Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

NATO's Intervention: the Trigger Factor of Libyan Conflict Escalation

Thesis

By

Moudy Alfiana

2013330090

Bandung

2017

Parahyangan Catholic University

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Department of International Relations

Accredited A

SK BAN –PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

NATO's Intervention: the Trigger Factor of Libyan Conflict Escalation

Thesis

By

Moudy Alfiana

2013330090

Advisor

Dr. I Nyoman Sudira, Drs., M.Si.

Bandung

2017

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Department of International Relations

Thesis Validation

Name	: Moudy Alfiana
Student ID	: 2013330090
Judul	: NATO's Intervention: the Trigger Factor of Libyan Conflict Escalation

Has been examined in Final Examination
On Tuesday, 10 January 2017
And thereby declared **GRADUATED**

The Board of Examiners
Chairperson and member of examiner

Adrianus Harsawaskita, S.IP, M.A. :

Secretary

Dr. I Nyoman Sudira Drs., M.Si. :

Member

Giandi Kartasasmita, S.IP., M.A. :

Legalized by,
Dean of Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

Dr. Pius Sugeng Prasetyo, M.Si

Statement

I, whom signed below,

Name　　　　: Moudy Alfiana
Student ID　 : 2013330090
Department : International Relations
Title　　　　: NATO's Intervention: the Trigger Factor of Libyan Conflict Escalation

Hereby state that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been previously proposed by any other party(ies) to attain academic degree. Any idea, information, or opinion from other parties are officially cited and written accordance to the valid scientific writing method.

I take full responsibility in this statement and am fully willing to take consequences if this statement proven to be untrue in the future.

Bandung, January 2017

Moudy Alfiana

Abstract

Name   : Moudy Alfiana
Student ID : 2013330090
Title   : NATO's Intervention: the Trigger Factor of Libyan Conflict Escalation

---

Libyan conflict started when people in Benghazi protested Libyan President, Muammar Gaddafi due to his bad leadership. The ongoing conflict in 2011 involves two conflicted parties; Gaddafi's forces and Opposition forces. This conflict became internationalized as this conflict invited the involvement of external actor. NATO under United Nations mandate, decided to intervene Libya. This conflict ended with the death of Muammar Gaddafi as the pin point for NATO to pull its forces and for Libyan society to finally declare its liberation.

However, since its liberation, the conflict in Libya still happens and it even escalates. The escalation of conflict refers to the emergence of contradiction, polarization and the outbreak of violence. NATO in the process of its intervention is doing an opportunistic intervention. Opportunistic intervention is an intervention where an intervener does an intervention with its own political, military and economy objective. NATO also supports the Opposition side fully in 2011. The existence of opportunistic intervention and also the supports for one side only in a conflict by an external actor is the definition of bad neighbor. The author will use the theory of Bad Neighbor by Michael E. Brown to prove that NATO's intervention became the trigger factor of conflict escalation in Libya. The author will analyze how NATO's intervention created polarization or fragmentation in Libya, second how NATO's intervention increased the number of violence in Libya.
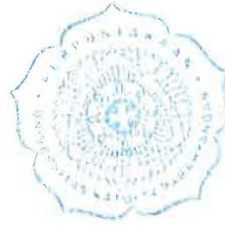
Abstrak

Nama	: *Moudy Alfiana*
NPM	: *2013330090*
Judul	: *Intervensi NATO: Faktor Pemicu Eskalasi Konflik Libya*

Konflik di Libya bermula ketika masyarakat di Benghazi mengadakan demonstrasi terhadap Presiden Libya yaitu Muammar Gaddafi, yang disebabkan oleh kepimpinan buruk Gaddafi. Konflik yang terjadi pada tahun 2011 melibatkan dua aktor; Gaddafi serta pasukannya dan pasukan oposisi. Konflik ini mendunia karena konflik ini mengundang adanya keterlibatan aktor eksternal. NATO dibawah mandat PBB, memutuskan untuk mengintervensi Libya. Konflik ini berakhir dengan kematian Gaddafi sebagai titik penentu bagi NATO untuk menarik pasukannya, serta bagi masyarakat Libya untuk menyatakan kebebasannya.

Namun sejak kebebasannya, konflik di Libya masih terjadi dan bahkan konflik ini tereskalasi. Eskalasi konflik di Libya ditandai dengan meningkatkan kontradiksi, polarisasi, dan pecahnya kekerasan. NATO dalam proses intervensinya, melakukan intervensi yang oportunis. Intervensi oportunis adalah intervensi dimana aktor tersebut melakukan intervensi dengan tujuan politik, militer dan ekonominya sendiri. NATO juga mendukung sisi oposisi sepenuhnya pada tahun 2011. Keberadaan dari intervensi oportunis dan juga dukungan terhadap satu sisi dalam konflik oleh aktor eksternal adalah definisi dari 'bad neighbor'. Penulis akan menggunakan teori 'bad neighbor' milik Michael E. Brown untuk membuktikan bahwa intervensi NATO adalah faktor pemicu dalam eskalasi konflik di Libya. Penulis akan menganalisis bagaimana intervensi NATO menciptakan perpecahan di Libya dan kedua bagaimana intervensi NATO meningkatkan jumlah kekerasan di Libya.

