The Shift in the NATO’s Mission: Reasons and Interset

Case Study: Libya (2011).

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Dedication

First, I would praise Allah for giving me the strength to finish the work.

I dedicate this work to my parents, teachers, friends, and all who supported me.
Acknowledgments

First, all praise be to Allah who helped me to finish the work.

I would like to express my thanks to my supervisor for his advices which helped me in accomplishing the work. Special thank to my teachers who taught me during my university studies. I would like also to thank my Family especially my parents as well as my friends who supported me.

Thank you.
List of Abbreviations

NATO: North Atlantic Organization Treaty
NGO: Nongovernmental Organization
UNSC: United Nation Security Council
UPO: Unified Protector Operation
R2P: Responsibility to Protect
BPFA: British Parliament for Foreign Affairs
USA: United States of America
Abstract

NATO is a military organization which was formed to defend America’s security along with its Allies during the Cold War. The removal of the threat which the NATO was created to fight against, namely the Soviet Union pushed the organization members to deviate from its original mission to a new one. This deviation aimed to give an excuse for the organization to survive and to keep it unified. NATO’s Post Cold War mission included different tasks; the most important was conducting peacekeeping operations and protecting human rights. The new operation was based on the Responsibility to Protect doctrine and authorized by the United Nation Security Council. Libya is one of many countries that witnessed NATO intervention for protecting civilians and maintaining peace. Ironically the mission shifted from the authorized operation to bombing civilians and changing regime which confirmed that there were implicit motivations for the new operations.
Résumé

L'OTAN est une organisation militaire qui a été formée pour défendre la sécurité américaine avec ses alliés pendant la guerre froide. L'élimination de la menace que l'OTAN a été créée pour combattre, à savoir l'Union soviétique a poussé les membres de l'organisation à s'écarter de leur mission initiale à une autre. Cette déviation visait à donner une excuse pour que l'organisation survive et à la maintenir unifiée. La mission post-guerre froide de l'OTAN comprenait différentes tâches, la plus importante était de mener des opérations de maintien de la paix et de protéger les droits de l'homme. La nouvelle opération était basée sur la doctrine de la responsabilité de la protection et autorisée par le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies. La Libye est l'un des nombreux pays qui ont assisté à l'intervention de l'OTAN pour protéger les civils et maintenir la paix. Ironiquement, la mission est passée de l'opération autorisée à bombarder des civils et à changer de régime qui a confirmé qu'il y avait des motivations implicites pour les nouvelles opérations.
ملخص

الناتو منظمة عسكرية أسست من اجل الدفاع عن أمريكا و حلفائها خلال الحرب الباردة. أدي زوال التهديد الذي أنس الحلف لمحاربته. أي الاتحاد السوفيتي، إلى انحراف أعضاء المنضمة عن مهمتهم الأصلية إلى مهم جيدة يهدف هذا الانحراف إلى إعطاء آخر للمنظمة من اجل الاستمرار وبقائها موحدة. تضمنت مهمة الناتو الجديدة مهام مختلفة أهمها حفظ السلام و الدفاع عن حقوق الإنسان واستناد العملية الجديدة على مبدأ مسؤولية الحماية الذي شرعه مجلس الأمن التابع لمنظمة حقوق الإنسان. ليبما من بين العديد من البلدان التي شهدت تدخل الناتو من اجل تطبيق هذا المبدأ ولكن العملية انحرفت من المهمة المسموح بها إلى قصف المدنيين وتغير نظام الحكم مما أكد أن هناك دوافع خفية للمهمة الجديدة.
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General introduction

The NATO is an important military organization which includes many countries cooperating for collective defense. It was created by USA during the Cold War to guarantee its security and protect its allies from any attack or aggression lead by the Soviet Union. The organization posses a high military capacity which was developed since its creation, Nowadays it has the ability to conduct expensive military operations and difficult ones.

The Post Cold War era witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union and the fall of communism in many countries, this meant that the mission was over and NATO enemy was destructed. The Allies created a new mission for the NATO which includes conducting peacekeeping operations and protecting civilians. NATO welcomed the joining of new members and started its new mission that was based on the R2P and the UN authorization.

The new role of NATO carried a lot of controversies, such as how an organization that was formed to defend the allies security was transformed to an organization for peacekeeping. Though the organization members declared that the shift in their mission is to protect human rights and maintain peace, there were implicit motivations which are clearly illustrated in their intervention in Libya as an example.

This Mémoire addresses various purposes. First, it aims to compare between the NATO’s original mission and its functions in post Cold War era. The military organization which was created for collective defense deviated to a totally different operation of peacekeeping and protecting civilians under threat. Second, it analyzes the new mission of NATO and how its concept strategies changed to give birth to this new
operation. The Mémoire also sheds light on the R2P doctrine and how it was used to justify the NATO interventions. Finally, it focuses on Libya as an example of NATO’s involvement, how and why the operation shifted from its authorized mission to unnecessary actions.

In this work both the comparative and analytical approaches are used. First, the comparative approach was needed to show the difference in NATO function before and after the Cold War. Second, the analytical one is used to analyze the application of NATO to its new mission of peacekeeping and protecting human rights specifically in Libya.

The Mémoire is divided into two chapters; the first chapter includes a definition of NATO and its origins. It also deals with the original mission of the organization and some operations that were conducted during the Cold War. Finally it illustrates the efforts that were done by the United States and its allies to keep NATO operating in post Cold War era. The second chapter examines the changes in NATO strategy concepts and how those changes paved the way for its new mission. Moreover, this chapter studies the birth of the R2P doctrine and its role in shaping the NATO’s new mission. Lastly it examines the reasons that motivated the organization members to intervene in Libya.

The Mémoire depends on the Washington treaty which is considered as the base of this organization. It is used to show the most important standards that unified the Allies. Also Horace Campbell’s book Global NATO and the catastrophic failure in Libya which helped so much in analyzing the mission of NATO in Libya and the most illegal actions that shaped the operation. Beside those sources there are many articles
and books on which the work depends to more illustrate the deviation in the authorized operation and the excuses that were used and their reliability.
Chapter One:

NATO a Historical Background

Introduction:

The instability that appeared after World War Two created much disagreement between the survival powers, USA and the Soviet Union which dominated the world at that time with very different and contradicting ideologies. Since each side tried to spread its ideology and maintain as much as possible supporters, there was always a possibility of witnessing conflicts between both the Soviet Union and USA. During the Cold War those powers focused on how to develop their capacities, USA was very worried about the growing power of the Soviet Union and the influx of communism to Europe that was not really in position that allowed it to fight against this power.

The USA thought about a way that could help in seizing communism and keep it away from Europe and America. Helping European countries which were destructed after the World War Two to rebuild their capacities and develop was the first step that USA took. Second, USA tried to maintain support from the European countries and to strengthen the cooperation between them as an attempt to guarantee their help and support if there was any aggression against. The NATO was one of those attempts which USA and its Allies tried to use as a self protective tool to react in case their safety was threatened.
1) Definition and Origins

1) Definition

The NATO is an abbreviation for The North Atlantic Treaty Organization which appeared with the assignment of Washington Treaty on April 9, 1949 containing twelve countries, that can be considered as the base of this organization these are Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the United States, Then new members started to join this organization from 1951 till 1955 it included Greece, Turkey and West German, then Spain in 1982. After the end of the Cold War it was supposed that its mission was over but NATO continue with more members including The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. Then, it extended to accept even some countries of the former Soviet Union like Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Estonia, Slovakia and Slovenia ending with Albania and Croatia in 2009 (Historia civilis “what is NATO”).

