

CHAPTER I

A. Introduction to the Study

The largest, most highly organized and most stable military security alliance is NATO. Nowadays, NATO is prominent as one of the most active international entities in the world. Its scope and purpose have grown incredibly over the past decade and its operations have become increasingly complex and diverse. The principle of NATO as a collective defense of member states of the Warsaw Pact. Although the Cold War is over, the role of power and influence of NATO military operations to handle issues of asymmetric threats have evolved the attention of international community. NATO action increases the pros and cons of the international community, while in the Cold War era NATO was formed in response to the possible threat of Soviet military incursions into Central and Western Europe.

The shift of NATO expansions to take military involvement when responded the conflict in Bosnia (Eastern Europe), Kosovo and then spread to the Middle East such as NATO's involvement in military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan showed the changing role of NATO in addressing issues of asymmetric threat¹ about democratization, security, conflict issues of regional. The impact of the 9/11 bombs attack in WTC New York 2001, became another issues that related about global terrorism. These incidents noticed as the dynamics of the

¹ Charles C. Moskos, 'Toward a Postmodern Military: The United States' in Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal (eds), *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces After the Cold War* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 9-10.

changing role of NATO in the Cold War era and the Post Cold War era. The issue of military interventions of NATO in the conflict of Libya already attracts international community and this case becomes interesting topic to discuss.

Conflict in Libya was inspired the rise of political upheaval in the Arab world (Arab Spring)² that affected the tension of Middle East crisis. The political crisis caused by the emergence of political discontent and demands for revolution to accomplish the government tends to be more democratic. Therefore the turbulence of demonstration was aimed to overthrow the authoritarian regime. It was precluded a huge demonstration to overthrow the government leaders of Tunisian “Ben Ali” and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt which is noticed in early February 2011. Finally political crisis also impacted to Libya, on a large scale demonstrations against and overthrow the regime of Muammar Gaddafi. In addressing the people’s demand, Gaddafi used violent military forces to quell the demonstrators.

The involvement of regional organizations such as NATO (as an external factor), became the other factors that pushing this interesting topic to be discussed. Because the riots in Libya have resulted in casualties, it raised global concerns such NATO to take a part in resolving the conflict of Libya. On mid of February 2011, NATO demonstrated its role to resolve conflicts and took military actions in Libya with the goal of providing humanitarian assistance under the mandate of UNSC Resolutions 1973.

² Wikipedia Encyclopedia, about “*Arab Spring*” available at:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Spring

Therefore, in this case the writer is choosing a discussion topic, "NATO military intervention in Libya 2011" as the title of the Undergraduate Thesis.

B. Background to the Study

Concerning toward regional organization like NATO, it creates debate and questions toward its role now. Shortly after the World War II, five Western European countries such as Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom determined to develop a common defense system and to strengthen the ties between them to resist the growing threat posed military aggregation of USSR in West Europe³. The establishment of NATO as a regional organization that was purposed to respond as a collective defense of member states of the Warsaw Pact. They are USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

In the Cold War era, there was appeared numerous conflicts that difficult to resolve, for example the delineation of internal conflict as re-emerging nationalism, that was occurred in the Former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus region. Although these particular conflicts do not seem to directly affect the security of NATO members or of the Western European region as a whole the threat of conflict spread in the age of nuclear arms requires ways to cope with such conflicts. The security of Greek territory could easily drawn big impact toward the members of NATO, and the changing role of its body.

The defence of national territory was became the main of NATO attentions in that era. The principle of collective defence in which all the state

³ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, NATO (*North Atlantic Treaty Organisations*); available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/North_Atantic_Treaty_Organisations

members agree to have mutual defense in response to an attack by any external party.⁴ It was embed to Article 5 that mentioned, “The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them (NATO members) in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and to be resisted by all also”.⁵ The Alliance works on the principle that the security of each country member depends on the security of them all. If the security of any one is threatened, all are affected. It was mentioned if every member state makes a commitment to each other to respect this principle, sharing the risks and responsibilities as well as the advantages of collective defence. The following actions such an attack that each ally would take “such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force” in response. It is explained that NATO was succesfully provided for the defense of its members against potential attack from Soviet Union.