Preface

The author would like to give the highest gratitude to the God for his grace in helping the author through all the processes in writing this thesis. This thesis entitled "the Libyan Conflict Escalation: the Aftermath of NATO's Intervention." The author wrote this thesis to describe the role of NATO's intervention in escalating the conflict in Libya. The author hopes this thesis will give better knowledge in regards with this issue to the readers. The author is interested to this topic since this topic is unique, and this topic shows how an intervention will not always give the good results. The Libyan Conflict Escalation is also the unique case where usually after the fall of dictator Libya, betterment is expected to come, however it did not happen in Libya.

The author acknowledges that this thesis might be far from perfect, due to the lack of several things. The author still accepts this thesis will be accepted by the readers, and the author accepts any comments in regards with this thesis in the future.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to thank Jesus Christ as the one who brought me this far and got me through all the processes in finishing this thesis. Without His grace I would never be here and finally graduated.

I would like to thank both of my parents, my Father Djoko Pramono and my Mother Christina Mone Mitak who have supported me and become the best parents in my life. May Jesus bless you and make you the happiest parents on earth. You are my inspiration and the reason why I want to do everything and make you proud of me. Particularly for my Mom who came all the way to Bandung for my thesis examination. I would never be anywhere without their supports. I also am grateful with my sister Betari Ayu Pramita, who became my sister and my best friend. Thank you for listening to every silly story I have every day. I wish you luck for your university life.

I would like to give my gratitude and special thanks towards my advisor, Dr. I Nyoman Sudira Drs., M.Si. for his tough love. Thank you for your insight and guidance, without your help I would not be able to graduate. I also would like to thank my examiners, Adrianus Harsawaskita, S.IP, M.A. and Giandi Kartasasmita, S.IP., M.A, for their insights and also mercy to pass me in the thesis examination

I would like to thank, Ali Syariati, my partner in crime, my beloved best friend, who has become my number one collateral damage in writing this thesis. Thank you for listening to my stories and become the first place for me to run for these past 2 years.

Thank you for making me the better and a more patient person, hope you'll get better after meeting me too. You are such an inspiration and motivation for my daily life. Hope you will finish your study as soon as possible.

I would like to thank 5 cumi, my girls who have been with me for my entire university life. Thank you Mondo, Vera, Ardine, Gia. Thank you for being the first girls I would run to and the girls who made me smile all the time. Particularly Vera who also has graduated, I wish you all luck. And for the rest, Mondo, Ardine, Gia, hope you will graduate soon too. May our friendship last forever.

I would like to thank these 3 people who have become my main team mates in life. Jeanne Sanjaya, Ancilla Pramudita, and Nicholas Zerenovski. Jeanne and Ancilla thank you for the super awesome competition which was International Humanitarian Law Debate, we went from Semarang (plus 1: Kristoforus) until we reached Kuala Lumpur, that was wonderful. Also for Ancilla and Nicholas from ALSA UNPAD, to JOVED, we made a good team. Thank you for making me the smarter person. Thank you for listening to my stories as well. Thank you for every trips we've had for these past few years, I had so much fun. I also would like to thank other PEDS members for their supports, Mondo, Maria, Ian, Michael, Farrah, Terti, Feli, and others whom I can't mention one by one.

I would like to thank my girl friends who've become such wonderful friends these past few years. Dara and Karin my dorm mates who became very close to me as

well. In regards with this I also would like to mention the delegation of Mali, my GINTRE partners, Stanley, Aji, Karin, and Mondo who have been close with me these past few years. Particularly Stanley who already moved but he's still close to me, thank you for being such an inspiration for me.

I would like to thank HNMUN batch 2015, mbak Sylvi, kak Arnaz, kak Della, kak Andrew, kak Nakal, kak Victor, kak Vita, kak Ello, Inigo, Farrah and Agatha. Thank you for the precious lesson and for giving me the chance to become the part of such an amazing opportunity.

I would like to thank my MUN kids, the members of MUN division in International Relations English Club, Khalif, Michael, Anthony, Bella, Becky and Ferdin. Though I was a terrible leader thank you for trusting me and working together with me for a year.

I would like to thank matter and research division of IREC, kak Amy, kak Diana, kak Karen, Maria and Ali. Thank you for letting become the part of this awesome division.

I would like to thank kelompok Papua, we got through this semester together. Thank you Rima, Andina, Vania, Abel, Kristo, and Oca. We did it!

I would like to thank my friends in Bali, Cindy and Risty for the supports and for being my friends though we were miles away after we graduated from high school.

I would like to thank my Diplomacy in Practice friends, Mondo, Maria, Ayta, and Gabby, thank you for the wonderful experience. It's been fun to work with you guys.

