized as “turning humans into sheep, due to the abolition of private property” and capitalism that he saw it as “turning society into a circus because there no restrictions for the individual” (Pargeter, 2012, p. 81). I, e., he was against the imperialism and domination. It can be said that he was tending to communism, but

with religious Islamic addition which calling for the spread of justice and equality. Especially for working classes and he called on that the Third World Theory. Thus, he invited many thinkers from all over the world to conferences for spreading his theory globally and interpret it for the purpose of applying it differently from the other two theories (communism \capitalism) and he also made campaigns and promotional tours for that.

In the eighties, there were journalists, thinkers and other people from the country tried to oppose Qaddafi and his ideas. Qaddafi responses to this opposition by executing many persons and launched raids on radio stations. He also killed many journalists because of their statements against him and accusing them by treason.

Qaddafi tried to manage the country with bad system according to what his people claim. because Libya is rich because of oil, so he tried to distributed in the markets only the basic materials such as flour and sugar, according to New York Times in 1986, Qaddafi declared that " sometimes we make items disappear to force people to work harder and produce them" (Pargeter, 2012, pp. 107-108)

Qaddafi focused on the military arsenal by trying to buy many weapons, tanks, planes and ships; he also wanted to get close to the poles of the world powers, however they politely rejected him. As a reaction, Qaddafi transformed school uniforms into military uniforms, adding to laws and regulations, as well as, transforming people into soldiers, through financing his ideas by the country's vast oil reserves. (Pargeter, 2012)

1.2. Qaddafi's relationships with the West

Because of Qaddafi's anti-imperialist speeches, the external relations with the west, especially the USA, is generally characterized by instability. For example, in 1973, during the October War and as a part of their protests against the United States support of Israel, Libya participated in the Arab oil seizure that threatened the American economy.

In turn, America is worried about Libya's relations with the Soviet Union, so that the Soviet are courting Libya in order to form a base in the middle of the Mediterranean, but Qaddafi understood what they want from him and considered S.U and U.S.A the same, plus to that he was already rejecting their ideologies; as he wanted from the third world countries to adopt his moderate system "the Jamahiriya system". (Schnelzer, 2016)

After that, Qaddafi started to support anti-imperialist groups such as: the Basque Separatist Movement and the Irish Republican Army (ETA\ IRA) and others. In the mid of 1976, Libya was accused of being a sponsor of terrorism. After that, in 1977, the Pentagon put Libya with Cuba and North Korea on the list of enemies and stopped selling them military equipment. One of the worst periods in relations between them was during the term of president Ronald Reagan 1981; in the light of these conflicts, Qaddafi struck a nightclub "La Belle" in Berlin on April 5, 1986 on down by a bomb under a table there. Which the American soldiers go there frequently. As a result, two soldiers and a Turkish woman died and injuring 230 persons. While, Reagan quickly responded by striking several areas in Libya on April 15, 1986 with eighteen US bombers -class F-111-, among the targets are Tripoli Airport, the Naval Academy and Qaddafi's compound in Bab al-Aziziya that resulted death of many civilians. After that, Qaddafi did not receive neither internal nor external support. (Pargeter, 2012).

1.3. Crisis of Jamahiriya

The Libyan economy was in decline, remained isolated on its own. That due to the difficulty of importing and the high costs of it, and the high prices of everything with the weakness of the basic foundation such as schools, hospitals on account of the inability of buying medicines and books. Hence this caused anger of the Libyan people who their livelihood became difficult.

The United States decided to remove Libya from the list of countries that sponsoring terrorism in June 2006, after the US and Libya re-established their diplomatic relations in June 2004. Referring to the internal situations in Libya, Qaddafi initiated a revolutionary renaissance in universities and others to search for revolutionary youth to go along with Green Book regardless of the internal chaos of the country, he was still thinking only on revolution. However, Qaddafi was trying hard to find solutions to advance the economy and keep pace with the twenty-first century, by welcoming the idea of foreign investments and making the economy with international standards. After the return of Qaddafi's son Seif al-Islam after studying business administration in Austria, he declared that it was the real time to advance the economy with new ideas, unlike his traditional father and his useless thoughts. Seif al-Islam succeeded and made changes in the country, but it did not last long within reason of his lack of care, contrary to what he seemed at the beginning, so his failure created a dispute with his father. In fact, Saif al-Islam was considered the main candidate for presidency after his father.

