

**T.C.**

**ATILIM UNIVERSITY**

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INTERNATIONAL  
RELATIONS MASTER PROGRAM**

**UNITED STATES –LIBYA RELATIONS (2002-2012)**

**Master's Thesis**

**Prepared By**

**Amira Kablan**

**Ankara- 2017**



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**AMIRA KABLAN**

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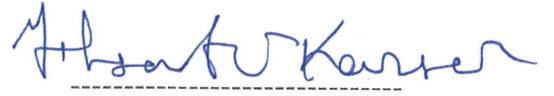
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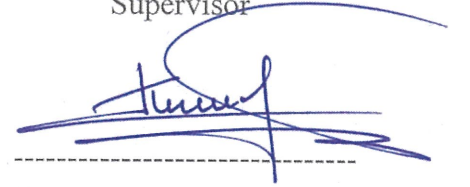
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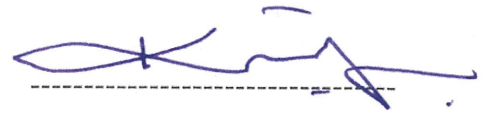
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## ÖZ

### **Kablan, Amira. BİRLEŞİK DEVLETLER-LIBYA İLİŞKİLERİ 2002-2012, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2017**

Bu tezin amacı, ABD ve Libya arasındaki ilişki aşamalarını, bu ilişkilerin önemini ele alan sistematik bir analizle ve 2002 ve 2012 yılları arasında Amerikan Büyükelçisine yönelik suikaste kadar yaşanan başlıca olayları vurgulayarak dikkatlice gözlemlemektir. Bu çerçevede belirtilen amaca ulaşmak için, bu çalışma, ABD-Libya ilişkilerinin erken tarihini, özellikle Libya'nın Osmanlı egemenliğinde olduğu ve Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin Kuzey Afrika'daki hırslarının ve çıkarımının odağında olduğu 19. Yüzyılın başlarını kapsamaktadır. Bu dönemde ilişkilerde, bağımsızlığın kazanılmasından sonra ABD tarafından başlatılan ilk savaşın başlamasına sebebiyet veren inişler ve çıkışlar yaşanmıştır. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda, Libya'nın İtalyan sömürgesi altında olduğu dönemi de ele almaktadır. ABD-Libya ilişkileri, özellikle kraliyet döneminde yaşanan çevreleme ve ABD'ye neredeyse tamamen bağımlılık aşamasını yansıtmaktadır. Libya'nın stratejik konumu ve petrol mevcudiyeti, Sovyetler Birliği'nin yayılmasına karşı kendi çıkarımını ve etkisini güçlü bir şekilde savunan ABD için özel bir önem arz etmiştir.

Bu tez, 1969 yılından 17 Şubat devrimine kadar olan Kaddafi rejimini incelemiştir. Son otuz yılda, ABD-Libya ilişkileri gergin olarak tanımlanabilirdi, fakat 1970'lerde ve 1980'lerde yaşanan askeri cepheleşme, ilişkilerde bir dönüm noktası olmuştur ve 11 Eylül saldırılarından sonra işbirliğinin yolunu açmıştır. Arap Baharı olaylarından sonra ilişkiler kötüleşmiş ve Amerika Birleşik Devletlerinin askeri müdahalesi nedeniyle yaşanan cepheleşme ve silahlı muhalif gruplara verilen destek Kaddafi'nin devrilmesine neden olmuştur. Son olarak bu çalışma, Obama yönetimi tarafından Libya'ya yönelik bu müdahalenin çıkarımlarıyla ve durumun yanlış yorumlanmasıyla Amerikan Büyükelçisinin suikastine ve başarısız bir devlete neden olan Kaddafi rejiminin devrilmesi noktasında sona eren Amerikan propagandasını ve müttefiklerini ele almıştır.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Terör, Al-Gaddafi, NATO, Amerikan büyükelçisi

## ABSTRACT

**KABLAN, Amira .UNITED STATES –LIBYA RELATIONS 2002-2012, M.A.Thesis,  
Ankara 2017**

The aim of this thesis was to carefully observe the stages of relations between the US and Libya highlighting the main facts which took place in the period between 2002 and 2012 until the assassination of the American Ambassador, with a systematic analysis which discusses the importance of these relations. To achieve this goal through this framework, the study covered the early history of the US – Libyan relations, specifically in the beginning of the 19th century when Libya was under the rule of the Ottomans and was the focus of attention of the United States' ambitions and interests in North Africa. During that period, the relations experienced ups and downs which led to the first war launched by the USA after independence. The study also dealt with the period when Libya was under Italian colonialism. The US-Libyan relations reflected the phase of containment and near-total dependence on the United States, especially during the royal era. Libya's strategic position and oil availability made it particularly important to the US which defended its interests and influence strongly against the expansion of the Soviet Union.

This thesis examined the period of Gaddafi's regime from 1969 to the February 17th revolution. Over the past these three decades, US-Libyan relations could be described as tense, however military confrontations during the 1970s and 1980s led to a breakthrough in relations and cooperation after September 11 attacks. After the Arab Spring events, the relations deteriorated and the confrontation caused by the military intervention of the United States and supporting the armed opposition eventually led to the overthrow of Gaddafi. Lastly, this study briefly argued that the American propaganda and its allies stopped at the point of bringing down the Gaddafi's regime only, resulting in a failed state and the assassination of the American Ambassador due to the misjudgment of the situation and the implications of this intervention in Libya by Obama's administration.

**Key words:** Terrorism, Al-Gaddafi, NATO, American ambassador

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, all praise and gratitude to Allah, for completing this thesis, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar my supervisor for his insight and direction which was vital to the success of this thesis, and for the faith in my success. Thanks and loves go to my parents for their motivation and inspirations without whom, I would not reach this success. I have to give a special acknowledgment to my husband, Dr. Abdulhakim Gadoura for his limitless support.



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## **LIST OF ABBREVLATIONS**

US: United States

WWII: world War II

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN: United Nations

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

GNC: The General National Congress

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

**1.1. Introduction**, the purpose of this study is to conduct a political and historical analysis of the relations between the U.S and Libya during the period of 2002-2012. This study discussed the stages of this relationship since its inception. This thesis provided an overview of the historical background of the US-Libya relations with detailed analysis of discussed the importance of these relations. Also, it covered earlier history of the US-Libya relations through history dating back 200 years ago, from the late nineteenth century to the twenty first century, experiencing ups and downs during the rule of the Ottomans. It also focused on the domination of Italian colonialism in Libya until the allies occupation of Libya in 1943, then, the independence of Libya in 1951, and its recognition by the US and how the Libyan-US relations between 1951 and 1954 were until the Muammar Gaddafi coup on 1 September 1969, as well as highlighting major influential aspects of the relationship between Libya and the U.S. Later, the thesis focused on the relation between the United States and Libya in 2001 until 2012, it discussed the most important events and developments from the 9/11 events and the response of the Libyan Government until the revolution in 2011, and then the assassination of the US ambassador and their implications on the US administration. Finally, the thesis was concluded by a summary of the conducted theoretical analysis.

**1.2. Research questions:** How have the relationships between the United States and Libya changed over time, especially the changes which took place during the monarchy and Qaddafi regime? What were the Impacts of the September 11 attacks and the 2011 Arab Spring on shaping the relations between Libya and the United States? What were the calculations and motives of the US in supporting Libyan revolution in 2011 if they were not to take clear measures to collect weapons and achieve stability? How did US deal with the assassination of the American Ambassador in 2012? Did Gaddafi's prophecy in one of his most famous speeches "Libya would be like Iraq and Afghanistan if the US intervened" become true?

### **1.3. Hypothesis and Possible Contribution**

The post-revolutionary Libya has suffered from severe crises, including terrorism, lack of central government and failed state structures. The U.S and its allies have supported the revolution without calculating the costs of such a gradual political change. In addition, they have since then done almost nothing to solve these crises. This thesis argues that the U.S always sought to achieve its goals and interests, and its fixed interests move from one ally to another, and the oil interests were the priorities of US policy that sought to preserve them.

Over the past decades, the US repeatedly sought to undermine the Libyan regime and considered it to be a hostile regime that supported terrorism and threatened its interests and policies in the region. All these considerations led to the military confrontations through which the US policy failed, despite all the pretexts, to topple Qaddafi's regime.

### **1.4. Methodology**

This paper addressed the hostile and diplomatic relations between the United States and Libya to find explanations for these relations. The methodological approach of this study was using qualitative research. This study relied on literature review, therefore, consisted of primary and secondary sources. Those primary sources could be referred to as politicians' speeches, statements and interviews, United Nations Security Council resolutions, news reports, newspaper articles and reports issued by international non-governmental organizations. Secondary sources were the majority of the literature base and included many articles and daily books as well as published documents in the forms of studies such as books, and theses. Much of this study focused on the relations between Libya and the United States after the international intervention in Libya and the assassination of the American Ambassador in 2012.

## 1.5. Literature review

Little (2013) emphasized that Post-World War II era was considered to be the beginning of the expansion of US influence in Libya. The US has become well aware of the importance of geostrategic location of Libya and begun to strengthen influence in Libya through mutual agreements and cooperation through granting financial and economic aid to the Libyan government for ensuring the safety of its bases and to confirm its presence in the country with allies, and taking advantage of the poverty in Libya and the urgent need for aid against Soviet influence. Little (2013), focused on the stage of the Libyan monarchy which had closer relations with the U.S, during which US-Libyan relations evolved and grew, allowing the United States to offer on Libya to increase financial aid for the use of US bases. The US government appointed a US ambassador in Libya to restore full diplomatic representation with Libya. As an additional support, Libya began to receive aid after agreeing to Eisenhower Doctrine, which was the aid program allocated to the Middle East and Libya, this program was cleared by President Dwight D. Eisenhower after an approval of seven million dollars aid to Libya. The aim was to counter communism and the threats by the Soviets in the Middle East.<sup>1</sup>

This research emphasized that Libya was an important priority in the map of Western and American interests before the Second World War and the tension in relationships between two nations was not recent, but it was as early as 1786-1796 when the war broke out between the two countries, the first war against America in the Mediterranean. This war was known as Tripolitania war.

As Alcide Osman (1964) noted, the US administration began to take the opposition's policy towards Libya, because of Gaddafi's orientations and Ideological differences which opposed its policy. Moreover, the US paved promoted and supported its aggression against Libya to the American public opinion through an extensive media campaign. Alcide argued that the purpose of the US administration was to discipline the Libyan leadership in order to

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<sup>1</sup>Douglas Little, " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89", *The International History Review*, Vol. 35, No.1, 2013, p.72

confirm the US prestige. During these quick political changes, and after uploading Libya full responsibility for carrying out many terrorist attacks, the United States reduced diplomatic representation with Libya. In addition, US tried to impose an economic blockade on Libya.<sup>2</sup> Similar to Osman (1964), Zoubir (2002) focused on the US-Libya relations especially during the Ronald Reagan administration and how the conflict turned into actual confrontation, and promoting the consideration of Libya as "State sponsor of terrorism" through media campaigns, this diplomatic war between the two countries led to diplomatic isolation of Libya. Zoubir (2002) further elaborated that the Reagan administration tried to assassinate Gaddafi himself as well as supporting the Libyan opposition, and has worked to tighten and strengthen the economic sanctions policy and tried to pressure its European allies to boycott Libya economically. In the framework of mutual enmity between the two countries, the US put Libya on the indictment of Lockerbie case in an attempt to find a pretext for military intervention in Libya.<sup>3</sup> In a related subject, Almaahdi found that the US administration began to take the opposition's policy towards Libya, because of Gaddafi's orientations.<sup>4</sup>

This thesis added a new perspective on how the United States abandoned its allies in the monarchy and supported the 1969 coup, after establishing and maintaining the relations since the early fifties of the twentieth century until Gaddafi era. During these transformations in Libya, the US foreign policy was always linked to its interests in Libya and not to democracy or the interests of the Libyan people. However, the arrival of Gaddafi to power led to the reformulation of Libyan-American relations, because of the hostility of the Libyan regime to the West and Israel, and its stand with the Palestinian cause, which resulted in the expulsion of the Americans out of Libya, and nationalization of US oil companies, as well as Libya's rapprochement with the Soviets. These events were major concern of the US which led to put plan aimed at eliminating those who opposed it in terms of its colonial interests.

Andrews (2015), stated that the events of 9/11 marked a turning point in a move to normalize relations with America, Britain and Libyan regime which began a new phase in

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<sup>2</sup> Alcid Osman, *AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya: 1992- 1940*, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center for Media Publishing, 1994 , pp:381-382

<sup>3</sup> Yahia H Zoubir, " Libya in US foreign policy: From rogue state to good fellow?", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol .23, No. 1,2002,pp.32-33

<sup>4</sup>Masaud almaahdi, *Libya-united states relations 1969-1986*, Malaysia : University Putra published in Master's Thesis, 1999, pp.4-5



December 2003, announcing its full readiness to deliver chemical weapons and allow the International Committee to inspect, and granting them access to the nuclear facilities in a move to normalize relations with America and Britain. After long diplomatic negotiations with the United States and Britain, it was decided to bring Libya back to the international community.<sup>5</sup> Also, Obaid (2016) examined how the Libyan regime became a partner in the US war against terrorism and sought the resolution of the disputes with the United States, and how security cooperation between Libya and the United States against al-Qaeda took place.<sup>6</sup>

This thesis provided an important insight on the understanding of the Gaddafi's regime of the dangerous repercussions which could result from challenging the Americans not to be targeted and later be invaded by the United States just like what occurred in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Libyan regime was suffering from economic sanctions that have heavily affected the economy of the country because of the Lockerbie case. The most important reason behind Gaddafi's support to America in the fight against terrorism was that Libya suffered internally during the nineties from militant groups. Washington benefited from Libyan decision to improve the image of the US president in front of the American public because of its inability to prove that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction.