I also would like to mention my other close IR friends, Jediza, Ebenezer, Karina, Erza, and any other friends of mine thank you for your supports for these 3,5 years.

Table of Content

List of Figures

List of Tables

CHAPTER I

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Problem

Libyan conflict in 2011 was the result of the bad leadership. Muammar Gaddafi had ruled Libya as a dictator leader for 42 years[1]. This bad leadership triggered hundreds of thousands civilians in Libya for a movement to fight against their oppressive government[2]. This conflict happened between Gaddafi's loyalties and anti-Gaddafi's forces. After the fall of Hosni Mubarak, the president of Egypt, the wave of this Arab Spring came to Libya and triggered a peaceful demonstration towards Muammar Gaddafi in Libya[3].

Condition in Libya was severe before 2011 when the authoritarian regime still ruled[4]. The society in Middle East countries condemned their authoritarian governments because first, they were abusing their power and they were using the

---

[1] Martin Asser, "The Muammar Gaddafi Story," *BBC News*, accessed June 14, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12688033.

[2] Ivo H. Daadler and James G. Stavidris, "NATO'S Victory in Libya: The Right Way to Run an Intervention," *Jounral of Foreign Affairs* 91 (2012).

[3] Housam Darwisheh, "Trajectories and Outcomes of the 'Arab Spring': Comparing Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria," *Institute of Developing Economies*, March 2014, http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Dp/pdf/456.pdf.

[4] *Ibid.*

resources and the wealth of the country for themselves and the elites[5]. This became the political factor that caused the conflict. The other problem which caused society to demand over change is when their government cannot provide welfare and security to the society[6]. Most of authoritarian governments cannot provide accountability and transparency towards their society. When welfare and security are not there, it is hard for the society of authoritarian government to demand something from the government, because they have to follow the government[7]. Thus the society in countries like Libya will tend to feel the desperateness over their current government.

One of the basic functions of state is to provide internal order and security[8]. State or government will be seen as the weaker actor once they cannot provide internal order and security. The failures of state which can lead into insurgency consist of; severe economic crises, demographic pressures, deterioration of infrastructure and public services, external conflicts, or internal conflicts among actors regarding the legitimacy of existing institutional arrangements can undermine the ability of the state to guarantee security[9]. The failure of state can also invite the intervention from external actors to fix the situation. These conditions existed in Libya. Under Muammar Gaddafi's presidency, society did not feel like internal order

---

[5] Geoff Simons, *Libya: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).
[6] Steven E. Lobell and Philip Mauceri, *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics* (New York: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, n.d.).
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*

worked as how it was supposed to be[10]. The elites of politic in Libya were benefitted even more compare to the society[11]. Libya under Muammar Gaddafi could provide free education, health care and also other facilities. However, society felt that with their resources, the wage and wealthy of society were not that high[12]. The rate of unemployment in Libya in 1991 was reaching the number of 42% of its total population[13]. With its dictator government, society felt that they were not secure enough.

Thus, Libyan society felt that it is the time to change. The rebellion played the major role to demand for the change. Intervention will most likely come to Libya, since the opposition was not as strong as the government of Libya. Particularly, it is within the international society's burden to protect the rights of society, when the state failed to fulfill that[14]. The facilitation for the government forces was even better. The idea of intervention is necessary,[15] particularly in the conflict where there is a stronger actor and a weaker actor. However, the success of every intervention cannot always be guaranteed since there were so many factors influence the success of

---

[10] Tarik Kafala, "Gaddafi's Quixotic and Brutal Rule," *BBC News*, n.d., http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12532929.

[11] Ibid.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] "Unemployment, Youth Total (% of Total Labor Force Ages 15-24) (Modeled ILO Estimate)" (Worldbank), accessed March 20, 2016, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.1524.ZS.

[14] United Nations General Assembly, "United Nations General Assembly, Implemeting the Responsibility to Protect," n.d., http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/63/677.

[15] Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolutions* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

certain interventions. This research will further describe the aftermath of NATO's intervention in Libya.

1.2 Problem Identification.

In the beginning of 2011, there was a movement in the city of Benghazi, where society started their first demonstration to demand Gaddafi to step down[16]. On February 18, there were violent reactions coming from polices to the society. At least 20 people were killed, and around 200 were wounded estimated in one day[17]. Violation against human rights did not stop to the extent of killing and wounded society. There were abductions, tortures, and sexual abuses done by Gaddafi's forces[18]. These violent reactions triggered the conflict to escalate. Which finally, the anti-Gaddafi forces formed an alliance called *National Transition Council* at the end of February 2011[19]. The purpose of National Transition Council was to create an authority for anti-Gaddafi forces in the war time[20]. Anti-Gaddafi forces demanded Gaddafi to give up his power by stop being the president of Libya.[21] However, the most problematic issue in Libyan conflict was Gaddafi did not want to step down. Libyan conflict drew international community attention on how pro-Gaddafi's forces had been violent to their society. The problem with the existence of Libyan conflict is

---

[16]Jason Pack, *The 2011 Libyan Uprisings and the Struggle for the Post-Qadhafi Future* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2013).