Qaddafi's sons were seeking to accumulate wealth through private projects in multiple fields; regardless of their luxurious lifestyles which appears in the pictures at parties in the western societies

which shown them drinking alcohol adding to that, they pay a huge sum of money to famous international singers and artists, subsequently, their image is the opposite of the image of the Libyan conservative community. While, there is a fact that Qaddafi's sons ruling all the sectors and the areas of the country.

Moreover, they were insulting senior officials and employees of the country and that what made Qaddafi get angry with his feeling of inability to control them and their unbridled desires, while that could lead to a dire result, which is the people's revolution against them. (Pargeter, 2012)

2. The changeable point in the Libyan Uprising

As the previous chapter showed a glimpse about the Arab spring, and how the countries of the Middle East had followed what the Tunisian and Egyptian started. Libyans as well as they want to make what their neighbours succeeded on, so they set 17th February as they day of Libyans name it "Day of Rage or Anger". The United States of America did not involve at beginning of the revolution, but it kept watching it. Yet the plan started earlier then it supposed, because of the arrest of Fathi Terbil Salwa who is the responsible lawyer of Abu Salim prison case. (Taylor, 2014) . In the summer of 1996, more than 1,270 prisoners were killed by the administration of the prison of Abu Salim, without giving information to the public nor their families. This tragedy had left a dark memory to all Libya. (Hilsum, 2012)

After all, the spring began in 15th February exactly in Tripoli the corroborate of prisoner's case went to the streets asking for end of the period of dictatory Qaddafi and for the release of the young lawyer. After two days the Libyans had started, they Day of anger, gathering together from different groups shouting in one voice "Qaddafi down" accepting the invitation that comes not only from

social media like Facebook or Twitter but also from the planning of National Conference for the Libyan Opposition. Thus, this institution was aim to clear the system of Libya from the democratic legitimacy and bound the people together, it had created in the recent year on Qaddafi regime.

As results as, the government had made an indirect attack to scared the crowd in different regions, consequently about twenty victims between dead and injured in Benghazi, Bayda and Derna. Even though the president had made many plans and actions to stop the Arab spring from spread to Libya, making President of Egypt and Tunisia a good lesson that he needs to learn from. He tried to be in touch with the needs of his people, he asked for retrieve the missing programs of progressing of the Benghazi economy and put his son Saadi Qaddafi as responsible of it. Then Qaddafi travelled to Derna and other cities to listen carefully to what his people actually need and what they are suffering from, such as jobless, need of new houses, salaries, frauds and poverty... Also, he gave a badge to families of the loss of Tripoli violence in 2006. After he reminded his citizens about the achievement that he made for Libya for instance the project of "Great Man-Made River" and it benefit as one of the sources in north of the country and how it will have a new routes on it. However, the efforts and plans of Qaddafi failed, the Libyans had chosen a meaningful day for them to be symbol of the revolution.

At 17th February 1987 and 2006, Libyans were betrayed by the regime, In the first date more than eight Libyans had died by the government in assuming that they were having plans to murder Libyan and foreign officials. The second date another murder happens, about 10 persons have shouted by Benghazi security forces for attacking the Italy consulate. Libyans did they attack to show they negative position about case of the Italian minister's who wear clothes that affront the prophet Mohammed may peace be upon him.

Back to 17th February 2011 in many cities, the demonstrators attacked the police stations and government building. They threw stones, firing police cars and making any react or riot to describe they anger. As results, the government throwed water cannons, tear gas, and rubber bullets on the citizens. In addition, about thirty-five persons got hurts which add fuel to the fire of revolution to expand in the East of the country.

Even in the middle of this event, the national media from channels and journal had kept silent about the movement of anti-Qaddafi regime and the voice of change. Furthermore, Qaddafi had still believed that ignoring the revolution in the right option for him to keep his authority and government.