Therefore NATO is one of the key structures through which Alliance members implement their security goals. It is an intergovernmental organisation in which member countries retain their full sovereignty and independence, and serves as a forum in which they consult together and take decisions on matters affecting their security.

The Cold War ended with the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, NATO was no longer needed and this era viewed as vacuum conditions for NATO. But after the collapsed of Communism and the disintegrations of Soviet Union between the period 1989 to 1991 which noticed as Post Cold War era, NATO has continued its

⁴ Declaration on a Transformed North Atlantic Alliance (The London Declaration), July 6, 1990; Available at: <http://www.nato.int/docu/basicxt/b900706a.htm> (Accessed October 10, 2011).

⁵ *Ibid*

existence with three major developments: First, to enlarge its membership (the expansion of NATO to include new nations from the former Eastern bloc). Second, the re-imagining of NATO as a 'co-operative security' alliance able to deal with European conflicts (as a combination of military alliance and security community). Third, the involvement of NATO to adapt to the new conditions forces to combat in the international arena. That shows us if NATO was re-evaluate its international role.

It was clearly the changed of international focus, whether in Cold War era the main focus of NATO is to prevents the threat from Soviet Union, but in the Post Cold War the main issues of international politics were focussed on acts relate to the issues of asymmetric threats.⁶ The evolving transformations process of NATO was sustained in order to re-identify the strategic interests by acknowledging the high importance to widen the scope, it can be proven by the expansion of NATO's role in East Europe. The enlargement of NATO missions to handle the global issues in the regions were constituted some of interest and it was noticed by the extent of NATO policies at addressing security issues in Middle East region.

Meanwhile, the former of Yugoslavia became a place of violence, material devastation and ethnic cleansing. NATO gradually turned its attention to the Balkans, it took on three new roles: as provider of collective defense, provider of collective security and most pertinent to react in crisis management. The crisis

⁶ Charles C. Moskos, 'Toward a Postmodern Military: The United States' in Charles C. Moskos, John Allen Williams and David R. Segal (eds), *The Postmodern Military: Armed Forces After the Cold War* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 9-10.

management became one of NATO's fundamental security tasks after the outbreak of war and ethnic cleansing in the former of Yugoslavia. In managing this conflicts NATO established itself as a regional body which committed to create peacekeeping and state-building operations with alliance member.

NATO military interventions in Middle East (Afghanistan and Iraq) by sending armed forces was aimed to act the spread of international terrorism, which initiated from the impact of 9/11 bomb attacks in New York. Those trully mentioned if the changing of NATO's involvement in combat success to binded the power engagement from it allies. The role of NATO as global crisis manager allowed its membership to employ military and political pressure to manage developing global crises and to help consolidating the stability in the post-conflict situations that can affect the Alliance countries.⁷ It is because the military power seems to be an invaluable source of stability and security and the only means to maintain or enforce peace of international disputes.

As international pressure and outrange conflict were increased, NATO utilized its role by updating the charter and mission to ramp up its engagement which quickly becoming a key actor in the conflict.⁸ NATO military operations were not only expanded in the region above, but also reacted to North Africa in order to handle the security concerns there. NATO deployed a large-scale peacekeeping operations and developed plans for an extraction force to assist in the

⁷ NATO New Strategic Concept 2010

⁸ David S. Yost, "NATO Transformed; *The Alliance's New Roles in International Security*". (Washington D.C : United States Institute of Peace, 1998) page. 74

safe withdrawal UN Protection Force.⁹ Here, the alliance increased its commitment from sanctions to air strikes and military targeting.

The military involvement in Libya became the first time in NATO's history that the Alliance has been directly engaged in imposing regime change in another country. To review the involvement of NATO's role in Libya civil war 2011, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty reported if, "An overwhelming consensus around the world mentioned that the United Nations Security Council was the most appropriate body to authorise military interventions to react against toward civil war in Libya".¹⁰ It was identified substantial international support to establish peace enforcement operations by the emergence of NATO Response Force.