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] "The Battle For Libya: Killings, Disappearances, and Tortures" (Amnesty International, 2011).

[19] Daadler and Stavidris, "NATO'S Victory in Libya: The Right Way to Run an Intervention," *op. cit.*

[20] David Gritten, "Key Figures in Libya's Rebels," *BBC News*, August 25, 2011, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12698562.

[21] Landend Garland, *2011 Libyan Civil War* (Delhi: White Word Publication, 2012).

that this issue was becoming an internationalized issue. Thus it involved multinational cooperation in NATO to fight against pro-Gaddafi's forces[22].

Current internal conflicts which exist under status quo mostly have become more internationalized than ever[23]. When the uprising rose, and human rights violation was occurred that's the time when international community will always have the interests and tendencies to be the mediator. States and organizations have done mediation in international conflicts for years in every region[24]. There are some notions on how intervention into an internal conflict can even prolong and intensifying the conflict or it is called protracted conflict[25]. On February 26, 2011, before NATO intervened Libya, United Nations Security Council (UNSC) adopted UNSC Resolution 1973 in responding to Libyan Conflict[26].

At the end of 2011, NATO pulled its military forces and stopped its mission in Libya[27]. The only parameter as how international community acknowledged NATO's intervention succeeded was the fall down of Gaddafi. Thus since the opposition forces killed Gaddafi, it could guarantee the stability in Libya since they

---

[22] Darwisheh, "Trajectories and Outcomes of the 'Arab Spring': Comparing Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria," *op. cit.*

[23] Lobell and Mauceri, *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics, op. cit.*

[24] Security Council, "Security Council Approves 'No-Fly Zone' over Libya, Authorizing 'All Necessary Measures' to Protect Civilians, by Vote of 10 in Favour with 5 Abstentions," *United Nations*, March 17, 2011, http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10200.doc.htm.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] United Nations Security Council, UNSC Resolution 1973pdf

[27] "NATO Ends Military Operations in Libya," *The Guardian*, October 31, 2011, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/31/nato-ends-libya-rasmussen.

will have capabilities to end the authoritarian regime in Libya. However, when NATO left Libya, stability should be back as expected. In 2012, there were conflict escalations in Libya signed by the fragmentation of rebels, pro-Gaddafi's loyalties, and Islamist forces[28]. It brought back the previous instability that happened in 2011 and it got even worse. In 2012 the militias were rising and it lowered the power of Libyan government to perform as a government in Libya.[29] But moreover NATO's intervention increased the level of violence in Libya as how there were more conflicts and more incidents reported. Operation Libya Dawn and Operation Dignity were established in 2014.[30] The partiality of NATO in the conflict, perpetuate conflict escalation from the discriminated actor in 2011 and it grew to 2014.[31] Thus, this research will further describe the impact of NATO's intervention in Libya after all.

1.2.1 Research Question

Based on the problem identification and also background of the problem, the major question this research will answer is **"How Did NATO's Intervention Trigger the Conflicts Escalation in Libya after the Fall of Muammar Gaddafi?"**

1.2.2 Scope of the Research

---

[28] James Siebens and Benjamin Case, "The Libyan Civil War: Context and Consequences," *THINK International and Human Security*, 2012, http://www.thinkihs.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Siebens-Case-LibyaSReport-2012.pdf.

[29] Garland, *2011 Libyan Civil War.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] *Ibid.*

The author will limit this research from 2011 to 2014. 2011-2014 provides the most data of Libyan Conflict. 2011 will be the first focus of this research, since this is the year where NATO intervene Libya and 2011 is the pin point where Gaddafi fell from its leadership. The fall of Gaddafi is important because it is the pin point where NATO contributed to the death of Muammar Gaddafi and also when NATO ended the intervention. After NATO ended its intervention the conflict escalation happened. 2011-2014 will show how NATO's intervention led to conflicts escalation throughout Libya, and when NATO's intervention managed to create fragmentation in Libya. The focus of research will be the conflicts escalation in the aftermath of NATO's intervention. Thus, this research will focus on first, NATO's intervention and its processes in establishing conflict escalation in 2011. Second, the author will describe the conflict escalation from 2011 to 2014 and why NATO's intervention is responsible for the conflicts escalation in 2011-2014.

1.3 The Objective and the Contribution of the Research

1.3.1 The Objective of the Research

The objective of this research is to analyze the role of NATO's intervention in escalating the conflicts in Libya after NATO ended its intervention in 2011. The author will also describe the conflicts escalation in Libya from 2012-2014.

1.3.2 The Contribution of the Research

The contributions of this research are; first, this research will give more knowledge and give a better analysis about NATO's intervention in Libya to the author. Second, hopefully this research will give contribution to people who are interested with this issue. Thus this research is expected to be considered as one of the references for people who are interested with NATO's intervention in Libya.