The North Atlantic Treaty contains fourteen Articles that organizes the relationship between the members of the organization and illustrates how they act with respect to the United Nation Charter. For instance the first article of the treaty argues that:

The parties undertake, as a set forth in the charter of the United Nations, to settle Any international dispute in which they may be involved by peaceful means in Such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered And to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the united nation.

(Washington Treaty. art 1)
NATO has a Counsel of Members that contains delegates from all the countries of the organization they take decision through consensus and consultation after each member gave his opinion concerning a particular issue “consensus is the principle characteristic and detriment of NATO’s decision making process” (Sendmayer 6). This gave all members opportunity to participate in decision making and in case they were not convinced by a particular issue they can refuse it simply. In this way they will avoid any monopoly of power from any country.

NATO’s military operations are done by two commanders the secretary council who must be a European member, he is the chief bureaucrat and head of the North Atlantic Council and The Supreme Allied Commander Europe he should be an American, and he is the NATO’s top commander. His role is significant since he is responsible for the American troops in Europe and The NATO troops worldwide (Masters). NATO military operations contains many procedures when they are conducted, the both commands are responsible for any military action taken by the organization. This issue was illustrated in the Washington treaty:

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5. (.art 9)
2) The Origins

The NATO appeared in 1949 but it was preceded by some kind of agreements and acts that helped in rising attention concerning collective work to face the common problem at that time which was communism, and reduce the danger of the Axis Powers especially Germany. America attempted to help all countries that were fighting against communists countries by giving them weapons and war materials when it was in Isolation era and after it interred the war, for instance The Lend Lease Act 1941, also Winston Churchill’s Iron Curtain Speech on March 5, 1946 which shed light on the division that appeared within Europe and created a kind of challenges between both sides. The Marshall Plan (1947) or The European Recovery Program which was a project organized to help Europe which was destructed by the war and in same time help in keeping communism far from America and its interests. Another factor that preceded the NATO appearance was The Brussels agreement which flourished later to help in creating The North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

a) The Lend Lease Act

Isolationism policy did not prevent America from giving help to Britain in its war against Germany. President Franklin D Roosevelt passed the Lend Lease Act in March 11, 1941 which is based on the idea that The President has the ability to provide any country which was fighting against the Axis with weapons, food, or equipment. Britain was the country which benefited from this act more than any other European country a total of $50 were given to rebuild the British economy, but America was not supporting those countries for nothing it was interested by keeping the war away from
America as Roosevelt declared “helping to put out the fire in your neighbor’s house before your own house caught fire and burned down” (qtd. in Ellis 145).

The importance of the Lend Lease Act was its role in helping Britain to stay fighting since its position was very weak, Baker declared that” it was apparent that Britain was rapidly approaching bankruptcy Thus, Lend-Lease Act of March 1941 allowed for American allies, meaning at that time Britain, to obtain American goods needed for the war” (04). The American support to the British helped in strengthening cooperation between European countries and opened the way for more collaboration in different fields. Through this act Britain benefited from materials that kept it standing in its war and it also kept America save “It did allow Roosevelt to give the British over $1 billion in aid by the end of the year—aid that would be vital in keeping Britain in the war, and perhaps America out of the war”(Baker 04).

Winning the World War Two was not important just for the British but also for America which was really worried about the results of that war, in case its Ally which was Britain failed that meant that America would be more threatened from the powers that conducted the war, Japan and Nazi Germany. The Western countries at that time USA and Britain realized the importance of the mutual work especially for defending their security.

b) Iron Curtain Speech

On March 05, 1946 Winston Churchill gave his famous Iron Curtain speech in Westminster College in Fulton town, his speech was known also as the Sinew of Pease. The importance of this incident lies in the idea that it was considered as a reason for the beginning of the cold war (Rosenberg). After world war two people hoped that they will live in peace but the cold war was a source of fear from conflicts that may occur. Churchill’s speech shed light on the division that appeared within Europe as Harrison
argued “The image of the iron curtain represented the split between the West and Soviet Russia” (07).

Raising attention concerning this issue changed the atmosphere of the relations between the west and the soviet and created aggression between both. The famous statement by Churchill “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent” (qtd. in Harrison 7). This pushed west Europe countries to think about a way to react in case there was any danger from the soviet which helped later on in the creation of NATO as Harrison quoted from Daniel Mahoney “The Anglo-American alliance that Churchill illustrated inspired ‘the creation of the greatest instrument of democratic collective security ever designed, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)’ “(10).

The Iron Curtain Speech exemplified batter the division that appeared after the end of the World War Two, and stressed the importance of developing the Western Countries because the threat that may damage their future was common. There was a need for an institution that could defend those countries and this helped in the creation of NATO.

c) The Marshall Plan

After the Second World War Europe faced many problems especially in economy since the war cost a lot of money and materials. USA was worried about the weakness of the European countries and the possibility of communism spread and dominance in this new ideological war. On June 5, 1947 secretary of state George Marshall mentioned the idea of this plan in Harvard University than it was signed as a law by President Harry Truman on April, 1948 (Dixon). The plan was an attempt to rebuilt European countries for that it was called The European Recovery Plan, and Even
though The Lend Lease Act and The Marshall Plan were related to economical matters but they raised the idea of collective help for common interests giving support for more mutual cooperation in economy and politics.

Dixon declared that the Marshall plan cost 13 billion$ which were divided for particular purposes. Most of the program funds were spent on commodities, $3.5 billion on raw materials, $3.2 billion on food, and fertilizer, $1.9 billion on machinery and vehicles, and $1.6 billion on fuel. A small portion of funds was used for technical assistance visits to the U.S. for European farmers and industrialists. Thus the main goals of the European Recovery Program were to support the industrial and agricultural production the thing that can strengthen the European budgets and currency, also removing the barriers between the European countries which were considered an obstacle for trade.

The program helped many countries which start to agree on the collective work as a success point that may help them in achieving their goals in different fields. Though the plan was for economic purpose the motivations were political ones, the USA did its best to keep Britain standing and all the Western countries in order to avoid the spread of communism and the dominance of the Soviet Union. The program gives a clear idea about how everything is linked when the interests are common.

d) The Brussels Treaty

An economical and social treaty that emphasize on collective self defense, it was signed on March 17, 1948 including France, Luxemburg, Netherland, Belgium and Great Britain. The treaty contains 11 articles that illustrated the aim and work of the members among those articles. There is article four which insist on the collective self
defense importance that will later help in the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty among the Brussels Treaty standers we find:

If any of the high contracting parties should be the object of an armed attack in Europe, the other high contracting parties will, in accordance with the provision of article 51 of the charter of the united nation, afford the party so attack all the military and other aid and assistance in their power. (Brussels treaty. Art 4)

Since the treaty focused on the military side and raised the idea of collective work for a common goal it helped in the creation of the North Atlantic Organization that appeared to guarantee the Allies security. The Treaty was very connected to the NATO because the members who signed the treaty were the same who created the NATO in addition to USA and Canada. The interested thing is that even the standers of both treaties are similar especially in the points which gave the members the authority to react military in case they were threatened.