Dunne and Gifkins (2011), discussed the theme of the international military intervention and its repercussions which began on 20th of March 2011, when the UN Security Council issued a resolution (1973) for military intervention in Libya at the request of major powers by imposing the no-fly zone over Libya.<sup>7</sup> Morell and Horell elaborated on the Libyan conflict in 2011 after the intervention of NATO, arguing, based on a report from the CIA which described the situation that Libya has entered critical juncture into a state of chaos and lack of security and stability. The diplomatic headquarters of the UN mission were attacked, while most western governments closed their embassies and withdrew their staff. This report was sent to the Congress under the title " Libya: Al-Qaeda Establishing Sanctuary ".<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> John Andrews, *The world in conflict: Understanding the world's trouble spots*, London: 2015,p.71

<sup>6</sup> Mona Obeid, "AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya ", *The University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No 2, 2016,p.444

<sup>7</sup> Tim Dunne & Jess Gifkins, "Libya and the state of intervention", *The Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 65, No.5, November 2011, pp:522-523

<sup>8</sup> Michael Morell, Bil Horell, *The Great War Of Our Time: The CAS Fight Against Terrorism From Al- Qaida To ISIS*, New York, 2015, pp.198,199

This thesis highlighted a very important point that despite Libya became a major ally of the West, Obama administration has supported the Libyan revolution and the Libyan armed opposition, although most of them were militant Islamist groups that were banned after the events of September 11, which Libya was cooperating with America to fight against. On the other hand, in the post-revolution period, the Libyan transitional council, and the interim government failed to manage the transitional phase, which led to the deterioration of the security situation due to the spread of arms and the refusal of the dominant militias to hand over their weapons. The US embassy was always paying the price for its misguided policy. The US embassy in Benghazi was attacked and the American ambassador was assassinated. During this time the Obama administration and U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton were heavily criticized for ignoring security reinforcements and neglecting the protection of the ambassador in Libya, and did not make any clear efforts to combat terrorism and collect weapons in Libya's post-war dilemma. Paradoxically, these radical Islamic groups, which the U.S supported against Qaddafi, were responsible for the assassination of the US ambassador.

This study showed that the US role in the revolution of Libya left Libya to drown into the chaos of weapons and terrorism which was the same scenario that Gaddafi warned of in his speeches, that Libya would be under terrorism and Al-Qaeda control if Security Council decision to militarily intervene in Libya. Indeed, When the United States intervened in Libya through NATO operations, and did not make clear plans on how to deal with Libya in the post-war period; it created the critical and significant junctures. Finally, America itself has admitted the mistake of its military intervention in Libya President Barack Obama said that the worst mistake of his presidency was a lack of planning for the aftermath of the 2011 toppling of Libyan Gaddafi.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Allie Malloy, "Obama admits worst mistake of his presidency", (Accessed date:6-4-2017)<http://edition.cnn.com/2016/04/10/politics/obama-libya-biggest-mistake>

## CHAPTER TWO

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE US –LIBYA RELATIONS

#### 2.1. Tripoli / Libya under Ottoman Control: 1551 Until 1911

Historically, Libya was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire from the early 16th century. Tripolitania was controlled by the Ottoman authority after the Levant and Egypt and was influenced by laws issued by it, in addition to conventions and treaties. Ottoman rule has included all regions of Libya: Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan. The affairs of those were managed by a Pasha who was appointed by the Sultan and the Sublime Porte.<sup>10</sup> During 1711, Libya became under the autonomous rule of AlQaramanli dynasty and the Ottoman governor Ahmed AlQaramanli, who founded AlQaramanli dynasty. He succeeded in establishing a hereditary ruling for him and his family until 1835. Moreover, the Ottoman influence in the Tripolitania and Cyrenaica was shrinking and the Ottoman Empires' authorities in Tripoli became nominal sovereignty only.<sup>11</sup> During this time, the construction of an effective Libyan naval fleet and many other reforms were taking place in the country. These reforms continued in the era of Yusuf AlQaramanli, Libya's naval fleet became strong which enabled it to enjoy international prestige. In addition, Yusuf AlQaramanli, imposing the Jizya (tolls) on all the American, European, British, Swedish, French and Italian ships during their transit in the Mediterranean Sea.<sup>12</sup>

The significant event of this period was the Tripolitania war, when Yusuf Pasha demanded an increase in fees in the US and to abide by the previous treaty in 1796 to ensure the safety of its ships as they pass in the Mediterranean waters. However, The United States was not convinced to pay the extra tolls or make gifts to Tripoli and accused them of being

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<sup>10</sup> Alcid Osman, *AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya: 1992- 1940*, Cairo: Arab Civilization Center for Media Publishing, 1994,p.220

<sup>11</sup> Amhamed Said, *The Maritime Trabelsi in the era of Yusuf Pasha AlQurmanli*, Benghazi-Libya: 2000,p.223

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p.226

the Berber pirates. Diplomatic efforts failed to calm the situation and the US President Thomas Jefferson ignored these demands and continued to procrastinate. In return, the money and gifts were paid to Algeria and Tunisia.<sup>13</sup>

Moreover, in 1801, Yusuf Pasha decided to declare war against the US by smashing the American flagpole publicly. The Libyan navy seized one of its vessels. The US government considered the act an insult, and immediately dispatched the US fleet led by Richard Deele to the coasts of Tripoli.<sup>14</sup> He had decided to implement a plan of the US envoy "William Eaton" to impose siege on Tripoli and to break down the alliance of Yusuf Pasha with his brother Hamid AlQaramanli, who was seeking after power. Accordingly, in 1804, the US navy imposed a blockade on Tripoli. Meanwhile, the Libyan navy captured one of the largest US warships Philadelphia with its full crew and soldiers. However, on 16 February 1804, the Americans returned on board of the ships Intrepid and Marines posing as sailors and in filtered into the site where the ship was captured and burned it.<sup>15</sup> As a result of these events, in 1805, after negotiations between the two sides, it was agreed to end the war and exchange prisoners, and a peace treaty was signed. The United States complied with the Libyan demands and paid 60.000 dollars to protect commercial ships operating in the Mediterranean Sea from pirates.<sup>16</sup>

The end of the AlQaramanli dynasty and the weakness of its powers due to economic decline and political anarchy led to frequent conflicts between the successors. In May 1835, the Ottomans sent a military campaign for the restoration of authority in Tripolitania under the leadership of Mustafa Najib Pasha who went to Tripoli to quell the rebellions and arrested the last ruler of the dynasty AlQaramanli, ending the rule of this dynasty. Consequently, Mustafa Najib Pasha became the Ottoman governor in the Tripolitania. Then, the Ottoman Empire restored actual sovereignty over Libya.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Libya <https://history.state.gov/countries/libya>  
(Accessed date: 12 -4- 2017)

<sup>14</sup> Amhamed said, ,pp.227-228

<sup>15</sup> Ibid,p.221

<sup>16</sup> Lisa Anderson, "Nineteenth-Century Reform in Ottoman Libya ",*The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 16, No. 3 Aug, 1984,pp,326

<sup>17</sup> Amhamed Said, *The Maritime Trabelsi in the era of Yusuf Pasha AlQurmanli*. Benghazi-Libya: 2000, p.220

However, Ottoman's rule over Libya was not better than the rule of AlQaramanli. During the ruling of many Ottoman governors, the situation was unstable, high taxation was being applied, and ignorance was spread due to lack of schools. In addition, the people of Tripoli and Cyrenaica felt threatened because the region has become prone to the risk of European colonialism, threatening Ottoman empire in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in North Africa, which did not fall in the hands of European colonialism. France invaded Algiers, and Britain occupied Egypt. Thus, Libya became an isolated state, surrounded by the colonial ambitions to acquire colonies in North Africa.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.2. Early History of the US – Libya Relations: Tripolitania Recognition of the United States, 1786-1796**

During the 18th century, United States sought after its independence from Britain and built a naval fleet in 1776 to commence agreements with North African countries, which were under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, at the time to protect their merchant ships from pirates.<sup>19</sup> In 1784, the US Congress initiated the formation of committees for negotiations with these countries and John Adams assigned for this diplomatic mission. In 1786, diplomatic negotiations began, the Libyan ambassador from Tripoli Haji Abdurrahman Al-Budairi met with John Adams in London; this meeting was the first high-level meeting between the officials of Tripoli and a delegate from the United States after its independence. After these talks, ambassador from Tripolitania confirmed that peace with his country would cost the United States 30,000 pounds. Moreover, the negotiations between Tripolitania and Algeria were concluded without any agreement with the US.<sup>20</sup>

The United States tried in the period between 1768 and 1796 to search for European allies to confront pirates and protect their ships in the Mediterranean. However, it was realized that this was not enough and that it had to settle its problems with the countries of Algeria and Tripoli. The signing of a treaty with Algeria in 1795, mediated by Algeria succeeded to persuade Yusuf AlQaramanli the governor of Tripoli to signing a treaty with the United

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<sup>18</sup> Mark L Ardas, *Raid: Decatur's Boland Daring Act the Philadelphia in Tripoli 1804*, Published in Britain by Oxford University Press : 2011,p.11

<sup>19</sup> Amhamed Said, *The Maritime Trabelsi in the era of Yusuf Pasha AlQurmanli*, Benghazi-Libya: 2000,p.233

<sup>20</sup> David Abulafla, *The Great Sea: A Human History Of The Mediterranean*, London: 2011, pp.534-535

States. Accordingly, the United States signed peace and friendship treaty with the bey of Tripoli which was ratified by the Senate in May 1797, which was the first peace treaty between the two countries.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, due to the appointment of James Leander Cathcart, the first American consul in Tripoli,<sup>22</sup> The relations continued to be positive until the 1801 when the relations deteriorated as the United States did not comply with the terms agreed upon in the 1796 Treaty. The war broke out between the two countries, the first war against America in the Mediterranean. This war, known as Tripolitania war, and the Barbary Coast War was between the Tripoli navy and the US navy.<sup>23</sup>

### **2.3. Tripoli under Italian Control, 1911-1947**

During 1911, the Ottoman Empire was facing difficult circumstances. Its power has become incapable of controlling its territory as a result of conflict of powers between political parties. The internal upheavals caused continuous deterioration of the situation. The lack of attention to the situation in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the multiplicity of Ottoman governors, and the short duration of the ruling, all had significant influence on the deteriorating situation. Meanwhile, Italy had ambitions in colonial expansion toward Libya, and wanted to take advantage of the chaos and the weakness of the Ottoman Empire. Italy paved the way for the occupation of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica by interfering in the internal affairs of Libya, and its policy strengthened its influence to control the economy, forcing the Ottoman Empire to renounce Libya for it. Therefore, on September 28, 1911, Italy sent big armies, and warned the Ottoman government, intending to occupy Libya. However, Italy did not expect what happened; Authorities of Ottoman supported the Libyan resistance against Italy and joined many Arab tribesmen to the resistance despite the imbalance of naval power in the Mediterranean, leading to a fierce resistance against Italy.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Amhamed Said, p.251

<sup>22</sup> Lisa Anderson, "Nineteenth-Century Reform in Ottoman Libya ", *the International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 16, No. 3 Aug, 1984, PP. 326- 327

<sup>23</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East 2000 years of history from the rise of Christianity to the present day*, New York .2002, p.337

<sup>24</sup> Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries, The Rise And Fall Of The Turkish Empire*, New York: 1979, pp.587-588

Italy regime faced fierce resistance in Libya and followed a policy of pressure on the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the Italians threatened to take the war to another the Ottoman sites. In March 1912, the Italian Navy struck ports of Beirut in Lebanon and occupied the Rhodes Island in the Mediterranean. The Italian military ships attacked Dardanelles strait and other Ottoman sites. Moreover, the Ottoman Empire became unable for another war in the Balkans, and was forced to accept negotiations with the Italians; therefore, the Ottoman Empire was forced to accept peace with Italy in exchange for abandoning Libya.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, Italy succeeded in pressuring the Ottoman Empire in its territory to force it to negotiate with them and to withdraw from Libya, on 18 October, 1912. According to treaty of Ouchy, the Ottoman Empire accepted peace with Italy in exchange for abandoning Libya.<sup>26</sup> However, Libyan resistance rejected this treaty and continued to struggle and fight against the Italian colonialism. In the East, the Sanusiya led the resistance movement against the Italians and led important victories in several battles. Umar Al- Mukhtar, who was among the most prominent leaders of the resistance, was executed in 1931, by doing so, Italy succeeded to quell the resistance. In addition, Italy followed the colonial policy in Libya; it burned the houses and destroyed mosques. Also, it monopolized the trade; it founded and brought Italian agricultural and industrial companies to take advantage of the Libyan territory. In addition to that, it focused on the elimination of Arab and Islamic culture.<sup>27</sup> In February 1942, the allied forces defeated Italy. Afterwards, Italy gave up its colonies in Africa due to a peace treaty following the end of World War II, including Libya. Hence, Libya has become under British and French military administration.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Eugene Rogan, *The Fall Of The Ottomans: The Great War In The Middle East 1914-1920*, United States:2015, p.17

<sup>26</sup> Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries, The Rise And Fall Of The Turkish Empire*, New York: 1979, pp:588-589

<sup>27</sup> Dirk Vandewalle, *Libya since independence, Oil and state building*, London: Grove Press,1998, pp:43-44