1.4. Literature Review

The first literature this research will review is *Libya After Qaddafi: Lessons and Implications for the Future* written by Christopher S. Chivvis, Jeffrey Martini, published by RAND Corporation.

This journal consists of six chapters. It explains the condition in Libya after 2011 from security aspect, state-building challenges, economic stabilization and the oil economy, alternative strategies, and the steps of Libya for the International Community. It states that in Libya the lack of security stems primarily from the failure of the effort to disarm and demobilize rebel militias after the war. Post Gaddafi's state was very weak politically and administratively. There were economic problems particularly in giving the society salaries in running the oil production back. And there is a minimum effort from international community to stabilize the condition in Libya. There are ideas proposed in this journal to bring betterment in Libya such as; support a national reconciliation process, strengthen Libya's national

security forces, help Libya strengthen border security, help Libya build its public administration.

The problem of Libya in 2012 is NATO did not give any military deployment after war. This impacted to the rise of Jihadist groups. And there were limited involvement of international community like UN and other organization. The security in Libya was threatened as there were widespread arms all across Libya. The rebel forces that overthrew Gaddafi were highly fragmented. The violence took multiple forms in Libya, ranging from tribal disputes over territory and trading routes, to conflicts with alleged regime holdouts, to score settling, and jihadist efforts to destabilize the country. The NTC tried to solve this problem however this is not enough with armed population. The attack on Benghazi that killed U.S. Ambassador was also the result of Jihadism and al Qaeda in Libya. NTC as the legitimate representation of rebels in Libya was very weak thus it could not bring back stability, and it lacked legitimacy in Libya. The new parliament was also highly fragmented due to the absence of organized political parties that could aggregate interests nationwide. The other problem was even severe when by the end of 2013 the formal politics in Libya was becoming less and less relevant. Particularly when the mandate of the GNC expired in February 2014, they extended it. It perpetuated insecurity all across the nation. This journal provides long term solution. One of the solutions was the task of international force to help stabilizing the country, mediate disputes and support confidence-building measures between the militias, support security sector

reform and others. International community should provide support for a National Reconciliation Process as well in this journal.

The second journal which the author will review is *The Libyan Uprising: An Uncertain Trajectory*, by Varun Vira, Anthony H. Cordesman, and Arleigh A. Burke, published by Centre for Strategic and International Studies in 2011. This journal is discussing about the background of Libya, how Libyan conflict could rise, and how the war was finally won.

NATO's intervention and involvement in Libyan conflict was to change the current regime. As how it is stated that Muammar Gaddafi has to step down from its power. Most of analysis in this journal, discussed about strategies of NATO, and examination of all military forces which were used by all actors. These actors are; NATO, Gaddafi's opposition, and also loyalist forces. The dynamic of military attacks and military activities along 2011 is discussed as well. NATO to begin with was mandated by UNSC through resolution 1970 and 1973 to implement a no-fly zone and also implement all necessary measures to protect civilians in Libya. NATO took control of all military operations in Libya on March 31, 2011. The operation name was *Operation Unified Protector*. This operation had managed to flow 4,212 strike sorties. However, it was not that easy for loyalist forces, which was Gaddafi's forces to be defeated, and they still continued the war.

This journal also discusses about how Libya has oil resources which should be protected in time of war. Thus, NATO also has the interest to protect these resources from any damage. The effectiveness of NATO is proven through its military operations and military equipment which managed to heavily targeted Tripoli for example. In this war, there was a huge power difference between opposition group and loyalist forces. This journal discusses about how the command chain of opposition is not that well organized. That's why NATO was there to give 'back-up' assistances to opposition group.

The third journal this research will review is *The Libyan Civil War: Context and Consequences*, written by James Siebens and Benjamin Case, and published by THINK International and Human Security

This journal explains that the foreign military intervention in Libya may have in fact exacerbated the negative consequences of the civil war. This journal firstly explains the history of Libya for 5,000 years. This history helps the authors to explain how Libya has been in multiple histories of diverse peoples and political entities.

The situation in Libya must be defined as a civil war from February 20, 2011, where multiple cities had been captured by armed rebel groups that had violently evicted government forces. The situation in Libya at that time was imbalance, since the government forces have more power rather than the opposition one. That was the moment when Libyan rebels formally created the National Transitional Council, and

NATO was mandated to intervened Libya under UNSC Resolution 1973. NATO gave a clear support for the opposition forces as it targets the Gaddafi's private residence and the government forces. The success of the anti-Gaddafi rebels in the 2011 must be attributed to NATO air power. However this success comes with casualties, as NATO's airpower caused human casualties.

As the result this journal explains there were power vacuum after Gaddafi's removal. Second, it caused violence, Chaos and Human Rights Abuse. Third it caused "Deep-Seated Racism". Fourth it caused economic effects. Fifth, it caused civilian displacement and death as the cost and as NATO has failed to reach their objective on protecting the society and it is undermining the international norms, 'Responsibility to Protect'. Fifth is regional instability, when Libya's government led to massive displaced persons.