In the next day, no less than fifty Libyan had killed. For stop the demonstrators, Qaddafi had changed many of his administration and made them under house arrest. In addition, he arranged for use of all the power to recover the boulevards of Capital, hoping his army allowed him to restored his regime. The Obama administration refused the respond of Qaddafi against the peaceful protests in the words of Hillary Clinton by 20 February. That sees that use of power on the Libyans is nonacceptable and US is watching and keep in touch with Libya case. In addition to her words, Clinton found that it is so early for the United State of America to involve in this case. (Stuart Croft ,Hakan Edstrom and Dennis Gyllensporre, 2012) .

Qaddafi gave permission for the security forces to attack demonstrators in a violent standoff in Tripoli on February 21, ignoring the warning messages that had comes from different counties. In conclusion, this day was the transition point of the Uprising and change it to a real civil war The sniper army to kill by weapons from the higher places. (Taylor, 2014)

3. Libya Winter

On February 22nd Qaddafi declared to his people in his first speech in TV said that he is not going to quick because he is a leader of revolution not post of presidency. He blamed the US for supporting this rebel and claim that they want to bring shame to Libya and to destroyed what our father build. Also, he mentioned that he is not against the amicable demonstration, but what happened in Benghazi is the contrary of the word peaceful. As sum to his words, he ordered his people who were supporting and loving the revolutionary Muammar Qaddafi to go out to the streets and not to scared from anyone and went catch the rats. Plus, Muammar reminded them of the damages that the US air trick left in this building that he stands in. Then he confirmed what his son Saif al-Islam state about stopping the protests, warning them from a civil war coming. (Defiant Gaddafi vows to fight on , 2011).

Furthermore, the situation of pro-Qaddafi gets worse by the start of March, due to reject of the orders of the president Muammar such as refuse of bombing the citizen by air-force. Also, the creation of National Transition Council (NTC) a political organization for the side of rebels and present the Libyans view which had been later confessed by the other countries as the main organization that symbolise Libya and ignored the regime of Muammar. (Garland, 2012).

The number of deaths had reach over 1,000 persons, but it has no fixed number as showing in (figure.01).

Source	Libyan casualties	Time period
United Nations	1,000 killed	February 15 - March 7, 2011
World Health Organization	2,000 killed	February 15 - March 2, 2011
International Federation for Human Rights	3,000 killed	February 15 - March 5, 2011
Libyan Human Rights League	6,000 killed	February 15 - March 5, 2011
National Transitional Council	8,000 killed	February 15 - March 20, 2011
International Criminal Court	10,000 killed	February 15 - March 7, 2011

Figure 1. the total number of deaths in Libya civil war between February 15th to march 7th adopted from “*Libyan Civil War*” by: L. Garland, 2011 p.33

William Taylor described the NTC effort for trying to gather all the military forces that is anti-Qaddafi together as failed mission because militias had been separated. So, the resistance of the regime took place in different cities, and the military had tried to restore the system. The battle between pro-Qaddafi and anti-regime had continues without stand-back from both sides, but Qaddafi was heavily using the air-attacks and weapons. This last action forces different allies to use No-fly zone in Libya. (Taylor, 2014)

Muammar refused to accept the point view of the world blaming Al-Qaeda and drugs for the behaviour of the rebels and says his gold speech: “we will track them down and search for them inch by inch, house by house . . . alley by alley, person by person, until the country cleansed of dirt and scum ... this is my country”. He warned that he is not going to stop his react only when terror and violent disappeared. (No let-up in Gaddafi offensive, 2011)

According to Britannica in the next three months most of the foreign workers had escaped from Libya, lack of supplies, and materials in the side of protesters. Even that rebels took control of the most cities the East and some in the West, Qaddafi still fought and had little of authorities in some cities like Tripoli. In Addition, both sides tried to win the sources of oil-export in the organization

the Gulf. Also, in the shadow of this battle most of political and government men of Qaddafi had resign from their posts whether in or outside Libya, in reaction to show they are with the anti-regime. So, the power of the dictatory gets weaker with the time, forcing him to think about found a security place for hiding.

Many alliances had involved directly to end this civil war and to protect Libyans side, claiming that they are not trying to attack Muammar or control his country. France, Italy, Turki and the United States of America sent a political official to facilitate the negational process. In contrary this political step did not stop NATO to stop his attacks against Qaddafi and his supporters.