<sup>28</sup> Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett, " Petroleum geology of Libya, Amsterdam: Elsevier" 2002, pp.2- 3

## 2.4. Libyan Independence

A new phase of Libyan history began after defeating the Italians in World War II, in 1943, Tripolitania, and Cyrenaica has become under the British Mandate, while Fezzan under French Mandate. In this period, the British government allowed the US forces to the establish a US Air Force Base in Tripolitania Known as, Wheelus Air Base,<sup>29</sup> Which was a huge base and was considered the most important US military facility in Libya.<sup>30</sup>

During the Potsdam Conference in 1945, United States has demanded that Libya must be managed by the United Nations and be granted independence after ten years, because American feared the soviets' colonial ambitions in Libya, so this demand was to thwart the Soviet efforts that sought colonization in Libya. However, during the Paris Conference in 1948, the differences between the major powers about the future of Libya increased.<sup>31</sup> Libyans wanted to gain independence of their country, so they were granted independence on 24 December 1951 after submitting an application to the United Nations General Assembly which took this decision. Furthermore, Idris Senussi who was installed as a king on Libya derived his ruling from the Islamic order; the Senussi family had a role in the resistance against Italian colonization. Under the monarchy, the king was the owner of the legislative and executive authorities, and was pro-western supported by the British.<sup>32</sup>

## 2.5. Relations 1951- 1954: US Recognition of Libya Independence

Post-World War II period is considering the beginning of the expansion of US influence in Libya, America has become well aware of the importance of geostrategic location for Libya. As mentioned before, the U.S. leased the strategic location in Libya Wheelus Air Base, while Britain was control of air base at Tubruq.<sup>33</sup> During 1952, after the declaration of

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<sup>29</sup>Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett, *Petroleum geology of Libya*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002, pp:3-4

<sup>30</sup> Florent Sene, translated Khalid Mohammed, *Garat Fe Alshra Alkbra: Libyan, chad 1941-1987*, Tripoli-libya: published, 2015, p.85

<sup>31</sup>Alcid Osman, pp.39-40

<sup>32</sup>Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett, *Petroleum geology of Libya*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002, pp:3-4

<sup>33</sup> Ibid ,p.3-4



independence of Libya, the US recognized this independence, when the president Harry S. Truman sent a telegram on Independence Day to King Idris Senussi saying: "The United States strongly supports the United Nations General Assembly resolution that Libya becomes an independent state".<sup>34</sup>

During 1951 and 1954, US-Libya relations seemed to have become re-established with broad range of agreements which strengthened the cooperation in various economic and military fields. In 1953, the signature of a friendly cooperation treaty between Libya and Britain took place, while in 1954 Libya signed a treaty of friendship with the US.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, the United States has begun to strengthen its influence on Libya through mutual agreements on cooperation which included financial and economic aid, reaching \$4 million per year to the Libyan government. The purpose was to ensure the safety of its bases in "Air Base Wheelus", and to confirm its presence in an ally country, and to take advantage of the poverty that Libya was suffering from which required urgent need for aid, which the US could provide.<sup>36</sup>

## **2.6. Relations: 1954-1980: Elevation of the US mission to on Embassy during the Cold War Years**

There were major events between 1954 and 1980 which affected the relations between Libya and US. It could be titled as Oil, Gaddafi, terrorism, regional influence and Soviet influence. After the collapse of the WWII alliances, the US sought to dominate the Middle East region by agreements and alliances and supported the regimes to secure its own national interests against Soviet influence and nationalist movements which was influenced by Nasserism. During the Cold War, the relationship between the US and Libya was divided into two phases, the first phase: convergence and understanding, and the second one: deterioration of relations.

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<sup>34</sup> Mona Obaid, "AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya", *The University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No. 2, 2016, p.41

<sup>35</sup> Florent Sene translated Khalid Mohammed, *Garat Fe Alsahra Alkbra: Libyan, chad 1941-1987*, Tripoli-libya: published, 2015, p.85

<sup>36</sup> Douglas Little, " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89", *the International History Review*, Vol. 35, No 1, 2013, p.72

As mentioned in advance, the Libyan monarchy regime had closer relations with the U.S; it was the stage of thriving and evolving US-Libyan relations. Furthermore, in July 1954, the United States offered Libya to increase financial aid as an exchange for using the US bases in Libya for military purposes. Mustafa Ben Halim who was Prime Minister signed this agreement which was later approved by the king. After this agreement, in September 1954, the US government appointed a US ambassador to Libya, John L. Tappin, restoring full diplomatic representation with Libya, and upgrading its Liaison Office to Embassy.<sup>37</sup> During 1957, as an additional support, Libya began to receive aid after an agreement with Eisenhower Doctrine, which was the aid program allocated to the Middle East and Libya, this program it passed by the President Dwight D. Eisenhower asked for approval of seven million aid to Libya. The aim was to counter communism and the threat by the Soviets in the Middle East.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of 1959, the oil discovery in Libya became an important factor that impacted the relationship between Libya and the US significantly. In this regard, the US petroleum companies emerged as the dominant power in Libya, and monopolized the Libyan oil production. By 1961, Libya began to export oil, becoming the largest petroleum reserve in Africa. Libyan oil had great importance because of the proximity to European markets.<sup>39</sup>

Between the years 1963 and 1969, post-oil phase, Libya encountered economic and policy crises, political instability of many governments, nepotism and proliferation of Bureaucracy where the tribal relations and pro-ruling class dominated the parliament resulting in economic corruption and bribery.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, the Libyan monarchy policy, which was pro-western, was subjected to criticism and opposition from Libyans. Essentially, Monarchy policy sought to avoid taking an active role in regional disputes, events and influences occurring in the surrounding Arab

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<sup>37</sup>Alcid Osman, pp.53-52

<sup>38</sup> Douglas Little, " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89", *The International History Review*, Vol. 35, No 1, 2013, pp.72-73

<sup>39</sup>EIA, D. (2002). Country Analysis Briefs: Libya. Retrieved December 9, 2012 from <http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/108E14.htm>

<sup>40</sup> Lisa Anderson, " Libya and American Foreign Policy" *The Middle East Journal*, Published by Middle East Institute, Vol. 36, No.1, 1982, pp.518-519

region at that time.<sup>41</sup> In 1964, student demonstrations broke out in the streets of Benghazi which opposed the king and the Libyan government, as Libya didn't participate in the Arab summit in Cairo against the Israeli project to convert Jordan River water. Addition to that, in the speech of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser on 22 February 1964 via radio station "the voice of the Arabs" which was prevalent in Libya, he demanded from Libyan people to liquidate the US and British bases, and mentioned the "Danger of foreign bases on Libya and the entire Arab nation". On the other hand, in 1967, during Arab-Israel war, the new US president Richard Nixon (1969-1974) provided enormous economic and military support to Israel. Thus, the US became the main financier to Israel.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, the Nazarene had an influence on Libya against foreign dependency on the west, as well as the Palestinian issue. Meanwhile, the repercussions of the internal events in Libya, such as the political instability, made the ruling elite to become wealthier resulting in increased poverty. All these events were a major concern of the monarchy and its allies inside Libya; the Libyan government has tried to contain the popular rejection. However, it was unable to confront these crises.<sup>43</sup>

The turbulent stage and mutual distrust in the US-Libyan relationship began with the September 1969 revolution, when Lieutenant Muammar Gaddafi with a group of young officers staged a military coup against the monarchy. Later renamed "September Revolution", Gaddafi announced their Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), as he abolished the Libyan Constitution, this revolution got popular support and it was influenced by revolutionary ideas and nationalism that swept the Arab region, especially those relating to reject foreign presence and imperialism.<sup>44</sup> Cautiously, the US administration recognized the Libyan Revolution Command Council after agreeing on conditions to keep the US and British bases, Oil companies and abide by previous agreements and treaties. On the other hand, the U.S. Ambassador Joseph Palmer reiterated "Washington's 'sincere desire . . . to maintain the best possible relations'".<sup>45</sup> In addition, he described the US policy towards the Libyan revolution as

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<sup>41</sup> Yahia H Zoubir, "Libya and Europe: Economic Realism at the Rescue of the Qaddafi Authoritarian regime", *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, December 2009, p.204

<sup>42</sup> Alcid Osman, p. 30

<sup>43</sup> Ronald Bruce St Jon, *Historical Dictionary of Libya*. New York Published, 2014, pp.7-8

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.8

<sup>45</sup> Douglas Little, " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89" *The International History Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2013, pp.74-75

reconciliation and caution policy.<sup>46</sup> In general, the United States has shown flexibility in dealing with the Libyan revolution and tried to absorb the reflexes to maintain its vital interests inside Libya.

However, after few years of Gadhafi seized power, the real intentions of the revolution it began to appear through the pursuit to removing the foreign influence of on the country.<sup>47</sup> On 30 Jun 1970, the US Air Force withdrew of the Force Wheelus base; also Britain withdrew its air base in Tubruq.<sup>48</sup> This date as Known in Libya the feast of the evacuated of Foreign bases from its territory. In the same year, Gaddafi announced the nationalization of four American oil companies and the cancellation of many of agreements the previously signed by the monarchy.<sup>49</sup>

Between 1970 and 1972, Libya commenced negotiations with US oil companies to determine the price of Libyan petroleum according to conditions imposed by the Libyan government.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, when Libya announced, that the Gulf of Sirte part of its territorial waters in 1973, the US objected to the Libyan decision and conducted provocative measures against the Libyan government, through the maneuvers of the the US Sixth Fleet stationed in the Libyan waters, as well as the penetration of an American aircraft into the Gulf Sirte's airspace.<sup>51</sup>

In October 1973, the war erupted in the Middle East against Israel, and Libya announces its foreign policy against Israel and supported the Palestinian resistance, it provides financial support to the Palestine Liberation Organization.<sup>52</sup> In return, Libya's and the Arab countries behavior and policy led to ban the oil exportation to the US, and Western countries because of its support Israel. Meanwhile, Abdel-Salim Jalloud, Qaddafi's chief deputy, told to the US ambassador Joseph Palmer "If Washington continued to support Israel; there will not be good relations between the two countries".<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Alcid Osman, p.89

<sup>47</sup> Lisa Anderson," Libya and American Foreign Policy", *The Middle East Journal* Published by: Middle East Institute, Vol. 36, No.1, autumn, 1982, pp.518-519

<sup>48</sup> Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett, *Petroleum geology of Libya*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2002, p.16

<sup>49</sup>Ronald Bruce St Jon, *Historical Dictionary of Libya*, New York: Published, 2014, p.8

<sup>50</sup> Mahmoud Gebril, *Imagery and Ideology in U.S. Policy toward Libya 1969- 1982*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988, p.80

<sup>51</sup> Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett,p.17

<sup>52</sup> Alcid Osman, p.107

<sup>53</sup> Ibid , p.98

Following those events, the US administration began to take the opposition's policy towards Libya, because of Gaddafi orientations, and Ideological differences which opposed to the US policy. In response, in 1972, the US withdraw its ambassador from Tripoli, and ended mutual political representation at the ambassadorial level .the United States reduced diplomatic representation in Libya. In addition, the US tried to impose an economic blockade on Libya by refused to hand over eight C - 130 military aircraft to Libya despite the payment of its values.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, improved of Libyan-Soviet relations have had an impact on the Libyan-US relations. When the United States refused to sell of weapons and military equipment, Libya's government turned to the Soviet weapons, using oil money to support its military developments plans by signing several agreements with Russia.<sup>55</sup> Moreover, in May 1974, Abdel-Salim Jalloud, Qaddafi's chief deputy visited Moscow and signed agreements for the supply of arms and military equipment to Libya.<sup>56</sup>

These events combined led the US administration to apply pressure policy by taking anti-Libya; the Pentagon put Libya on the enemies list. The divergent positions, differing perceptions since the announcement of Libya's support to the liberation movements and revolutionary groups contributed to tense bilateral relations. The Libyan leader started to receive accusations that he was supporting international terrorism and he provided financial support for several revolutionary movements, such as, the Irish Republic Army, Palestine Liberation Organization which were considered terrorist organizations.<sup>57</sup> Over the subsequent years, during the Jimmy Carter administration, the diplomatic relations between Libya – Washington passed through a tense period. In the late of 1979s, the US embassy in Tripoli stormed by protesters who supported the Islamic revolution of Iran, the US government decided to suspend diplomatic operations in Libya to protest the burning of its embassy in

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<sup>54</sup> Mahmoud Gerbil , *Imagery and Ideology in U.S. Policy Toward Libya 1969: 1982*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988, p.8

<sup>55</sup> Ronald Bruce St Jon, *Historical Dictionary of Libya*, New York: Published, 2014, p.8

<sup>56</sup> Douglas Little " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89", *The International History Review*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2013, p.79

<sup>57</sup> Tarik Kafala," Gaddafi's quixotic and brutal rule"

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12532929> (Accessed date: 12-5- 2017)

Tripoli and withdraw its diplomats immediately, freezing of relations with Libya.<sup>58</sup> That month, Libya officially became a "state sponsor of terrorism".<sup>59</sup>

In addition, Libya's relations with its neighbors were tense. In 1977, Egyptian-Libyan relations have worsened when Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel. Libyan regime opposed this treaty and an exchange of accusations between the two countries began. President Anwar Sadat accused Qaddafi of interfered in the internal affairs of his country. The result was Short-term war and the closure of the border between two countries.<sup>60</sup> From 1978-1987, due to an issue regarding the Libyan-Chadian conflict, Libyan troops entered Ouzou, the events have evolved into a direct war between the two countries. Libyan forces have remained in the strip for a while but then lost control. In the context of bad relations with the US, the issue of Chad, supported by the US and France, led to the depletion of the Libyan energy strategy, the US reaction was supporting Hussein Habre against Muammar Gaddafi, and meeting him. However, the friendly relations between the Libya and Chad were restored in February 1994, after the issue of Ouzou strip was resolved as the International Court of Justice ruled the verdict in favor of Chad.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Douglas Little, " To the Shores of Tripoli: America, Qaddafi, and Libyan Revolution 1969–89", *The International History Review* ,Vol. 35, No.1, 2013, p.83

<sup>59</sup> David Mack, "The US and Libya: Normalization of a Stormy Relationship", *The Middle East Institute by the Foreign Service Journal*, January 2011

<sup>60</sup> Alcid Osman, p.255

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, p.251

## 2.7. Relations from 1980 to 2004

On the background of this history of disputes and discords between Libya and the US, as well as consensual relations which started to take shape in 1951, the relations started to get tense after Colonel Gaddafi overthrew King Idris al-Sanusi in the wake of the military coup.<sup>62</sup> Gaddafi tried building a state based on Arab unity and Arab nationalism, socialist, and anti-imperialist, he tried to be as the Secretary of Arab nationalism.<sup>63</sup> All these considerations led to confrontations and conflicts, the US repeatedly sought to undermine the Libyan regime and considered it a hostile regime that supported terrorism and threatened its interests and policy in the region. During 1980 to 2004, the political, economic and diplomatic relations between Libya and the US were broken completely; there wasn't any sort of connection anymore. The US announcement of a strategy against Libya as the terrorist-sponsoring state, imposed economic blockade and diplomatic isolation on Libya, and threatened with a military option after accusing Libya of the responsibility for the discotheque bombing in Berlin and Lockerbie case. However, after Reagan administration, Libya began to take an international concrete step to improve its image and its international relations, hence it announced its intention to get rid of weapons of mass destruction have in 2003.