I) NATO’s Original Mission

After the formation of NATO in 1949 the Soviet Union responded by creating The Warsaw Pact and this pushed NATO to develop its military mechanisms more as Charly Salonius Pasternak said “with the integration of West Germany into NATO and the establishment of the Warsaw Pact, this further hastened the development of NATO into an effective military alliance”(14). The challenge between both pacts gave NATO’s mission some characteristics that changed through time to give birth to the modern model for NATO. Among those characteristics we can notice:
1) The Limited Region

NATO was created to react in case America or Western Europe was threatened from the Soviet Union or any other danger, so the area where NATO was supposed to operate on was Europe. “The text of the treaty is explicit about the fact that the commitment is geographically limited to attack on North America and Europe” (Pasternak 32). NATO was not interested in any conflict out of its area; it focused on keeping the allies save. Unlike its mission after the cold war NATO’s operation became a global one a point that created debate among the NATO members as Pasternak argued that “Throughout NATO’s history, one of the most ongoing debates between its members has been over soliciting allied support for operations beyond NATO’s borders”(16).

During the cold war NATO focused on keeping away the danger of the Soviet Union from America and its European Allies. The members of the organization at that period did not intervene in conflicts out of Europe as it happened after the end of the cold war when NATO started to think about out of area operations. Europe witnessed many conflicts during the cold war and although NATO did not intervene in most of those conflicts but benefited from them in developing itself.

1) NATO’s Limited Operation

The first mission of NATO was to guarantee the Allies security especially after the creation of the Warsaw Pact as Faulkner mentioned in his article that ‘The original member states that came together under US tutelage claimed that their alliance was dedicated to the preservation of peace and to the defense of Western Europe against the supposed threat of military aggression’. NATO was not interested in any conflict outside of that area unless it has relationship with the member’s security since any
threat against one member was considered as a threat against all; For instance the Suez crisis which happened because of strikes headed by two members from the organization, France and Britain against Egypt. NATO was not involved but it was more interested in what was happening in Europe.

Another role for NATO was to fight communism since NATO is considered as one of the containment’s policy tools, it attempted to seize the Soviet Union as well as the expansion of its ideology. When the Soviet Union’s ideas reached many countries like Cuba the NATO were among the forces used to stop this spread to more European countries.

USA and its Allies realized that the growing power of the Soviet Union must be stopped, NATO focused on how to keep communism away from the American boarders and Europe. The organization members knew that if the Soviet Union ideology reached the European countries than USA will be in front of a threat that may destruct it. Though many conflicts appeared at that time NATO was limited to its original mission of defending the Allies and fighting communism.

All the attempts and programs that were done can be seen as kind of the containments policy tools that seeks to seize the communism spread and attain the dominance of the Allies and their ideologies. NATO operation during the cold war can be considered as a single operation that in general aimed to protect the Allies from any aggression.
II) The Cold War Crises and NATO Attempts to Survive

1The Cold War Crises

Although the Cold War did not witness any destructive, military conflicts but there were some crises that challenged the NATO existence. The birth of NATO coincided with many conflicts between both USA and Soviet Union. Though the crises threatened the NATO solidarity they helped the Allies to discover the weak points within the concept strategy of the organization. Among those crises there were the Korean crisis, the Suez Canal crisis, and the Berlin crisis which were about to develop into another destructive war, those accidents examined the validity of the Alliance and its power.

The first crisis was the Korean War, after the Cold War Korea war divided into the South Korea headed by USA and the North Korea under Soviet Union control. During the 1949 the president of the North part Kim Sung attempted to unify both parts; many efforts were done by the South Korean president to gain the Soviet Union support in this war. The Soviet Union leader Joseph Stalin was worried about the possibility of intervening in war with the West but his ambitions to spread communism pushed him to accept the request; the support was not in form of military assistance but it was just through providing North Korea with arms and equipments that were needed (Malkasian 15-16).

The NATO was not really that strong organization that could go in war with Soviet Union and succeed, for that nothing was done by this military alliance as Jervis mentioned “In the 18 months after the NATO was signed, there were some moves to make it real organization, coordination in the economic and political realms as well as military discussed…however, the organization remained largely symbolic” (571). The NATO position showed that it was not really effective and that were some weak points
concerning the organization and its ability to react in case of instability. The Korean Crisis shed light on a point that was very important for any military defense. The Allies realized the importance of militarizing the NATO and they agreed about the necessity of creating an Army which they can rely on it during such crisis (Jervis 580).

The second issue was the Suez Canal crisis was another problem that appeared during the Cold War and examined the NATO’s effectiveness; Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt as a response for the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

When Jamal Abdel Nasser became the Egyptian president he decided to nationalize the Canal the thing that was not accepted and welcomed by the three countries that launched the attack. The conflict started by Israel forces occupying the Sinai Peninsula, then British and France forces joined in attempt to seize the Canal sector and withdrew Abdel Nasser (Lahav 1299). Thus the NATO image was really affected because two of its members started a war without any authority or even a declaration that can give the other members opportunity to share their opinions, as Hendrickson declared “the strikes were conducted without any consultation at NATO” (101).

The crisis showed the lack of cooperation between the organization members, and their dependence on their forces to fight for their interests rather than depending on the organization. Though the conflict was resolved and the aggressors were pushed to leave NATO faced a division within its members which was about to destroy it as Lawrence Kaplan confirmed “the result was the near destruction to the Alliance as the United States sides with the Soviets to oppose the Suez operation”(qtd. in Hendrickson 101).
Third, the Berlin crisis of 1961 appeared when many citizens started to move from East parts which were ruled by Soviet Union towards the Western parts of Berlin where there was more freedom and democracy. The Soviet Union responded first by destroying all the ways and the railroads that were used to travel to West Berlin then it moved to build the Berlin wall (Carter 27). At that time NATO was still trying to develop its strategy, its members discussed the issue of strengthening its Army and the need for nuclear weapons which would help them in making the organization more reliable in war time. The use of nuclear weapons created some debate between the members; the American President John F. Kennedy tried to convince the NATO members that there was necessity to use the nuclear weapons during such conflicts. (Pedlow 29-30).

Although the Berlin wall was not removed till the 1989 but during that period the Western allies did not involve NATO in military conflicts with Soviet Union and many attempts appeared to solve the problem peacefully. The crises were landmarks in the history of the NATO though they created many problems and disagreement between the members but they helped them to notice what was missed in their alliance, and how the absence of solidarity between them weakened the organization. The Cold War helped NATO so much, since it did not broke up but it became stronger; many changes were made to make the alliance reliable and ready to face such crises.

2) The End of the Cold War and the American Role in Saving NATO

On 1991 the world witnessed the end of the cold war after the destruction of the Berlin wall and the removal of the Warsaw pact. The mission of NATO that was declared by its first general secretary Hastings Lionel Ismay’ to keep the Russians out, the American in, and the Germans down’ was supposed to be over and NATO’s enemy
does no longer exist (qtd. in Nezemroaya). The Soviet Union that was considered as a
threat to the Allies disappeared and Europe became dominated by the western ideology
of capitalism which weakened communism and pushed the axis powers to give up.

In the 3rd of November 1998 the USA president George Bush and the Soviet
Union leader Mikhail Gorbatgov held conference in Malta after which they confirmed
the end of the Cold War, the dismissal of the Soviet Union, and the removal of the
Berlin wall, these new events pushed NATO to make some changes within its strategy
(Yigittepe 02). Since the threat was removed NATO needed to find a new way to
reorganize its function.