In conclusion, the spring in Libya or what it called Libya winter had get closer to it end, by the disappeared of the president and defeated of his power and authority. 20th October 2011, a Golding day for Libyans because it was the end of Muammar al-Qaddafi regime by arrested and killed of him in the hand of rebel forces in his hometown. (Libya Rovlot of 2011, 2022)

The USA had involved in many places in the Libyan Civil war under several names and operations to achieve her claim goals of save the Human rights of Libyans under her organization authority:

2.1. UNSC Resolution 1970

On 27th February 2011, the United Nation Security Council members met to make several codes to protect Libyans human rights and to limit Qaddafi's violence, with the agreement of Arab league and African Union. First, travel ban which all members refuse to allow any the post-Qaddafi to get out of Libya. Second calls for arm embargo by stopping any kind of export or import from it like weapons... Third the UNSC asked for freeze the Assets and accounts of any related to Muammar

regime whether is connected directly or indirectly to it. The UNSC forbade the use the force or power in the civil war, hoping that No-fly zone will stop Qaddafi. (S/RES/1970 (2011))

The United State froze about \$30 billion of Libyan assets and government started a war-ships toward Libya. Its officials said that direct military action was still forbidden and justifying it as warning to Qaddafi. The US supported the anti-Qaddafi side by her actions like asking No-fly zone and convince the Europe Union. (P.Mueller, 2015)

2.2. No-fly zone

It is a strategy which the United States of America confirmed that No-fly zone cannot stand alone to protect the Libyans and it supports the direct involvement of Power use in this civil war. Also, it claims that this strategy could not stop Saddam in the invasion of Iraq 2003. So, the US asks for use of power with no-fly zone operation.

In march 17th, no fly-zone had restricted the air-power of Libya by the foreign interaction like NATO, Arab League and Africa Union in order to protect Libyans from their president. Most of the presidents around the world got the side of Libyans and wished for them a new free country and asked from Qaddafi to retrieve Libya from his 42 years of dictatory regime. As respond for protecting them and under the air-blocked they allowed other flights to complete they works with no obstacles, and only Qaddafi air forces was the target for defeated. The US took the leadership of this operation with the support of British and France to use force (Abomo, 2019)

2.3. Operation ODYSSEY DAWN

Odyssey Dawn is a code name of the US intervention in Libya after the failure of no use of power. More than 12 countries involved in use of weapon in this civil war but the USA was the most powerful country. Over hundreds of multiple attacks from different three sides: the naval, ground and air forces that had defeated the Qaddafi bases. This operation was not controlled by one country and it did not have rules to follow, only one goal was obvious is stopping Qaddafi. (P.Mueller, 2015)

The operation completed for thirteen days; Then NATO changed the lead of the operation for the other members of it. The US involvement in Libya was not clear as Mueller Karl mentioned in his book that Gideon Rose said “The administration has launched the United States into battle with no clear vision of what a successful and stable outcome looks like.” (P.Mueller, 2015, p. 23)

4. Libya's situations after the death of Qaddafi (Socially, Military and Economy)

The political system witnessed after the fall of Qaddafi's Jamahiriya, a local division between parties and there were complications, assassinations, quarrels and violence between them. So, as tries of organising the revolution, the revolutionaries established a local council in the advanced area, led by local members from that area.

The National Transitional Council was established on March 2, 2011 and was initiated by the international community, as well as by the local groups; so that the members were appointed by themselves without an electoral process and made their mandates by themselves also, and they declared a temporary constitution to manage the country with making a plan to follow it, to facilitate forming the government and its constitution. The NTC chaired by Mustafa Abdel Jalil from its

inception until its dissolution. So, during Qaddafi's rule, he held important positions in the government, until he separated from the regime in February 2011.