### 2.7.1 Lockerbie Event

Lockerbie case was the product of a long history of complex relationships between the two countries. The study of the Libyan-US relations required knowledge of discussable measures, which paved the way for the Lockerbie case. Considering the above-mentioned information, the increased tension in the Libyan-American relations motivated to firstly put Libya on the indictment. This was what happened in Lockerbie case, which summed up the facts as follow:

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<sup>62</sup> Lisa Anderson: " Libya and American Foreign Policy", *The Middle East Journal* Published by Middle East Institute, Vol. 36, No.1 ,1982, p.524

<sup>63</sup> Palmer R.R, Colton Joel, *A history of the modern world*, New York: Grove Press, 1991, p.946

On the 21 December 1988, Pan Am flight 103 took off from Heathrow Airport London to New York City, the airplane exploded over Scotland in the village of Lockerbie, 243 passengers and 16 crewmembers were dead. Immediately, the Britain and the US condemned the incident, which was an act of terrorism threatening international peace and security.<sup>64</sup> Initially, Syria and Iran were accused, and later Palestinian organizations. After three-year of investigations, in November 1991, it was found that the crash was due to an explosive device in the plane, investigators later uncovered evidence which led to the accusation of two Libyans nationals Abdel Basset Ali Mohamed Al Megahit and Al Amin Khalifah Fhimah who were Work in the Libyan airlines in Malta.<sup>65</sup> Libya announced that the plane crash was an act of sabotage and denied its linkage to the incident.<sup>66</sup>

According to that, the US and UK announced that the Libyan government must hand over defendants to the court and accept responsibility for the actions. On the other hand, a French plane fell in 1989 and Libya was accused immediately France also has submitted an arrest warrant on several Libyans. These three countries, United States, French and UK have given short notice to Libya to implement these decisions and to respond to the demands of these countries without thinking about the legitimacy of these decisions.<sup>67</sup>

However, the government of Libya refused to extradite the Libyans for trial and announced its position about incident: condemning terrorism in all its forms and accepting the settlement of disputes in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the International Law. The Security Council was not competent in legal matters and it was the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice. According to Libya national law, "Every Libyan, committed an act outside the country, which is considered a felony or a misdemeanor in accordance with Libyan law, must be punished according to the law if he returns to the country". According to General International law, which was based on treaties, conventions and norms, there was no support for the extradition of Libyan citizens to any other state.

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<sup>64</sup> Jumbo jet crashes onto Lockerbie: 1988

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/21/newsid\\_2539000/25394](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/december/21/newsid_2539000/25394)

(Accessed date, 12-12-2016)

<sup>65</sup> Michael Plachta, "The Lockerbie case: The Role of the Security Council in Enforcing the Principle Aut Deader Aut Judiciary", *The Gdansk university Poland*, Vol.12 No.1, 2001, pp.133-134.

<sup>66</sup> Rift Alcid, *Altareak Ale Trabelsi: AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya*, Egypt: 1992, p.144.

<sup>67</sup> Majid al-Hamawi, "Lockerbie bean Alseasa wa Alkanon", *The University of Damascus Journal*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2001, p.35.



Libyan authorities have conducted necessary investigation with the defendants, according to the rules of Libyan criminal law.<sup>68</sup> After the end of the deadline and the absence of response from Libya to these demands, the Security Council demanded from the Libyan government to be committed to halting all forms of violence and to renounce terrorism. Besides, it imposed economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, such as an embargo on civil aviation over Libya and prohibition of any kind of exportation of weapons and military equipment to Libya, as well as diplomatic sanctions.<sup>69</sup>

Libya had the right to refuse to extradite suspects; there was no treaty between the conflicting parties on extradition. Hence, submitted legally the Lockerbie case to the International Court of Justice. However, the US and UK rejected the intervention of the ICJ in this conflict, in spite of its jurisdiction, claiming that the Security Council is the competent authority in matters concerning the safety and security of international peace, and have made Lockerbie a political issue.<sup>70</sup>

The position of the Arab League has shown a positive attitude, several efforts have been made to contain this crisis and have stressed its support for Libya against any foreign threat. The foreign ministers of the Arab countries also confirmed their support for Libya. During the Arab summit conference held in Cairo in 1996, it was stated that the Arab states would consider possible means of sparing the people of Libya further damage. However, the efforts and decisions of the Arab League failed even to reduce the sanctions on Libya and did not have any important results.<sup>71</sup>

On 24 August 1989, UK and US they initiated of a trial of the two accused Libyans in a neutral court in Netherlands under Scots law.<sup>72</sup> In the following chapter, the settlement of the Lockerbie case, guarantees and the role of mediation in resolving and settling the case will be discussed.

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<sup>68</sup> Rift Alcid, *Altareak Ale Trabelsi: AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya*. Egypt: 1992, p.146

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, p.145

<sup>70</sup> Majid al-Hamawi, "Lockerbie bean Alseasa wa Alganon", *The University of Damascus Journal*, Vol. 17, No 2, 2001, p.92

<sup>71</sup> Rift Alcid, *Altareak Ale Trabelsi: AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya*, Egypt: 1992, p.146

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, p.145

### 2.7.2. USSR and Libya: 1980-1991

The ghost of the Russian tide continued toward Libya threatening the American influence, but this competition has always been in the interest of the Libyan government, which was trying to use the panic of the US from potential extension of Russian influence in Libya. As mentioned before, after the arrival of Gaddafi to power, he expelled the Americans and nationalized the US oil companies. These events were a major concern of the US as that may lead to Libya's rapprochement with the Soviets and the threat posed by the Soviets to Euro-Atlantic security. The Soviet Union was one of the first countries to declare its recognition under the leadership of Gaddafi.

Libyan regime that was hostile to the West and America and Israel, although his opposition to communism. However, in the interview with *the French newspaper Le Monde* on 6 May 1971, Qaddafi said, "for religious, social, economic, political and moral reasons Marxism is an invention which does not conform to our customs or national interests. On the other hand, we consider the USSR a friendly power".<sup>73</sup> Accordingly, Muammar Gaddafi visited Moscow three times; bilateral relations between Moscow and Libya have flourished in many fields and signed agreements regarding the purchase of military equipment for more than \$ 12 billion. Since 1969, there has been economic, military and security cooperation between Moscow and Tripoli. During The agreement of interests between the two countries was because Libya was besieged by Western countries and Moscow lost the Egyptian market after Sadat came to Egypt.<sup>74</sup>

On 21 December 1985, the US administration confirmed the rumors about the establishment of a group of Soviet bases on Libyan territory, in Metrd, for the installation of Soviet-made missiles, SA-5, in at least two locations, thus allowing the Libyan Air AWACS surveillance planes and anti-submarine aircraft R-3 to cover the Gulf of Sirt. In response, Gaddafi threatened to join the Warsaw Pact.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ismet Giritli, *Superpowers in the Middle East*, Istanbul: 1972, p.79

<sup>74</sup> Alcid Osman, p.434

<sup>75</sup> Ronald Bruce St Jon, *Historical Dictionary of Libya*, New York:2014, p.8

The international system has witnessed important developments which in the collapse of the Soviet empire. Moreover, the collapse of the Soviet empire resulted in the American dominance in international relations. These developments had repercussions on Libya because the Soviet Union provided military and financial support to Libya and in the Security Council to stop against issuing any resolutions against Libya.<sup>76</sup>

### **2.7.3. Challenging the US (1981-1989)**

In this period, the hostility in the relations between Libya and the United States started to take place, representing a turning point in the relations. During this decade, it was obvious that the relationship between the US and Libya deteriorated, especially during Ronald Reagan's administration (1981-1989) when political collision turned into actual confrontation, and the media campaigns escalated between the two countries, eventually promoting Libya as "State-sponsor of terror". Moreover, the diplomatic war between the two countries, diplomatic contacts were thorough by 1980, however, Reagan ordered all American citizens working in Libya to leave, and consequently American diplomats left Tripoli. Immediately, the US State Department issued an order in 1981 to close the Libyan embassy which was known as "the Arab Libyan People's Bureau" in Washington because it supported international terrorism, in addition, it accused the Bureau's members of behaving in a non-diplomatic manner. Undoubtedly, since Ronald Reagan came to the presidency of the United States, he took advantage of all the reasons that enabled him to eliminate Gaddafi through the diplomatic isolation of Libya. Washington tried to assassinate Gaddafi himself and supported the Libyan opposition; the goal was to destabilize the internal political stability. Moreover, Reagan administration has worked to tighten and strengthen the economic sanctions policy and tried to pressure its European allies to boycott Libya economically. The first step was on 29 October 1981, when the United States imposed new restrictions on civil aircraft sales and spare parts related. As well as in 1982, the US administration banned the import of Libyan

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<sup>76</sup>Alcid Osman, p.435

oil, and in the same year, it imposed additional economic sanctions and embargo on trade with Libya.<sup>77</sup>

A series of military confrontations between the two countries started to take shape as the 6th US fleet conducted maneuvers off the Libyan coast over the Gulf of Sirte. The US provocations caused an armed conflict between the two countries. On 19 August 1981, an US aircraft penetrated Libyan airspace, shooting down two Libyan reconnaissance planes over the Gulf of Sirte and inside Libyan territorial waters. In 1986, Gaddafi selected a point at 30° latitude and 32° north, at which the Gulf from the north ended. It was point that may not be exceeded unless with prior permission, it was called the "Defining death line".<sup>78</sup>

In addition, the US paved the American public opinion through an extensive media campaign to support its aggression against Libya under the pretext of striking international terrorism; the purpose was to discipline the Libyan leadership in order to confirm the US prestige. On 8 July 1985, the US President Reagan threatened in his speech to use force against Libya, and accused Libya, along with other countries such as Cuba and Iran of being sponsors of terrorism. He accused Libya of the responsibility for carrying out terrorist attacks in Rome and Vienna airports On December 1985.<sup>79</sup> In 1986, he accused Libya of involvement in a bombing of a nightclub in West Berlin that killed two Americans. In return, Ronald Reagan ordered to bomb the cities of Benghazi and Tripoli. Moreover, he said, "When our citizens are attacked or abused anywhere in the world on the direct orders of hostile regimes, we will respond so long as I'm in this office ". the US Navy and the US Air Force attacked Tripoli and Benghazi, Gadhafi's house was bombed in Blitz which led to killing Gaddafi's adopted daughter, and several soldiers and civilians. In addition, Britain supported the United States in the military attack on Libya and allowed US aircraft to use its bases.<sup>80</sup>

Notwithstanding these attack, threats, and economic blockade Libya's reaction to the US raids was an exchange of accusations between the two countries. On 12 April 1986, a statement issued by " The Arab Libyan People's Bureau" in West German denied the

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<sup>77</sup> Daniel Clark-Lowes, Don, Hallett,p.22

<sup>78</sup> Alcid Osman, p.320

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p.300

<sup>80</sup> 1986: US launches air strikes on Libya

[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/april/15/newsid\\_3975000/3975455.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/april/15/newsid_3975000/3975455.stm)

(Accessed date: 9-12-2016)

accusations for the bombing in Berlin and denounced against the media smear campaign against Libya.<sup>81</sup> Gaddafi announced that Libya would not stop supporting the liberation movements in the world and he denied his country's relationship with any terrorist attacks and said that Libya will respond to any new US attack. Accordingly, Libya called for the convening of an emergency Arab summit to discuss the US assault and demanded officially for Arab states to sever diplomatic relations with America and Britain. In return, the Arab countries, China and Russia, condemned the attack. On 15 April of the same year, Libya has filed an application to the Security Council (UN) to condemn the attack. However, UK, France, and the US have used the right of veto "veto" against the Libyan draft resolution, which called for condemning this attack.<sup>82</sup>

In the framework of mutual hostility between the two countries, after the failure of the economic embargo on Libya because of lack of effective response from Western Europe and Japan, Washington renewed its accusations against Libyan regime accusing it of terrorism, and tightened its pressure on western European governments to effectively act against Libya.<sup>83</sup> In addition, in a new attempt to find a pretext for military intervention in Libya, the US State Department announced that it obtained many reports about activities at Rabta chemical weapons factory in Tarhuna and Gaddafi possessed a secret program to produce internationally banned chemical weapons.<sup>84</sup>

#### **2.7.4. Post-Cold war US –Libya relations: 1991 -2001**

Following the fall of the Soviet Union in 1990, and the dominance of a single pole in the international regime, the US emerged as the dominant power. Libya became vulnerable without the deterrent of an international force to rely upon to confront the US which considered Libya a "rogue state" isolating Libya Internationally. During this period, Lockerbie case, Libya suffered from economic and political sanctions, resulting in a big impact on the people of Libya.<sup>85</sup> Gaddafi considered it a source of insecurity. There were no

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<sup>81</sup> Alcid Osman, p.351

<sup>82</sup> Ibid,p.381-38

<sup>83</sup> Ibid,p.90

<sup>84</sup> Ibid,p.91

<sup>85</sup> Daniel Clark, Lowes, Don, Hallett, p.25

formal diplomatic relations between Libya and the US, resulting in broken relations, politically, diplomatically and economically.