NATO was left with unclear purpose since its mission was over many people
thought that it will be dissolved; however the allies stared to search for a new purpose
that may help NATO to survive and keep them united. Yigittepe stated that “As after
the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the collective threat would be eliminated, what will
be the function of NATO in the future?” (02). the removal of NATO for America
specifically meant the end of the American dominance or at least effect on European
countries decisions which may affect its interests and for that America and the Allies
started to look for new problems or threats that can be used as NATO new function
beside its old mission.

The Allies tried to get new responsibilities for NATO that can be adequate to
what was happening during that period and its strategies were changed to help in
keeping NATO operating. The unrest atmosphere that caricaturized the era after the
cold helped the Allies on general and America particularly in finding gaps through
which they can manipulate new functions and mission for the organization. NATO
importance was not just in defending the Allies’ security but it also can be a tool to defend their interests in case they were threatened.

The role of America in shaping the NATO strategies is very distinctive, in addition to the fact that NATO was created by America it allowed it to have a major role or existence in Europe through its troops and to lead a multinational military command (Slocombe). The presence of the USA in Europe helped it sense that it gave it the ability to discuss issues that are related to the American interests whether in Europe or out of it, also because America maintains troops in Europe this can help it to react very quickly in case it was threatened or there was any danger that may shake the American dominance or power. Nezemroaya in his book the Globalization of NATO saw that the organization “was formed on the basis of the continued presence of the US military in western Europe after the second world war”.

Since America is the leading power in NATO this created some debates concerning different issues, for instance when America proposed the idea of expending NATO’s area of operation most of the allies preferred to keep their operations related more to Europe (Slocombe). Later on the idea was accepted and new missions out of the NATO old area appeared and this showed the power of the USA in forming the new strategies of the organization and effecting the Allies’ decision. So as America was important for NATO, it kept it effective and did all what it could to avoid its removal, NATO also gave it the opportunity to intervene in many conflicts and issues in Europe which could not be possessed in case USA was not among the organization members.
Conclusion

There were many treaties and programs that paved the way to NATO appearance through supporting mutual work and cooperation in different fields, its birth coincided with different crises that were considered as signs of the Cold War. However, NATO role during this period was not really significant because the organization was not developed yet to deal with such important issues, all its activities were a kind of assistance for the Western powers specifically USA.

The obstacles that faced NATO helped in its development and gave the allies the opportunity to cover what was missed in their document. The Allies made many efforts to make the alliance more powerful and effective, insisting on the collective work, militarizing the forces and the necessity for having the authority to possess and use nuclear weapons were among the most changes that appeared at that time.

The end of the cold war brought many questions concerning the future of the Alliance, the Soviet Union was dissolved and the threat was gone, so what is next for NATO and what will be its new mission? This created much debate among the organization’s members and pushed them to look for a new mission and purpose that can unify them again. The circumstances after the end of the Cold War helped NATO to have a new excuse through which it can enlarge its members and keep them operating; since there were many conflicts and international problems NATO choose to have a deal in solving those problems.
Chapter Two:

NATO’s New Mission and the R2p Doctrine

Introduction

The end of the cold war marked very important changes that appeared within NATO’s structure and mission beside the original one of defending the Allies. NATO developed its concept strategies to suit with the changes that characterized the world; hence the update of those strategies gave the organization’s members an opportunity to manage new tasks and operations like peacekeeping and providing humanitarian assistance for those who need help.

Since there were many conflicts that appeared after the Cold War UN declared that if there was any aggression or abuse of human rights then it is its responsibility to authorize operations for peacekeeping. NATO was among those organizations which were allowed to intervene to protect civilians under the R2P doctrine. Therefore many countries suffered from NATO’s interventions since there were many internal conflicts that marked the post Cold War era. Bosnia and Yugoslavia were among the countries where NATO intervened, both countries where a stage for the aggressive attacks launched by NATO to enforce peace.

In 2011 Libya suffered from internal conflict as it happened in many parts in the Arab world, the NATO was interested more in protecting civilians in that country more than any other one. Consequently the organization members asked for the permission to intervene to protect civilians, and the mission was authorized by the UNSC Resolution 1973. The Libyan case was another country where the Responsibility to Protect doctrine
gave the NATO opportunity to act in violent way though it declared that the mission was for moral motives.

**1) NATO’s New Operation and the R2P Doctrine**

**1) NATO’s new operation**

Although NATO was created as a military organization for defending the Allies security with the destruction of the Soviet Union it was supposed that its operation is over, as Campbell stated that ‘after the fall of the soviet union in 1991, it was the expectation that the mission of NATO would be scaled down’. (38) However NATO continues to exist with more joining members and new mission and purpose which were seen by some people ambiguous. Halliday argued that ‘today, NATO is a much more dangerous thug, very violent in manner with questionable purpose’ (qtd. in Nezemoaya). The Allies started looking for a new purpose to work for; this was reflected in the changes and the ratifications which appeared within its strategic concepts.

The NATO strategic concept is its document that illustrated its principles and identifies what are the threats that the Allies may face and how they should deal with them (Sendmeyer 02). Since the world keeps changing, every day we hear about a new events whether a natural disaster, civil wars, international problems, and this means that NATO was in need to update its strategic concept to suit with those changes. The main important changes were taken after the end of the cold war, the Allies adopted new tasks and NATO started a new phase full of interventions and debate. The NATO concept strategy was reorganized in 1991, 1999, and in 2010 in each time the organization’s members tried to strengthen their standers and maintain more influence on many controversial issues that the world witnessed.
A) NATO’s Strategic Concept of 1991

NATO was not dissolved when the Soviet Union collapsed yet it took new functions in the period after the cold war, on 1991 NATO forces started a new mission which stands on the new strategic concept that appeared at that year, this new function included several operations like verifying the arms control and participates in the UN peacekeeping operations a mission totally different from the one of protecting the Allies (Aybet). Depending on the new strategic concept NATO became able of intervening in many conflicts in the world to maintain peace and stability as it was expected. Pasternak argued that the crises management which was among NATO new functions included peace enforcement and humanitarian operations (17-18).

The new strategic concept that NATO adopted illustrated the changes that appeared starting from the London summit of 1990 on which NATO started to search for new way to preserve its existence. After one year from the London summit NATO went further on its requests by discussing its geographical limitations and concluding all those changes by declaring the new strategic concept in November 1991(Liebe 10-11).

The mission of NATO after the Cold War was different not just concerning the function but also from the geographical side since NATO operations were no longer related to Europe as it was before; NATO took operations in different parts of the world with support of the United Nation Security Council. The involvement of NATO’s forces in the war in Bosnia was a start for a series of interventions in several countries like Libya recently which still a matter of controversial since many critics saw the intervention as a failure operation in NATO history.
B) The New Strategic Concept of 1999

During the 1999, NATO started a new phase of enlargement by accepting new members which were Poland, Hungary, and Czech Republic but NATO went further by supporting any new countries that want to join to the Allies (Butler). Since the new members were from the Warsaw pact previously this gave NATO more ambition and desire to continue the enlargement process. The summit of 1999 dealt also with military challenges that faced NATO’s mission generally and its Operation Allied Force specifically (Liebe 15). Starting from the 1991 till the 1999 NATO went through many changes concerning membership and functions since it started new operations with new members and may be new goals and ambitions.