The conflict in Libya exactly inspired from the rise of political upheaval in the Arab world (Arab Spring)¹¹ that also affected the tensions of Middle East crisis. The political crisis is caused by the emergence of political discontent and demands for revolution to accomplish the government tends to be more democratic. Therefore the turbulence of demonstration was aimed to overthrow the authoritarian regime. It was prelude a huge demonstration to overthrow the government leaders of Tunisian "Ben Ali" and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt which noticed in early February 2011. Finally, political crisis also give impact to Libya,

⁹ James Sparling and Mark Webber, "*NATO from Kosovo to Kabul*"; International Foreign Affairs 86:3 (Blackwell Publishing Limited 2009) page.494

¹⁰ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty; "*The Responsibility to Protect*" (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001), Chapter 6.

¹¹ Wikipedia Encyclopedia, about "*Arab Spring*" available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Spring

on a large scale demonstrations against and to overthrow the regime of Muammar Gaddafi.

In the mid-February of 2011, mass demonstrations against Colonel Gaddafi's rule broke out across the street of Libya. Protests had initially been scheduled for 17 February 2011, a "day of rage" organised to commemorate the five year anniversary of previous anti-Government protests.¹² The Libyan leader had only issued a threat to use force in Benghazi after law and order had completely broken down in the city. Later, with the support and assistance from NATO, the NTC succeeded in making Gaddafi government in convenience. Tripoli is still unsafe for the NTC leaders to relocate.¹³ With the rebels in control of the capital and the other main city of Benghazi, the international community has rushed in to give a "de facto" recognition to the National Transitional Council (NTC) formed under the surveillance of NATO. The reason behind the Franco-British diplomatic success is the series of military gains made by Gaddafi's loyalists who, in the days immediately prior to the UNSC vote, had re-taken most of the towns "conquered" by the rebels. As well as the regime's staggering short-sightedness in its 17 March 2011 televised address threatening no mercy towards its opponents.¹⁴

¹² Reuters, "*Libyan Protestors Prepare for - Day of Rage*", 17 February 2011. Media reports indicate that approximately 10-11 civilians were killed. Available at:

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/feb/17/libyan-protesters-prepare-for-day-of-rage>.

¹³ Yohannan, Chemerapally. "*NATO's take over the Libya*". Available at:

<http://indiacurrentaffairs.org/nato-takeover-of-libya-yohannan-chemerapally/>

¹⁴ '*Gaddafi tells Benghazi his army is coming tonight*', Reuters, 17 March 2011, Available at: <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2011/03/17/libya-gaddafi-address-idUKLDE72G2E920110317>

The Opposition parties, calling themselves the National Transition Council which supported by the Libyan people tried to overthrow Gaddafi and form a new government tends more democratically. However in addressing the people's demand, Gaddafi react the demonstrators with violence that use military force to quell them. The clashfire between demonstrator and Gaddafi loyalist create huge victims and humanitarian crisis. Gaddafi deemed to do a genocide war toward its society, because it was reported nearly 1.000 peoples die caused the forces of Gaddafi's loyalist. The conflict in Libya is called as civil war which UN Commission of Inquiry noted 24 February 2011 as the date of commencement of the armed conflict.¹⁵ Because the riots in Libya have resulted in casualties, it raised global concerns such NATO to take a part in resolving the conflict of Libya. On mid of February 2011, NATO demonstrated its role to resolve conflicts and took military actions in Libya with the goal of providing humanitarian assistance under the mandate of UN Security Council. On 10 March 2011, International Committee of the Red Cross first reference to support NATO missions in armed conflict.

The fight between Gaddafi loyalist and the opposition groups which supported by NATO were got more intensified. Therefore in response to the 2011 Libyan civil war, NATO succeeded to get legitimation from United Nations Security Council to take response. The UN Security Council Resolution1973 legitimized NATO to involve a broad range of activities in internal conflict.¹⁶

¹⁵ UN Human Rights Council, Report of the International Commission of Inquiry "*Investigate all alleged violations of international human rights law in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya*", U.N. Doc. A/HRC/17/44, 1 June 2011, paragraph; 65.