These events continued the mutual hostility and tension policy between the two countries even during the period of Clinton's administration. In his speech during the international Jewish Conference held on 20/04/1995, the US President Clinton "threatened on the necessity of the containment of Libya for it sponsored terrorism and sought to destroy peace and disturb the stability of the region, in addition, Libya's ambition to own chemical weapons and establish its nuclear program".<sup>86</sup>

The Lockerbie case has caused enormous economic problems, and has affected the economy of Libya. During this period, Libya has been suffering from collective sanctions from the UN which issued a number of successive resolutions at the request of the United States and UK, such as the air travel ban, and arms embargo. The UN imposed an international embargo on Libya based on Security Council resolutions 784 of 1992 and 883 of 1993. Hence, Libya became in a state of political and economic isolation, greatly affected, and in the various aspects of Libyan life, especially the economic ones. Libya have incurred financial losses since the start of the sanctions of about 33.06 billion dollars. It caused extensive damage to the Libyan economy, which later led to the collapse of the value of the dinar, and low level of social services.<sup>87</sup> Other than that, the Libyan regime faced another internal problem, which was the emergence of the issue of combating terrorism in the 1990s in Libya. Internal threats of radical Islamist groups started to take place. Qaddafi has attacked the radical Islamist threat, Libyan Islamists which was directed by al-Qaeda. The Libyan jihadists fought a bitter insurgency in eastern Libya in the 1990s.<sup>88</sup>

Following Bill Clinton's departure from the White House in 2001, the new US president George W. Bush announced that Libya was aiming to develop and produce chemical weapons which would not be accepted by the United States, because it didn't threaten the US only, but also other countries.<sup>89</sup> Washington's relationship with Libya strengthened at the beginning of

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<sup>86</sup> Alcid Osman, p. 91

<sup>87</sup> Rift Alcid, *Altareak Ale Trabelsi: AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya*, Egypt: 1992, p.23

<sup>88</sup> Yahia H Zoubir, " The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011, p.279.

<sup>89</sup> Roberts, J. (2003). Bush: Follow Libya's Lead, CBSNEWS. Retrieved November 2 2013 from <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/bush-follow-libyas-lead>

1990, Libya tried to filter disagreements with the West after the second Gulf War. In this context, Gaddafi tried to improve Libya's image before the West following the US invasion of Iraq. Thus, by the end of the decade, the Libyan-US relationship seemed to have returned to a degree of warmth it had not known since the 1969s.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Yahia H Zoubir, "The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011, p.281

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE RELATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND LIBYA: 2001-2012

#### 3.1. 9/11 Event and the response of the Libyan Government

Since the beginning of the nineties, the Arab world has undergone many developments which had great influence from the collapse of the Soviet Union to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and later the September 11 attacks, and the US occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq. Those events had repercussions on the policies and directions of Arab countries.

During 2001, the presidential term of George W. Bush, the 9 /11 attacks were committed by al-Qaeda; four US passenger planes stormed the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon. The United States accused al-Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden of the attack. In accordance with that, United States had established new foreign policies and adopted the discourse to declare the fight against terrorism and build an international coalition against Al-Qaeda led by Osama bin Laden, as well as Taliban in Afghanistan. From the perspective of their war against terror, the invasion of Afghanistan led to the dissolution Taliban regime.<sup>91</sup>

These regional developments led the Bush administration to focus extensively on Middle East issues, and have adopted a strategy that any considers a common approach to enhance Arab cooperation which adversely has affected its influence and interests in the region its aim was to subject Arab countries and weaken their control the oil resources. Moreover, under the pretext of fighting terrorism, which led United States to intervene in affairs of the Arab countries that represented a clear threat to its policy and to eliminate its enemies, it invaded Iraq.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Ian Crofton, *World History: events you really need to know*, London: Publishing ,2011,p.200

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, p.203



Considering these circumstances, the Libyan regime became concerned about as it was one of the rogue states along with Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Syria, and Sudan, which the United States wanted to eliminate.<sup>93</sup> However, Muammar Gaddafi was the first to condemn the 9 /11 attacks immediately, announcing to join the United States in the efforts to fight against terrorism. Libya joined the partnership agreement to combat terrorism across the desert "Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism".<sup>94</sup> In this regard, the United States administration welcomed Libya's announcement to support it against terrorism. Mr. Bush said: "Libya can regain a secure and respected place among the nations and, over time, achieve far better relations with the United States."<sup>95</sup>

On the other hand, Bush demanded that the Libyan regime should implement the United States demands for the abandonment of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, and to stop supporting revolutionary movements, as well as providing binding assurances to reform the Libyan regime in terms of democracy and human rights. Eventually, the Libyan regime began to hold talks with representatives of the United States and Britain, regarding compliance with the requirements.<sup>96</sup>

Furthermore, the 9/11 events marked a turning point in a move to normalize relations between the United States and Britain. The Libyan regime began a new phase in December 2003, announcing its full readiness to deliver chemical weapons and allow the International Committee to commence the inspection and to access the nuclear facilities in a move to normalize relations with the United States and Britain. Therefore, the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi pledged to destroy them. After long diplomatic negotiations with the United States and Britain, it was decided to bring Libya back to the international community. Moreover, Libya started to extend its international relations and restore its diplomatic relationship with Europe and the United States gradually. In March 2004 the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, visited Tripoli to meet with Gadhafi.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Mona Obaid, "AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya", *University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No. 2, 2016, p.444.

<sup>94</sup> George Joff , Emanuela Paoletti, *Libya's foreign on policy: drivers and objectives Mediterranean Paper Series*, 2010, p.27.

<sup>95</sup> Roberts, J. (2003). Bush: Follow Libya's Lead, CBSNEWS. Retrieved November 2 2013 from <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/bush-follow-libyas-lead>

<sup>96</sup> Mona Obaid, "AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya", *The University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No. 2, 2016, p.445.

<sup>97</sup>John Andrews, *The world in conflict: Understanding the world's trouble spots*, London: 2015, p.71.

In fact, the United States military interventions in Iraq had significant impact on the changes in the foreign policy of Libya and its relations with the United States, and this could be realized from what Gaddafi said: “what happened in Iraq had a role in making his decision on nuclear weapons”.<sup>98</sup> Gaddafi's regime, understood that it was in danger if Gaddafi continued to challenge the Americans and that he would be the target of the United States after the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan to control Libya, prompting Gaddafi to rethink his options and abandon his regime’s previous policy and renounce terrorism.

Overall, Libya's historic announcement about its intention to get rid of weapons of mass destruction in December 2003, led to the drafting of the Libyan-US relations. Washington benefited from Libyan decision to improve the image of the president of the United States in front of the American public because of its inability to prove that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. In addition, The United States administration considered the surrender of Libya to its demands a victory for its policy to control of Libyan oil. As a result, the United States lifted gradually economic sanctions on Libya.<sup>99</sup>

In addition, Saif Al Islam Al Gadhafi, the son of Muammar Gaddafi and a major candidate to succeed his father, had efforts to commence reformations and to achieve the reintegration of Libya into the international community. He contributed to the resumption of the United States-Libyan relations through the reform project of "The Gaddafi International Foundation for Charity Associations" to bring about economic, social and administrative economic reforms in Libya. This project had a clear direction to restore the Libyan regime and rearrange in several areas, most notably the field of human rights, social justice, and public freedoms.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps the most important of all was that Muammar Gaddafi himself supported these reforms.<sup>101</sup>

In this context, Libyan regime sought the resolution of the disputes with the United States by building up confidence. As part of the US-Libya rapprochement, Gaddafi, on January 21, 2003 announced that there was security cooperation between his country and the United

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<sup>98</sup> Mona Obaid," AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya" *The University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No. 2, 2016, p. 444.

<sup>99</sup> Mona Obaid, p.445.

<sup>100</sup> Christopher M and Blanchard, *Background and U. S. Relations*, Publishing, 2010, p.17

<sup>101</sup> Dana Moss, *Reforming the Rogue: Lessons from the U.S.-Libya, Rapprochement*, August 2010, p.24

States against al-Qaeda. In December 2004, after banning the “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” and consider it as a terrorist organization, Gaddafi gave the information to CIA regarding a suspicious relation between “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” and Al-Qaeda.<sup>102</sup> In addition, Libya's cooperation in the delivery of members from the “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” to Washington made Libya a partner in the US war against terrorism.<sup>103</sup>

Thus, with the end of the international isolation of Libya over the next six years (2003-2009), Libya became a major ally to the West, and the US-Libyan relations improved significantly. In addition, Libya complied with the United Nations demands to repair its relations with the United States, Britain and Western states.

### 3.2. Solution of the Lockerbie Case

Lockerbie case was one episode of the ongoing conflict between Libya and the United States. Eventually, Gaddafi's regime realized that the United States government wanted to use the Lockerbie case to eliminate it, he agreed to a delivery of the defendants in the case to an impartial court located in a third country, the Netherlands, with conditions and warranties. In addition, he promised material compensations to the victims of the incident.<sup>104</sup> The Libyan government's initiative step towards a compromise has shown great flexibility in dealing with the Lockerbie case. In 1999, during this critical period, the peaceful diplomacy intervened through the mediation of the solution of this crisis by the Saudi mediation headed by Bandar bin Sultan, and the mediation of South Africa, headed by President Nelson Mandela. This Mediation had a role in resolving and settlement of Lockerbie case and had a role in persuading the warring parties to the trial of the accused in Netherlands. In addition to this, the policy efforts of The Gaddafi International Foundation for Charity Association had a role in the settlement of the Lockerbie crisis file and in paying compensation.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Jon B Alterman, “Libya and the U.S.: The Unique Libyan Case”, *The Middle East Quarterly*, Vol.13, No. 1, winter, 2006.

<sup>103</sup> Christopher M. Blanchard, Libya: "Background and U.S Relations", *Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division*, November 4, 2005,p.7

<sup>104</sup> Christopher M Blanchard, *Background and U. S. Relations*, Publishing 2010,p.5

<sup>105</sup> Majid al-Hamawi, " Lockerbie bean Alseasa wa Alkanon", *The University of Damascus Journal*, Vol. 17, No 2, 2001 , p.44

In March 2001, the defendants left Tripoli to the Netherlands, and were accompanied by Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Security Council declared that there would be suspended sanctions against Libya because it respected the UN Security Council's resolutions. Moreover, it initiated the trial of the suspects in the Netherlands and Abdel Basset Abdel Megrahi was found guilty for causing the explosion, while Al Amin Khalifah Fhimah was found innocent.<sup>106</sup> In July 2009, Abd Al Baset Ali Al Megrahi was released on compassionate grounds because of cancer, and he died in 2012.