From three journals above, the author can conclude that this research has not been done by previous journals. The previous journals have not fully and focused on the role NATO's Intervention in the Conflict Escalation in Libya, which this will be the focus of the author.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Intervention is a forcible interference in the domestic affairs of another state[32]. The broad definition of intervention includes the whole range of behavior from not

---

[32] Joseph S. Nye, Understanding International Conflicts; An Introduction to Theory and History (Longman, 2003), p. 155.

very coercive to highly coercive. The broad definition of intervention includes the whole range and steps of behavior from not very coercive to highly coercive. The phase of intervention can be defined from a low coercion phase to a high coercion phase[33]. The phase of intervention includes 8 steps[34]. The first is speeches. The second is through broadcast. The third is economic aid, whereas it can influence the domestic affairs. The fourth is military advisers. The fifth is support to the opposition. The sixth is blockade, the seventh is limited military action and the last one is military invasion. The intervention of NATO in Libya is the form of medium to high coercion, where it involved the military advisers, support to the opposition and military intervention. Thus, the major focus of this thesis would revolve in these three phases of intervention. Limited military action includes bombing, help towards one faction in a civil war, cruise missile attacks, used air and ground support for local forces. Full-scale military intervention is the upper end of the spectrum of coerciveness, where countries intervene with full forces, sent troops, and full scale that have been explained in limited military action.

The idea of intervention might backlash the sovereignty of the intervened state. Thus, there has been debate in regards whether intervention by external actors is justified or not. According to realists view, intervention is justified when it is necessary to maintain the balance of power, to maintain order and to prevent the escalation of wars. Michael Walzer defines four situations that can justify military

---

[33] *Ibid*, p. 166.
[34] *Ibid*, p. 162.

intervention[35]. The first is preemptive intervention. When there is a clear and sufficient threat to a state's territorial integrity and political sovereignty it is justified to conduct an intervention. The second exception occurs when intervention is needed to balance a prior intervention. The purpose is when the first intervention prevents local people from determining their own fate a counter-intervention can be justified. The third is to rescue people who are threatened with massacre. And the fourth is the right to assist secessionist movements when they have demonstrated their representative character.

This research will use the theory of internal conflicts by Michael Brown. This theory explains 4 proximate factors and 3 trigger factors in internal conflicts. Internal Conflict is violent or potentially violent political disputes whose origins can be traced primarily to domestic rather than systemic factors, and when armed forces take place or threatens to take place primarily in the borders of one single state[36]. Based on Michael E. Brown theory on the causes of internal conflicts, there are 4 proximate factors and 3 trigger factors in internal conflicts[37]. The 4 proximate factors are; political factors, structural factors, economy factors, and cultural factors. Political factor includes; discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideology, inter-groups politics, and elite politics. Structural factor indicates; weak-states, intra-state security concerns, and ethnic geography. Economy/social factor includes;

---

[35] Ibid.

[36] Michael E. Brown, *The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), p. 1.

[37] *Ibid*, p. 12.

economic problems, discriminatory economic systems, and the trials and tribulation of economic development and modernization. Cultural factor includes cultural discrimination against minority, and differences in norms and cultures from one group to another group.

There are 3 trigger factors in internal conflict. Bad leadership is the condition where the leader and the elites of the country perpetuate the conflict. Major conflicts are triggered by internal, elite-level activities. Elite decisions and actions are perpetuating potentially volatile situations into violent confrontation. The second trigger factor is the media. Media plays the big role in creating a movement within society. People in Libya were aware of Arab Spring through the media. The third is Bad Neighbor. Bad neighbor is the condition when the conflict happens because there is an intervention or involvement from external actor[38]. Bad neighbor are considered as the bad neighbor when first an external actor is doing an opportunistic intervention and the second is when the external actor is supporting the rebels. Bad neighbors are outside actors who inflame crises and aid and abet states and rebels who use violence to prevail in domestic disputes. Neighboring states are not always the innocent victims. They are sometimes responsible for sparkling internal conflict. There are different kinds of actions that neighboring states can take with respect to internal conflict. Brown defines 4 kinds of interventions, the first is humanitarian suffering and restoring regional peace and security, second is defensive intervention, third is

---

[38] *Ibid*, p. 23.

protective intervention, and the last is opportunistic meddling where it is designed to further political, economic, or military interests and also opportunistic invasions. When the intervention is proven to be the opportunistic intervention, external forces might escalate the crisis even more in one country, particularly when the external forces are favoring one group more than the other[39].

In the book of *War and Democratization,* external intervention might escalate conflicts that already existed in one country. Intervention that only set out to force an autocratic leader from power promise near-term success neither for democracy nor for peace[40]. Such democracies threaten to remain incomplete and unstable and this increases the danger of war. These democracies remain unstable, crisis-prone, violent, and short-lived[41]. Democratization is likely to destabilize the power position of state elites by opening up new opportunities for separatist minorities and other actors to mobilize against the state[42]. Conflict diffusion may happen through various mechanisms including kin-group effects and transnational rebel activities. In the area of 'bad neighborhoods' such as Middle East, democratization can trigger conflict by altering the incentives and opportunities of political actors[43].