¹⁶ UN Security Council, "*Security Council Approves No-Fly Zone over Libya*", Authorizing All Necessary Measures to Protect Civilians. On March 17, 2011
Available at : <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.htm>

These resolutions were concerned at protecting civilians under the threat of attack by the forces loyal to the regime in Tripoli. Before, German envoy warned that the intervention poses great risks and the implementation of the resolution may lead to a protracted military conflict that could draw in the wider region.¹⁷

However, NATO continued to invoke the mission of humanitarian interventions in Libya by establishing the Operation Unified Protector (OUP). Those missions were conducted by the military enforcement by sending loyal troops; it was a reaction to invade pro-Gaddafi forces by maximizing the objective that aimed for a regime change. In addition, the UNSC resolution authorized NATO to establish arms embargo and enforce a no-fly zone over Libya¹⁸. Those actions also reported if French and British officials are waging a behind-the scenes campaign for the United States to step up its military involvement in Libya.¹⁹

The targeting of Gaddafi's compound in Tripoli by NATO's air forces as well as Italy's decision to step up its involvement in combat operations that pointed toward an escalation of the air strikes. In order to intensify the military forces within NATO, United States and its allies (France, British, and Canada) took military engagement to invade Libya.²⁰

¹⁷ All quotations in the paragraph are from the report on Security Council 6498th Meeting. Available at: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2011/sc10200.doc.html>

¹⁸ UN News Centre, "*Security Council authorizes 'all necessary measures' to protect civilians in Libya*", (accessed on October 10, 2011) available at:

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37808&Cr=libya&Cr1>

¹⁹ Associated Press. '*U.S holds to limited Libya role, despite pressure from Britain and France.*' April 122011. Available at:

http://www.nola.com/politics/index.ssf/2011/04/us_holds_to_limited_libya_role.html

²⁰ Newspaper (online), "*UN Security Council slaps sanctions on Libya.*" 27 Februari 2011. Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/middleeast/UN-Security-Council-slaps-sanctions-on-Libya/articleshow/7584630.cms>

NATO's mission in Libya claimed to protecting civilians under threat of attack by the forces loyal to the regime in Tripoli. As stated by Susan Rice (U.S. Ambassador) on March 16, 2011 the administration supported the discussion of the Security Council to respond further of international steps, including of no-fly zone actions, with the regard to the conflict in Libya. NATO missions under UNSC mandate stated that, "We need to be prepared to contemplate steps that include, but perhaps it should go beyond. A no-fly zone at this point, as the situation on the ground has evolved, and as a no-fly zone has inherent limitations in terms of protection of civilians at immediate risk."²¹

NATO also launched a new maritime operation to enforce the arms embargo against the Libyan regime. It started by the European Union (EU) to impose sanctions, an arms embargo and a travel ban on Gaddafi and members of his family and also freeze the assets held by Libya's sovereign wealth fund on 10 March 2011. NATO officials reported that on March 24, the allies of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Turkey, the UK, and the United States had pledged more than 25 ships and submarines and over 50 fighter jets and surveillance planes to enforce the arms embargo.²² The military action launched by NATO in Libya was criticized from international society.²³ The main goals of the bombardment from the alliance forces were took place to allegedly

²¹ "U.S Foreign Policy,"Remarks by Ambassador Susan E. Rice, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, at the Security Council Stakeout on Libya, New York, NY, published on January 16, 2011.

²² NATO Fact Sheet, "NATO Arms Embargo against Libya Operation Unified Protector", Available at: http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_03/20110325_110325-unified-protector-factsheet.pdf (accessed on February 25, 2011)

²³ Article about "Interventions of NATO in Libya really contra-productive", by Edorgan Available at: <http://www.erasuslim.com/berita/dunia/erdogan-intervensi-nato-ke-libya-sangat-kontra-produktif.htm> (accessed at 22 December 2011)

stop the “massacre of civilians” in Benghazi. In the other side, the impacts of NATO actions was involving huge military spending from alliances state, environmental also physical damages, even civilian victims as great dilemma of war.

NATO’s controversy roles are common, as found in Balkans Intervention (Bosnian and Kosovo War), Operation in Middle East countries Afganistan also Training mission in Iraq, Operation Ocean shield and now coercions in Libya (civil war).²⁴ But NATO did not took a military intervention in other countries like in Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Yemen. As regional organisation NATO exactly has mission to solve the international disputes in that region, but the fact shows if there is a constructive idea of structure communication and cooperation among member states on a continuing basis as they deal with common needs. Furthermore, the intervention in Libya by Western nations through NATO is quite clearly selective for cammon purpose/interest.²⁵

C. Research Question

Based on this phenomenon, the writer calls this case in to question:

Why did NATO decide to commit military interventions in Libya?