In 2003, Libya accepted the responsibility and paid compensation of \$ 2.7 billion to the families of the Pan Am victims.<sup>107</sup> Libya and France reached an agreement regarding the UTA issue; the French courts issued verdicts in absentia against the accused Libyans to get the material compensation for this incident. On the other hand, Libya required satisfying French judicial authorities (with respect to the UTA bombing).<sup>108</sup>

Although the responsible for the Lockerbie incident is still vague, especially that at that time there were other suspects, such as Iran, the Palestinian Liberation Front, and Syria, information provided by the United States and Britain as evidence for the accusation against Libya wasn't enough. Despite the settlement of the Lockerbie crisis file and the compensation payment, Libya asserted that it was not responsible for the incident, and has taken this step to improve its image.<sup>109</sup>

### 3.3. Relations 2004- 2006: Normalization of Relationships

The concessions represented by the delivery of the chemical weapons and the settlement of the Lockerbie case, and the compromise with the victims of the UTA bombing led to the US rapprochement with Libya and shared many interests.<sup>110</sup> On 29<sup>th</sup> of June 2004, Libya

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<sup>106</sup> Christopher M. Blanchard, Libya: "Background and U.S Relations", *Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division*, November 4, 2005,p.8

<sup>107</sup> Roberts, J. (2003). Bush: Follow Libya's Lead, CBSNEWS. Retrieved November 2 2013 from <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/bush-follow-libyas-lead>

<sup>108</sup> Christopher M. Blanchard, Libya: "Background and U.S Relations", *Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division*, November 4, 2005,p.8

<sup>109</sup> Yahia H Zoubir , " Libya in US foreign policy: From rogue state to good fellow?", *Third World Quarterly*, vol .23, No. 1, 2002 p.48

<sup>110</sup> Top US envoy holds talks in Libya  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6957909.stm>

formally restored diplomatic relations after the diplomatic deadlock between the parties, and the US liaison office was re-opened in Tripoli. In the same year, the United States ended a broad trade embargo imposed on Libya.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, Libya welcomed the decision of the United States to re-establish diplomatic relations. Based on these developments, the resumption of the US diplomatic representation in Tripoli took place. On 8<sup>th</sup> of February 2004 the US personnel arrived in Tripoli, and then decided to raise the level of that mission to the liaison office on 24<sup>th</sup> of June of the same year. Condoleezza Rice the US Secretary of State said: “we will soon open a US embassy in Tripoli.”<sup>112</sup>

On 31<sup>st</sup> of May 2006, the US administration decided to establish full diplomatic relations with Libya to strengthen the ties between the two nations. Then, it raised the status of its office in Tripoli from a consulate general to embassy level. In 2008, Gene Cretz was appointed as the new ambassador of the United States in Tripoli. After restoring full diplomatic representation with Libya, in the same year, Washington lifted all its sanctions against Libya, removed Libya from the list of state sponsors of terrorism, and abolished the restrictions that were imposed on Libyan travelers. The decision for new US embassy buildings would be implemented. These developments put an end to a dispute which lasted more than two decades when the US withdrew its ambassador from Tripoli Joseph Palmer in 1970s. Since that time, the US administration has not appointed any ambassador, and from 1972 to early 1979, increasing the tensions between the two nations. In December 1979, the demonstrators attacked U.S embassy and burned it. The reaction of the US administration to the severance of diplomatic relations with Libya was to close the Libyan representative office and expel the Libyan staff; this event took place in 1981 in Washington.<sup>113</sup>

### **3.4. Relations from 2006 until the revolution of 2011**

From 2005 until late 2009, the normalization of relations between the two countries was taking place, Washington implemented development programs to take advantage of the oil

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<sup>111</sup> Mona Obaid, "AL Alakat Allibiya ALAmerikiya", *The University of Baghdad, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, vol. 617, No. 2, 2016, p. 444

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, p.443

<sup>113</sup> Yahia H Zoubir, " The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011,p.286.

wealth and Libya's energy exports and Infrastructure updates. Since Libya had one of the largest oil and natural gas reserves in Africa, those sectors attracted US and European oil companies to Tripoli.<sup>114</sup> These U.S companies had a role in the removal of economic sanctions imposed against Libya through pressure on Congress.<sup>115</sup> Besides oil, Washington has focused their attention on the commercial relations and export of weapons to Gaddafi, on 28<sup>th</sup> of September 2005, Washington lifted the arms embargo on Libya and began to export arms, and Libya delivered aircraft of the type 8C-130.<sup>116</sup> The major shift in the diplomatic relation, however, happened in 2008, it entered another phase in the positive direction due to the mutual official visits; US Foreign Ministry dispatched senior delegations to Libya for diplomatic consultations. In September 2008, the US Secretary of State at that time, Condoleezza Rice, visited Libya to sit down with Gaddafi in a historic step in the bilateral relations.<sup>117</sup>

The close relationship with the US had important implications that the Western-Libyan relations began to improve. Strategically, Libya was very important for European countries in terms of investment, as Libya is geographically close to Europe, as well as the petroleum energy sources. The acceptance of Libya as a significant EU security partner shared interests, such as fighting against illegal immigration, and overseeing the migration flows, the alliance has expanded to address multiple regional threats. On 23<sup>rd</sup> of September 2004, the EU lifted the ban on arms sales on Libya. Meanwhile, Libya signed agreements with the International Atomic Energy Agency, dealing about the Euro-Mediterranean partnership. Europe's major programs took advantage of the oil wealth.<sup>118</sup> After that, Belgium hosted Gaddafi in an official visit after the invitation by the European Union. Gaddafi and his family became welcome in the capitals of the West including France.<sup>119</sup> Moreover, Italy established closer ties with Libya domestically and internationally, immigrants in Italy returned to Libya, Mr. Berlusconi apologized for Italian colonialism and pledged to pay compensation for the

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<sup>114</sup>EIA, D. (2002). Country Analysis Briefs: Libya Retrieved December 9, 2012 from <http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/108E14.htm>

<sup>115</sup> Yahia H Zoubir, " The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011, p.287.

<sup>116</sup> Christopher M. Blanchard, Libya, "Background and U.S Relations" *Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs, Foreign Affairs*, Defense, and Trade Division, November 4, 2005, p.8

<sup>117</sup> Yahia H Zoubir " The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011, p.286.

<sup>118</sup> George Joffé and Emanuela Paoletti, *Libya's foreign on policy: drivers and objectives*, Mediterranean Paper Series, 2010, pp.28-29- 30.

<sup>119</sup> David Mack, "The US and Libya: Normalization of a Stormy Relationship" ,*The Middle East Institute by the Foreign Service Journal*, in January 2011,p.50

colonial period according to a friendship treaty in March 2009, which provided for the granting of compensation for Italian colonialism.<sup>120</sup>

In another context, domestically, under the auspices of Saif al-Islam Gaddafi as part of the attempts to open freedom and establish recognizable civil society, and aiming to promote new strategies with the US, negotiations have been initiated with the “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” leaders to declare repentance and renounce violence against the regime. Many of the Islamist fighters from the banned “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” were released under the supervision of the Gaddafi Foundation in October 2009.<sup>121</sup> Including Abdul Hakim Belhadj, who has led the war for years since the 90s against the Gaddafi regime.<sup>122</sup>

Moreover, these combined steps, led to the onset of positive reports from human rights organizations about the situation in Libya. Indeed, through these changes, it became clear that the United States was satisfied with this shift from inside the Libyan regime. Libya became a major partner, a partnership built on common values in all economic and military fields with the US on a basis of mutual respect. In 2009, when Barack Obama became president, he signed an agreement with Libya about "Defense Contacts and Cooperation Memorandum of Understanding".<sup>123</sup>

On the other hand, Qaddafi retreated from the adoption of the concept of Arabic national unity after failing due to the different views between the Arab presidents and Libya. Moreover, the Libyan foreign policy shifts towards the African continent because of the support in the Lockerbie case. Therefore, Gaddafi inaugurated himself as Africa's king of kings.<sup>124</sup> Later, he became the biggest funders of the African Union, and paid a lot of oil money to African countries.<sup>125</sup> The development of relations between Libya and African countries made Gadhafi the chairman of the African Union. Libya has participated in

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<sup>120</sup>George Joffé and Emanuela Paoletti, *Libya's foreign on policy: drivers and objectives* Mediterranean Paper Series, 2010, p.30

<sup>121</sup> Dana Moss, *Reforming the Rogue: Lessons from the U.S.-Libya, Rapprochement*, August 2010, p.9

<sup>122</sup> John R Bradley, *After the Arab Spring: How Islamists Hijacked The Middle East Revolts Hardcover*, Tunisia: published in January 3, 2012, pp.94-95

<sup>123</sup>Zoubir Yahia H, " The United States and Libya: the limits of coercive Diplomacy", *The Journal of North African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 2011,p.290.

<sup>124</sup>James L Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs To Know*. New York: Oxford University press, 2012, p.90.

<sup>125</sup> George Joffé & Emanuela Paoletti, *Libya's foreign on policy: drivers and objectives*, Mediterranean Paper Series 2010, p.71.

resolving many African conflicts which tempted the US to seek to convince Gaddafi about a military company in Africa (AFRICOM) for protecting its interests and to strengthen security and fight terrorism. However, Libya and some African countries rejected this program.<sup>126</sup>

In 2011, most of the Arab countries experienced unexpected revolutions. Beginning from Tunisia then Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria and Bahrain through campaigns on Facebook and Twitter to go out in demonstrations against the ruling regimes to achieve social justice and freedom, These claims are predominantly a result of many factors, political, economic and social ones that have accumulated over the decades as these countries were ruled by authoritarian regimes and lacked democracy and election tools as well as the absence of devolution of power, poor human rights standards, and the lack of respect to the results of elections. Hence, these reasons were sufficient for the outbreak of the Arab spring to express the desire of the citizens.

In Libya, On the other hand, despite the oil and enormous wealth, this wealth was enjoyed by minor population, the Libyan regime has failed to achieve the development of construction and social justice, and there were still areas in Libya where people suffered from illiteracy, unemployment and low-income levels as well as lack of services and facilities. In addition, there was no circulation of power and constitution of the country.<sup>127</sup> In this regard, in the beginning, Gaddafi supported the reform project of his son Saif al-Islam to improve the image of the Libyan regime, this project succeeded in restoring Libya into the international community and solving all problems with the West. However, when this project suggested elections and a constitution within the Libyan regime Gaddafi, the revolutionary committees and some tribal forces which benefited from the revolutionary legitimacy to Gaddafi opposed strongly Saif al-Islam and his reformist project.

Furthermore, similar to what happened in Tunisia, and Egypt, after the fall of President Zine Ben Ali and President Hosni Mubarak, in Libya, Call has begun for a Day of Rage on 17<sup>th</sup> of February through Facebook and Twitter to demand democracy. The demonstrations in Benghazi began on 15<sup>th</sup> of February 2011, when protesting for the families of the victims of

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<sup>126</sup> Martin Asser, " The Muammar Gaddafi story"  
<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-12688033>  
 (Accessed date: 21-10- 2016)

<sup>127</sup> EIA, D. (2002). Country Analysis Briefs: Libya Retrieved December 9, 2012 from  
<http://www.mafhoum.com/press3/108E14.htm>



the massacre "Abu Salim" against the arrest of the lawyer Fathi Terbil who was charge for the case, he was later released.<sup>128</sup>

The Libyan case was problematic compared with the rest Arab spring countries. It was peaceful at first, but after a short period it became armed when the armed security battalions intervened against protesters which led to many dead and wounded. Qaddafi forced to withdraw security services brigades from the eastern region after the demonstrators burned police stations and seized arms stores. It turned into a civil war. In the first phase of the revolution, there was no consensus between Libyans to overthrow the regime because the majority of Libyans belonged to the largest tribe, Warfalla, which was the tribe of Gaddafi. The capital Tripoli, Tarhuna, and Sirte were loyal to Gaddafi.<sup>129</sup>

However, events have evolved earlier defections among the supporters of Gaddafi. On the other hand, the defection of ministers, ambassadors and army leaders was one of several major reasons behind the isolation of Gaddafi. Among the most notable personalities defected from Gaddafi regime, was the minister of interior General Abdul-Fatah Younis al-Abidi who later became the commander of the rebel army, while the dissident minister of Justice Mustafa Abdel Jalil headed the National Transitional Council of Libya in Benghazi.<sup>130</sup> Other important reason which increased the isolation of Gaddafi was the misleading public opinion in covering events in Libya during the revolution by some Arabic and western channels, for instance, Al-Jazeera based in Doha, Qatar. It ignored the events in Bahrain and did not cover as much as it covered the events in Libya. Also, in the beginning of the events, it reported that Gaddafi bombed civilians by military aircrafts in Tripoli, which did not happen.<sup>131</sup>

On the other hand, despite the restoration of diplomatic relations between Libya and the West and compliance with the demands of the US and its allies, there is no lasting friendship, during the outbreak of the revolution in 2011, it was an opportunity for the US to topple Gaddafi because its policy have failed to contain or eliminate Gaddafi over two decades.

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<sup>128</sup> Robert F.worth, *A rage for order: the middle East in Turmoall from Tahrir square to Isis*, New Work: 2016, p.38.

<sup>129</sup> John R. Bradley, *After the Arab Spring: How Islamists Hijacked The Middle East Revolts Hardcover*, Tunisia: published in January 3, 2012, pp.94-95.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid ,pp.96-97

<sup>131</sup> Robert David, 'Behind Qatar's Intervention in Libya: Why Was Doha Such a Strong Supporter of The Rebels? In Foreign Affairs, Features, the Council on Foreign Relations. September 28, 2011 <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/libya/2011-09-28/behind-qatars-intervention-libya>

Accordingly, US policy supported and established relations with the Libyan opposition thus became against the Gaddafi's government. For these reasons, the relations between two nations deteriorated. Obama administration imposed sanctions and arms embargo, and Libyan assets were frozen. In addition, Obama effectively supported the National Transitional Council of Libya and the anti-Gaddafi forces with unprecedented enthusiasm. Hence, the National Transitional Council of Libya has become recognized internationally by many countries, France was the first to recognize the Council. After that, on 15<sup>th</sup> of July, the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declared that her country recognizes the National Transitional Council as legitimate authority representing the Libyan people, and that the Libyan regime was illegal. Then, the US administration and its allies started to develop their own strategy to handle Qaddafi by lobbying on the Security Council for a decision regarding military intervention in Libya under the pretext of protecting civilians from the attacks of Gaddafi's forces.<sup>132</sup>

In this regard, there were other international actions taking place. The UN Security Council and EU imposed sanctions such as international air travel ban, and arms embargo against Libya, while the International Court of Justice issued arrest warrants against Muammar Gaddafi and his family.<sup>133</sup> The Arab League made a decision to suspend Libya's participation and supported the demands of the international community to military intervention to resolve the Libyan crisis.<sup>134</sup> Qatar had active role in the Libyan conflict by providing financial and weaponry support for the rebels and was the first Arab country to recognize the National Council. As well as Jordan and United Arab Emirates which supported Libya's NTC and the rebels against the Libyan regime.<sup>135</sup>

In return, during the Libyan crisis, Gaddafi's regime announced to cut its relations with France and Britain because of the French president Nicolas Sarkozy and British Prime Minister David Cameron's roles in the Libyan conflict. Challenging the United States,