One of the most prominent tasks of the Transitional Council was to execute all those who have a relationship with the former regime or who are still loyal to them, to put them away from the elections and the government as well in general under the law of isolation and also sometimes suing them. (Schnelzer, 2016)

After the death of Qaddafi there were a ghost hanging over the stability and the security of the country while the international community was also concerned about the situations there. The local people of Benghazi threatened the government that they want to separate from Libya and would form another state. In the country's transitional period , weapons became available on the black markets in addition to the conflicts between the supporters of the former regime and the revolutionaries so the NTC had to start restoring what was destroyed in the war, especially the sea routes, to not facilitate entry or exist of Al Qaeda members, as well as, the land roads, securing borders, and the most important focusing on securing and the protection of oil production areas, which is the source of Libya's economy. (Sloggett, 2012)

After three years of Qaddafi's fall, every side turned on each other and led that to a civil war touched many areas in Libya. So, the temporary government tried to make the idea of the reconciliation and the disarmament, and worked on organizing the rebellions to serve the country. Nevertheless, these procedures did not succeed and the reason refers to that, every current or group whom believe that their duty is to preserve the achievements of 17th February revolution and to build democratic state.

But because of the lack of trust between them, it would be difficult or can say impossible to move Libya to a better situation, especially since there are some militias leaders used on power and control. After attempts, about 26 thousand fighters surrendered their weapons and joined to the police forces, and five thousand rebels joined the army during the years 2012 and 2013.

Adding to the difficult situations in Libya, the problem of refugees and the decampment inside and outside the country, that refers to insecurity, injustice and violence, as well as the crimes that they witnessed and destructing towns entirely. (Ferhat, 2016)

4.1. Separation of powers

One of the major figures in the Libyan civil war after the death of El Qaddafi is Khalifa Haftar. He was born in 1943. He was responsible in the Libyan military forces during the eighties. since Chad was supported by France, Haftar was defeated and imprisoned with 300 of his soldiers in 1987. Surprisingly, Qaddafi denied that there were prisoners arrested in Chad and did not pay attention to his old friend. This incident provoked hostility between the two leaders. (Khalifa Haftar: The Libyan general with big ambitions, 2019)

When the coup took place in Chad in 1990, the CIA took Haftar and his men in a secret evacuation operation. America before made several assassinations attempts against the colonel. It seems that America wants to overthrow Qaddafi through a close people.

Returning to the conflicts between regions, parties and governments, when Haftar returned in May 2014 to Libya, who appointed himself as a leader of militia and called on his mission "operation of dignity". Haftar explained directly his plans on television to save Libya and called the people to rise against the parliament which elected by them. The most things he wanted to achieve

was the elimination of Islamic militia and pro-Islamist groups in the country. Haftar was initially stationed in the eastern side of Libya. Haftar began war with the revolutionaries who rose against Qaddafi and Ansar al-Sharia (a Salafi jihadist militia based in Benghazi) the last ones formed an alliance together called the Shura Council of Benghazi Revolutionaries" who located in the West of the country, controlling the most importing site, which is Tripoli; Haftar also made an alliance with Zintan militia which considered one of the most important and the most powerful militia in Libya which captured Seif Al- Islam in order to hold him accountable according to their laws. They also wanted to make Zintan a separate country; then an alliance appeared against Haftar under the name of Libya Dawn consisting from Islamic factions from different tribes and other foreign militias. As seen here an emergence of many fronts and the result is a bloody civil war and chaos. (Figure 02)