NATO strategy concept changed and new functions were added as Pasternak mentioned “in the 1999 NATO strategic concept agreed to five fundamental security tasks: security, consultation, deterrence and defense, crisis management, and partnership” (29). Among the new tasks crisis management was the one which NATO tried it several times whether through peace enforcement or humanitarian aids. The Balkans region was the stage where NATO experienced these new operations. As Liebe said when democratic movements rose in Eastern Europe, Yugoslavia witnessed the emergence of ethnic conflicts and desire for quitting from the republic. NATO responded by asking for authorization to intervene for peacekeeping (18).

C) The New Strategic Concept of 2010

After ten years NATO was in need to develop its strategic concept. The world witnessed many changes, conflicts, interventions, and NATO started to develop its strategies. In April 2009, NATO members decided to reexamine their concept strategy during a summit in Strasbourg. In 2010 a group of experts was set to develop the NATO strategy and refine it. The study concluded that NATO members should develop their
policies to fit the changes which appeared within global security, also to support the mutual work for developing their intelligences, and insist on cooperation between NATO members concerning collective defense (Sendmeyer 37-38). The experts who studied NATO strategy argued that “the new strategic concept must clarify both what NATO should be doing for each ally, and what each ally should be doing for NATO” (qtd. in Sendmeyer 39).

The quotation contains important notes, if we took the part ‘what NATO should be doing for each ally’ we saw that it focused on the obligation of NATO to support what serves its members, and how each ally can benefits from its position in this organization. The second part of the quotation ‘and what each ally should be doing for NATO’ illustrated the role of each member in supporting the organization whether in its decisions or through funding that can help in its development.

All NATO’s strategies helped in organizing its interventions in many parts of the world and guarantee the support of its members to each other though sometimes there was some disagreement between them, and whether the NATO members agreed or not, there was always a debate concerning the legality of those interventions. Although NATO founded an excuse for each intervention there were many who criticized its new role and the validity of its operations under the name of humanitarianism.

The humanitarian intervention concept created a dispute among many people who refused the idea of the intervention in the affairs of independent countries. In order to avoid anti sentiment towards the NATO interventions specifically and United Nations in general, a new concept appeared to give the authority of intervening in any place where there might be any abuse of human rights, or threat against the innocent people who can not defend themselves against their government aggression (Lopez).
II) NATO and the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine

After world war two the United Nation appeared as an organization that seeks to protect human rights in the World and . It was created to help in protecting human rights and providing a peaceful atmosphere for discussion to avoid wars that led to the world destruction. However there was another Cold War on which people were worried about the possibility of the rise of military conflict, since there was that challenge between the super powers which ruled that era. Fortunately the war ended in 1991 marking the start of a new phase on human history.

The end of the Cold War did not bring peace and stability since many countries suffered from internal conflicts and ethnic problems that in most times led to horrible crimes and genocides, for instance the Rwanda genocide where there was a conflict between the two ethnic groups “Many of the majority Hutu (about 85% of the population) turned on the Tutsi (about 12% of the population) and moderate Hutu, killing an estimated total of 800,000” (Magnarella 25). He mentioned also that Tutsi were killed in terrible way as described Tutsis were attacked and killed with different ways that can be seen as an abuse to the human rights in a horrible way. Neither UN nor NATO intervened to stop the massacre though different organizations asked for intervention to stop the massacre.

Beside the problem in Rwanda there were also many conflicts in different areas like the Bosnia _Herzegovina (1992-1995), Kosovo (1999) which created a question concerning whose responsibility to protect human rights in case they were threatened by their governments or in their countries. The humanitarian reasons justified intervention in the mentioned countries and created huge debate concerning the legality of those interventions since many people saw them as destruction to the state sovereignty, but
others argued that sovereignty can not be an excuse for illegal treatment, this idea was illustrated in the opinion of the UN Secretary General Kofi Anan who claimed that “even this sovereignty can not shield crimes against humanity” (Norooz 03). A research for new concept that sounds less destructive to the term of sovereignty appeared and the united nation changed the idea of humanitarian intervention to the responsibility to protect doctrine.

Although both terms seems similar but Norooz stated that, the role of humanitarian intervention in the creation of the responsibility to protect doctrine can not be neglected, but there are difference between them in sense that while the first is about military intervention the second includes many measures like diplomatic pressure, responsibility to prevent or rebuild (15).

In 2005 The R2P doctrine appeared and it was defined as” a concept for intervention in a state by the international community (which preferably through UN) for the prevention of genocide, ethnic cleansing, mass killing and human rights violation taking place” (Mehta 02). Carlstorm argued that” the responsibility to protect doctrine rose to prominence largely because of the genocides in Bosnia, Rwanda and Darfur. It became something of an official UN position in 2005”. Since the doctrine was born in 2005 means after intervention of NATO in many countries this can create a question about who gave NATO the authority to intervene and what were the really the reasons that motivated its interventions.

The doctrine gave the UN the ability of authorizing interventions in independent countries” when countries either commit or fail to prevent genocide or crimes against humanity on their territories” (Mehta 02). After giving a chance for a country to solve its problems that can affect human rights or security other organizations can intervene to
help in maintaining peace and stability an idea that was not really achieved in most of those interventions. There are three cases where an intervention can occur, when a state can not protect its citizens, or when the state itself considered as a threat to its citizens, and when people are threatened, this situations gave the UN the authority to permit an intervention (Narooz 04).

So the R2P doctrine appeared to authorize intervention in any country on which people may suffer from abuse and violence, though the operations conducted for peacekeeping were not peaceful but those missions became legal. Therefore NATO launched different operations in different countries based on this new doctrine, and this gave the new mission some arguments that can be used to avoid criticism.

III) The Libyan Crisis and NATO Response

1) The Libyan Revolution of (2011)

Starting from 2011 Libya witnessed a revolution against the government headed by the president muamer el Kaddafi, the situation which rose in several parts in Africa like Egypt and Tunisia; but the case of Libya was totally different since the conflict between the rebels and the government became more aggressive according to what was published in news. The refusal of the president to gave up and threatening the rebels in his famous speech, on which he described the rebels as rates and cockroaches, he made things worse and gave the western allies an excuse to intervene for protecting civilians from the danger of their government.

The Libyan crisis unlike the others attracted the international interests as Giselle Lopez mentioned in her article entitled” The responsibility to protect at a crossroad: the crisis in Libya that “the conflict in Libya detained awareness of the international
community that tried to stop a massacre”. The conflict was covered by many international channels and different information about the problem accrued.

A. Libya and the Roots of the Conflict

Libya struggled through its history against many powers that tried to colonize it like the Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, and the Italian invasion. Libya succeeded to take its independence on the 1950 and the country held elections on which Muhammad Idris won and became the Libyan leader. Since Idris could not help Libya in developing its economy and the other filed especially with the discovery of oil, his position was threatened from the opposition headed by Kaddafi. In 1969 he succeeded in the overthrow of Idris Muhammad from his position and he became the leader of the armed forces (Jacobs 01-02).

Libya was divided historically into three regions, Cyrenaica in the east, Tripolitania in the northwest, and Fezzan in the southwest and Benghazi situated in first region the city from which the rebellion started. It also was dominated by 140 tribes among them just 30 tribes possessed political influence (Bell and Witter 06). It seems that this division widened the gap between those who support the regime and those against, and later on led the conflict to become a civil war.