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<sup>132</sup> U.S. recognizes Libyan rebels' authority, (Accessed date:,12 -12-2016 )

<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/07/15/libya.us.recognition/>

<sup>133</sup> Jeremy Bowen, *the Arab Uprisings: the people went the falloff the regime*. New York: Grove Press, 2012, p.106

<sup>134</sup> Tim Dunne , Jess Gifkins, "Libya and the state of intervention", *The Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 5, November 2011,p.519

<sup>135</sup> Tim Lister, "Analysis: As Libyan conflict grinds on, NATO's mission shifts", (Accessed date: 12 -12- 2016) <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/08/19/libya.nato.analysis/index.html>

Gaddafi gave a speech on television on 22<sup>nd</sup> of February 2011, from his destroyed home in Tripoli that was bombed by US after raiding it in 1986. He said that Al-Qaeda was behind the violence in the country. He added that he was fighting against al-Qaeda and terrorists. Also, he warned that Libya would not be like Afghanistan, and the United States cannot protest what is going on because they have done so in Fallujah, when the American campaign wiped out Fallujah under the pretext of combating against terrorism. In another speech, after the commencement of the NATO operations, Gaddafi asserted that he was fighting against the head of Al-Qaeda and asked Obama to stop NATO operations in Libya.<sup>136</sup> Saif al-Islam, said in a speech on television, that Libya was between civil war, partition of the country or the start of a national dialogue for the establishment of new Libya.<sup>137</sup>

Furthermore, on 20<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, the UN Security Council issued a resolution (1973) for military intervention in Libya at the request of major powers by imposing the no-fly zone over Libya. China, Russia Germany, India, and Brazil abstained from voting on this resolution.<sup>138</sup> On 19<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, NATO forces began military operations in Libya “Operation Odyssey Dawn”. France has played a major role at a special initiative, started the first air strikes on Libya began a few hours after the decision, the French warplanes were destroyed the armored vehicles stationed in the eastern part of Benghazi.<sup>139</sup>

The Air strikes against Qaddafi forces were held with the help of rebel fighters on the ground, the Islamic groups with and the Libyan opposition armed forces, it lasted six months, then NATO forces overthrew Gaddafi’s regime and resolved the battle in favor of the rebels. Thus, the military battle against Gaddafi had achieved its objective to dissolve his regime. Gaddafi was killed in Sirte, his hometown.<sup>140</sup> Interestingly, “Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila” the former prisoners in Guantanamo who were released in 2009, played a key role in toppling Qaddafi. Right after the fall of Tripoli, Abdul Hakim Belhadj, went out across the

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<sup>136</sup> A long 8 months in Libya, (Accessed date: 12-12-2016)

<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/10/20/world/africa/gadhafi-2011-timeline>

<sup>137</sup> Gaddafi's son warns of civil war

<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/02/201122162158565446.html>

<sup>138</sup> Tim Dunne, Jess Gifkins, "Libya and the state of intervention",

*The Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 65, No.5, November 2011, pp.522-523

<sup>139</sup> A long 8 months in Libya

<http://edition.cnn.com/2011/10/20/world/africa/gadhafi-2011-timeline>

<sup>140</sup> James L. Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs To Know*, New York: Oxford University press, 2012, p.101

island station to declare himself as, the Tripoli military council commander.<sup>141</sup> While, Ansar al-Sharia, linked to al-Qaeda, which rejected democracy and fought the state institutions, took control of the eastern region.<sup>142</sup>

On the other hand, NATO, whose primary task was to protect civilians, destroyed the army for the support of armed, and expanded the international intervention. NATO exceeded the objectives for which it was authorized, by supplying the opposition with weapons, material funding and logistical support. It also hit civilian targets, and caused destruction of infrastructure in Libya.<sup>143</sup>

### **3.5. Suspension and Resumption of U.S. Embassy Operations in Tripoli, 2011**

The US Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement about the events in Libya regarding the security disturbance before the commencement of NATO's military operations in Libya. Due to the escalation of these events, the U.S. has suspended embassy operations in Tripoli and withdrew its employees, as well as most of the foreign embassies withdrew their ambassadors from Tripoli. Meanwhile, on 11<sup>th</sup> of March 2011, the US State Department suspended its relationship with the Libyan Embassy of the Qaddafi government in Washington.

After the US recognized the National Transitional Council as the legitimate representative of Libya, The US administration sent the U.S. ambassador Christopher Stevens as the first American envoy before the overthrow of Gaddafi. In March 2011, Stevens sent to opposition headquarters in Benghazi for the task to start resuming diplomatic relations with the National Transitional Council, providing support for Libyan rebels and assess the situations.<sup>144</sup> In addition, a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) headquarters opened near the US Mission

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<sup>141</sup> Jeremy Bowen, *The Arab Uprisings: The People Went The Folloff The Regime*, London: Oxford University press, 2012, pp.239-240.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid, p.174.

<sup>143</sup> Tim Lister, " Analysis: As Libyan conflict grinds on, NATO's mission shifts", (Access date, 12 December 2016) <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/08/19/libya.nato.analysis/index.html>

<sup>144</sup> A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Libya, <https://history.state.gov/countries/libya>

building for an intelligence mission.<sup>145</sup> The Libyan embassy in Washington was handed over to the National Transitional Council on 16<sup>th</sup> of August of the same year, and it formally adopted the Libyan ambassador who represented the National Transitional Council. On 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2011, the U.S. Embassy was reopened in Tripoli, and began to issue visas to Libyan citizens.<sup>146</sup>

### 3.6. Assassination of the American Ambassador, 2012

Post-Gadhafi, repercussions of the war in Libya led to the crisis of exacerbate political conflict and chaos of the weapons. The Transitional Council failed to control the country due to the expansion of the influence of extremist groups linked with Al-Qaeda, including Ansar al-Sharia and "Al-Jamaah Allibiya AL-Moukatila" which possessed weapons and controlled large swathes of Libya. As part of their quest to establish an Islamic state, they destroyed Sufi shrines because they contradicted Sharia.<sup>147</sup> This tension escalated even after delivering the power to the General National Congress (GNC) in July 2012. Due to, exacerbate political differences, Libya has entered an internal conflict for power. Islamic militias imposed their decisions and laws by force of arms against any decision contrary to their interests. The GNC contracted with militias to protect the vital state facilities. Thus, each of the political parties had a militia to protect it.<sup>148</sup>

In the context of these security threats, the GNC failed even to protect the diplomatic missions from attacks of extremist groups. The diplomatic headquarters of the UN mission were attacked, while most western governments closed their embassies and withdrew their staff, including the British embassy, when its ambassador was exposed to an assassination attempt. Meanwhile, a small bomb was thrown in front of a building the US mission in Benghazi, but the US mission continued its work. Furthermore, based on a report issued by the CIA which described the situation, Libya has entered critical juncture into a state of chaos

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<sup>145</sup> Michael Morell, Bil Horell, *The Great War Of Our Time: The CAS Fight against Terrorism From Al- Qaida To ISIS*, New York, 2015, p.199

<sup>146</sup> A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Libya, <https://history.state.gov/countries/>

<sup>147</sup> John Andrews, *The world in conflict: Understanding the world's trouble spots*, London: 2015, p.72

<sup>148</sup> James L. Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs To Know*, New York: Oxford University press, 2012, p.107

and lack of security and stability. These reports were sent to the Congress titled "Libya: Al-Qaeda Establishing Sanctuary." <sup>149</sup>

In general, the situation in the countries that have experienced revolutions was suffering from strikes and lack of security and stability. Meanwhile, as the anniversary of 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 attacks get closer the security threats in the region and possible attacks by Al-Qaeda against US facilities increase. For example, Al-Qaeda has vowed retaliation for the killing of Abu Yahya al-Libi, who was killed in the mountains of Pakistan by a drone strike by US intelligence. On the other hand, other problems have emerged, anger and controversy and a wave of popular protests throughout all Arab countries, after airing an anti-Islamic video. Because of the presentation of this video on YouTube, riots and violence against US embassies have started in a large number in Arab countries.<sup>150</sup> In Cairo, angry demonstrators attacked the US embassy, but limited it to burning the American flag, there were no casualties and the ambassador was not present. <sup>151</sup>

However, the attack on the US diplomatic compound in Benghazi was the most violent and significant event which killed three US diplomats, including ambassador Chris Stevens. The attack started on Tuesday night at 9:40 pm, the firing was started by the attackers who used hand grenades, they managed to enter the building in a short time, they hurled bombs, and they stole the building's contents. The ambassador was inside the building during the attack. The attackers belonged to a radical Islamic group called Ansar al-Sharia who fought side by side with NATO to overthrow Colonel Gaddafi. After having clashes with the security forces guarding the embassy, they had to retreat to get supplies. The second attack was at the nearby building, which belonged to the Central Intelligence Agency, it was shelled with heavy weapons. These battles resulted in the death of ambassador Stevens due to smoke inhalation.<sup>152</sup> During the attack, the February 17 militia in charge of protecting the building failed to repel the attack and withdrew due to the force of the attack. Immediately, the US

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<sup>149</sup> Michael Morell, Bil Horell, *The Great War of Our Time: The CAS Fight Against Terrorism From Al-Qaida To ISIS*, New York: 2015, pp.198-198

<sup>150</sup> Michael Morell, Bil Horell, *The Great War Of Our Time: The CAS Fight Against Terrorism From Al-Qaida to ISIS*, New York, 2015, pp.200-205

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, p.200

<sup>152</sup> Ernesto Londoño ,Abigail Hauslohner,"In Libya, security was lax before attack that killed U.S. ambassador, officials say"(Accessed date:9 -12-2016)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-libya-security-was-lax-prior-to-deadly-attack/2012/09/29/a56ffca0-0992-11e2-aff-d6c7f20a83bf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d9b642242cdf](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-libya-security-was-lax-prior-to-deadly-attack/2012/09/29/a56ffca0-0992-11e2-aff-d6c7f20a83bf_story.html?utm_term=.d9b642242cdf)



President Barack Obama condemned the attack. After the incident, the US forces evacuated all its employees from Libya and took the dead bodies of the ambassador, and the ones who were killed with him in the attack.<sup>153</sup>

However, the assassination of the US ambassador has triggered a barrage of criticism of Obama administration; the debate raised many questions which led to the formation of a committee in Congress, where the U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was questioned. During that period, she was brought under legal accountability because of the Benghazi attack and the assassination of the ambassador, and she was charged by the commission of inquiry and accused of failure and negligence of the provision of security enhancements necessary for the US mission in Benghazi, despite receiving many of reports from the intelligence that warn about the security situation in Benghazi.

In addition, the incident sparked controversy as to whether it was just an accident because of an insulting film for Prophet or a previously planned terrorist act. On the other hand, this incident had a role to reduce the popularity of the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton; the Republican Party used this incident during the election, she has been criticized for ignoring to support the US mission building and security reinforcements and neglect in protection the ambassador.<sup>154</sup>

In addition to this, Clinton faced an issue of "their e-mail messages". She used her private e-mail to send messages containing confidential information related to her identity in the US State Department instead of using e-mail of the ministry. Most of these emails involved the Benghazi events. FBI accused Clinton of not taking security measures and disinformation into consideration. Eventually, Hillary acknowledged the negligence and recognized the responsibility for the failure to protect the Embassy in Benghazi.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Ernesto Londoño and Abigail Hauslohner, "In Libya, security was lax before attack that killed U.S. ambassador, officials say"(Accessed date, 9 -12- 2016)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-libya-security-was-lax-prior-to-deadly-attack/2012/09/29/a56ffca0-0992-11e2-aff-d6c7f20a83bf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d9b642242cdf](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/in-libya-security-was-lax-prior-to-deadly-attack/2012/09/29/a56ffca0-0992-11e2-aff-d6c7f20a83bf_story.html?utm_term=.d9b642242cdf)

<sup>154</sup> Tom Curry, "Clinton takes responsibility in Benghazi attack, clashes with Republicans"(Accessed date:12-3-2017) <http://nbcpolitics.nbcnews.com/news/2013/01/23/16660298-clinton-tak>

<sup>155</sup> Karen DeYoung, " State Dept. releases Clinton e-mails on Libya and Benghazi attacks" (Accessed date:12-5- 2017)[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/state-dept-set-to-release-clinton-e-mails-on-libya-and-benghazi-attacks/2015/05/22/8af004f0-008a-11e5-805c-c3f407e5a9e9\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a455f1f6282d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/state-dept-set-to-release-clinton-e-mails-on-libya-and-benghazi-attacks/2015/05/22/8af004f0-008a-11e5-805c-c3f407e5a9e9_story.html?utm_term=.a455f1f6282d)

In this regard, the screened movie, " 13 Hours: The Secret Soldiers of Benghazi" Michael Bay, which was based on a book of the same name, written by Chuck Hogan. The movie documented the assassination of the US ambassador Christopher Stevens in Benghazi without mentioning the events in Libya. The American director depicted Libyans in the first scenes of this movie as ignorant and backward. In addition, it documented the attack on the ambassador, which lasted for 13 hours, and criticized the delay of the American administration in handling this situation. Paradoxically, it depicted the security forces which came for support as heroes despite their failure to rescue the ambassador and protect their headquarters.

In 2014, the US President Obama himself announced the arrest of the Libyan, Abu Khattala, who was arrested by the US Special Forces, in Libya and deported to Washington on charges of involvement in the killing of the US ambassador.<sup>156</sup> These Special Forces entered Libyan territory without even being authorized by the Libyan interim government, which did not take any action regarding this matter.