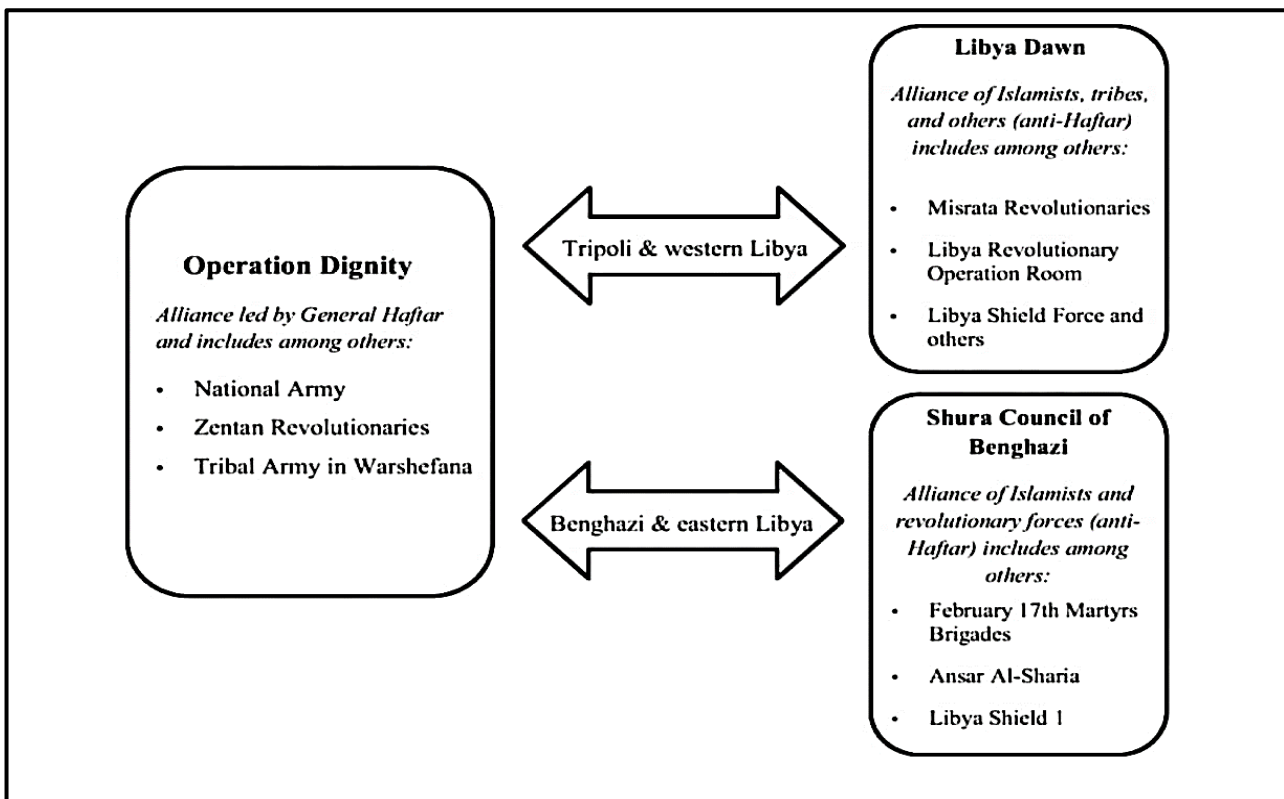


Figure 2. Mapping Libya’s civil war 2014 adopted from “*Unfinished Revolutions*” by: I. Ferhat, 2016 p.80

Haftar received supports from Egypt and United Arab Emirates and they launched air campaigns with him who also was supported by Abdullah Al-Thani government. On the other hand, according to what is being circulated, Libya Dawn received also supports from Turkey and Qatar. So according to these interventions, there are no hope for Libya to achieve the transitional government goals and the enactment of a new constitution. (Ferhat, 2016)

The entry of ISIS to Libya contributed in intensification of the war there, as some groups declared loyalty to Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi in late 2014, who formed from Syrian and Iraqi members and members of splinter groups from Libyan militias. So that Al-Baghdadi adopted a number of attacks in 2015, the most important ones was an attack on a hotel in Tripoli and other attacks on oil institutions, as well as kidnapping of twelve Egyptian Copts and beheading them, so there were three fronts in Libya (Libya Dawn\Dignity\ISIS) and that what keeps the government in complete paralysis. (Mary Fitzerauld and Mattia Toaldo, 2015)

4.2. Libya recently

Libyan people are still seeking to provide the basic necessities for surviving such as food, water, education, health and housing. Unfortunately, the outbreak of Corona Virus made the situations more difficult. However, the humanitarian aids by the European Union and others did not stop since the beginning of the war until current year. (Libya Factsheet, 2022)

Politically, the United Nations mediated between the responsible fronts in Libya, so they decided on March 15,2021 an interim government (the Government of National Unity) and approved two electoral rounds. (Libya Events of 2021, 2021)

Conclusion

In conclusion, the life in Libya had changed completely with Muammar Qaddafi life was not that bad as it is now. the United States of America had tried her best to protect the civils from her dictator president in the Libya Civil War, but it cannot be said that this is the only reason for its intervention. Libya had been destroyed by the NATO`s attacks and its allies, especially America which use her secret goal under the name of PEACE.