D. Theoritcal Framework

Theory is the statement that can answer the question why. It means that using theory is explaining the causes of the phenomenon that happened.

²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ Online newspaper, “*The Attacking of the troops Ally in Libya was motivated by Oil*”, Available at: <http://www.detiknews.com/read/2011/03/23/175431/1599778/10/pbnu-penyerangan-tentara-sekutu-ke-libya-bermotif-minyak?n991103605> , Accessed on December 2011

International institutions are rules that explicitly and negotiated among international actors who suggest, and prohibit or set the behavior of members.²⁶ A theory is an intellectual tool that helps us to organize our knowledge, to ask a significant question and to guide formulation of priorities in a research as well as the selection of methods to carry out research in fruitful manner.²⁷ Moreover, the effort to understand the social phenomenon involves the attempt to simplify that phenomenon by using the concept.²⁸

In order to analyze the research of "NATO military interventions in Libya 2011" the writer applied realist theory as the influential way that decided by NATO to react in Libya civil war. The use of realist theory and the concept of intervention are help to analyze the distinction of NATO's behavior in every missions and describes the particular actions of struggle for power in order to survive / gaining a particular interest.

1. Realist Theory

Realists have given great regard to the values and calculations of state survival, national security and international stability. They consider these themes as the most important and influential factors framing international politics. Three main rules are relevant for international legitimate judgements of peace

²⁶ Barbara Koremenos et al, "*The rational Design of International Institutions*", in *International Organizations* 55, 4, Autumn 2001, p. 762

²⁷ James E. Dougherty and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr, summarized from: *the Nature and Function of Theory, Contending Theories of iNternational Relations; A Comprehensive Survey*, 3rd edition (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 1990) pp.15-16

²⁸ Mohtar Mas'oe'd, *Ilmu Hubungan Internasional; Disiplin dan Methodologi* (Jakarta:LP3ES, 1990) p,92

enforcement operations: respect for state sovereignty, the prohibition on aggressive war, and the endorsement of military action to promote international peace and security. These rules are derived from different historical periods and stand in considerable tension to each other, but together they limit the kinds of military activity that can be judged legitimate in the current international system. Military intervention in other polities is as old as international relations itself. Thucydides' History of the Peloponnesian War chronicles scores of such interventions, including into civil wars.²⁹

The Realist theory tries to explain about the point of state that become as unitary actor which struggle for power in order to survive in the world politics that seems to anarchy and in the world political system there is domination of powerful states. And the national interest become the main aspect that should be achieved each states in order to keep exist or survive toward the issues of high politics like security through the instrument of military power. The national security is the ultimate state's need that will be realized in the term of foreign policy to create and maintain the state interest in the world politics.

According to Jackson dan Georg Sorensen, the basic assumption of realism is:

“Basic realist ideas and assumptions are: (1) a pessimistic view of human nature; (2) a conviction that international relation are necessarily conflictual and that international conflicts are ultimately resolved by war; (3) a high regard for values of national security and state survival; (4) a basic skepticism that there can be progress in

²⁹ Thucydides *“History of the Peloponnesian War”*. translated by Rex Warner (London: Penguin Classics, 1972), pp. 236–45

international politics that is comparable to that in domestic political life.”³⁰

It can be concluded if those explanations basically explain the idea and assumptions of Realist pessimistic on human behavior. Thomas Hobbes explained if, individuals in this state of nature have the responsibility and the rights to preserve themselves, so too does each state in international system. Those explanation about realist was supported by Max Weber (1864-1920) who argue that the leader of state is swarm to safeguard the state from external threat, to provide for its common defense and ultimately to ensure its survival in a world of anarchy.