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<sup>156</sup> Michael Morell, Bil Horell, *The Great War Of Our Time: The CAS Fight Against Terrorism From Al- Qaida to ISIS*, New York, 2015, p.206



## CHAPTER FOUR

### CONCLUSION

To answer the questions of the thesis, the Libyan-US relations were examined, which could be characterized as the state of tides. Through this study, these Libyan-American relations were not recent; they have been thriving for the past 200 years. The history of the US Navy recorded its first wars in the Mediterranean Sea against Libya, and even presently, Tripoli is mentioned in the American national anthem. After the Second World War, Libya gained great importance in the strategy of the United States of America, which sought to achieve its political and economic objectives.

In the second chapter, a part of it highlighted the Libyan-American relations. Major events, which took place between the 1950s and 1980s, affected significantly those relations. These relations could be realized when the bases of rapprochement and understanding were established in 1951 during the royal regime. The Libyan monarchy policy which was pro-western through treaties that were signed with the United States and Britain, had restricted the independence of Libya and its national sovereignty due to the presence of British and US bases on Libyan territory. In addition, the ruling royal elite sought to prevent the growth of the influence of Nasserist and Arab nationalism among the Libyan people, and tried to isolate Libya from potential or occurring developments in the Arab region, as well as adopting non-involvement policy in the regional conflicts. The purpose of the US policy towards the monarchy was not to secure Libya's economic and political assistance, but to safeguard its bases and control Libya against Soviet influence, especially after the discovery of oil.

During the 1970s, after Colonel Gaddafi overthrew King Idris al-Sanusi in the wake of the military coup in 1969, Washington watched the course and development of events cautiously and sought to contain the revolutionary regime of Gaddafi fearing for their vital interests in Libya. However, the wait did not last long for the U.S to realize the true intentions of the 1969 revolution as the Revolution Command Council decided to evacuate American and British

bases and nationalize oil companies after they were American and British monopolies. In addition, Gaddafi tried to build a socialist, anti – imperialist state based on Arab unity and Arab nationalism. The Qaddafi regime supported the Palestinian cause against Israel as well as the liberation movements in the world. The regime had bad relationships even with neighboring countries because of the different directions, while the relations and cooperation with the Soviet Union thrived. Moreover, Libyan-American relations entered a new phase of complexity and instability because of the objectives and principles of the revolution and the influence of the Soviet Union on Libya, which opposed and threatened the US interests consequently. During Reagan administration, relations have worsened severely when the US announced a strategy policy declaring that Libya was a terrorism-sponsoring state. In addition, the threat of a military action after accusing Libya of the bombing of the Berlin nightclub and the killing of US soldiers on March 25th, 1986, which later led to a military clash through an air strike on April 15th, 1986, targeting the house of Gaddafi himself as well as the cities of Tripoli and Benghazi. Consequently, the Libyan-American relations were broken politically, diplomatically and economically. Washington tried to assassinate Gaddafi himself and support the Libyan opposition to destabilize the internal political stability.

As demonstrated in this study, the history of the Libyan-US relations was full of disputes and discords. Lockerbie case came as a result of a long history of complex relations between the two countries, which led to the international isolation of Libya. During this period, Libya has suffered from economic and political sanctions which resulted in a big impact on the Libyan people.

It is also shown in this thesis how September 11 attacks have deeply influenced the Libyan-US relations and triggered the beginning of a new phase with different features and policies between the two countries which was one of the significant turning points in the course of Libya-US relations. Hence, the tension gradually waned, having a direct reflection on the Libyan foreign policy as the fight against terrorism has taken an important place in Libyan-American relations. During the term of President George W. Bush, Libya began trying to take an international concrete step towards improving its image and its international relations, when it announced its intention to get rid of weapons of mass destruction it possessed at the end of 2003. Gaddafi's regime realized that the U.S government wanted to use the Lockerbie case and the presence of Libya in the list of terrorist states as pretexts to eliminate it. However, Libya complied with the United Nations demands to repair its

relations with the United States, Britain and Western states. Libya agreed to all the demands of the U.S through the cooperation regarding the Lockerbie file and the payment of all the required compensation. Libya returned to the international field after radical changes in its foreign policy, declaring the abandonment of "terrorism" support. From 2005 until late 2009, the normalization of relations between the two countries took place. The US administration decided to establish full diplomatic relations, which made Libya a major ally to the West. The US-Libyan relations improved significantly, witnessing a clear development at all levels, which was implemented through the full coordination between the two countries in issues such as combating terrorism, and signing economical and security agreements.

Despite the restoration of diplomatic relations between Libya and the West and the compliance with the demands of the US and its allies, these policies and relations changed along with the escalation of the events of the Arab Spring. The relations became more hostile against Gaddafi and changed from friendship and sharing common interests with him to fighting him internationally by military force. Whereas, the widespread protests in Libya and the lack of Gaddafi's diplomacy in his speeches as well as the huge Arab and Western media coverage increased the mobilization against Gaddafi's regime considering him a bloody, dictatorial ruler who violated human rights. The United States took advantage of these events and decided to intervene militarily in Libya and support the opposition, which played an active role in the overthrow of Gaddafi. Libya's post-war dilemma was falling in the quagmire of tribal conflicts, this civil war which was initiated between the tribes under the pretext of its loyalty to Gaddafi, cost Libya large numbers of Libyan victims from both sides. Other problems have emerged, suffering and human rights violations. In addition, due to NATO operations in Libya, the Libyan military forces and the infrastructure were destroyed, and thousands were killed, causing great losses in the country's economy.

Despite the loss of an important ally like Gaddafi, the United States gained new allies who were enemies in the past, the Islamists, considered them more reliable, and supported them against the Libyan regime in exchange for maintaining American interests. With the escalation of the events in Libya, Obama administration has established partnerships with the interim government, without any clear weapons collection programs or extremism confrontation, ignoring all the reports regarding the terrorist in the eastern region. The militias controlling Libya have been legitimized by the Libyan government and handled it as a security force, which led to chaos, insecurity and the inability of the Libyan ministries to carry

out their functions which later resulted in the closure of all diplomatic embassies. Even more, the representatives of the UN secretary-general in Libya failed in their mission.

Benghazi has been the most active city after the growth of the strength of extremist groups and Islamic militias, including militants from Ansar al-Sharia group. Moreover, Benghazi witnessed assassinations among the security forces and policemen and attacks on the Western interests and diplomatic representations. These events led to a security breach that resulted in the attack on the US consulate in Benghazi on September 11th, 2012, killing the US ambassador and three others. The assassination of the US ambassador has triggered a barrage of criticism of Obama administration; the debate raised many controversial questions. The February 17 militia in charge of protecting the building failed to repel the attack and withdrew. The assassination of the US ambassador had a great impact on the US administration and showed the extent of the American failure in Libya. The Republican Party used the incident during the elections, accusing Obama's administration of ignoring the support of the building where the US mission was located and neglecting the importance of strengthening the security and protecting the ambassador.

In addition, this attack on the US embassy in Benghazi has had a major impact on the relationship between the two countries. While Libya denounced the attack, it denounced the arrest of Libyan citizens on its territory in 2014, according to many statements from Libyan officials. Moreover, Washington has reviewed many issues in relation to its relationship with the Islamists in Libya and to conduct a comprehensive review of the shape and strength of its security and military presence in Libya. However, the United States and its allies have not been able to do so or even impose resolutions or issue measures to stop the expansion of terrorism.

In this research, the dictatorial regime of Gaddafi wasn't underestimated. It argued the propaganda used by the Obama administration and its allies for military intervention in Libya and that it was not for the sake of democracy and protection of civilians but for its oil ambitions, because it turned Libya into a failed state, which ratified Gaddafi's prophecy about repeating the same mistake it committed in Afghanistan and Iraq. Libya could not protect itself from radicalism as a threat, which led to insecurity. Libyan politicians led by militias have proved their failure to lead the country. The majority of the rebels who fought against

Gaddafi's regime had different and radical ideologies, which played a major role in the instability of the political events in Libya.

Six years after the revolution, the situation exhausted the Libyans and aroused in many of them nostalgia for the Gaddafi era, because the political failure of successive governments and the conflict between militias have impeded any opportunity to consolidate democratic rule and build a real state to this day. These militias did not hesitate to challenge the state when their interests were threatened, which threatened peace and the process of institution building in the country, especially the army and police. When the transitional government ceased to distribute the rewards on militias and decided to dissolve them, the militias became more violent, attacking State institutions, disrupting their work, assassinating officials and threatening to shut down oil sites.

Through this situation, Libyans lived in a severe financial crisis. The country was divided politically and militarily to two governments in Tobruk and Tripoli. The government of Tobruk consisted of the Libyan Chamber of Deputies which was elected in 2014. The government of Tripoli was a coalition of political forces that lost the 2014 elections. Every government and parliament received support from Western and Arab countries to achieve its objectives, such as the UAE, Qatar, Egypt, France, Britain and the US.

The conflict in Libya included not only the governments of Tobruk and Tripoli but Major General Khalifa Haftar, who was the general commander of the Libyan National Army, he was a cause of the conflict because he declared war on terrorism in May 2014, he began the process of liberating Benghazi from the terrorist armed groups. He achieved victories against these terrorist groups and managed to control the entire eastern region and he advanced towards the South. He had a clear program to build an army and police and won the support of many Libyans. However, the government of Tripoli, which was under the control of Islamic militias of various factions, including the Islamic Fighting Group, accused Haftar that he led a coup against legitimacy and it entered a confrontation with him.

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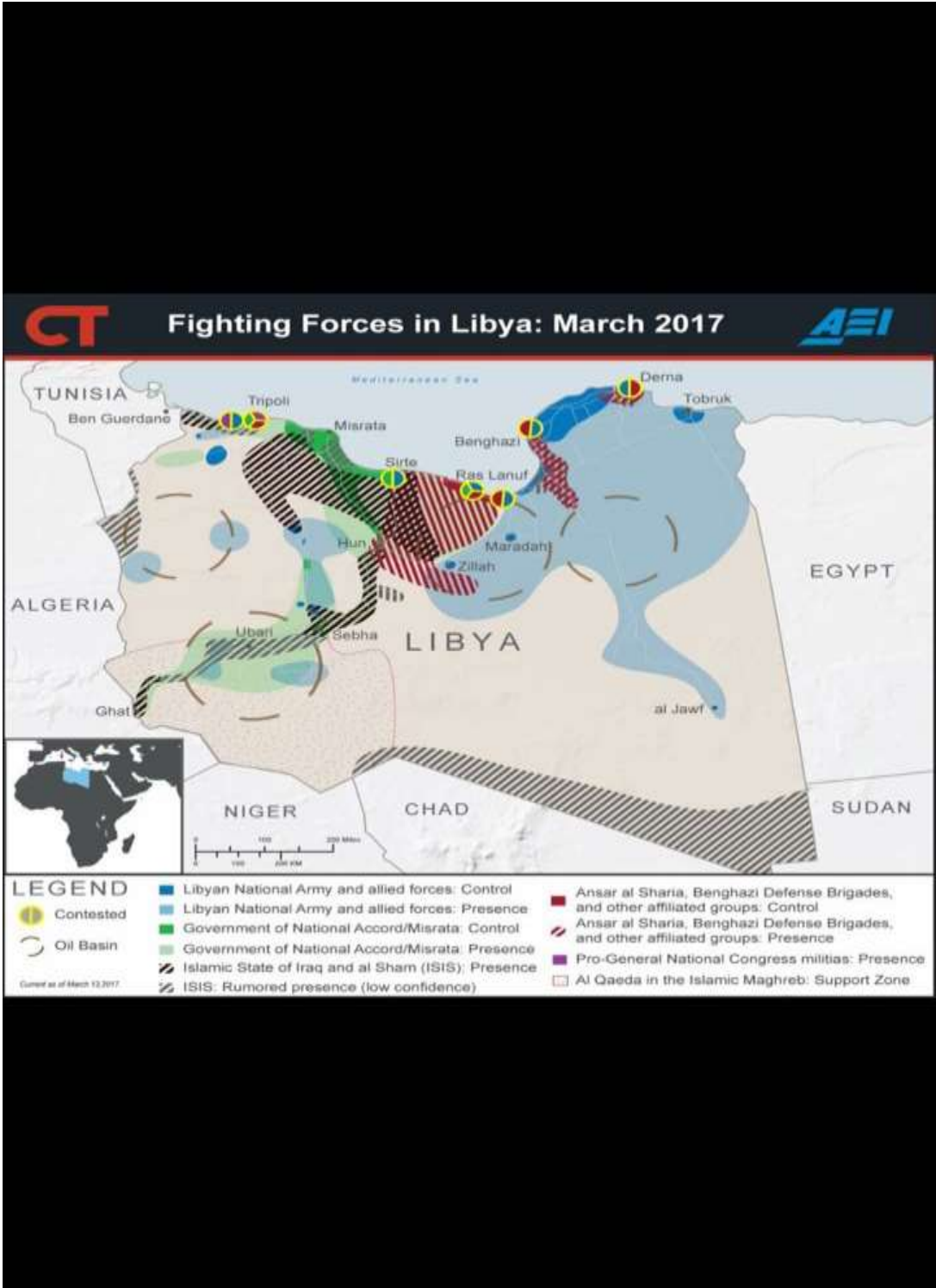
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Source: Worldofmaps.net (2012)





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## ANTI-PLAGIRISM REPORT

Turnitin Orijinallik Raporu

Tez Amira Kaplan tarafından

ÖDEV 2 (SBE TEZ 1) den

13-Haz-2017 14:17 EEST' de işleme konu

NUMARA: 824615304

Kelime Sayısı: 16532

Benzerlik Endeksi

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Internet Sources:

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Yayınlar:

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