---

[39] *Ibid*, p. 25.
[40] Woflgang Merkel and Sonja Grimm, *War and Democratization: Legality, Legitimacy and Effectiveness* (New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 39.
[41] *Ibid*, p. 39.
[42] *Ibid*, p. 62.
[43] *Ibid*, p. 63.

Waldmann in the International Handbook of Violence Research, (2002) stated that civil wars happen under several causes[44]. Civil war happens when social and political changes takes places due to demographic shift of balance or dominance, state collapse, military coup, refugees from third countries, or external intervention[45]. Social and political change where dissatisfaction and the spirit of protest arc aroused by structural changes, and in some cases external influences as well that undermine the status quo can rapidly escalate into a broader conflict. Thus external influences play a big role in determining the existence of conflict.

In the book of *Internationalization of Internal Conflicts*, there are causes why conflict were erupted and internationalized. He explains that intervention become the factor which might trigger a conflict. There are two interventions. First is the involvement by outsiders to pursue independent aims; and second intervention is actions taken by outsiders to expedite the resolution of the conflict either through negotiation or military means[46]. The first intervention most cases the first intervention has a negative impact on the problem as it often prolongs the conflict and often increases the levels of violence, because the external actors do not take the internal view as the main consideration in doing the intervention[47].

---

[44] Wilhelm Heitmeyer and John Hagan, *International Handbook of Violence*, vol. 1 (Dordecht: Kluwer Academic Publisher, 2003), p. 299.

[45] *Ibid*, p. 300.

[46] Amy L. Freedman, *The Internationalization of Internal Conflicts: Threatening the State* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p. 6.

[47] *Ibid*, p. 7.

Gebrewold classified the causes of conflict into three causes[48]. The first is the root causes, the second is trigger causes and the third is tertiary causes. Root causes imply the historical composition of peoples and states during the colonial period as well as during the process of 'state building' afterwards[49]. The root causes includes social fragmentation. Trigger causes are the current societal, economic and political actors and factors that trigger conflict, islamization, ideological contradictions, and democratization process[50]. Tertiary causes are the external actors that systemically exacerbate conflicts or do not have the power, will or right intention to prevent them[51]. Mostly external factors intervenes the domestic affairs or conflict in another state to establish peace because there was conflict there. Gebrewold states that peace process which focuses only on democratization, state-building, security sector reform, humanitarian military intervention, arms embargoes cannot achieve sustainable peace if regional and global powers pursue contradicting interests[52]. Thus NATO as the one only did military intervention finally led to another conflicts.

Conflict escalation might happen because of the involvement of external actors. Conflict escalation is the part of process in the escalation and de-escalation of conflict based on the Hourglass Model of Conflict Escalation and De-escalation. This model consists of process when conflict escalates and at the top of this process which

---

[48] Belachew Gebrewold, *Anatomy of Violence, Understanding the Systems of Conflict and Violence in Africa* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 4.

[49] *Ibid*, p. 3.

[50] *Ibid*, p. 224.

[51] *Ibid*, p. 3.

[52] *Ibid*, p. 229.

is the war, the conflict finally de-escalates. The conflict escalation started from *difference* between actors, then it goes to the emergence of *contradiction* that may or may not remain latent, then go through a *polarization* in which antagonistic parties form and the conflict becomes manifest, and finally the conflict turns into *violence* and *war*[53]. Differences and contradiction are the incompatibility of goals or the 'mis-match between social values and social structure.' Polarization is the process where antagonistic parties form and the conflict become manifest. Galtung defines violence as the cause of the difference between the potential and the actual between what could have been and what is. There are three kind of violence. The first is direct violence, second is structural violence, and the third is cultural violence. Direct violence is the condition where there is an actor who intends the consequences to the victim. Direct violence happens in the form of verbal and physical which harms the body and mind. Structural or indirect violence is defined as built into the person, social and world spaces and is unintended. Structural violence divides into political, repressive and economic, exploitative and supported by structural penetration, segmentation, fragmentation and marginalization. Cultural violence is the aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence. Cultural violence divides by content: religion, law and ideology, language, and arts.[54]

---

[53] Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, and Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolutions. op. cit.*, p. 11.
[54] Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means* (Oslo: International Peace Research Insitution, 1996).

Galtung defines conflict as the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups[55]. There are four dimensions of conflict[56]. Dimension of conflict is a variable that apply to conflicts. The first is actors. Actors of conflict are seen from counting the number of actors. Where conflict can happen inter person, inter group, inter society, intra person, intra group and intra society. In the actors it is important to analyze the interaction. Second dimension is goals, where the number goals are influencing the conflict[57]. The more goals of actors involved in one particular conflict, these will make the conflict become even more complex. The third is incompatibility[58]. As mentioned previously the definition of conflict is actors in pursuit incompatibility goals. The last is pursuit, where pursuit consists of attitude, behavior and resources[59]. Attitude in the conflict may be negative neutral or positive. Second is behavior. In behavior there might be a conflict. Behavior can be classified as destructive, neutral and constructive behavior.