Political realist argue that the distribution power in international system influences the act of member state. Nations are motivated to acquire power for their own advantages. Therefore, the way to act and the decision of foreign policy behavior can be determinated by the interaction of the states in international arena (Waltz 1979). While Keohane and Nye state that,” In the dependency conditions, whreas the non-state actor participate into political-economic global, the purpose of strategic military power become less relevant because the result of (interest competences) was impacted to economic and control toward the natural resources and technology”.³¹

Realists identify three variables core that shape the alliance formation: power, threat, and interests. The core concept of this theory is ‘power’ and its uses

³⁰ Robert Jackson dan Georg Sorensen. Introduction to internasional relations. New York.1999. page. 68

³¹ Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye (1989). “*Power and Interdependence*”. 2nd Edition. Boston: Scott, Foresman and Company.

in shaping the relationships between states. Like what have been explained by Jackson and Sorensen:

“Realists believe that the goal of power, the means of power, and the uses of power are the central preoccupation of political activity. International politics is thus portrayed as ‘power politics’. The conduct of foreign policy is an instrumental activity based on the intelligent calculation of one’s power and one’s interests as against the power and interests of rivals and competitors”³²

The military force as rooted from the grand theory of Realism make four essential assumptions according Thucydides. First, State as the main actors in war as political. Second, the state is assumed to be unitary actor. Third, the decision maker’s acting in the name of state are assumed to be rational actors and the last fourth, Tcydides was concerning on the security issues that protecting the state from enemies both foreign and domestic. A state augments its security by increasing its domestic capabilities, building up its economic powers and forming alliances with another states based on similar interests.

Robert Gilpin has suggested that international organisations institutionalise hegemony: powerful states invent a set of international norms, rules, and institutions that favour their interests and that other states become accustomed to obeying because they are backed by the might of the hegemon.³³ After the Post-Cold war era there are many conflicts appears in region, and it makes a strong power play domination in world politics through international organization.

³² Donnelly, J. ‘Realism’, in Burchill, S. and Linklater, A. *Theories of International Relations*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996, p.37.

³³ Robert Gilpin, “*War and Change in World Politics*”; (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

Machiavelli promotes the use of alliances and various offensive and defensive strategies to protect the state. From the perspective of power politics alliances are seen as a necessary function of the balance of power operating within a multiple-state system. The example is NATO as the world largest military defense for its member allies. Whether or not a nation should pursue a policy of alliances is “not a matter of principle but of expediency.”³⁴ The impact of war is such that a credible capacity another actor to act coercively, including not only through military force, often is crucial. Actually the success of running diplomacy of a state is an effort to strengthen the foreign policies that influenced by the national interest.

Based on Hans J. Morgenthau’s thought, the national interest of each state is to pursue the authority or power that is everything which can shape and maintain the control of one state to another. The power relations or this control toward other state can be created through both of the coercive techniques and also cooperation, because the power and interest are argued as the means also the goals of the international politics action.

In order to analyze the research of ”Military Interventions of NATO in Libya 2011” the writer applies the concept of military interventions to analyze the case problems of Libya civil war 2011.

2. Concept of Military Intervention

³⁴ Hans Morgenthau, *Politics among Nation*: (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948) Fifth Edition, 1973, page. 181

Intervention refers to the notion of coercion as noted by Jack C. Plano & Roy Otton which is the forcible intervention by one or more countries to the problem in another country with the intention of influencing policy, domestic and foreign politics of the country that has been intervened.³⁵

A country has a huge potential of conflict involving about unity, religion, economy or ideology in society. The country is compounded by the growing political crisis, social, and increasing poverty which is to follow this up a government out of the troubled state would intervene to reduce the bad impact, trying to influence government policy of the country and even tried to take a chance mission in order to bring its national interests are shrouded in such interventions. Jack C. Plano & Roy Otton define intervention as “Coercive interference in the affairs of a state by another state or a group of state to affect the internal policies of that state.”³⁶ The principle of this intervention more tends to the United states perception about freedom of politics and democracy. Therefore the foreign policy which taken in the intervention aimed to prohibit such of ideology / regime that clash with the principle of democracy and freedom.

Whether K.J Holsti defines the Interventions become four main discussions:

- a. Secret political action: In this context has an intention to perform actions that affect the political conditions of other countries through business or hidden ways (covert propaganda).