Although Kaddafi helped in the rise of Libya as an important country especially concerning his policy of nationalizing the Libyan resources and limiting the western existence in the country many people were not satisfied. Jacobs argued that the situation of political involvement during Kaddafi position was very hard to achieve, since it was unacceptable to join to the political parties or rise ideas about creating them especially during the 1973; forming organizations also was banned and it was considered as threat to the unity of the country (06). Since Kaddafi put many limitations on the different
aspects of life in Libya, he was seen as an oppressor and dictatorship and this was mentioned in Kamal Eldin Osman Salih article: “the roots and the causes of the 2011 Arab uprising” when he stated that “most of the Arab regimes, with the exception of a few, are classified as highly authoritarian systems in which political power is monopolized by the few” (04). Though this information was transformed to many people there were different points of view concerning those facts.

In 2011 there was an investigation made by NGO Fact Finding Commission in Libya. There were among the members of the commission James Moriarty and JoAnne Moriarty who spent a long time with Libyan citizens asking about their life conditions and reasons of the conflict and what was declared was totally different from what media transformed to us. Citizens declared that the Libyan oil revenue was divided a half for the citizens and the other half for government affairs, health care was free and if it was not provided in Libya citizens were allowed to travel with government help. Libya was also the highest country in Africa concerning the salary average. The commission was also a witness of the NATO crimes in Libya.

The investigation gave a clear idea that shows the unreliable information about the Libyan conflict and this means that not all the Libyan were against the government but what we received was reshaped by media. In all cases Libya witnessed a rebellion against its government through which the protestors asked the president to resign. The revolution started in Benghazi on February 15, 2011 and people organized demonstrations in many cities, although the information about the protest were not very reliable most of them stated that it started as a peaceful demonstration that seeks political reforms, the situation became aggressive when the government refused to give up and tried to put an end to the revolution.
Violent protests erupted different cities like al Bayda, Derna, and Tobruk in addition to Benghazi, and in February 20, 2011 it reached Tripoli where the regime situated but the security forces and the supporters of Kaddafi succeeded in preventing rebels from taking existence there. The war in Libya was different from what happened in Tunisia and Egypt because things were not very complicated as it happened in Libya, and the government did not resist for a long time as Kaddafi did (Bell and Witter 07).

B) The Government’s Response

The wrong decisions that the president took made the situation worse, since he did not deal with the situation in flexible manner rather he threatened the rebels through his speeches, and he gave the authority to stop the rebellion with any tools. When the government responded by attacking the rebels the conflict became very aggressive and the protestors started to violate human rights and destroy governmental institutions to weaken the government and to push Kaddafi to quit. Lopez stated that “when security forces opened fire on a protest on Benghazi, anti-government sentiment spread across Libya, and quickly evolved into a violent movement to overthrow Kaddafi”.

The government resisted and the president refused to resign, moreover he asked all who supported him to do their best to stop the rebellion. As Ajish Joy declared in his article The Crisis in Libya that Kaddafi ordered people loyal to him to crush the rebellion, and he stated that he will fight till the end. Many crimes were committed during the conflict as it was declared by media, and with the harsh response by the government the rebels took violent response too. All those acts were an attempt to stop the rebellion and avoid its spread in the whole country. The government did not success in seizing the rebellion and the situation started to be more complicated.
The country transformed from a rebellion to a civil war, the rebels started to attack those who supported the regime and the conflict became really aggressive. Although most of the information were not really confirmed it succeeded in helping the Allies to maintain authority for the intervention. Though the situation was similar to what was happening in different countries in the Arab world NATO started to ask for permission to apply the Responsibility to Protect doctrine and defend civilians under threat.

2) The R2P and NATO’s Intervention

Over time the situation became more acute between sides, the rebels and the government. Requests from different authorities appeared asking for an end to the conflict like the UN high commissioner for human rights, Navi pillay, and the African Union which helped in gaining the right to intervene later on (Adams 06). Though the information were debatable since the decision appeared as a response to what was transferred through media about the causalities it helped in maintaining authority to intervene. Campbell mentioned that during a conference at the pentagon, security defense of America Roberts Gates was asked by a reporter whether he possess reliable information or evidences about the Kaddafi use of air forces against civilians, Gates declared that the source of the information which they relied on was media (67). The absence of strong evidences about how really was the situation did not prevent the west from predicting that Kaddafi is going to commit genocide and they tried to have the authority to intervene as soon as possible.

The case of Libya as many of the NATO’s interventions to protect civilians was doubtful, since if what was really important for the west, specifically those who managed the operation, is human rights then those who were killed by the opposition
were not human beings and do not possess any rights. The Allies did not sport peace but they supported the opposition so if the war was about preserving human rights then NATO shifted from its mission. Beside the aggression that appeared against those who supported Kaddafi and even without a clear prove many people were killed in horrible way, moreover; the rebels were given weapon to keep standing against the regime until the end. Therefore the NATO mission was far from protecting civilians since if what is important is peace and protecting civilians so no matter to what position someone held or his ideologies all people should be protected not just those who may serve the western interests.

On February 26, 2011 the UNSC announced resolution 1970 which asked Libyan government to protect its civilians but since information about more people being killed, another resolution was adopted, the resolution of 1973 appeared in March 17 in same year (Adams 6). NATO received the authorization to intervene to protect civilians, but the mission started by the allies separately, first there was the American operation ‘Odyssey Down’, then France with’ Harmattan operation’, ‘Ellay operation’ by the UK, and the Canadian operation ‘Mobile’. After few days exactly on March 31, 2011 NATO officially controlled the mission (Vira, Cordesman, and Burke 48). They illustrated more the NATO mission and how started by the French strikes and American barrages and continued by NATO’s throwing bombs on unspecified air fields and this during the first involvement in the date mentioned before (48).

Although France and Britain were the first among the Allies who tried hardly to intervene in Libya, the role of America was significant since US Admiral James Stavridis argued that the American support to this mission can be given 25% from the support sorties that the Allies gave to the NATO, and this helped NATO very much in their operation (qtd. in Vira, Cordesman, and Burke 50).
III) NATO’s Unified Protector Operation

1) Enforcing the UNSC Resolution of 1973

On March 31, 2011 NATO started its operation under the name of Unified Protector Operation; it controlled the mission with the Joint Task Force located at Naples and the Air Component at Poggio Rentico in Italy (Phinney). Although the mission was led by France, Britain, and USA there were new participants in the operation, for instance Italy which supported NATO by providing it with its seven airbases, also Canada that joined to the enforcement of the no fly zone task through involving its aircrafts with the forces of NATO that started the mission already. Beside the members of the NATO there were non-NATO partners who supported the operation like United Arab Emirates, Jordan, and Morocco (Gertler 19-20).

The UPO included specific goals that should be achieved mainly those which were illustrated in the UNSC resolution 1973. First the need for establishing of cease fire and clear end to violence, enforcing a no fly zone which gave the NATO the right to control the Libyan airspace and enforcing a ban on all flights except those which carried humanitarian assistance and evacuated foreign officials from Libya, and NATO was given the right to take all measures to protect civilians and achieve its goals (Campbell 70). Through the no fly zone operation NATO succeed in weakening the Kaddafi forces and helped the rebels to continue their war against the government.