1.6. Research Method

1.6.1   Approaches

This research uses qualitative method. The qualitative method is the descriptive method as the method to analyze an issue. The author chooses this

---

[55] Galtung Johan, Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations (New York: Dept of Sociology, Columbia University, 1958), p. 43.

[56] *Ibid*, p. 46.

[57] *Ibid*, p. 57.

[58] *Ibid*, p. 70.

[59] *Ibid*, p. 95.

method because this method includes these approaches[60]; First, Natural Setting. Qualitative researches tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue. Second, researches as the instrument, the reason why the author chooses qualitative method is because in order to analyze NATO's role in Libyan conflict, researches through examining data or documents will be the major keys. Third, Multiple sources of Data. After the second criteria of qualitative research, multiple sources of data will be very useful since documents, books, news, will be the only source of information to analyze NATO's role in Libyan conflict. Fourth, is interpretive. Qualitative research will also give space for author to interpret information. This should be based on the understanding of the authors. Fifth, is theoretical lens. Qualitative research use lens to analyze and describe something. These lens can be in the form of concept or theory. Thus in this research the author will describe NATO's role in Libya in the lens of third-party intervention theory, and the concept of conflict resolution.

These are the reasons why the author would like to use qualitative research. And the author will focus on collecting data through researches then describe and interpret these researches in order to analyze this research. Qualitative research is also a descriptive type of research. The author is trying

---

[60] John. W Creswell, A Framework Design in Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Approaches, Second (London: Sage Publication, 2003), p. 175.

to describe the escalation of conflicts caused by NATO's intervention, thus the qualitative method suits this research.

1.6.2   Technique of Data Collecting

The author will collect the data through books (electronic books included), journals, and articles from news to analyze the contribution of NATO's intervention contribution in leading the conflict escalation in Libya.

1.7   Research Management

This thesis will consist of five chapters;

The first chapter is the introduction which will explain the introduction of the research such as the background of the problem, the problem identification and the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework will consist of every theory that the author uses in this research, such as the theory of bad neighbor which will be used in the fourth chapter, the concept of intervention which will be used in the second chapter, and also the concept of conflict in the third chapter. The first chapter will explain the method of this research, as how the author will use the qualitative method for this research.

The second chapter will be *Conflicts in Libya in 2011*. This chapter will explain conflicts and contradictions that happened in Libya during NATO's intervention. The first sub-chapter is actors involved in the Libyan conflicts during

NATO's Intervention. There are two actors. The first one is Gaddafi and his governments. The second is the opposition groups which consisted of mostly democratic groups and Islamist groups. The second sub-chapter is goals and incompatibility of goals among conflicted parties. This sub-chapter will describe the goals and their incompatibility between Gaddafi's governments and also the opposition groups. The third sub-chapter will be the pursuit of goals among conflicted parties. In this sub-chapter the author will present the pursuit and also the conflict that is caused by the incompatible goals among the parties.

The third chapter will be *The Involvement of NATO in Libyan Conflict through its Intervention.* In this chapter the author will explain the data about NATO's contribution such as their operations, their military actions, their objectives, and the results when they pulled their forces from Libya in the end of 2011. The first sub-chapter is NATO's involvement in Libyan conflict objective and justification. This sub-chapter will explain how NATO under UN was justified and mandated to be involved in Libyan conflict. The second sub-chapter will be NATO's military action in Libyan conflict. This sub-chapter will explain NATO's operation which was Operation Unified Protector. This sub-chapter will also explain NATO's air campaign as the part of its intervention. The last sub-chapter will be NATO's deployment of military advisers and supports for the opposition. The deployment of military advisers and supports for the opposition is also the instrument of forcible interference in one country.

The fourth chapter will be *The Role of NATO in Triggering the Libyan Conflict Escalation.* In this chapter the author will analyze and describe the theory of 'bad neighbor' in conflicts as the major analysis. The first sub-chapter of this chapter is the Involvement of NATO as the Bad Neighbor in Libyan Conflict. There will be two points in this sub-chapter. The first is the Question of NATO's Intervention as the Opportunistic Intervention. The second is the Support of NATO to the Opposition Side in Libya. This sub-chapter will use theory 'bad neighbor' as the main theory, then it will be supported by other theories in regards with the bad neighbor. The second sub-chapter will be the Conflict Escalation in Libya as the Repercussion of NATO's Intervention. The author will describe the conflict escalation that happened in Libya from 2012 until 2014. This will include 4 points, the first is the difference, the second is the contradiction, the third is the polarization, and the last is the outbreak of violence in Libya.

The fifth and will be the conclusion. The author will conclude how NATO had been considered as a failure in bringing stability in Libya. The author will have two conclusions. The first is NATO's intervention created polarization in Libya. The second is how NATO's intervention increased the number of violence in Libya.