³⁵ Jack C. Plano & Roy Otton, “*The International Relations Dictionary*”, Hold, Rinehart & Winston Inc 1969, p. 62

³⁶ *Ibid*, page.175

- b. The demonstration shows the power or threatens to use force, either to help or hinder an insurgency in the country from a foreign country.
- c. Subversion is by supporting, organizing and directing a potential government. and a guerrilla war.
- d. Military intervention by sending troops with a large amount of good to establish a regime of rebellion or assisting a government to overthrow the established authorities but contains dictatorship attitude.

Intervention is often seen as morally problematic because the only reason to war is a thought to be self-defense, so that a state is prohibited from initiating war³⁷. On this view, interventions are nondefensive wars and forms of aggression. The prohibition of aggression is based on respect for national sovereignty. As noted by Richard Haass that, "Armed interventions entail the introduction or deployment of new or additional combat forces to an area for specific purposes that go beyond ordinary training or scheduled expressions of support for national interests."³⁸

NATO actions now were fully involved the 'military intervention' which is define as a coercive tactic used to manipulate a country into taking a certain path that would not otherwise have been chosen. In strict terms, it consists of military involvement or the encouragement of the use of force by an outside power in a domestic conflict.

This has particularly been the case for those states involved in the NATO accession process, which has created unprecedented pressures for the development

³⁷ Article of Newspaper from: Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, "New Name for 'War on Terror' Reflects Wider US Campaign," *New York Times*, July 26, 2005, at A7.

³⁸ Richard N. Haass, *Intervention: the Use of American Military Force in the Post-Cold War World*, Washington, DC, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994, pp. 19–20.

of armed forces roles in particular directions and implications, like: First, by increasing pressures towards the development of flexible, interoperable force structures that are capable of participating in multinational military operations. Second, by creating a key linkage between foreign policy and defence policy goals whereas the policies result was dominated by the leader or strong state like United States.

Indeed, military reform programmes across most of Eastern Europe have been often driven as much by the foreign policy demands of NATO accession as they have by the ‘objective’ national security demands of the country concerned. The role of NATO to involve in regional conflict by establishing humanitarian interventions was founded based on the commitment “to prevent war and to strengthen means for conflict resolution.” However, the military interventions done by NATO in Libya are more likely to be constructed by dominated power (Western countries) to help the opponent’s demonstration which aimed to overthrow Gaddafi’s regime. Later it gained the mission of rebuilding the new government with democratic ideology while this action believed will give more profit toward the interventive party to support the national interest there.

E. Hypothesis

Based on the explanation for paper research and the utilization of conceptual framework and also the theoretical foundation, the writer took on the basic conclusion that NATO military interventions in Libya 2011 was conducted for:

1. Geopolitical reason to take control the North African region.
2. Geo-strategic and geo-economic reason related to Libyan oil.
3. The predominant NATO military forces, “There are no other forces that can counterbalance to the NATO actions in Libya”.

F. Research Methods

In order to analyze the thesis with the title, the writer applied the library research method by using qualitative research to examine this thesis in which it collect the secondary data which is conducted through the literature study. This analysis is also supported by the data and information that come from the sources of references including books, journals, newspaper, website, etc. The internet media is also useful in supporting the update data and information that related to the object of research.

G. Scope of Research

The thesis of “The Military Interventions of NATO in Libya” is going to answer the question: Why did NATO commit to do military interventions in Libya civil war 2011?

H. Systematic of Writing

Chapter I : This chapter will explain the background of the research, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, data collection method, the scope of the research in order to be the prior step to analyze this research and also the systematic of writing.

Chapter II : This chapter explains the overview of NATO's history, And the changing roles of NATO in the Cold War era to Post Cold War era (expand to Middle East), and several examples of the practice of NATO military operations in the Post Cold War era after the event of 9/11 attacks (from Eastern European to MENA: Middle East North Africa).

Chapter III : This chapter explains about how the conditions of Libya under the leadership of Gaddafi, the emerged of "Arab Spring" and political crisis in Libya. It also explains about the military intervention of NATO in Libya civil war 2011.

Chapter IV : This chapter discusses the reasons Why did NATO do military interventions toward Libya in 2011. Firstly, geopolitical reasons to take control the North African region. Second, geo-economic reason related to Libyan oil, and the last is the predominant of NATO military forces.

Chapter V : Conclusion