The arms embargo was another task that was included in NATO operation; nine members participated in the embargo, which were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Italy, Norway, Spain, the UK, and the USA with nineteen warships that controlled the international waters. The goals of this task was to keep an eye on any movement in the region, check any aircrafts or ships that may exist in Libyan land, and stop any ships
that can be suspected of carrying arms (Taylor 12). Beside the no fly zone this operation besieged the Kaddafi forces and gave the opposition a chance for moving towards the cities that were controlled by the pro-Kaddafi citizens.

During the operation of NATO the Canadian forces discovered a ship which was related to Libyan territory, it was declared that the ship was carrying humanitarian assistance but after it was checked the NATO forces founded arms which were bought by the opposition and they were in their way to transform the weapons from Benghazi to Misrata to fight the Kaddafi forces. The ship continued it way after a decision of NATO forces to not punish the rebels or the opposition (DEVGDRU5022 “operation Unified Protector”) The NATO decision could reflect the side by which the allies were standing by, no matter to who was carrying the arms it was supposed to be stopped but this was not what NATO chose since the aim was common the withdrawal of Kaddafi.

The UNSC Resolution was not respected from the NATO forces who declared that their aim was to protect civilians and nothing else, since the standers of the Resolution were violated; the mission contained an arms embargo but NATO forces were not impartial in their position because there were also information about the involvement of Egypt and Qatar in transforming weapons to the rebels (Zinko). The position taken by NATO is debatable since what the mission stated for was different from what NATO forces were trying to achieve, this accident was mentioned also by Vira, Cordesman, and Burke:

Regional involvement also remains unclear. There have been reports that Qatar, which is the most involved of all regional or Arab countries, sent arms, including rifles and MILAN anti-tank missiles. Completely unconfirmed reports indicate
that 100 or so Egyptian commandos from the elite Unit 777 are operating inside Libya to help train opposition forces. (56)

The ignorance of such destruction to international laws did not just lead to the Kaddafi removal but it also helped in increasing violence against innocent civilians, and the use of those weapons later by the wrong people who became afterward involved in illegal actions which Libya still suffers from them nowadays.

Moreover, the NATO mission in Libya contained strikes that made things worse and many innocent people were killed, as Campbell declared that during the NATO campaign 9,658 strike sorties were conducted by NATO forces which stand for 150 strikes per day (119). Libyan air defense was destructed after the first NATO bombardment since Libya was not really that large country that needs all those attacks to weaken the government and there were many people who opposed the NATO strikes on Libya, for instance the Director General of the RURI of Britain who criticized NATO mission that deviated from its objectives, also the Turkish foreign minister Ahmet Davutglo who claimed that the air strikes led by France went so far from the mission’s aim of protecting civilians (qtd. in Campbell 129).

2) NATO’s mission: from protecting civilians to changing regime

Although the American president declared that their aim in Libya was for humanitarian reasons, protecting civilians, and nothing else. The president also added that changing regime in Iraq coasted many dollars and led to the death of many innocents people, so this experience will not be repeated in Libya (Chigozie, Ikeghokwu, and Anthony 08). What happened latter was the opposite. Giselle Lopez mentioned in her article that though the coalition leaders stated that their mission is limited to the UNSC Resolution after two weeks it deviated to regime change, ignoring
the appeals of Kaddafi for a cease fire and continuing their support for the rebels. There was much criticism about NATO forces which were accused of supporting the rebels whether by weapons or training them, this act was illegal since it was not included in the UNSC Resolution that authorized its mission, and also many evidences confirmed NATO involvement in tasks out of its operation.

James Carden was one of those who dealt with the deviation of NATO from protecting civilians to changing regime, depending on a report which examined NATO’s military intervention from different sides; he affirmed that the information about the Kaddafi’s ability to commit genocide was exaggerated and unreliable. The report which was made by BPFA questioned the aim behind NATO mission since it declared that if the mission was to protect civilians, specifically those in Benghazi who started the protest, then this was achieved just after two days. In addition to that the report investigated the way NATO deviated from the UNSC mandate for imposing a no fly zone to supporting the regime change. Since this study which tried to examine the NATO role in Libya was made in Britain, it declared that UK as one of the participants in the intervention in Libya ignored the threat that the rebels may bring especially when they became armed.

Jacobs confirmed that the story about the Kaddafi genocide against his people was exaggerated. He stated that “those so called the human rights organizations and the media worked together to propagate the lies about African mercenaries, Libyan military jet attacks on civilians, and civilians massacres by Kaddafi”(05). The NATO gained support in its mission through such excuses and used them to justify its intervention in regime change. Paul Joseph Watson argued that ’a no fly zone is merely a euphemism for aerial bombardment and aggressive regime change’ (qtd. in MacMillan). The NATO
which claimed that its aim was to protect civilians became convinced that the only way to do that is through regime change. For instance

by the end of May, South African president Jacob Zuma stated that Gaddafi was ready to accept an African Union initiative for a ceasefire that would stop all hostilities including NATO airstrikes in support of the rebels forces, the latter options, however was rejected by both NATO and the insurgents who demand that Gaddafi left power before any kind of deal was made. (Chigozie, Ikechukwu, and Anthony 09)

The NATO choice gave reflection of what the participants in that war aimed to achieve, and to what extent they were worried about protecting people and maintaining peace. Libya was not the only country that suffered from such conflict many people were killed in the Arab countries that witnessed the Arab Rising but NATO was interested more in Libyan problem.

The deviation in NATO’s operation became clear when it started helping rebels to find the place where Kaddafi was hiding; in August 21, there were claims about the death of Kaddafi and his sons but soon his son Saif al-Islam was reported in a hotel at Tripoli and there was a peaceful protest by those who supported Kaddafi in Bab al Azizia, NATO responded by attacking the protesters and the city was bombed 63 times in one day (Campbell 161). Describing the NATO operation as a humanitarian one is a big mistake since it led to more victims being killed and brought instability to the region. Alan Kuperman an expert in political science stated that” NATO only objective in Libya was to force regime change in the country despite their claims about the humanitarian intervention “(qtd. in MacMillan).

Campbell mentioned that Kaddafi was advised by his son Muatassim to travel to Sirte that he thought will be a save place, his phone was tracked and Sirte was bombed.
Kaddafì tried to escape but the NTC fighters with the help of NATO intelligences succeeded in besieging the city. No one was allowed to move out of the city and there was information about secret agents among civilians looking for evidences that may help in finding Kaddafì (174-175). The danger of such interventions made by NATO relies on its ability to involve in tasks out of its operation without being judged; how can an operation which started for humanitarian reasons end with NATO taking position with rebels, arming them, and enforcing regime change which is not their right to decide who deserve to role Libya and who should be removed.