General Conclusion

This section aims at summarizing the main research findings so that questions can be answered. To better understand of this dissertation and the main points in it from the US policy interests in the world and the Middle East and how did United States involve in the Libyan civil war. Or does it have a secret reason for this intervention.

This thesis examines the US policy as concept first and how it changes in the 21st century, plus the difference between the two policies Domestic and Foreign one. Also, how the foreign policies changed from Bush, Obama to Tramp president and The US attention that was not only in East like Iran, Russia and Asia like Iraq invasion, but also focused in the East and Arab spring and how Arab people demand their freedom and asked of change of regime. America took the side of justice and supporting them in the name of peace. By investigating this, the research found out that the involvement of US foreign policies changed the situation in many Middle East countries from Tunisia, Egypt to Libya. The study had focused on the US relationship with Qaddafi before Uprising till the Involvement in Libyan Civil War from send warning messages to Qaddafi as political and peaceful way first. Then US convinced for NATO allies meeting for protect Libyans and then Asked

for No-fly zone. Later it demanded a military intervention to conform the Odyssey Dawn operation to defeat Qaddafi power and control profitable oil of Libya and sharing influence with NATO's members. However, the situation in Libya till now is insatiable and it did not achieve it freedom nor built it government. Also, the damage that US left still bond the nation from stopping this War.

In conclusion, the study recommends future research to carry out the real reason of US involving in the Libyan Civil War and the possibility of confederacy of the West against Muammar Qaddafi and the Battle of Controlling the Oil and the hidden goals of the US Foreign policies.

References

- Abomo, P. T. (2019). *R2P and the US Intervention in Libya*. Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature.
- Alethia H. Cook and Jalil Roshandel. (2009). *The United States and Iran*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Augustyn, A. (2020, june 15). *foreign policy*. Retrieved from britannica: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy>
- Brands, H. W. (1994). . *The United States in the World: A History of American Foreign Policy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Britannica, E. (2022, March 25). Jasmine Revolution.
- Chris Alden And Amnon Aran . (2016). *Foreign policy analysis: new approaches* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Conor, K. (2016). *US Nation-Building in Afghanistan*. New York: Routledge.
- Clinton, H. (2014). *Hard Choices*. Great Britain: A CBS Company.
- Clinton, H. R. (2014). *Hard Choices: A Memoir*. new york: Simon & Schuster.
- Defiant Gaddafi vows to fight on* . (2011, february 23). Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2011/2/23/defiant-gaddafi-vows-to-fight-on>
- DW. (2022, 01 05). Decoding the Mysteries Financing Network. Berlin.
- Gabriel, M. A. (2002, 2015). *Islam and Terrorism*. Florida: FronteLine.
- Garland, L. (2012). *2011 Libyan Civil War*. Ansari Road,Darya Ganj,Delhi India : white Word .
- Hilsum, L. (2012). *SANDSTORM : Libya in The Time of Rovolution*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- James N, R. (1969). *Internationa Politics and Foreign Policy*. New York: Free Press.
- Kaufman, J. P. (2014). Obama and U.S. Foreign Policy: 2009–2017 and Beyond . In J. P. Kaufman, *A Concise History of U.S. Foreign Policy* (pp. 163-175). United Kingdom: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Khalil, A. (2012). *Liberation Square*. New York: ST. Martins Press.

- Lebovic, J. H. (2019). *Planning to fall*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Libya Revolt of 2011*. (2022, may 17). Retrieved from Britannica: <http://www.britannica.com/event/libya-revolt-of-2011>
- Mead, W. R. (2004). *Power, Terror, Peace and War: America's Grand Strategy in a World at Risk*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Meaning of policy in English*. (2022). Retrieved from Cambridge, Dictionar: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/policy>
- Moore, J. (2015). *Defying ISIS*. Nashville, Tennessee: Thomas Nelson.
- No let-up in Gaddafi offensive*. (2011, march 17). Retrieved from ALJAZEERA: <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2011/3/17/no-let-up-in-gaddafi-offensive>
- Obama, B. (2020). *A Promised Land*. New York: Crown.
- P.kauffman, j. (2017). *A Concise history og U.S foreign policy* (Fourth Edition ed.). london, united kingdom : ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD.
- P.Mueller, k. (2015). *Precision and Purpose:Airpower in the Libyan Civil War*. Santa Monica Calif: RAND Corooration.
- Peace in the Middle East*. (2008, december 5). Retrieved from the white house : <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/infocus/mideast/>
- Rosenau, J. N. (1974). *Compiring Foreign Policies*. New York: Halsted Press.
- RYAN, C. R. (2018). *JORDAN AND THE ARAB UPRISINGS*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- RYAN, C. R. (2018). *Regime Survival and Politics Beyond the State*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- S/RES/1970 (2011)*. (2011, February 26). Retrieved from UNITED NATIONS SECURITY: <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/s/res/1970-%282011%29>
- Sharp, J. M. (2021, july 15). *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations*. Retrieved from Congressional Research Service: <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf>
- Smith, N. R. (2019). *A New Cold War*. PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.