In 20th October, Kaddafì was executed after a strike launched by the American and French forces that targeted the vehicles which carried Kaddafì who was trying to escape out of Sirte. Kaddafì was beaten and killed by the rebels and this strike was the last in NATO operation (Chigozie, Ikechkwu, and Anthony 09). Many reports declared that there was no information about Kaddafì being in that conveys and that the NATO operation was for protecting civilians as usual (Campbell 178). Ironically this accident can not be a matter of chance for both the rebels and NATO forces which tried for several times to catch Kaddafì alive or dead. Also since the strike was the last one this meant that NATO mission was done but citizens were still suffering and many were killed just because they were not supporters of the rebellion this clearly identify what was its mission and how it ended with the death of Kaddafì.
3) Reasons and Motivations of NATO’s Interventions

A) Libyan Oil

Although Libya is considered as undeveloped country but this does not mean that it is not a wealthy one. Campbell stated that before the discovery of the Libyan oil the main activity that shaped Libyan economy was farming but one the Anglo-American companies discovered oil everything changed, many companies invested there and started work under the control of the Americans and British corporations and the most important ones were called the Oasis which were owned by America. In 1969 Kaddafi succeeded to become the Libyan president and immediately he started nationalizing those companies and limiting the western existence in the region (85). Obviously, the Anglo-American corporations were not satisfied and the relations between Libya and the West were not really stable.

The Libyan president Kaddafi was accused of supporting terrorism and Americans were not allowed to travel to Libya and his motorcade was bombed as an attempt to assassinate him (Campbell 64). Although these accidents are very old and far from what happened recently but concerning the Western interests everything is linked. Libya was and still an important country which the West, specifically France, Britain, and USA, tried to maintain influence and existence on it. As Campbell stated about the significance of the Libyan oil “it became known that Libya had one of the largest proven oil reserves in Africa, and about 3.4 percent of the world proved reserves, and most of it was unexplored”(88). In addition he mentioned that the Libyan oil is not important just because of its quantity but also its quality that makes it easy to be refined; he described it as ‘the highest quality low sulphur oils’ (88).
The Kaddafi policy of nationalization destroyed the American-Libyan relations which were very stable before the Kaddafi role, since he was accused of supporting terrorism there were several attempts to remove him from the presidency and many sanctions were imposed on Libya (Sawani). The history of Kaddafi conflict with the western countries can reflect the NATO motivation about changing regime and confirm that the NATO members were worried about protecting their interests more than protecting civilians especially those who supported the regime. Pitter Boyle argued that ‘the same greedy and powerful western interests that first attacked then propped up the Gaddafi regime are preparing for change of tack including considering direct military intervention’.

B) Kaddafi Ideologies

Although Kaddafi in his last years of presidency was not very aggressive concerning the Western existence in Libya but his ideologies were still source of threat to the western imperialism. Campbell confirmed the desire of western countries specifically those who discovered oil to influence the Libyan economy ‘despite the dominance of reformers, Kaddafi zigzags in relations to the international policies frustrated British and United States who wanted to have a dominant say on Libyan economy’ (48). NATO operation can be seen as an attempt to guarantee this dominance; the organizations members were not just interested in supporting the rebels but also helping the NTC which appeared to fight for the presidency to achieve their goals. The position taken by NATO can help its members specifically France, Britain, and USA to have good and stable relations with the new government which can help them in maintaining their imperialistic goals.
Kaddafi threat did not rely just in his refusal to the Western dominance or even existence in Libya but also his ideologies and programs that made most of the NATO members unsatisfied. The idea of the African Bank through which the African countries could maintain independency from the Western Banks was another point that may have a relation with the intervention, in addition Kaddafi mentioned the idea of a new African currency the golden dinar which can challenge the European one (James Moriarty and JoAnne Moriarty). So in addition to the Kaddafi anti-Western sentiment, his calls for economical independence and his emphasize on the importance of cooperation between the African countries that can help them in strengthening the economy ware not really welcomed.

Monopoly and the economical treaties are the most useful tools that used by the imperialistic countries to guarantee its involvement and existence in any country, and since a wealthy country like Libya refused such intervention in its affaires and even it happened it was very limited, this meant that those ideologies must be seized and destroyed as it happened with communism. No matter to NATO justification for its shift in the enforcing of the UNSC Resolutions there are many reasons that motivated NATO members specifically France, Britain, and USA to react in this fast and aggressive way. Libya was not the only country which faced such problems for instance Syria were many people are killed every day, though the Syrian president is accused of targeting innocents but not much efforts were done to intervene.
Conclusion

The NATO role after the cold war was totally different from its previous one. Though it kept its original mission of protecting the Allies it started a more global mission for protecting and maintaining peace. Since the world witnessed some internal problems within some countries and ethnic conflicts NATO intervened to protect civilian under threat, this new role was justified by the Responsibility to protect doctrine which appeared to gave the United Nation the authority to authorize operation for protecting human rights and citizens who are threatened from their government or when a government is unable to defend itself. NATO started a new phase in which it focused more on peacekeeping operations and protecting human rights which were always used to justify the Western interventions in different parts of the world.

Libya was one of the countries that witnessed the NATO intervention for protecting civilians during the Arab Rising of 2011. The mission that was illustrated in The United Nation Security Council Resolution 1973 included specific tasks that must be fulfilled namely a no fly zone operation, an arms embargo, and protecting civilians under threat. The mission shifted to NATO launching activities that were not related to the supposed operation starting from conducting aggressive strikes to supporting the rebels. The mission ended with changing regime which was not among the goals of the operation but it was one of the most important interests of NATO members.

The position taken by the NATO in Libyan War of 2011 shows that the human rights were just an excuse used to intervene in that country to maintain their interest, mainly regime change which was achieved through killing and bombing many innocents people and removing the obstacle and ideologies that prevented the West from having a part in African countries economy. Africa generally is rich of oil and
Libya is the most important country that possesses such wealth and since it was discovered by the Western countries, America and Britain, there was always a desire to keep connected to the Libyan economy.
General Conclusion

NATO survived after the Cold War though its mission was expected to be ended, it continued to exist with more members and power. Many changes were made in its strategic concepts to update the organization and find an excuse to keep the organization working, thus many new functions and standards were added to the NATO’s original mission to keep the Allies unified. NATO deviated from being a defense organization to conducting peacekeeping operations to protect human rights and civilians under threat, The organization which was created during the cold war to secure the Allies became more important and powerful in post Cold War era.

The deviation that appeared in the NATO’s mission gave it the opportunity to conduct operations in different parts of the world, though it was authorized by the UN many critics saw those interventions as illegal. The Responsibility to protect doctrine appeared to support the NATO’s new operation and justify the aggressive interventions that were conducted and it was used to justify most of its operations even before its existence as an international doctrine. The new mission did not just gave the NATO an excuse to keep operating but it also gave it chance to enlarge its members and practice the Allies capacities.

Peacekeeping operations done by NATO included many countries, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, and Libya. All those cases created debate about the way that such organization tried to sustain peace, in all cases it started by bombing civilians and using military force. The NATO’s intervention in Libya confirms that the organization is always motivated by some interests that push the Allies to choose where to intervene and where the intervention is not necessary. Though the mission was limited by the
UNSC resolution 1973 NATO shifted to conduct operations that were not related to preserving human rights, it started helping the rebels to withdraw Kaddafí and also armed them which lead to horrible crimes in a country that faced internal conflicts.

The position taken by the NATO shows that what was important in the new mission was to achieve their interests; regime change was among their first goals since they supported many operations that aimed to assassinate Kaddafí and they succeeded since the operation that ended with his death was made the rebels who were supported by NATO intelligences. Kaddafí ideologies, that though softened with the West by Never accepted their dominance, were not welcomed by the leading powers of the organization that launched the attacks; such ideas must be seized as it happened with communism. Also the Libyan oil which was always among the Western interests specifically America and Britain since they possessed the companies that discovered Libyan oil.
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