Stuart Croft, Hakan Edstrom and Dennis Gyllensporre. (2012). *NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES*. England, UK: PALGRAVE MACMILLIAN.

Syria's war explained from the beginning. (2018, April 14). Retrieved from Aljazeera: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/4/14/syrias-war-explained-from-the-beginning>

Taylor, W. C. (2014). *Military Responses to the Arab Uprisings and the Future of Civil-Military Relations in the Middle East*. Chennai, India.: Newgen Knowledge Works.

The White House. 2011. President Obama on the situation in Libya, February 23. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2011/02/23/president-obama-situation-libya#transcript>.

The White House. 2011. Remarks by President Obama, Danish Prime Minister Rasmussen, March 14. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/2011/03/14/president-Obama-meets-Danish-prime-minister-rasmussen#transcript>.

Tristram, P. (2019, JULY 30). *U.S. Policy in the Middle East: 1945 to 2008*. Retrieved from ThoughtCo: <https://www.thoughtco.com/us-and-middle-east-since-1945-2353681>

Tsygankov, A. P. (2005). Vladimir Putin's Vision of Russia as A Normal Great Power. *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 132-158.

University, S. (2021, April). *Mapping Militant Organizations "the Islamic State"*.

N.D(2014). *Vice President Biden to Deliver Remarks on Foreign Policy*. Massachusetts: Harvard university.

Woodward, B. (2003). *Bush at War*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Wright, R. (2007, October 21). Iran's Nuclear Negotiator Resigns.

Zahra, A. (n.d.). *America and ISIS ..facts on history*. Bahrain: Akhbar Al-Khaleej.

هل تتحمل أمريكا مسؤولية غزو أوكرانيا؟ اعرف رد السفير الروسي بالقاهرة [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJ93ZnGsOdo> .my translation

الملخص

يمكن القول إن الحرب الأهلية الليبية شهدت تدخلا من طرف الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وذلك من خلال استخدام سياستها الخارجية هناك، هذه الدراسة تهدف إلى مناقشة مسألة السياسة الأمريكية في الحرب الليبية الأهلية، بحيث تبحث هذه الدراسة في جميع جوانب الانتفاضة الليبية، بالإضافة إلى تدخلات الولايات المتحدة (عسكريا أو اقتصاديا أو سياسيا) ويقدم هذا العمل معلومات وتحقيقات حول الربيع العربي والجوانب المتبناة من طرف أمريكا حول ذلك إضافة إلى نظام القذافي قبل 2011. يعرض هذا البحث أحداث وحقائق حول الانتفاضة الليبية وكيف بدأت من مظاهرات وكيف تحولت إلى حرب أهلية وماذا سيفعل المجتمع الدولي حيال ذلك إلى انقسام حكومي من 2011 إلى 2022. وكيف أثر التنظيم الإرهابي للدول الإسلامية في العراق وسوريا على الأوضاع هناك فالأدوات المعتمدة في هذا العمل في ظل المنهج الوصفي التحليلي والمنهج التاريخي لوصف وتحليل ورواية البيانات من الانتفاضة إلى الأوضاع الراهنة. تكشف الدراسة أهم نتائج الحرب الليبية وتأثيرات السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية على الدولة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة الخارجية، التدخل، الربيع العربي، الحرب الأهلية، أمريكا.

